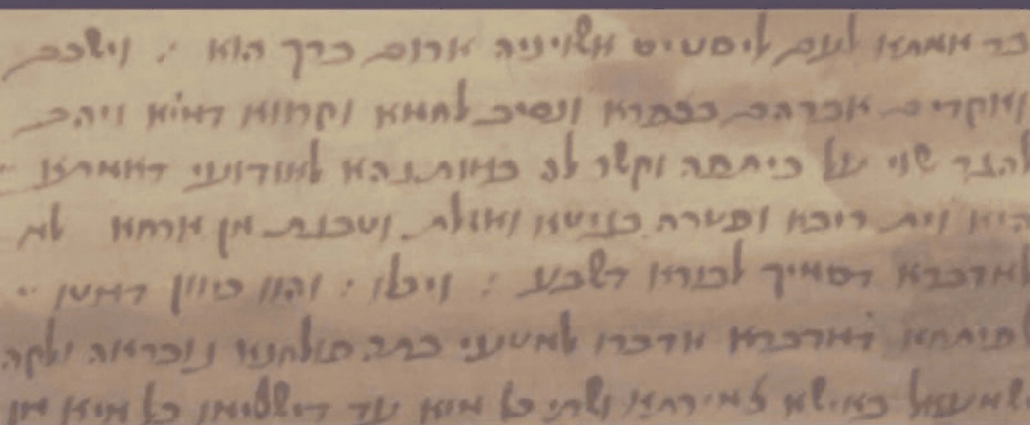


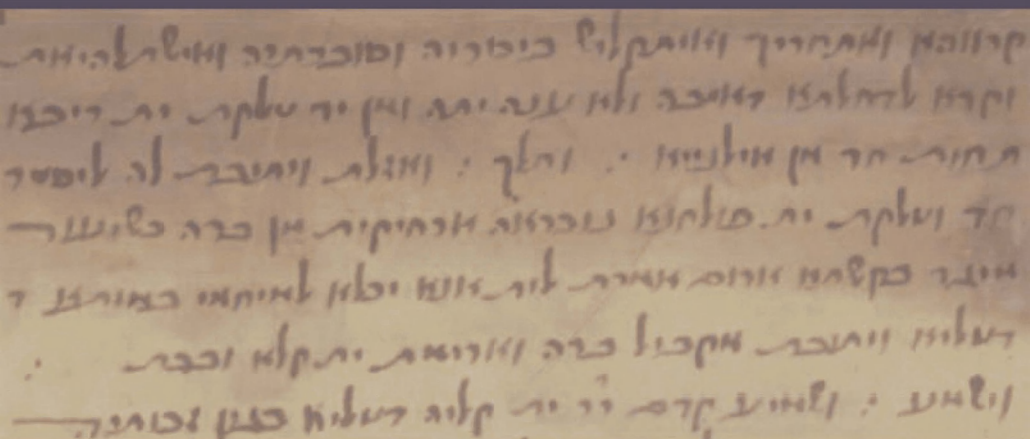
MARTIN MCNAMARA



# Targum and Testament

## Revisited

ARAMAIC PARAPHRASES  
OF THE HEBREW BIBLE



SECOND EDITION

## TARGUM AND TESTAMENT REVISITED



# Targum and Testament Revisited

*Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible:  
A Light on the New Testament*

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SECOND EDITION

Martin McNamara

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## *Preface*

Revisiting *Targum and Testament: Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament*, basically completed in 1968 but published in 1972, must take account of the changed situation since it was first completed and published. The work was compiled after the author had published his doctoral dissertation, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (1966). This factor indicated that material treated in the dissertation should be omitted, if possible. *Targum and Testament* dealt mainly with material not included in the earlier work. It was intended to accompany a planned English translation of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch (Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan, and possibly the Fragment Targums and the glosses to Neofiti). The present writer, and his colleague Michael Maher, were then nearing completion of the English translation of the Aramaic text of Neofiti, with its glosses, for publication in the *editio princeps* of Codex Neofiti (published 1968-1978). The projected English translation envisaged, to which *Targum and Testament* was to serve as an introduction, never materialised. Since then however, due to the initiative and resourcefulness of Michael Glazier, a full translation of *all* the traditional rabbinic targums has been published, together with apparatuses, extensive introductions and notes in the series *The Aramaic Bible* (1978-2007), 19 planned volumes in 22 volumes.

Since 1972 the scholarly attitude towards the usefulness of the Aramaic Targums for an understanding of the New Testament has also radically changed, and even the admissibility of targumic evidence in this field of research is often seriously questioned. All this needs to be taken into account in any new presentation of the 1972 edition.



## PREFACE

The original edition served the purpose of bringing the targums and their message to a broad readership, a fact witnessed to by a request for a reprint or a new edition of the work.

In this new presentation I intend to remain as close as possible to the plan of the original edition, while taking the developments in the intervening period into account. I introduce this new presentation with an overview of history of the use of the targums in New Testament studies over five centuries or so.

## INTRODUCTION

### *Historical Overview*

#### 1. The Beginnings

Targums, that is Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible, came to the attention of Christian scholars in the West in the early Renaissance period.<sup>1</sup> They were used, among other works, in anti-Jewish polemic by Raymundus Martinus (died 1290) in his *Pugio fidei aduersus Mauros et Judaeos*. The advent of printing made the targums more easily available to students. Onqelos was printed in 1492 at Bologna, the Fragment Targums in 1517-1518; Pseudo-Jonathan in 1591. In whole or in part their texts were incorporated into the great Polyglot Bibles: the Complutensian Polyglot 1514-1517; the Antwerp Polyglot or *Biblia Polyglotta Regia* 1569-1572; the Paris Polyglot 1618-1645, and finally the London Polyglot 1655-1657, under the editorship of Brian Walton. Editions and Latin translations of individual targums were also made. During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries scholars examined the importance of the targums, or rather individual targum texts, for theological and exegetical purposes, in efforts to elucidate New Testament texts. The dangers inherent in use of such texts were also adverted to, by reason of their generally presumed post-New Testament date of origin. Onqelos and the Targum of the Prophets were presumed to be the earliest; the

1. For a more detailed overview of the question see Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27 and 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; 2nd printing with supplement 1978), pp. 5-33; Martin McNamara, "Targumic Studies," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 28 (1966): 1-19.

Targums of the Hagiographa were considered too late for use. Serious doubts were also entertained regarding the date of Pseudo-Jonathan. As Brian Walton puts it, the Targums must be used with caution; while many of their texts, even in the late Tg of the Hagiographa (e.g. Psalm 45), contain useful texts in the Jewish-Christian debate (he instances the infinite number of places where many things are ascribed to the Word [that is Memra] as it were to a distinct person, the messianic interpretation of Genesis 49:10; Isaiah 7:14; Psalm 45), these are, as it were, but fragments from the school of the Prophets inserted by the later Targumists in their paraphrases.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. During “Golden Age of Jewish Studies”

In the golden age of Jewish studies, in his monumental *The History of the Jewish People in New Testament Times*,<sup>3</sup> in the consideration of the sources to be used Emil Schürer treats of the targums in the last place, within rabbinical literature, after talmudic literature and the midrashim. His main interest is in Targum Onqelos of the Pentateuch and the Targum of the Prophets. The targum of the Hagiographa he regards as too late for his purpose, and he ends with a consideration of Pseudo-Jonathan and Jerushalmi on the Pentateuch, as then known, that is the Fragments Targums. While aware of the arguments for a third- or fourth-century date of origin for Onqelos and the Prophets Targum, he recognizes the long tradition standing behind them. He writes: “But even if the two Targums were first issued during the third and fourth centuries, it cannot be doubted that they are based upon earlier works, and only form the conclusion of a process that had been going on for several centuries.”<sup>4</sup> And a little later: “From all this it is evident that in our Targums materials are made use of that had

2. See Brianus Walton (ed.), *Sacra Biblia Polyglotta . . . cum Apparatu, Appendicibus . . .* (etc.) (London, 1657), Prolegomenon XII, nos. 11, 16, 18; pp. 84, 86; Latin texts cited in McNamara, *The New Testament*, pp. 5-7.

3. Emil Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, first published as *Lehrbuch des neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte* in 1874, and in its definitive form and title in its second German edition published in 1886-1890. A later enlarged and perfected edition was published in the third/fourth edition (1901-1909). An English translation of the second German edition was published by T&T Clark in 1885-1891: *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1885-1891).

4. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People*, division I, vol. 1, p. 157.

gradually amassed during many generations, and that the works which we now possess were preceded by earlier written sources.”<sup>5</sup>

In part II of the introduction to his classic work *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* George Foot Moore treats of the sources to be used in his study.<sup>6</sup> Among these he treats of versions of Scripture, and here expresses his opinion on the place of the Aramaic Targums, as follows: “The Targums had a time of being very much over-worked by Christian scholars in consequence of the erroneous notion that they antedated the Christian era; and in particular the messianic expectations of the Jews in that age were looked for in them. Afterwards they were still more abused in the search for the Jewish idea of a God-out-of-reach who negotiated with the world only through the Memra and other intermediaries. Their true value lies in the evidence they give to the exegesis of the Tannaite period — to the real understanding of what the Bible said for itself.”<sup>7</sup>

### 3. Developments 1930-1960

Attitudes towards Jewish tradition, and the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch in particular, changed during the 1930s and after, thanks in good part to Paul Kahle’s publication of the Genizah Fragments of these targums,<sup>8</sup> through the discovery of Codex Neofiti 1 in the Vatican Library in 1949, and its identification in 1956 by Alejandro Díez Macho as an almost complete text of the Palestinian Targum.<sup>9</sup> This led to interest in the Aramaic language of the Palestinian Targums which Kahle,<sup>10</sup> Díez Ma-

5. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People*, p. 158.

6. George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).

7. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. 1, p. 176.

8. Paul Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens II. Das palästinische Pentateuchtargum: Die palästinische Punctuation: Der Bibeltext des ben Naftali* (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament. Texte und Untersuchungen zur vormasoretischen Grammatik des Hebräischen. IV; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930).

9. The find and identification was announced by Alejandro Díez Macho in “Una copia de todo el Targum jerosolimitano en la Vaticana,” *Estudios Biblicos* 16 (1956): 446-447, and elsewhere. A detailed study of the find, and of its importance in Díez Macho’s eyes, is given by Alejandro Díez Macho, “The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum, Its Antiquity and Relation to the Other Targums,” in *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 7 (1959 Oxford Conference Volume; Leiden: Brill), pp. 222-245.

10. Paul Kahle, “Das palästinische Pentateuchtargum und das zur Zeit Jesu ge-

cho,<sup>11</sup> Matthew Black and others maintained was the form of the Aramaic spoken by Jesus.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4. Targum and New Testament during 1960s

During the 1960s and 1970s a number of studies were made and published on the contents of the Palestinian Targums and their possible or probable relationship with New Testament texts and theology. I may mention in particular Roger Le Déaut's *La nuit pascale* (1963), and his other writings on the subject.<sup>13</sup>

#### 5. Qumran Aramaic. The Language of Jesus

In 1947 and later came the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a number of texts in Aramaic dating from the first century of our era or shortly before it. This led to specialist studies of the stages of the Aramaic language, and the bearing of this on targumic Aramaic. It became accepted that the language of Jesus' day was that of the Qumran texts, and that Onqelos and Targum Prophets might be dated before 135 CE. Serious objections were also directed against the use made of Targumic material in New Testament studies, especially the methodology used, and the asser-

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sprochene Aramäisch," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49 (1958): 100-116. Similarly, and summarily, Paul Kahle in *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), p. 208.

11. Alejandro Díez Macho, "Le lengua hablada por Jesucristo," *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963): 95-132. (Also in booklet form under the same title: Ediciones Fe Catolica, Madrid, 1976.)

12. Matthew Black, "Die Erforschung der Muttersprache Jesu," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 82 (1957): 664-668.

13. As some works of Roger Le Déaut I may instance: *La nuit pascale. Essai sur la signification de la Pâque juive à partir du Targum d'Exode XII 42* (Analecta Biblica 22; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1963); "Targumic Literature and New Testament Interpretation," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 4 (1974): 3-32, 243-289; *The Message of the New Testament and the Aramaic Bible (Targum)* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1982). Among bibliographies on the subject I may mention: Peter Nickels, *Targum and New Testament. A Bibliography together with a New Testament Index* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1967); J. T. Forestell, *Targumic Traditions and the New Testament* (SBL Aramaic Studies 4; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1979).

tions sometimes made that New Testament texts were dependent on Targums, in particular on the Palestinian Targum(s) of the Pentateuch.<sup>14</sup>

## 6. Targumic Aramaic. Origin of the Palestinian Targum

It has become accepted that the language of the Palestinian Targums is later than that of the Qumran texts, of Onqelos and Targum Prophets which may date before 135 CE. How late, and how to be used in the study of first-century CE texts, were now matters calling for serious study. Fortunately such questions were soon attended to by a leading specialist in the field, Stephen Kaufman. He published an initial study on the question in 1985.<sup>15</sup> Some years later, in 1992, he read an important paper on the topic at an international conference of the Targums (Aramaic Bible) in Dublin: "Dating the Language of the Palestinian Targums and Their Use in the Study of First Century CE Texts."<sup>16</sup> In his paper Kaufman expresses the view that the Aramaic of the Palestinian Targums is third century at the very earliest. In his view, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch as we have it is not a Palestinian Targum, but a composite work — a kind of compote of Onqelos, the Palestinian Targum, midrashim and even the Babylonian Talmud, a compote both in terms of language and content, a document, therefore, post-talmudic in date at the very earliest (7th cent.?), in spite of the presence of admittedly early traditions within it. Its language is virtually the same as the language found in the canonical targums of Job and the Psalter. Kaufman also believes that from a proper examination of the language of Pseudo-Jonathan we see that the Palestinian text underlying Pseudo-

14. See especially Joseph A. Fitzmyer's reviews of the present writer's *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, in *Theological Studies* 29 (1968): 321-326 and of A. Díez Macho's edition of *Neofiti* in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 32 (1970): 524-525, as well as other essays by Fitzmyer; likewise J. Greenfield's review of the republication of Etheridge's translation of the Targum to the Pentateuch in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 89 (1970): 238-239; Ben Zion Wacholder's review of the present writer's *Targum and Testament* in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93 (1974): 132-133, and A. D. York's essay, "The Dating of Targumic Literature," in *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 5 (1974): 49-62.

15. Stephen A. Kaufman, "On Methodology in the Study of the Targums and Their Chronology," *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 23 (1985): 117-124.

16. Stephen A. Kaufman, "Dating the Language of the Palestinian Targums and Their Use in the Study of First Century CE Texts," in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. D. R. G. Beattie and M. J. McNamara (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 118-141.

Jonathan is little different from the rest of the witnesses to the Palestinian Targum. In his study of Pseudo-Jonathan he compares the Aramaic text of the *Testament of Levi* as found in Qumran (4QLevi<sup>a</sup> [4Q213]) with the same Testament as found in the Cairo Genizah. The identity of both texts is clear from the shared vocabulary and syntax. The Genizah text, though the self-same as the Qumran one, gives every external appearance of being a text more at home in the medieval Jewish literary tradition that gave rise to Pseudo-Jonathan. He notes that nothing within the text traditions of the Palestinian Targums demonstrates that there never was a Palestinian Targum text. He has argued strongly that we can and must reconstruct “the” Palestinian Targum. He contends that when his own lines of research have been fully explored they will lead us to the first-century CE text of the title of his essay — 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.

Paul V. M. Flesher has a related view on the origin of the Pentateuch Targums. He believes that Julian’s plan to rebuild the Jerusalem temple in 362 provided the impetus for the composition of Pseudo-Jonathan, a targum in his view written for priests by priests. After a detailed study he summarizes his conclusions as follows:<sup>17</sup>

So we have now come full circle, to the point where we can see that the fate of Proto-Onqelos in Palestine and its dialect Jewish Literary Aramaic was intimately linked to the fate of the priestly class. At the earliest stage, prior to the destruction of the temple, Proto-Onqelos was composed under the auspices of the priestly elite in Jerusalem. Following the defeat of Bar Kokhba, the priestly class, along with other Judeans, moved north into Galilee, taking both their dialect and their targum with them. The priests and their targum gained respect, but their dialect did not. So, again under priestly auspices, a new targum — which scholars now call the Palestinian Targum — was written with Proto-Onqelos providing its foundation. The Palestinian Targum became quite popular, being rendered into a number of related versions, of which we now know several. At the same time, some priests kept Proto-

17. Paul V. M. Flesher, “The Literary Legacy of the Priests? The Pentateuchal Targums of Israel in Their Social and Linguistic Context,” in *The Ancient Synagogue from Its Origins until 200 CE*. Edited by Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003), pp. 467-508, at 501-502.

Onqelos and worked to preserve knowledge of its dialect. They were only partly successful in this, for the dialect acquired grammatical features from Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and other dialects of Aramaic and Hebrew. So when *Pseudo-Jonathan* was composed, its main dialect was not the widely accepted and used Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, but a development from Jewish Literary Aramaic which had been preserved within the priestly class, now called Late Jewish Literary Aramaic.

Flesher's position on the priestly origins of Pseudo-Jonathan during the reign of the Emperor Julian (361-363 C.E.) has been argued in detail by his student Beverley P. Mortensen.<sup>18</sup> Robert Hayward had earlier argued against the prevailing late date and anti-Islamic nature of this Targum.<sup>19</sup> In a study of Genesis 21:33 he mentions an early (second-century?) date for the interpretation in Pseudo-Jonathan, as against a later, possibly fourth-century date for the paraphrase of the Palestinian Targums (PVNL).<sup>20</sup> In a study of the figure of Esau in Genesis 27 he rejects the late date and anti-Islamic character of Pseudo-Jonathan, and believes that the paraphrase of this chapter is pre-Islamic.<sup>21</sup> He has also noted some very old, and Second Temple, elements in Pseudo-Jonathan's presentation of the priestly blessing.<sup>22</sup>

## 7. Nature of Targumic Paraphrases

While study of the language, possible origin and transmission history is important, they cannot distract from the chief purpose of the theme of this work which is the Targums as we now have them, in all their complexity both as translations of the Hebrew text and works with added midrash and haggadah.

Examination of different translations of the same Hebrew words in

18. Beverley P. Mortensen, *The Priesthood in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. Renewing the Profession* (Studies in Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 4; Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2006); 2 vols.

19. Robert Hayward, "The Date of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Some Comments," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 40 (1989): 7-30.

20. Robert Hayward, "Abraham as Proselytizer at Beer-Sheba in the Targums of the Pentateuch," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 49 (1998): 24-37.

21. Robert Hayward, "Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Anti-Islamic Polemic," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 34 (1989): 77-93.

22. Robert Hayward, "The Priestly Blessing in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 19 (1999): 7-30.



the Targum of the Minor Prophets and other evidence led Robert Gordon to compare the Targums to a tel, with various strata.<sup>23</sup> Gordon remarks that sensitivity to the tel-like character of Targum is required in our investigation since the extant text probably includes stratified elements representing as much as several centuries of targumic development. Gordon, it appears to me, makes a very valid point, but the principle will hold not for any targum in general, but for specific texts within it. A good part of any targum consists in plain translation of the Hebrew text. The tel-like character may be perceived in certain texts that invite reflection and expansion, and this possibly over decades, even centuries, as the passage in question is made to reflect concerns of a particular generation. We may instance passages from the Pentateuch such as the first chapters of Genesis and other key passages, such as Genesis 15:17 (God's covenant with Abraham), Genesis 22 (the sacrifice of Isaac), the narrative of Isaac and Esau, Abraham's behaviour at Beersheba and the nature of the *'ešel* he planted (Genesis 21:33), Jacob's dream at Bethel (Genesis 28:10-22), Judah's confession concerning Tamar (Genesis 38:24-26), Jacob's last words to his sons (Genesis 49), themes from the books of Exodus and Numbers such as the night of Passover (Exodus 12:42), the well and water in the wilderness, and similar texts from the Prophets. Such are themes that interest Christian readers. Themes of interest to Jewish readers would concern the Law, Moses as example for future judges (Leviticus 24:12; Numbers 9:8; Numbers 15:34 and 27:5, with almost identical midrash at all four texts) and suchlike. It should be noted that attention to a tel-like structure will hold in particular for biblical texts with a single translation (such as Targum of Prophets). For the Palestinian Pentateuch Targums, sometimes with multiple texts, it will be more a matter of redaction criticism, with attention to the variants within the tradition.

In four studies Bruce Chilton has sought to determine the exegetical context of the Isaiah Targum.<sup>24</sup> He is sceptical of the position of Smolar

23. Robert Gordon, *Studies in the Targum of the Twelve Prophets. From Nahum to Malachi* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 152-153.

24. Bruce D. Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible. Jesus' Use of the Interpreted Scripture of His Time* (Good News Studies 8; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1984); Bruce D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum* (The Aramaic Bible 11; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier; Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1987); Bruce D. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel, The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 23; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982); Bruce D. Chilton, "Four Types of Comparison between the Targumim and the New Testament," *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 2 (2000): 163-188.

and Aberbach linking it with Rabbi Akiba. He finds two stages of development in Targum Isaiah, Tannaitic and Amoraic, and a pre-70 and a post-70 Tannaitic stage. He discovers different levels of meaning in the Targum corresponding to its different phases, and believes that at both phases current interpretations of Isaiah were obviously gathered together. It is impossible to know whether a complete Targum was produced at the Tannaitic phase, to be reworked in the Amoraic phase, or whether both Tannaitic and Amoraic phases produced partial Targums, to become a coherent whole when brought together in the Amoraic period. He favors this latter position. Not everyone is convinced by Chilton's analysis and dating of the Isaiah Targum. Similar observations have been made with regard to Targum Neofiti, in which there appear to be more than one level in the text. B. Barry Levy notes that in Neofiti, together with a literal rendition of the text, there are many passages that were added to it in the course of its development and were not part of the original translation, which undoubtedly differed from the present document. The evidence for this claim comes from the literary layering in the text (the seams are, in many cases, still evident) and the linguistic differences evidenced in it. These passages range in size from a word or phrase to a column of text. In his view, while Neofiti may be assumed to contain some older ideas, the bulk of it dates well past the first century CE, and in its final form it appears to be from the Talmudic period.<sup>25</sup>

## 8. Contemporary Approaches to Targums and New Testament. Methodological Considerations<sup>26</sup>

After the Qumran finds and the objections raised against the use of targumic (or rabbinic) material for New Testament study or the study of first-century CE Judaism, many scholars have turned away from the use of the Targums in such studies, although targumic study itself is currently a thriving branch of science. Two notable exceptions to this trend

25. Barry B. Levy, *Targum Neofiti 1: A Textual Study* (Studies in Judaism), vol. 1. *Introduction, Genesis, Exodus* (Lanham, MD, New York, London: University Press of America, 1986); Barry B. Levy, *Targum Neofiti 1: A Textual Study*, vol. 2. *Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy* (Lanham, MD, New York, London: University Press of America, 1987); vol. 1, pp. viii-ix for a summary of his position.

26. For a survey of the decade 1983-1993 see Robert Hayward, "Major Aspects of Targumic Studies 1983-1993: A Survey," *Currents in Research* 2 (1994): 107-122.

are Bruce Chilton and Geza Vermes. The former has written extensively on the Targums (particularly the Targum of Isaiah) and the New Testament, and due to his work the value of targumic evidence even for studies on the historical Jesus is recognized (e.g. by Craig A. Evans).<sup>27</sup> An obvious requirement in a contemporary study of the issue is a clear indication of the methodology being used. All agree that it is not a question of the New Testament being dependent on the Targums (or rabbinic tradition) but rather both being witnesses to an earlier Jewish tradition. Chilton and Vermes each present their understanding of the approach to be taken.

In 1994 Bruce Chilton published an essay with eight theses on the use of Targums in interpreting the New Testament.<sup>28</sup> In these he stresses strongly the late, post-New Testament, date of the Targums. In (1) he notes that the Targums generally were composed after, and without reference to the paramount concerns of, the New Testament. They are post-135/136 CE. The destruction of the Temple (definitively, in AD 135-136) and the consequent crisis in eschatological hope in the restoration of Israel caused the Aramaic interpreters, as representatives of rabbinic Judaism, to confront afresh what the choice of Israel, the Davidic promise, the Temple itself, the coming of the messiah, the predictions of the prophets, and the commands of Torah might mean. (2) The targumic agenda is essentially rabbinic. Rabbis were concerned with how scripture was rendered in the synagogues, and were in the end responsible for the Targums as they can be read today, instancing the presentation of Genesis 22 in the Palestinian Targumim as providing an instance of exegesis comparable to the rabbinic understanding of the passage. (3) Within early and Rabbinic Judaism, the provenience and programme of the Targumim are variegated (from Onqelos to Targum Esther). (4) There is no "Palestinian," "pre-Christian" Targumim. Elements within the Targumim may arguably antedate, or be contemporaneous with, documents of the New Testament, but such a case remains always to be made, and may not be assumed. (5) A targumic approach to the New Testament is to be distinguished

27. Craig A. Evans, "Early Messianic Traditions in the Targums," in Craig A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries. Comparative Studies* (Boston and Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001), pp. 155-181.

28. Bruce D. Chilton, "Eight Theses on the Use of Targums in Interpreting the New Testament," in Bruce Chilton, *Judaic Approaches to the Gospels* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press for the University of South Florida, 1994), pp. 305-315. See also Chilton, "Four Types," pp. 163-188.

from an Aramaic approach. In view of their history, the Targums are of less moment for reconstructing the dialect of Jesus than are the discoveries at Qumran, Naḥal Heber and Murabbaʿat. (6) A Targum of a date later than the New Testament might, on occasion, represent a tradition which was current in the period of the New Testament, albeit not in a targumic context (instancing Pseudo-Jonathan Leviticus 22:18 and Luke 6:36 ("be merciful . . ."). (7) On rare occasions, a Targum might provide us with a tradition which was — at the time of the New Testament — already of an exegetical nature (instancing Targum Isaiah 6:9, 10 in relation to Mark 4:12). His final thesis (no. 8) is that the Targums instance not only traditions which may be reflected in the New Testament, but a process of conveying these traditions which might be illuminating. Once the history of Targumic development is reckoned with, it becomes obvious that their greatest use for the student of the New Testament lies in their provision, not of antecedents, but analogies.

In 1982 Geza Vermes contributed a major essay on reflections and methodology regarding Jewish literature and New Testament exegesis.<sup>29</sup> In the course of this essay Vermes gives his reaction to Joseph Fitzmyer's contention that Qumran Aramaic (and the Aramaic of first century A.D. tomb and ossuary inscriptions) "must be the latest Aramaic that should be used for philological comparison of the Aramaic substratum of the Gospels and Acts,"<sup>30</sup> including consideration of *korban*, *mamōnas*, and *ho huios tou anthrōpou*. He then passes on to the question of methodology. Vermes outlines four possibilities for explaining the similarities between the New Testament and Jewish literature: (1) coincidence, (2) rabbinic borrowing from the New Testament, (3) New Testament dependence on the targum or midrash, and (4) a New Testament passage and a targumic/rabbinic text have their source in "Jewish traditional teaching."<sup>31</sup> Vermes prefers the fourth option, namely, that convergences between the New Testament and the Targum reflect a common Jewish tradition. Vermes believes that instead of looking at the New Testament as an independent unit set against a background of Judaism, we have to see it as part of a larger environment of Jewish religious and cultural history.<sup>32</sup>

29. Geza Vermes, "Jewish Literature and New Testament Exegesis: Reflections and Methodology," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 (1982): 361-376 (at 372-373).

30. Vermes, "Jewish Literature," pp. 364-368.

31. Vermes, "Jewish Literature," pp. 372-373.

32. Vermes, "Jewish Literature," pp. 374-375.

## 9. A Continuum. Targums and Formation of Late Second Temple Jewish Tradition

Other writers express the same idea in slightly different terminology. Thus Craig S. Keener in his recent work on John's Gospel devotes an entire excursus to a discussion of the value of rabbinic texts for Johannine study.<sup>33</sup> In a review of the minimalist and maximalist positions he notes that a minimalist position necessarily excludes much data that reflect a general cultural continuum valuable for such studies as those of the Johannine tradition.<sup>34</sup> A view expressed by rabbis can be used provided it is a view that the rabbis could have derived from the broader continuum of early Judaism. He notes that in his commentary rabbinic literature is treated as one useful strand of evidence by which we seek to reconstruct the broader cultural and social milieu of early Judaism — not as if implying that the New Testament borrows from rabbinic tradition, but that notable commonalities probably reflect a common source in early Judaism or at times in the generally Pharisaic movement of scholars that coalesced into rabbinic Judaism.<sup>35</sup> He also wisely observes that “if sayings or ideas rapidly became the property of the community, their sources could be more ancient than the specific rabbis who first cited them or to whom they were attributed (from whom those reporting them first heard the account).”<sup>36</sup>

It is important to situate the targumic tradition in as far as possible in the interpretative, midrashic and haggadic tradition of late Judaism from the time of Ezra (ca. 450 BCE) to ca. 100 or 200 CE, and as an extension of this. Some of these works, such as Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon, continue and develop the earlier wisdom tradition. Others are compositions of a sectarian or semi-sectarian nature (e.g. the Book of Jubilees). Others of the many pseudepigraphic works (63 in James H. Charlesworth's two-volume edition)<sup>37</sup> represent a great diversity of genres, among them expansions of the “Old Testament” and legends. Many of these works can-

33. Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John. A Commentary*, 2 vols. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003); the excursus vol. 1, pp. 185-194.

34. Craig, *The Gospel of John*, vol. 1, p. 190.

35. Craig, *The Gospel of John*, vol. 1, pp. 186-187.

36. Craig, *The Gospel of John*, vol. 1, p. 189.

37. James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd), 2 vols. Vol. 1: *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, 1983; vol. 2: *Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, 1985.

not be ascribed to any particular group within Judaism, in part because we know too little of the groups to do so. Possibly they reflect generally held views on the biblical message. Laws governing development of tradition during this period have not yet been developed, but many of the texts expand or retell the biblical text in a variety of ways. From the point of view of targumic tradition notable among these works is the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo,<sup>38</sup> some of whose traditions and interpretations originate in deep reflection on the Bible, linking texts similar to one another to form a new vision of Israel's past or future. The interpretative tradition of the Greek translations such as the LXX, Symmachus<sup>39</sup> and others may also be helpful. Such a history of an exegetical tradition can work either for the antiquity of a targumic paraphrase, or against it, as Robert Hayward believes is the case for the Palestinian Targum paraphrase of Genesis 21:33 in which Abraham is presented as a proselytizer, which Hayward regards as fourth-century CE thinking, rather than that of the Second Temple period.<sup>40</sup>

## 10. Renewed Interest in Targums and New Testament

Although use of the targums in New Testament studies has decreased considerably over the past decades, due in good part to the problem of dating their traditions, targumic studies themselves have flourished as a branch of Jewish learning. Bibliographies on the targums have been compiled by Bernard Grossfeld and others.<sup>41</sup> A *Newsletter of Targum Studies* (1974-1975; the title later changed to *Newsletter of Targumic and Cognate Studies*), ed-

38. There is a translation of the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo, with introduction, bibliography and notes by Daniel J. Harrington: "Pseudo-Philo (first century A.D.)," in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, pp. 297-377. See also Frederick J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

39. On Symmachus see Alison Salvesen, "Symmachus and the Dating of Targumic Traditions," *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 2 (2000): 233-245.

40. Robert Hayward, "Abraham as Proselytizer," pp. 24-37.

41. Bernard Grossfeld, *A Bibliography of Targum Literature* (Bibliographia Judaica, number 2; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College/New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1972); *A Bibliography of Targum Literature*, volume 2 (Bibliographia Judaica, number 8, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College/New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1977); *A Bibliography of Targum Literature*, vol. 3 (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1990); also those already mentioned: Peter Nickels, *Targum and New Testament. A Bibliography*, 1967; J. T. Forestell, *Targumic Traditions and the New Testament*, 1979.

ited over its first years by Professors W. E. Aufrecht and Ernest Clarke of the University of Toronto, and later by Paul V. M. Flesher of the University of Wyoming and (2007) by Chris Brady of Pennsylvania State University, has kept interested students abreast of the latest developments. At an international conference on “The Aramaic Bible. Targums in Their Historical Setting,” held in Dublin in 1992, an international organization for Targum studies (IOTS) was established, which meets once every three years in conjunction with the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT). While targumic studies themselves are flourishing, relatively few papers on the targums and the New Testament are read at the triennial meetings of the international organization for targum studies, although there has been a change in more recent years. As will be seen in some of the areas covered below, interest in the relevance of the Targums for an understanding of the New Testament is again being manifested, with regard to the *logos* of the Fourth Gospel, and other themes and motifs in John and other Gospels.

This coincides with a renewed interest in tracing rabbinic traditions of the New Testament, pre-70 CE period. Recent studies on the parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity pay attention, as one would expect, to the sources admissible in such an enterprise. In his recent work *Ancient Judaism and Christianity: Diversity, Continuity and Transformation*,<sup>42</sup> in keeping with the title, George W. E. Nickelsburg seeks to present what he considers the Jewish context of earliest Christianity. He almost entirely excludes Rabbinic, and related, Judaism, noting that an older generation of New Testament scholars painted early Christianity against a backdrop of a Judaism reconstructed mainly from later rabbinic material (Mishnah, Talmudim and Midrash). Instead, he concentrates on earlier sources, mainly apocrypha, pseudepigrapha and the Dead Sea Scrolls. On the other hand Daniel Boyarin in his very important work *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*,<sup>43</sup> in a detailed study in Part II of his work, makes a substantial case that Christianity’s developing Logos Christology should be seen as closely parallel to Judaism’s (the Targums’) Memra theology. It is a point to which we shall return further below. An-

42. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism and Christianity: Diversity, Continuity and Transformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003).

43. Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). Another work on the Memra has recently been published: John L. Ronning, *The Jewish Targums and John’s Logos Theology* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2010).

other matter of interest to a number of contemporary Old Testament scholars is the apparent inner development in the material now presented in individual canonical books. An obvious case is the lengthy transmission and formation history of the Isaianic tradition, now enshrined in the sixty-six chapters of the canonical Book of Isaiah.<sup>44</sup> Similar development is perceived by some scholars with regard to the Pentateuch, especially in the parallel material in the books of Leviticus and Numbers, indicating a parallel development of particular traditions before these became fixed in our present canonical text, and already in existence before the Hebrew text was translated into Greek (by the mid-third century BCE). Similar developments have been noted in Qumranic legal texts, indicating that the exegetical and reflective operation continued.

It may be that the time has come to re-evaluate the possible contribution that the Targums may have for the study of Judaism of the New Testament period and of the New Testament itself.

## 11. Comparison of Qumran and Targumic Evidence for New Testament Study

The vast contribution made by the Qumran finds for many aspects of New Testament study is accepted as evident, so much so in fact that rabbinic or targumic evidence has in recent decades tended to be neglected or regarded as irrelevant. Certain deficiencies of the Qumran evidence in this field may profitably be borne in mind. There is more to language than lexical forms. There are terminology, phraseology, the background matrix to which language gives expression and some other matters besides. Qumran does not have the phraseology of the Gospels, such as merit, good works, this world, world to come, Father in heaven. It may also have lacked some of the Aramaic terms attested in the Gospels. One is the term *ṭalitah* (Mk 5:41: *ṭalitha kōum*), not in Qumran vocabulary, but surely corresponding to *ṭlyh* (*ṭalyah*) (absolute state), *ṭalita* (*ṭaly<sup>e</sup>ta*) found in one branch of the Palestinian Targum texts (in Neofiti Margins, 19 times; none of the texts is preserved in any Fragment Targum). In these texts Onqelos has *ʿwlymta* (*ʿûl<sup>e</sup>mîta*), as does Pseudo-Jonathan, which may be presumed to have been the term used in Qumran as well; Neofiti in the main text has *rbyth*

44. See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book. Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 2006).



(*r<sup>e</sup>bîta*). The main text of Neofiti does not have the feminine form *ṭlyt*’, but the masculine *ṭly*, *ṭly*’, “child, lamb” is frequent there.

There are a number of ways in which one could study the question of a possible relationship of the Targums to the New Testament. One is through examination of individual themes (for instance, the Binding of Isaac, the Passover Night, Judah’s Confession regarding Tamar). Such an approach would permit detailed examination of relationships, but has the disadvantage of being too limited in scope.

In the present work I intend to take various approaches, examining the question of general phraseology, concepts common in the Gospel, and, as well as this, going in greater detail into some individual themes and motifs.

## CHAPTER 1

### *Ancient Jewish Writings*

#### 1. Introduction

Over the past century and a half scholars have turned to the literatures of many nations in their effort to elucidate problems arising from the writings of the New Testament. Egyptian, Babylonian and Iranian traditions have by some been considered to have influenced the New Testament, as have also Greek and Jewish traditions.

The arguments for Egyptian or Babylonian influences were at best weak. What slight evidence for Babylonian contacts there may be would at most indicate an indirect and remote influence, that is, through a prior influence on Jewish religion and thought. And the same can be said for the parallels brought forward from Iranian religion and civilization.

A much stronger case can be advanced for Hellenistic Greek influence on the New Testament writers. There was a strong Hellenistic influence in Palestine from the second century BCE, and even earlier. In New Testament times the league of Greek culture cities known as the Decapolis was very much a reality, and one of them, Gadara, was home to important Greek philosophers and poets. The philosophy and practices of Cynicism may have gained a footing in Palestine. The apostle Paul was a Roman citizen from Tarsus who expressly declares he became Greek to the Greeks. The entire Johannine tradition (the Fourth Gospel, the three Letters and the Apocalypse of John) was probably formed in Asia Minor. Luke was a well-educated Greek, and the First Gospel, as well as the Gospel of Mark, were first written in Greek. The gospel tradition may well have adopted Greek ways of thought in an effort to make it meaningful to the Greek-

speaking world. There are many who maintain that such in fact was the case and that in the New Testament we find many concepts taken over from Hellenistic civilization, such as saviour, redemption, liberty, freedom of speech (*parrēsia*), and Lord (in speaking of Christ as Lord, *Kyrios*). Even the noun *euangelion* ("good tidings), the Greek term for Gospel, is believed by some modern scholars to have been formed to counter the same term in the imperial Roman cult.

There is, of course, no *a priori* reason why such should not have been the case. In matters of this nature we must go on the available evidence alone. Yet we can never lose sight of the fact that the preaching of the gospel had its origins within Judaism. Christ and the Apostles were Jews. The gospel tradition, too, was formed in a Jewish atmosphere within Palestine during the early years of the nascent Church. And this tradition was formed by persons who for the greater part were themselves Jews. And even when Christianity moved beyond Palestine to the Greek world, it was brought there by Jews. They may have preached to Greeks but they would naturally have thought as Hebrews.

While Hellenistic influence can by no means be excluded *a priori*, its importance should not be exaggerated. It may well be that what at first sight appears Greek may on more detailed analysis be shown as typically Jewish. And in point of fact such has often been the case, at least as far as the *immediate* source of the concepts in question go. In some cases there may be a remote Greek influence, in so far as Judaism had already assimilated a number of Greek ideas. It is natural, in any event, that we should explore Judaism to the full to see what light it has to shed on the New Testament. It is the most likely source for immediate influence on the New Testament writers, and so far it has proved by far the richest source for New Testament parallels.

It is not sufficient, however, to say that parallels to New Testament texts, to passages from the Gospels in particular, are to be sought in Judaism rather than in Hellenism. Judaism in the New Testament period had a variety of currents within it. One must also seek to determine to what particular form of Judaism the New Testament writings are most closely related, to see which form has influenced these writings the most. This approach will have a bearing not merely on the interpretation of individual texts but on our overall view of the New Testament and its relation to the Jewish religion. Before this can be done, however, the relation of the New Testament to the individual forms of Jewish religion must first be considered.

As an aid to this we review the literature that appears to have been available in Palestine in the first century of our era, and which may have influenced in one way or another in the formation and formulation of the New Testament writings.

## 2. Jewish Apocalyptic

Apocalyptic writings were composed in Judaism from the second century BCE to the second century CE. The best-known works in this class of literature are the book of Daniel and the Apocalypse — the former from the Old Testament, the latter from the New. But apart from these two canonical writings we have a number of apocryphal apocalyptic books, such as the Book of Jubilees, the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Fourth Esdras and Second Baruch. While the apocalyptic writings differ considerably among themselves, they have in common that, by a literary device, history up to the time of the apocalyptic writer (and original reader) is presented as revelation made to some prominent figure of Israel's past (Enoch, Moses, Esdras, Baruch, et al.), a revelation supposedly to be kept secret until later times, generally that of the actual authors of the works themselves. In these writings revelation (in Greek *apokalypsis*, whence the name "apocalyptic") plays a major role and comes to the "seer" through the opening of the heavens, visions, communications through angels, etc. Apocalyptic also indulges in "revelations" on the messianic age and on the end of the world.

The importance of Jewish apocalyptic for an understanding of certain sections of the New Testament cannot be denied. But neither should the influence of this form of literature on the New Testament be exaggerated. The apocalyptic writers were somewhat off the mainstream of Judaism and they cannot be taken to represent the normal religious teaching of their age. Their religious ideas were peculiar to themselves rather than the common beliefs of the people within which, according to our evidence, Christianity arose. Sometimes the presence of certain apocalyptic teaching in the New Testament may be explained by the presence of apocalyptic elements in general Jewish culture rather than by a direct dependence of the New Testament on the works of the apocalyptic writers.

A certain caution is also necessary in the use of some of those apocalyptic works which show the most marked resemblance to the New Testament, a caution due to the uncertainty of the date to be ascribed to these

works or to the relevant sections of them. This is particularly true of the parable section of the Book of Enoch (chapters 37–71) with its speculations on the Son of Man. The same holds for much of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. It is not in the least certain whether the close relationship between these works and the New Testament is to be explained through dependence of the New Testament on them or through dependence of the relevant sections of the works in question on the text of the New Testament. It is quite possible that the works in question are really Christian compositions on the basis of Jewish documents or traditions. An argument in favour of this latter viewpoint comes from Qumran where fragments of all sections of the Book of Enoch have been found, except that of the parables, and where fragments of a Testament of Levi and of a Testament of Naphtali have shown up, but no evidence whatever of Testaments for all Twelve Patriarchs. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs may then very well be a Christian composition, as it certainly has at least a number of Christian interpolations. Contemporary scholars, however, tend to regard the parable section of the Book of Enoch (chapters 37–71) as of Jewish origin, but from the second half of the first century.

In comparing the Gospels, or the New Testament in general, with any given form of Judaism we must consider the points in which the two differ as well as those in which they agree. And from this point of view we can say that much of the language and many of the concepts of the New Testament are nowhere found in the apocalyptic writings. We fail to find in them, for instance, such expressions as “Father in heaven,” “merit before your Father in heaven,” etc. In this, Christ does not use the language of apocalyptic. We must turn elsewhere for a literature which will use this language.

### 3. Jewish Writings of the Period 200 BCE–200 CE: Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

The sources on which one has to draw are the Hebrew Bible, the extra books (Apocrypha, Deuterocanonicals) of the Greek Old Testament and the Pseudepigrapha. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha have been edited in English translation by R. H. Charles,<sup>1</sup> and a much wider collection

1. Robert H. Charles (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913; reprint, vol. 1, 1973; vol. 2, 1976).

of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha by J. H. Charlesworth in 1983 and 1985.<sup>2</sup> The Pseudepigrapha as edited by J. H. Charlesworth represent a great diversity of genres and have been classified in his edition as Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments; Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works.

Most of these pseudepigrapha have been transmitted in the Christian Church, rather than by Jews, and in translation (mainly Greek, Ethiopic, Syriac, Georgian, Armenian, Latin, Irish) rather than in their original language of composition, although the original Semitic originals of some of them have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. A question arising with regard to individual writings among the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is whether it is in whole or in part a Christian rather than a Jewish composition, or at least has been influenced or recast by a Christian hand. Even when regarded as of Jewish origin, the original language (Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek) and exact place of origin (Palestine, the Diaspora) can present a problem. Such questions will need to be considered for each of the works as occasion demands.

While we are chiefly interested in works composed in Palestine and in Hebrew or Aramaic, attention will also be paid to works written in Greek and outside of Palestine when those can be supposed to show contact with Palestinian Jewish tradition.

#### 4. The Dead Sea Scrolls

The total number of manuscripts recovered from the Dead Sea area from 1947 onwards amounts to about 800.<sup>3</sup> Of these 250 are copies of various

2. James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd). Vol. 1. *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, 1983; vol. 2. *Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, 1985.

3. English translations of the Scrolls, with introductions and notes, can be found in Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English*. Second Edition (Leiden-New York-Cologne: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996); Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*; revised and extended fourth edition (Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 1995); Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr., & Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation* (San Francisco/London: HarperCollins, 1966). All the non-biblical texts in the original languages, with English translation, are presented in

biblical books. So little of the text of 275 to 300 of the others has been preserved that they reveal little or nothing with regard to content.<sup>4</sup> The remaining manuscripts contain a variety of texts, most of them hitherto unknown. These can be grouped under the following broad headings: Community rules; halakhic texts; literature with eschatological content; exegetical literature; parabiblical literature; poetic texts; liturgical texts; astronomical texts, calendars and horoscopes.<sup>5</sup> It is generally agreed that these manuscripts represent the library of a monastic community at Qumran. The group, initiated apparently by a person referred to as “The Teacher of Righteousness,” broke with the Judaism of the Jerusalem Temple about 140 BCE, and withdrew to Qumran. The writings, whether biblical or otherwise, were seen by the community as connected with their tradition, their prehistory and later history. The manuscripts appear to have been deposited in the caves by the Dead Sea in 68 CE on the advance of the Roman armies towards Jerusalem. Not all the works were composed by the Qumran community. Some of them, such as texts of the Books of Enoch and possibly Jubilees, predate the community. Others do not appear to present any sectarian views. Many of them, however, contain the halakhah, the religious views and eschatological outlook of the Qumran community. The manuscripts date from the third century BCE to the first century CE, shortly before the works were deposited in the caves. A number of the commentaries on Scripture, seeing the biblical text as referring to their own community, were composed in the first century CE. How widely views expressed in these writings were known or shared by Jews elsewhere in Palestine and outside can only be a matter of speculation.

## 5. Jewish Literary Documents in Palestine First Century CE

I here treat of Galilee and Judea as one entity from the religious and literary point of view, going on the view that New Testament Galilee represents in the main the continuation of a settlement there by Jews from Judea about 100 BCE or so.<sup>6</sup> When we speak of the use of literary documents in

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Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*. Study Edition. 2 vols. with continuous pagination (Leiden/Boston/Cologne: Brill; Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997, 1998).

4. See Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, p. xxiv.

5. Following the headings used by García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*.

6. Present-day scholarship devotes particular attention to the geographical and cul-

this period the limits of our knowledge of relevant facts must be borne in mind. Outside of the Qumran community, we do not know what literary circles existed, how widespread literacy was, or how information was disseminated. However, there are indications that with regard to non-biblical material, older texts were being copied, and new works were being composed. This is true in particular of apocalyptic texts. The apocalyptic literary movement continued. Texts of the books of *Enoch* (all but the *Similitudes*, *Enoch* 37–71) continued to be copied in Qumran. The author of the New Testament Letter of Jude (Jude 14–15) explicitly cites *1 Enoch* 1:9. The work variously known as the *Assumption of Moses* and *The Testament of Moses* has clear references to Maccabean times, to Herod the Great and his son, and possibly to later Jewish history.<sup>7</sup> Some authors would consider the section with regard to Herod the Great as a first-century interpolation and date the work to Maccabean times. In either view the *Assumption of Moses* is still evidence for creative literary activity in the first century CE. The apocalyptic works *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*, from about 100 CE (roughly contemporary with the canonical Apocalypse of John), are further proof of continued creativity with regard to compositions in this literary genre.<sup>8</sup> As other works most probably composed in Palestine during the first century

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tural situation in New Testament Palestine, to the Jewishness of Galilee from the Hasmonean settlement there from the end of the second century BCE onwards. See in particular Jonathan L. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus. A Re-examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity, 2000), esp. pp. 23–53; Sean Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels. Literary Approaches and Historical Investigations* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988); Sean Freyne, *Jesus, A Jewish Galilean. A New Reading of the Jesus-Story* (London-New York: T&T Clark International, 2004); Sean Freyne, “The Ethos of First Century Galilee,” *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 17 (1994): 69–80; Sean Freyne, *Galilee and Gospel. Selected Essays* (WUNT 125; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2000 [esp. pp. 1–25: brief account of the history of Galilean scholarship, including archaeology of the region]); Mark Rapinchuk, “The Galilee and Jesus in Recent Research,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 2/2 (2004): 197–222 (with a summary of some of the research on Galilee and the “historical Jesus” question over the preceding two decades).

7. For a translation of the text, with introduction and notes, see J. Priest, “Testament of Moses (First Century A.D.),” in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, pp. 919–934. See also James C. VanderKam, *An Introduction to Early Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2001), pp. 113–115.

8. Translation of *4 Ezra*, with introduction and notes, by B. M. Metzger, “The Fourth Book of Ezra (Later First Century A.D.),” in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, pp. 517–559; of *2 Baruch* by A. F. J. Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch (Early Second Century A.D.),” in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, pp. 615–652. See also VanderKam, *An Introduction*, pp. 45–48.



I may instance the *Apocalypse of Abraham*,<sup>9</sup> the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo,<sup>10</sup> the *Life of Adam and Eve* (*The Apocalypse of Moses*), the *Lives of the Prophets*,<sup>11</sup> the *Testament of Abraham*<sup>12</sup> and possibly *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*,<sup>13</sup> and *The Similitudes (Parables) of Enoch* (1 Enoch 37–71).<sup>14</sup>

## 6. Rabbinic Judaism<sup>15</sup>

The favourite source of parallels for the New Testament has long been rabbinic writings such as the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the Talmud and the midrashim. How rich these are in illustrative material is clear from the four dense volumes of Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck (actually entirely the work of Billerbeck alone): *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*<sup>16</sup> (a work now recognized as having severe limitations). Since sections of the rabbinic writings are closely related to the targums —

9. English translation, with introduction and notes, by R. Rubinkiewicz, “Apocalypse of Abraham (First to Second Century A.D.),” in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, pp. 681–705.

10. English translation, with introduction and notes, by D. J. Harrington, “Pseudo-Philo (First Century A.D.),” in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, pp. 297–377.

11. English translation, with introduction and notes, by D. R. A. Hare, “The Lives of the Prophets (First Century A.D.),” in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, pp. 379–399.

12. English translation, with introduction and notes, by E. P. Sanders, “Testament of Abraham (First to Second Century A.D.),” in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, pp. 871–902.

13. Translation, with introduction and notes, by H. C. Kee, “Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (Second Century B.C.),” in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, pp. 775–826. See also VanderKam, *Introduction*, pp. 100–103.

14. Translation of the entire *Book of Enoch*, with introduction and notes, by E. Isaac, in James H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, pp. 5–89 (the *Similitudes*, chaps. 37–71, pp. 29–56). On the *Similitudes* or *Parables of Enoch* see also VanderKam, *Introduction*, pp. 110–112 (“the *Similitudes* may have been written at the end of the first century BCE or early in the first century”).

15. See Günter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996); H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991); Jacob Neusner, *Judaism. The Evidence of the Mishnah*, 2nd augmented edition (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

16. Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 4 vols. (Munich: Beck, 1922–1928; reprint 1961).

to which the present work is entirely devoted — and seeing that in the course of this work occasional reference will be made to midrash and to the rabbinic writings, a few words on the nature of these rabbinic works will not be out of place here.

Present-day Judaism is the continuation of the religion and culture of the combination of work of the scribes and the Pharisees which began as a unified movement after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple by the Romans in 70 CE. The combination that gave rise to this movement is so great that it merits special consideration here. The Pharisees are first mentioned by Josephus for the reign of John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE). The origins of the Pharisaic movement are not quite clear. The only mention of them is in the New Testament (Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, and Paul), Josephus and occasionally in rabbinic writings. Some scholars believe that, like the Essenes, their origins are connected with the Hasidaeans of Maccabean times (*ca.* 164 BCE; see 1 Macc 2:42). Their origins may be more complex, and with a certain Babylonian connection. A prominent feature of the movement according to Josephus and the New Testament is that they were “the most accurate interpreters of the laws” (*War* 2,162; see also *Antiquities* 17,41; *Life* 191; Acts 22:3; see also 23:6). Another point noted is their transmission of a tradition of their own considered very ancient. Josephus notes that “the Pharisees had passed on to the people certain regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the Laws of Moses” (*Antiquities* 13,297; see 13,408). It is this that Mark 7:5, in speaking of the Pharisees and some of the scribes, refers to as “the tradition of the elders” (see Matt 15:2). Another point that emerges from Josephus’s references to the Pharisees is their influence in political matters and over the masses. When Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE) broke with the Pharisees he decided “to abrogate the regulations they had established for the people, and punish those who observed them” (*Antiquities* 13,296; see fuller text in 13,291-298). Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE) treated them harshly, but on his deathbed he urged his successor and wife Alexandra “to yield a certain amount of power to the Pharisees, for if they praised her in return for this sign of regard, they would dispose the nation favourably toward her” (*Antiquities* 13,401), telling her that they had great authority among the Jews, both to do hurt to such as they hated and bring advantage to those to whom they were friendly disposed. They were restored to favour by Salome Alexandra (76-67 BCE), and their regulations were restored (*Antiquities* 13,405-409): “while she had the title of sovereign, the Pharisees had the power” (*Antiquities* 13,409). While opposed to Herod, in politics the

Pharisees were realists, apparently non-messianic, and opposed to violent resistance to Roman rule. Their numbers as an organized group were probably small. According to Josephus (*Antiquities* 17,2,42) during the reign of Herod there were about 6000 of them, and the same may hold true for the greater part of the first century. But their influence appears to have been immense, through the numbers of those who adhered to their vision of Jewish religion. They were in some sense heirs to Ezra and his promulgation of the Mosaic Law, and heirs to the Apocalyptic tradition in their belief in the resurrection and afterlife, but were known especially for their devotion to a “tradition of the elders,” that is, a set of religious observances known as the oral law, which they believed went back to Moses on Sinai. They were a lay, not a priestly, movement, and had as aim the applying of their own tradition of priestly laws concerning purity, food and marriage in order to separate, protect and identify Judaism, thus producing a priestly, Temple, spirituality outside of the Temple, introducing their own traditions regarding washing of hands, tithing and suchlike to the biblical laws on the matter. While their regulations were not for many of the ordinary Jews, the *‘am hā’āreṣ* as they are called, it appears that the Pharisees’ view of Judaism was shared by many of the scribes, even if these did not formally belong to the Pharisee “party.”

While rabbinic tradition (of which Pharisaism forms part) seems to trace its history back to the third century BCE,<sup>17</sup> the teachers of this movement in its early period are known as Tannaim (and their era tannaitic), listed as five generations from 10 CE to ca. 220 CE. The earlier period (To), or pre-tannaitic, goes from the third century BCE to the early years of our era (10 CE). The first generation of Tannaim (T1) runs from ca. 10 to 80 CE. During the first century BCE we have evidence of differences between the schools of Hillel (the Elder) and Shammai (the Elder) on matters of Pharisaic/Rabbinic law, Hillel being the more liberal and lenient of the two. Both these teachers are described as Pharisees. The details of their differences (the House of Hillel and the House of Shammai) were collected and were apparently being redacted during the early first century CE. From the first generation of Tannaim (T1, 10-80 CE) we have the Pharisee Rabban Gamaliel (I, the Elder), the teacher of Saul of Tarsus according to the Acts of the Apostles (22:3; see also Acts 5:34). From the same generation we also

17. The Mishnah tractate *Aboth* 1:1-2 traces it back to “the men of the Great Synagogue” and Simeon the Just. The identity of this Simeon is debated: whether Simeon I, ca. 280 BCE, or Simeon 2, ca. 200 BCE.

have Rabban (Rabbi) Johanan ben Zakkai, also a Pharisee. Twenty-two rabbinic teachers from this generation of Tannaim are known. It appears that during the first six decades of the first century there must have been rather intense study, and in part redaction, of the Pharisaic/rabbinic tradition.<sup>18</sup>

Disaster struck Judaism with the Jewish Revolt of 66-70 CE and the destruction of Jerusalem in 70. Johanan ben Zakkai succeeded in getting out of beleaguered Jerusalem with permission to set up his school at Javne (Jamnia), between Jaffa and Ascalon, eight miles from the sea. He was joined by other scholars, and there they set about consolidating what remained of Judaism and codifying their legal tradition. After the Second Revolt and its defeat in 135 CE the school moved to Usha near Mount Carmel.

With the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, the Sadducees and the Essenes practically pass from the scene, and of the three major Jewish religious groups the Pharisees alone remain. The rabbis, the religious teachers of this class, immediately set themselves the task of reorganizing Judaism for the future. The outcome of this development, and the culmination of a process that had been operative for some centuries before the Christian era, can be seen in the works already referred to: the Mishnah and Tosefta.

Characteristic of the scribes and Pharisees, as of their successors the rabbis, was their insistence on the oral law. This embraced an entire complex of new legislation which had developed over a long period in an effort to keep men from transgressing the letter of the written Law of Moses. This oral law they themselves refer to as "tradition," "the tradition (or traditions) of the elders." It is the "traditions of the scribes and Pharisees" referred to in the Gospels (see Mark 7:5; Matthew 15:2, 6). It was their way of life; the way in which they set themselves to walk. Since the Hebrew word for "to go," "to walk," is *halak*, custom, traditional law, or the traditional interpretation of a written law is known as *halakhah* (plural: *halakhoth*).

The main preoccupation of the rabbis was with the legalistic side of their tradition. During the New Testament period the understanding of it was very much debated among them. The development went on after the fall of Jerusalem, and the long process finally resulted in a multiplicity of

18. Attempts are being made to reconstruct the rabbinic traditions of the first century of our era. See David Instone-Brewer, *Traditions of the Rabbis from the Era of the New Testament*. Volume I: *Prayer and Agriculture* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2004).

enactments on every aspect of Jewish life. The need for some form of codification was evident. Preliminary collections of laws finally led to an authoritative text by Rabbi Judah the Patriarch (R. Judah *ha-nasi*) about A.D. 180. This authoritative code of Jewish law, which will serve as the basis of still later development, is known as the *Mishnah*. In it all the laws are brought under six heads, constituting six large divisions, called *orders*: (1) *Zera'im* ("Agriculture," literally "Seeds"); (2) *Mo'ed* ("Set Feasts"); (3) *Nashim* ("Women"); (4) *Nezikin* ("Damages"); (5) *Kodashim* ("Holy Things"); (6) *Toharoth* ("Cleanlinesses"). Within each of these orders there are minor divisions, called *tractates*, dealing with specific subjects. Thus, for instance, within the second major division we find among others the tractates *Shabbath* ("The Sabbath") and *Megillah* ("The Scroll" [of Esther]). The Mishnah is cited according to tractate, not order; e.g. *Meg. (Megillah)* 4:2.

Generally the Mishnah restricts itself to a concise formulation of halakhah with little preoccupation to found the laws on Scripture or to connect them with biblical texts. The ultimate formulations found in the Mishnah are presumably the outcome of many discussions. Yet we find relatively few records of debates in its text and very few anecdotes are given. The original purpose of the Mishnah, for what purpose it was intended, is an old problem: whether a collection of sources, a teaching manual or a law code of current halakhah.<sup>19</sup> In any case, in the compilation a good amount of earlier halakhah and halakhic opinions seems to have been purposely omitted.

Such material omitted from the Mishnah is called *Barayta* (plural, "baraytot"; "external" or "excluded"), traditions which claim to date from Mishnaic times but which are not preserved in the Mishnah but in the work known as the *Tosefta* ("Addition," "Supplement"). It is uncertain whether the Tosefta developed earlier or later or generally contemporaneously with the Mishnah. Scholarly opinion is divided on the matter. Probably they both developed independently from some point in the second century. The Tosefta as we now have it, however, is certainly dependent on the Mishnah, and its redaction was completed about 400 CE. Sometimes a *barayta* consisted of abstract halakhoth; at other times it was in the nature of exposition, illustration, scriptural explanation, or discussion bearing on the laws which in the Mishnah are recorded without comment.

19. See H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*. Translated by Markus Bockmuehl (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), pp. 151-54.

The *Tosefta* has the same divisions into orders and tractates as R. Judah's Mishnah, but the tractates do not always follow the same sequence. Sometimes the text of the *Tosefta* is verbally identical with that of the Mishnah; much found in the Mishnah is omitted in the *Tosefta* or is found there in a brief and obscure fashion. As noted, it presupposes the Mishnah; and, apparently, it intends to preserve material omitted from it.

The following example will illustrate the relation of the two works. Mishnah *Sukkot* ("The Feast of Tabernacles") 4:9, when speaking of the rite of the pouring out of water which took place every day for seven days during the festival, tells us that when the procession carrying the water arrived from the Pool of Shiloah at the Water Gate of the Temple a plain note was sounded on the shofar. The *Tosefta* (*t. Sukkah* 3:3-14) takes occasion of mention of the Water Gate to recall the various biblical references to wells and to water; the prophecies of the rivers of water to flow from the Temple in messianic times (Ezek 47:3-16; Isa 33:21; Zech 13:1; 14:8); the well that followed the Israelites during their desert wanderings (Num 21:17-18; cf. 1 Cor 10:4). All these texts were probably recalled during the ceremony. Their use in the liturgy explains how on the occasion of this feast Christ said in the Temple: "If anyone thirsts let him come to me, and let him who believes in me drink. As the Scripture has said: Out of his heart shall flow rivers of living water" (John 7:37-38).

Jewish teachers of the age which produced the Mishnah (*ca.* 10-220 CE) are known as *Tannaim* ("Traditionists" or generally "Teachers"), those of the period following on it as *Amoraim* ("Expositors"). They, too, are arranged in generations: Palestinian Amoraim, five generations (PA1, 220-250 CE to PA5, 320-350 CE); Babylonian Amoraim, seven generations (BA1 220-250 CE to BA7, 460-500 CE).

During this latter period (250-420 CE) the Mishnah of R. Judah was expounded in the Jewish schools of Palestine and Babylonia. This later exposition of the Mishnah — known as *Gemara* — together with the Mishnah itself is known as the Talmud. As we have an exposition (*Gemara*) from Palestine and another from Babylonia, so, too, have we two talmuds: the Babylonian Talmud and the Palestinian Talmud (the latter also known as the Talmud of Jerusalem). The *Gemara* studies the Mishnah text in detail, and on the occasion of the discussions a host of Baraytot and legendary material was introduced.

The Babylonian Talmud is cited according to the Mishnah tractate commented on, and the folio of the Hebrew printed text; e.g. *b. Shabbath* 118b. The Palestinian Talmud is cited according to the Mishnah tractate,

preceded by *j.* (i.e. Jerusalem) or *Pal.* (Palestine) and followed by chapter and paragraph of the Mishnah tractate commented on, plus folio of printed edition, or by one of these only; e.g. *j.* (or *Pal.*) *Yoma* 3,6,40c; *j.* (*Pal.*) *Yoma* 3,6; or *Jer.* (*Pal.*) *Yoma* 40c.

## 7. Rabbinic Midrash

Rabbinic Midrash must now be considered. We have seen how the Mishnah makes no attempt to base its laws on the Bible. This enunciation of halakhah without reference to scriptural foundation is often referred to as the Mishnah method. The rabbis, nonetheless, were keenly interested in the Bible and in its interpretation. Any rabbinic interpretation of the Bible could be called *midrash* (a word coming from the Hebrew verb *darash*, “to seek,” “to search out,” “to interpret Scripture”). In rabbinic Judaism two forms of biblical interpretation are known. The first is *peshat* (“simple”), i.e. the simple or literal sense of Scripture, the determination of what the plain sense of a biblical text is. The other is *derash* which sought to go beyond the plain sense to find hidden meanings in the text. *Derash* can also be called *midrash*. Midrash properly so called is, however, any consideration of the biblical text with a view to rendering its message alive and meaningful for later generations. Its point of departure is the text of Scripture which it seeks to actualize in various ways. This it can do in two distinct manners: in a legalistic and non-legalistic fashion. We thus have two kinds of midrash: *midrash halakhah* and *midrash haggadah*. Midrash halakhah is the derivation from, or confirmation by Scripture of the rules of the oral unwritten law. Midrash haggadah is the non-juristic interpretation of Scripture.

*Haggadah* in this sense is the non-juristic teaching of Scripture as brought out in the profounder study of the biblical text’s religious, moral and historical teaching. It was held in high regard in Judaism; in a rabbinic work (*Sifre Deut* 11:22) we read: “Those who interpret the implications of Scripture say: If you wish to know the Creator of the world, learn Haggadah; from it you will come to know God and cleave to his ways.” With a view to rendering the religious message of the Bible clearer, this form of interpretation tends to indulge in anecdotes and in the use of legendary material. These non-historical elements are often referred to as *haggadoth* (the plural of *haggadah*).

This midrashic interpretation (both halakhic and haggadic) was in

time consigned to writing in works known as *midrashim* (the plural of *midrash*). We find the earlier halakhic midrashim in the *Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael* (on the book of Exodus), in *Sifra* on Leviticus, in *Sifre* on Numbers and Deuteronomy and in other works. These are regarded as coming from the tannaitic period, redacted shortly after the Mishnah and the Tosefta.

From the later Amoraic period we have the oldest exegetical midrashim, chief among which is *Genesis* (or *Bereshit*) *Rabbah*, compiled very probably around 400 CE. This exegetical midrash on Genesis offers partly explanations of words and sentences, sometimes short, other times elaborate haggadic interpretations and expositions, often only loosely connected with the text. The compiler has drawn on a wealth of rabbinic traditions, but it is often difficult to determine whether he had access to written texts or to a general tradition. In the work there are parallels with Philo, Josephus and the intertestamental literature, which may have come to the compiler from oral tradition or contacts and discussions with Christians. There are numerous parallels with the Targums, occasionally with explicit reference to the Targums, sometimes with a difference of wording from known individual Palestinian Targum texts. Another of the early exegetical midrashim is *Lamentations Rabbah* on the book of Lamentations. It was probably composed in the fifth century, and in the same milieu as the *Targum of Lamentations*.<sup>20</sup>

Together with these exegetical midrashim we have a series of rabbinic homiletic midrashim, connected with synagogue worship, such as *Leviticus Rabba* and *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana* among others. They probably originated from the fifth century onwards.

As noted above, the Mishnah does not attempt to found its halakhah on Scripture. The halakhic midrashim attempt to fill this void. The Mishnah itself can affirm that some of rabbinic regulations rest on slender or on no biblical foundation. Thus for instance regarding the laws on the sabbath and other laws in the Mishnah. We read in *m. Hagigah* 1:8: "[The rules concerning] releases from vows hover in the air, and they do not have anything to support them. The laws of the Sabbath, the festival-offerings, and sacrilege are like mountains hanging by a hair, for [their supports in] Scripture are few, but [their] laws are many. The [rules about] court cases [involving property], the [Temple] services, what is clean, what is unclean, and the forbidden sexual degrees, have [verses in the Bible] to support them, and they are the essence of the Torah."

20. On this see further below, pp. 320-323.



In its exposition of Exod 31:12-17, the *Mekhilta* takes occasion to discuss a point accepted in rabbinic law, namely that a law or practice on saving a human life takes precedence over the law forbidding work on the sabbath. In this *Mekhilta* text we have a narrative about five sages. What is central to the narrative is a well-known rabbinic principle that one may save a life in violation of the biblical injunction against work on the Sabbath (compare Mk 3:1-6; Matt 12:9-14; Lk 6:6-11). In response to the question concerning how one learns this principle, Rabbi Ishmael (a tanna of the third generation, 120-140 CE) offers an interpretation of Exod. 22:1-2, while the other sages use logic (*kal vahomer*; a *fortiori* argument) to support the principle. We may note that the narrative does not deal with the verse upon which this section of *Mekhilta* (*Mekhilta* on Exodus 31:12-17) focuses. It is here because the subject is relevant, as the context makes clear. The *Mekhilta* (tractate *Shabbata*, 1) text reads:<sup>21</sup>

*Verily* [ 'ak], *Ye Shall Keep My Sabbaths*. Why is this said? Because it says: "Thou shalt not do any manner of work" (Ex. 20.10), from which I know only about activities that can be regarded as labor. But how about activities that can be regarded as merely detracting from the restfulness of the Sabbath? Scripture says here: "Verily, ye shall keep My sabbaths," thus prohibiting even such activities as only detract from the restfulness of the day.

Once R. Ishmael, R. Eleazar b. Azariah and R. Akiba were walking along the road followed by Levi the netmaker and Ishmael the son of R. Eleazar b. Azariah. And the following question was discussed by them: Whence do we know that the duty of saving life supersedes the Sabbath laws? R. Ishmael, answering the question, said: Behold it says: "If a thief be found breaking in," etc. (Ex. 22.1). Now of what case does the law speak? Of a case when there is a doubt whether the burglar came merely to steal or even to kill. Now, by using the method of *kal vahomer*, it is to be reasoned: Even shedding of blood, which defiles the land and causes the Shekinah to remove, is to supersede the laws of the Sabbath if it is to be done in protection of one's life. How much more should the duty of saving life supersede the Sabbath laws! R. Eleazar b. Azariah, answering the question, said: If in performing the ceremony of circumcision, which affects only one member of the body, one is to disregard the Sabbath laws, how much more should one

21. In the translation of Jacob Z. Lauterbach, *Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publications Society, 1935; reprint 1949), vol. 3, pp. 196-199.

do so for the whole body when it is in danger! The sages however said to him: From the instance cited by you it would also follow that just as there the Sabbath is to be disregarded only in a case of certainty, so also here the Sabbath is to be disregarded only in a case of certainty. R. Akiba says: If punishment for murder sets aside even the Temple service, which in turn supersedes the Sabbath, how much more should the duty of saving life supersede the Sabbath laws! R. Jose the Galilean says: When it says: "But My sabbath ye shall keep," the word "but" (*'ak*) implies a distinction. There are Sabbaths on which you must rest and there are Sabbaths on which you should not rest. R. Simon b. Menasiah says: Behold it says: "And ye shall keep the sabbath for it is holy unto you" (31:14). This means: The Sabbath is given to you but you are not surrendered to the Sabbath. R. Nathan says: Behold it says: "Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the sabbath to observe the sabbath throughout their generations" (31:16). This implies that we should disregard one Sabbath for the sake of saving the life of a person so that that person may be able to observe many Sabbaths. . . .

And a little later on Exodus 31:14:

*And Ye Shall Keep the Sabbath for It Is Holy unto You* [Exod 31:14]. This is the verse which R. Simon the son of Menasiah [T4; 160-180 CE] interpreted as saying: The Sabbath is given to you but you are not surrendered to the Sabbath.

The suspension of the Sabbath rest regulations in the case of danger to life is affirmed in the Mishnah *Yoma* 8:6: "Every case of danger of life allows for the suspension of the Sabbath," where Rabbi Mattiah b. Harash (T3; 120-140 CE) is reported as saying that "any matter of doubt as to danger to life overrides the prohibitions of the Sabbath." In Mark 3:1-6 (and parallels) the question is about healing, when no danger to life was apparent. There may have been differences within nascent Rabbinic Judaism in Jesus' days on the matter. In circles connected with the Essenes (see *The Damascus Document*, CD-A 10:17-19) and Jubilees (*Jubilees* 50:8) there was a very restrictive interpretation regarding Sabbath rest, excluding even talking about wealth or work.

The importance of all this rabbinical material for an understanding of the New Testament is undoubtedly immense. While receiving its final redaction in the Christian era, much of it can be presumed to go back to pre-Christian times. A large element of uncertainty remains, nonethe-

less, with regard to the dating of any particular passage. As we have it, it came from Judaism as reorganized or in the process of reorganization, after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. The rabbis cited as authorities, or as the source of individual interpretations, are almost entirely from this later period. The actual interpretation they give is doubtless very often much older than their own day. Still we would like some proof that such is the case. It is possible that it depends on older tradition found in the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch. Another difficulty with rabbinic material is that it is linked with the Jewish *schools*; it need not necessarily have been known to the masses of the Jewish people, or if it was, this was probably from sources other than the scholastic discussions in which we now find it.

As an example of haggadic midrash I cite part of the exposition of Gen 29:2-3 as found in *Genesis Rabba* 70:8, part of the six different interpretations of these verses by R. Ḥama ben Ḥanina, of the second generation of Palestinian Amoraim (3rd century CE). It is an informative text. The listener, reader or student was expected to catch the biblical and midrashic references in the text. The "well" (of Gen 29:2) is the well of the desert period (Num 21:17); the "standards" are those of the tribes of the Israelites in the wilderness; the "small sieve" might be another reference to the well in the desert.

The second interpretation understands the text to refer to Zion, the three great pilgrimages (Passover, Pentecost, Tabernacles), the libations on the altar during Tabernacles, a feast celebrated with much rejoicing. Another feature of this exposition is that the Jewish interpretation of the well in Gen 29:2-3 is connected with the midrashic interpretation of Jacob's dream and the miracles of the well at Bethel. The midrashic exposition of these two passages is also interlinked in the exposition of Gen 29:2-3 in the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan. The text of *Genesis Rabbah* reads:<sup>22</sup>

AND HE LOOKED, AND BEHOLD A WELL IN THE FIELD. R. Ḥama b. Ḥanina interpreted this in six ways. AND BEHOLD A WELL IN THE FIELD — this alludes to the well. AND LO THREE FLOCKS OF SHEEP — Moses, Aaron, and Miriam; FOR OUT OF THAT WELL THEY WATERED THE FLOCKS — from there each one drew water for his standard, his tribe, and his family. AND THE STONE UPON THE WELL'S MOUTH WAS

22. *Midrash Rabbah. Genesis*, Vol. 2. Translated by H. Freedman (London, New York: The Soncino Press, 3rd edition, 1983), pp. 641-42.

GREAT. Said R. Ḥanina: It was but the size of a small sieve. AND THITHER WERE ALL THE FLOCKS GATHERED; — when they pitched their camps. AND THEY ROLLED THE STONE FROM THE WELL'S MOUTH, AND WATERED THE SHEEP: from there each one drew [water] for his standard, his tribe, and his family. AND PUT THE STONE BACK UPON THE WELL'S MOUTH IN ITS PLACE — during their journeys.

Another interpretation: AND BEHOLD A WELL IN THE FIELD symbolises Zion; AND LO THREE FLOCKS OF SHEEP — the three Festivals; FOR OUT OF THAT WELL THEY WATERED THE FLOCKS — from there they imbibed the Divine spirit; AND THE STONE . . . WAS GREAT — this alludes to the rejoicing of the place of the water drawing. R. Hoshaya said: Why was it called the rejoicing of the place of drawing [water]? Because from there they imbibed the Divine spirit. AND THITHER WERE ALL THE FLOCKS GATHERED — they all came *From the entrance of Hamath unto the Brook of Egypt* (1 Kings 8:65). AND THEY ROLLED THE STONE FROM THE WELL'S MOUTH, AND WATERED THE SHEEP; from there they imbibed the Holy spirit; AND PUT THE STONE BACK UPON THE WELL'S MOUTH IN ITS PLACE: it was left lying for the next Festival.

## 8. Rabbinic Judaism and Some Gospel Texts

Here is an appropriate place to summarily consider some of the texts of the Synoptic Gospels in which Jesus is presented in conflict with the scribes or Pharisees, or both, regarding certain practices of their tradition. From our present point of view, in a consideration of the New Testament evidence it is necessary to understand the formation of the Gospel tradition and the history behind individual pericopes within it; likewise the use made by an individual evangelist of the tradition he inherited. What interests us here is not whether the individual elements of a Gospel text represent the original debate between Jesus and the Pharisees and scribes; indeed whether or not the individual elements or the entire pericopes can be regarded as having actually taken place, but rather how the element of Gospel tradition in question compares with what we now know of Rabbinic tradition.

### *i. Washing of Hands and Vessels*

A central text with regard to Jesus' attitude to Jewish law and practices (as represented by the Pharisees and scribes) is Mark 7:1-13 (and parallels). In this pericope we have two sections, one concerning the observation of Pharisees and some scribes come from Jerusalem about some of Jesus' disciples who were eating bread with unclean (*koinais*; literally "common"), that is unwashed, hands. The Pharisees and the scribes ask Jesus why his disciples do not follow the tradition of the elders, but instead eat bread with unclean (*koinais*) hands (Mark 7:1-2, 5). Into this Mark has inserted (Mark 7:3-4) his own observation that the Pharisees "and indeed all the Jews" never have a meal without washing their hands up to the wrist (Greek: *pygmē*), as a way of observing the tradition of the elders; nor do they have a meal when returning from the market-place unless they first wash themselves. He goes on to note that there are also many other traditions that they observe, such as washing drinking cups and measuring bowls and bronze kettles — to which list some ancient manuscripts add "and beds."

The term "common" (*koinos*) in the sense of unclean can be taken as a Jewish usage. It is used already in 1 Maccabees 1:47-62 in reference to unclean animals and unclean food (as also in Acts 10:14, 28; 11:8; Apocalypse 21:27). With relation to hands Mark interprets the word to mean "unwashed." We have ample evidence of the Jewish practise of ritual hand-washing in the Mishnah. In *m. Yadayim* we have a treatise on "Hands" with directions for hand-washing (*m. Yad.* 1:1-2:4; also *m. Hag.* 2:5-6), including long comments on washing before touching bread (*m. Yad.* 2:4). Since the Mishnah codified oral traditions, it has been appositely observed that the Gospel of Mark is evidence that such a custom existed among some Jewish groups in the first century CE.<sup>23</sup>

The Greek term *pygmē* (rendered above as "wrist") has as basic meaning "(by) the fist," and has been differently understood and translated in the present context: "as far as the elbow" (JB; NJB), "with the fist" (New Vulgate), or following an early Greek variant *pykna*, "often" (Vulgate), or "thoroughly" (NRSV; TOB); "scrupulously, carefully" (NAB), or the word is simply left untranslated (NEB). Matthew Black<sup>24</sup> argues for a translation

23. John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* (Sacra Pagina) (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002), p. 220.

24. Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 9.

“up to the wrist,” which can be compared with *m. Yad.* 2:3 which speaks of hands being rendered clean “(by pouring over them water) up to the wrist” (in Hebrew: *‘ad pereq*).<sup>25</sup>

With regard to the reference to Jews washing drinking cups and measuring bowls and bronze kettles, reference can be made to the Mishnah tractate *Kelim* (“Vessels”), especially 8:2–11:3 which has a variety of instructions on washing cooking utensils.

*ii. Korban — (korban ho estin dōron).*

We shall treat of this in detail further below.<sup>26</sup>

*iii. Plucking Grain on the Sabbath*

In Mark 2:23–28 (see also Matthew 12:1–8; Luke 6:1–5) we read of Jesus’ disciples being censured by the Pharisees for plucking ears of corn on the Sabbath and (according to Luke 6:1) rubbing them with their hands. From our point of view the central question here is the plucking and eating ears of corn on the Sabbath; whether this ran counter to Pharisaic halakhah or not. Sabbath rest itself is not in question. The sacred character of the Sabbath is clearly enunciated in the Scriptures (Genesis 2:2), as is the commandment concerning Sabbath rest (Exodus 20:8–11; Deuteronomy 5:12–15) and the punishments for violating it (Exodus 31:14; 31:15; 35:2; Numbers 15:32–36). By New Testament times the laws governing Sabbath observance both among the Essenes and the Pharisaic and rabbinic tradition had passed well beyond biblical legislation, many without biblical foundation. I have already cited the Mishnah to this effect: We read in *m. Hagigah* 1:8: “The laws of the Sabbath, the festival-offerings, and sacrilege are like

25. “up to the wrist” is Danby’s translation (Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah. Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* [Oxford: University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1933], p. 780). The Hebrew word *prq* in this context is more precisely translated “joint,” and this is how it is rendered in the dictionaries of Markus Jastrow and J. Levy. Levy renders *m. Yadayim* 2:3 as: “up to the joint of the hands,” *bis zum Gelenke der Hände*. The term occurs only twice in the targums, in Pseudo-Jonathan Leviticus 8:23–24, where it is rendered as: “. . . on the middle joint (of the thumb) of his right hand and on the middle joint (of the big toe) of his right foot.”

26. See below, chapter 16; pp. 229–231.

mountains hanging by a hair, for [their supports in] Scripture are few, but [their] laws are many." The Sabbath laws of the Mishnah are further developed in the Gemara, enshrined in the Talmuds.

The following example will give some idea of the relation of the Gemara to the Mishnah and will illustrate how the material of both can be of importance for an understanding of the New Testament. The Mishnah tractate *Shabbath* lists thirty-nine main classes of work which are prohibited on the Sabbath, and the greater part of this tractate is taken up with the various actions which come under these thirty-nine headings. These various actions are given in the Palestinian Talmud (*j. Shabbath* 7,2) as  $39 \times 39 = 1521$ . Plucking ears of corn is not explicitly condemned in the Mishnah, although one of the thirty-nine primary acts of labour listed there is winnowing and grinding (*m. Shabbath* 7:2). A more detailed discussion in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Shabbath* 128ab) shows that opinion was divided on the permissiveness of the act of rubbing ears of corn and eating it. "One may pluck with the hand and eat [on the Sabbath], but one may not pluck with an implement; and one may rub and eat [on the Sabbath], but one may not rub with an implement. These are the words of Rabbi Akiba, but other sages say that one may rub with one's finger-tips and eat, but one may not rub a quantity with the hand (and eat)." There was then a difference of opinion on the point among second-century rabbis. The Pharisees of the first century mentioned in the New Testament episode may have followed a ruling later mitigated. They were probably of the strict school of Shammai. The Mishnah tends to follow in general the more lenient laws of Hillel.

**PART ONE**

**Formation of Targumic Tradition**





## CHAPTER 2

### *Development of Doctrine in Judaism*

#### 1. Introduction

In the preceding chapter we have concentrated our attention on the writings of rabbinic Judaism. These can be taken as representing normative, or mainstream, Judaism as distinct from the marginal forms represented by the Qumran texts and the apocalyptic writings. Both the targums and the rabbinic writings belong to the oral law. They are the end product of a long period of development. Rightly to understand them we must consider them in their Jewish setting and within the development of doctrine and of law which is a feature of the Jewish religion of the Old Testament period. This is true in a particular way of the targums which alone interest us here. It may help us better appreciate the arguments put forward in favour of an early date for the tradition transmitted in the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch when we realize that some, perhaps many, of the laws underlying the paraphrase were already operative within Judaism during the closing centuries of the pre-Christian era, and some of them, indeed, many centuries earlier.

Targums presuppose a text of Scripture. They come from a period when the sacred traditions of Israel had already been consigned to writing. For Jewish people, as for Christians, the Scriptures are regarded as a record of revelation. Before Israel's traditions came to be written down they first existed in oral form. And before receiving the form in which it was finally consigned to writing, the tradition had undergone a long process of development. This was more or less inevitable. Development in doctrine and in law is as natural and as necessary as the evolution of the human mind and

of human society. It is likewise essential in any living religion. Revelation means a divine intervention in history, a communication of God with the human mind. The implications of the initial self-revelation of God, and of the truths which he has communicated, cannot immediately be grasped in their entirety by the human mind. There remains in the believer's mind concepts which it had prior to the divine revelation. Time is required to purify the mind of false notions and to come to a clearer idea of God. Together with this, the person who receives the divine revelation has the added difficulty of expressing ideas of a spiritual God in human language. All this leads to the formation of different theologies — that is, different ways of expressing revealed truths. Such theologies we have in point of fact in the Pentateuch, the five books of Moses known to the Jews as the Law (Torah).

## 2. An Ongoing Biblical Tradition

Over the past decades there has been intense study on the development and dating of the various texts of the Hebrew Bible, especially of the Pentateuch, the early prophets and the writings covering the earlier history of Israel. There has been a revisionist rejection of accepted positions with regard to dating, especially with regard to pre-exilic dating of texts, traditions or even of a pre-exilic entity, be it called "Israel" or Judah. On the other hand there also has been, and still is, an acceptance of the central traditional positions, with due recognition of adjustments called for by the more recent research. Bearing in mind this current discussion, for our purposes here we can accept the central viewpoints with regard to biblical tradition.

Recent scholarship has put special emphasis on the history of biblical interpretation, be it inner-biblical exegesis or the reception history of the biblical books. In one sense exegesis or interpretation presupposes texts, not traditions, and some scholars will treat of inner-biblical exegesis only where there is evidence of a later biblical text interpreting or exegeting an earlier one. A clear example is the "interpretation" of Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years in Daniel chapter 9. For the purposes of this work I prefer to speak of an ongoing or developing biblical tradition, where later texts use or are inspired by earlier biblical writings or traditions. In many cases we cannot be sure whether the earlier teaching apparently being used was in a written or oral state, since we may presume that in a number of cases

behind our present biblical books stand earlier written documents, now lost.

In the matter of biblical interpretation, or hermeneutics, mention is often made of the fusion of horizons, when the horizon of the original text or writer is fused, coalesces, with that of readers of a later generation. In a sense that has been going on throughout history, and in the process of composition of many of the biblical books themselves. In the case of the corpus of prophetic writings in particular there is not a question of just a single person, be it an Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, Zechariah or others. In some cases our present canonical book represents an original tradition or work which in part originated from smaller collections, to be reworked through centuries as later generations drew inspiration from the original tradition and recast it to have it serve as a guide for contemporary or even future generations. The Book of Isaiah contains much from the earlier period in chapters 1–39, from the late exile in 40–55, and from later generations still in chapters 56–66. Still, in the process of redaction very late insertions may be found in the earlier chapters. Thus in Isaiah chapter 29, within a poetic section we have a text in prose (Isaiah 29:11–12) which says that the vision being spoken of is as a sealed book, with a message closed to the literate and illiterate alike. In this sealed book some scholars see a back reference to the sealed testimony of the prophet spoken of in Isaiah 8:16. There is, however, another possible meaning. The text may well be reference to the completed book of Isaiah itself, in its final or near final state of redaction, or at least in the written form in which it was known to the author of this observation in 29:11–12, sealed as to its meaning without an approach in faith.<sup>1</sup> Examples of this kind could be multiplied. Later texts can reverse earlier threats, as in the case of Isaiah 62:4, telling Israel that her land will no longer be called desolate, as is threatened to be in Isaiah 1:7. In the formation of the prophetic corpus, on its way to become canonical, we have the articulation of a tradition.

The same holds true for the traditions enshrined in the Pentateuch, whether narrative or halakhic. As an instance we may note the parallel texts with regard to first fruits in Lev 23:15–21 and Num 28:26–31. This particular tradition, apparently, continued to be articulated even after the books of Leviticus and Numbers had acquired canonical or semi-canonical status. It

1. See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book. Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2006), pp. 8–14, on the sealed book being the Book of Isaiah.

is found again in the Qumran text known as the “Reworked Pentateuch” (4Q365)<sup>2</sup> and in the Qumran Temple Scroll (11QT 18-19),<sup>3</sup> which is a rewriting of the Book of Deuteronomy, a new Law of Moses.

When targums were first made, the inspired Scriptures had come to be accepted as the Word of God valid for all times. There was by then little or no memory of the complex tradition lying behind the accepted texts of Scripture. Where apparent (or real) contradictions appeared between different biblical texts, these had to be solved without recourse to the historical sciences now at our disposal.

As all students of the Scriptures are well aware of, it has for long been commonly assumed that the Pentateuch is composed of four great sources, the Yahwist, the Elohist, the Deuteronomist and the Priestly Writer. While the existence of such distinct documents has been called into question in current research (particularly that of the Elohist), their existence is still defended by highly reputable Old Testament scholars, and we may work with the accepted viewpoint here. Of these documents the Yahwist source is the oldest. It had earlier been assigned to the tenth century, with the Elohist somewhat later. Some more recent studies have assigned a much later pre-exilic date to the Yahwist (or Yahwist-Elohist), from between the ninth and the seventh century. After the Yahwist (or Yahwist-Elohist combined) comes the Deuteronomist, rewriting and retelling earlier traditions for a richer and more sophisticated society. The Priestly Source, in its present form, is the latest of the four. Each of these four sources has its own manner of presenting divine truths. By a comparison of their texts we can trace the development in theology and in law which took place in Israel from an early time down to the Exile (587-539 BCE) and later.

A notable feature of the Yahwist source is the use of anthropomorphisms, i.e. the description of God in purely human form, the presentation of God as if he were a human. Yahweh acts as a potter, forming man out of the dust of the earth (Genesis 2:7, 19). He plants a garden in Eden (Genesis 2:8); takes out one of Adam's ribs and closes up its place with flesh (Genesis

2. English translation in Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English*. Second edition, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden-New York-Cologne: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), p. 223; Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr., & Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Translation* (London: HarperCollins, 1996), p. 327.

3. Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, p. 161; Wise, Abegg, Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 469. In the Temple Scroll the section on Tabernacles is fragmentary.

2:21); he makes garments of skin for Adam and Eve (Genesis 3:21); closes the door of the ark behind Noah (Genesis 7:16) and comes down to see the tower of Babel (Genesis 11:5).

The Yahwist well knew, of course, that God was spirit, not flesh. He uses anthropomorphisms with the intention of rendering his message the more vivid. Such a manner of speaking of God must, nonetheless, have appeared inappropriate to many. The Elohist presents a different picture of the deity. For him, God is the inaccessible who reveals himself in theophanies (i.e. divine apparitions; see Exodus 3:1-6; 19:16, 17, 19; 33:9-11) and through the medium of dreams (Genesis 28:12, 17; 31:11-13). In the theology of the Priestly Writer, God is the omnipotent Creator who brings things into existence by a mere word.

The Yahwist has little scruple in recording actions of Abraham which to later generations must have appeared of dubious honesty. Thus, for instance, he tells us how, when in danger of death in Egypt because of his wife Sarai, Abraham tells her to say that she is really his sister, not his wife (Genesis 12:11-19). The reader is left with the impression that Abraham is guilty of having Sarai tell a lie. We find a variant of this story in Genesis 20, this time from the pen of the Elohist. But the point is now made that Sarai is really the sister (or rather the half-sister) of Abraham (Genesis 20:12). The behaviour of the father of the race is, thus, justified. In this we have an example of the respect paid to the elders of Israel. It is a law found again in the Greek Septuagint rendering and in the targums and will be explicitly formulated as a law by the rabbis.

With regard to the development of law, we have many examples in the Pentateuch. In the earliest texts of the Passover ritual, for instance, the animal to be sacrificed is specified as a lamb (Exodus 12:21). This represents a nomadic stage of Hebrew society when only small cattle (lambs and goats) were readily available. The Passover ritual as found in the book of Deuteronomy is intended for a society of landowners; and there it is specified (Deuteronomy 16:2) that the sacrificial animals can be taken from the herd (large animals) or from the flock (sheep and goats). A comparison of the texts of the Yahwist, the Deuteronomist (16:1-8) and the Priestly Writer (Exodus 12:1-14; cf. Ezekiel 45:18-25) in fact shows us how much the doctrine and legislation on the Passover developed over the period covered by the Pentateuch. A similar evolution took place in the teaching and legislation concerning the sabbath. With regard to the law of the sabbath we have a development beyond the Pentateuch (Deuteronomy 5:12-15; see also Exodus 20:8-11) in a divine oracle said to have been given to the prophet Jere-

miah (Jeremiah 17:21-24), which refers back to a commandment on the matter given to their fathers. The text probably represents a late development in sabbath law which forbids carrying a burden through the gates of Jerusalem, or out of their houses. The same holds true for the teaching on the Exodus, the chief event of Israelite history. In this we can trace a rich development from the earliest sources right down to New Testament times and later.

### 3. Development of Doctrine in Post-exilic Judaism<sup>4</sup>

By the time of Ezra, as already noted, the Pentateuch existed in substantially the form it has today; this notwithstanding the variety in certain details which is evident from the three distinct textual traditions (Proto-Masoretic, Egyptian and Proto-Samaritan) known to have existed in Palestine before the Masoretic recension of ca. 100 CE.

The basic tradition of the teaching of the pre-exilic prophets may also have also been fairly well established by the end of the Exile. Shortly after the first return, in 520, the prophet Zechariah speaks of the call to repentance of the "earlier prophets," and the consequences of the lack of response to God's word through them. These prophets are spoken of as if they were already a recognized group (Zechariah 1:4-6). However, the earlier prophetic tradition remained open to further development after the Exile. Some sections of the earlier prophetic writings were rewritten in the light of later development, earlier oracles were recast and new inspired additions were made to the body of prophetic teaching with the intent of having the Word of God given to Israel through the earlier prophets still resound and bear a message to later generations. From the evidence of the Book of Isaiah itself some scholars believe they can trace the development of the Isaianic tradition itself from the prophet Isaiah in the eighth century and his disciples to whose custody his sealed oracles were committed (Isaiah 8:16-22), down through the person or group who have given us the work commonly known as "Second Isaiah" (Isaiah chapters 40-55) and the later compositions in Isaiah chapters 56-66. The work ends with an escha-

4. See Roger Le Déaut, "Les études targumiques: Etat de la recherche et perspectives pour l'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament," *Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses* 44 (1968): 5-34 (reproduced in Henri Cazelles et al., eds., *De Mari à Qumrân: L'Ancien Testament, son milieu, ses écrits, ses relectures juives. Donum Natalicium Iosepho Coppens*; Biblioteca Ephemeridum Lovaniensium 24; Gembloux: Duculot, 1969, pp. 302-31).

tological or even apocalyptic outlook, and within the book itself there is a section regarded as of an apocalyptic nature (Isaiah 24–25, “The Isaiah Apocalypse”). We have already noted the text of Isaiah 29:11–12, which may be a later insertion into the text, with reference to the Book of Isaiah (or a good part of it) already known as a written document. While it is notoriously difficult to assign dates to purely literary texts, the entire Isaianic tradition enshrined in the canonical book of Isaiah may stretch from the eighth to the fourth century BCE or even later, from early prophecy to the apocalyptic of the age of Daniel. Similar growth in the prophetic tradition may possibly be traced in the case of “The Twelve” (Minor Prophets), also ending in heightened eschatological (if not apocalyptic) expectation in Malachi 4:1–6 (Hebrew Text 3:19–24).<sup>5</sup>

Commenting on this development between the fifth and the second centuries BCE, despite the dearth, if not lack, of historical sources, Joseph Blenkinsopp remarks:<sup>6</sup> “While the lack of historical data remains a serious problem, we at least have continuity in interpretation, and interpretation is not a disembodied activity but is carried forward by specific individuals and groups; in other words, interpretation is a social, not just a literary phenomenon.”

Evidence of ongoing reflection on the written text of Isaiah is found in some glosses now incorporated as part of the written text, for instance in Isaiah 29:10 where the word “prophets” is incorporated as a gloss on “eyes” of the text and “the seers” as a gloss on “heads.” Similarly in 9:13–15 where the text of v. 14a “Yahweh cut off from Israel both head and tail” is glossed in v. 15 as: “elder and dignitary are the head, the prophet (who is) the teacher of falsehood, the tail.” Once the written text had been completed, and probably regarded as sacred, interpretation had to be by influence on other works and in independent works. For Isaiah (and other works) we have evidence of this in the Qumran texts, some of which are heavily influenced by Isaiah, and others are commentaries in the form of *peshet*. Beyond Qumran, Isaiah has also heavily influenced the New Testament.

For Isaiah and other prophets the development we have spoken of, be it either inner-biblical or in Qumran texts, belonged to the prophetic and apocalyptic use of the biblical tradition. Although this is not documented (at least to the same extent) we can presume that there was a Jew-

5. See Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book*, especially pp. 56–88.

6. Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book*, p. 77.



ish liturgical and possibly a rabbinic-type reflection on the Prophets, issuing ultimately in the targumic paraphrase of these books.

Sources of our information for this subsequent period of Jewish religion are the later books of the Old Testament itself (Chronicles, Maccabees, Daniel, Sirach, Baruch, the Wisdom of Solomon, etc.), the additions made to the earlier prophetic works, and the rereading and rewriting of earlier prophetic oracles — a rewriting that has been proven and clarified by modern critical studies; we have also the pre-Christian Jewish apocryphal works, and the early Qumran writings. Then we have the Greek Septuagint translation of the Bible and the glosses added to the Hebrew text of the Bible. Finally, we may list the earlier stage of rabbinic tradition in so far as this is known to us. These are our main sources, but there are others besides which do not concern us here.

The development that went on in Israel during the post-exilic period, in particular over the last two centuries before our era, must have been very great. From the doctrinal point of view we have the emphasis on angels, on the otherworld, the afterlife, bodily resurrection and other matters besides. There was development also in matters of Jewish observance, in particular markers to set off the chosen people from outside nations, on the importance of circumcision, the signs of the covenant, the sabbath and regulations governing it (see Isaiah 56:2, 4, 6; 58:13; Jeremiah 17:21-27). These are in the written canonical texts. The Jewish religious mind of the period was centered on the earlier sacred tradition, on the written Word of God. Due to this reflection on the written Word, there very probably grew up during this era a particular understanding of the sacred text, an exegetical tradition, which is seen in the later inspired additions of the Old Testament itself, in the glosses inserted into the Hebrew text of the Bible, and in occasional interpretative renderings found in the Greek translation of the Old Testament.

What has been said above concerning the growth of the Isaianic and other prophetic traditions, should very probably not be conceived of as an interpretation of Scripture that was something entirely free, the outcome as it were of the untrammelled liberty of individual expositors. This would have held true in particular with relation to the Law of Moses. Because the exact meaning of the Pentateuch, particularly in legal matters, was of supreme importance for the Jews, we can legitimately presume that the teaching received in the schools and synagogues conformed to the teaching of the scribes. It is then a very legitimate presumption that during this period there was an authoritative interpretation of the Scriptures, particu-

larly of the Law of Moses. This seems to follow from what we shall consider immediately below on the scribes and on the position of the Law of Moses in post-exilic Judaism. There must also have been a certain preoccupation to relate the oral to the written law. Seven rules of interpretation, bearing on this relationship, are attributed to Hillel (about 70 BCE to 10 CE). While some of these may have been formulated after Hillel's day, many of them probably antedate Hillel. The existence of standard commentary on the biblical text is evidenced also by scribal glosses, to a consideration of which we now turn.

#### 4. The Law of Moses in Post-exilic Judaism<sup>7</sup>

The exile in Babylon (587-539 BCE) gave Israel an opportunity to reflect on the sins of her ancestors which had brought such disaster on her. The burden of the prophets' teaching for generations before was that infidelity to the Sinai covenant and to the law of God (given through Moses) spelt national disaster. Events had proved them right. Now as she pondered on all this in exile, her religious leaders resolved that never again would there be such unfaithfulness as brought about the dissolution of the nation at the fall of Jerusalem in 587.

During the exile in Babylon the traditions now enshrined in the major sources of the Pentateuch would have been reflected on, and recast, not just to reflect the past but to bring a message of hope for the exiles in their present plight and for the future. From this process there emerged the Pentateuch more or less as we have it today. There is no agreement as to when the Pentateuch reached its ultimate or penultimate state, but it seems to have done so in the Persian period, by 400 BCE at the latest. The Pentateuch is a work intended to give Israel guidance for the future. It probably was by design from the beginning what it finally became in Israel, was a foundation (or re-foundation) document.

In the biblical record a pivotal moment came in this regard with the work of Ezra, "the priest, the scribe of the law of God of heaven" (Ezra 7:21). According to the biblical account, in the seventh year of the reign of

7. Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003). For this period see now Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judaism, the First Phase: The Place of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Origins of Judaism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009).

the Persian king Artaxerxes (probably 458, but possibly 398 BCE), Ezra the scribe came from the Persian court to Palestine with a mandate from the Persian monarch to reorganize Judaism in accordance with the Law of Moses and to teach this law to those Jews who did not know it (Ezra 7:25-26). There is some doubt as to the historical character of the narrative of Ezra and of the mission as recounted in the book of Ezra, especially in view of the supposed sweeping powers given by the Persian king to Ezra within the province of the Persian empire Beyond the River (Abar Nahara). There are three views on the matter: the entire account is historical; the entire account is "edificatory church history," and in no way historical; the narrative is basically historical, but the extent of Ezra's power has been embellished. The third position seems to be the most probable. Ezra's promulgation of the Law of Moses seems in keeping with the completion or advanced state of redaction of the Pentateuch at the period in question. But even if the biblical account of Ezra is not historical, at least the narrative tells us of a Jewish tradition on the role of Ezra and the promulgation of the Law of Moses at the time the book was composed, that is no later than the Greek translation of the work which is regarded as 200 BCE at the latest. In the book of Nehemiah, Ezra's action is described as follows: on the first day of the seventh month, on the occasion of the Feast of Tabernacles, the community of the returnee exiles of Judah gathered together in a solemn convocation in Jerusalem to renew their allegiance to the Covenant. The solemn gathering is thus described in the book of Nehemiah (8:1-3, 8):

And they told Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the Law of Moses which the Lord had given to Israel. And Ezra the scribe brought the Law before the assembly, both men and women and all who hear with understanding. . . . He read from it . . . from early morning until mid-day, in the presence of the men and women and those who could understand. And the ears of all the people were attentive to the book of the Law. . . . So they read from the book, from the law of God, clearly [?; Hebrew: *m'poraš*; exact translation uncertain], and they gave the sense so that the people understood the reading.

We shall later consider (in chapter 7) the concluding section of this text in detail. For our purpose here it suffices to note that at this solemn assembly of that first day of the seventh month we have the birthday of Judaism, that is, the form of Hebrew religion which is to persist down to New Testament times. Judaism will not differ from earlier Hebrew religion in its creed but

in the central role accorded to the Law of Moses. The “book of the Law of Moses” spoken of in the citation given above is the Pentateuch in the form it had received by the time of Ezra, a form substantially that which it has today. The fundamental law of the Jewish people was henceforth to be the Law of Moses. Those who did not know this Law were to be taught it. We should note, too, how at this assembly the people were made to hear the words of the Law and were given its meaning. Explanation accompanied reading. Knowledge of the Law of Moses was something held necessary for all Israel, not the privilege of any chosen few, such as scribes and priests. It will be the task of the religious leaders in the following centuries to see to it that all Israel will be acquainted with both the text and the meaning of the Law of Moses.

### 5. Text of the Pentateuch in Post-exilic Judaism

Before we speak further of the position of the Law during this later period it will not be amiss to say a few words on the actual text of the Pentateuch during the centuries preceding the birth of Christ. We have said that the “book of the Law of Moses” read and expounded by Ezra was fundamentally the same as the Pentateuch as we now know it. This should not lead us to believe that it was verbally identical with it. Our present Hebrew text of the Pentateuch (and of the entire Hebrew Bible) is known as the Masoretic Text (from the Hebrew word *Masorah*, meaning “tradition”) as it was given its final form, even as regards the correct reading of every word, by Jewish scholars called Masoretes in the eighth century CE or so. According to Jewish tradition this Masoretic text is the very same as that edited by the rabbis after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE. The biblical texts from the Dead Sea area show that this tradition is quite exact. All the biblical texts from this area written after 100 CE are, in fact, identical with the Masoretic text.<sup>8</sup> According to the same rabbinic tradition the Masoretic text was edited by the rabbis from three biblical manuscripts saved from the Temple. In cases of divergence between these manuscripts in any given text, the majority rule was followed, the reading of two manuscripts being taken against a reading represented by one manuscript only.

We have here the recollection that before the editorial work of the

8. As early noted by Josef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM Press, 1959), p. 29.

rabbis a certain variety of biblical texts existed in Israel. The Qumran finds bear abundant evidence of this. In the biblical texts written before 70 CE there are indications that at least three different forms of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch were known.<sup>9</sup> To begin with there is a text differing but little from the later Masoretic text, and consequently known as the *Proto-Masoretic tradition*. This tradition according to Frank M. Cross may go back to the fifth century BCE.

Scholars were long aware of the differences between the Masoretic text and the Greek Septuagint rendering made from an early Hebrew text. The Qumran texts show us that this Hebrew text was used in Palestine side by side with the Proto-Masoretic text. Being the basis of the Septuagint translation made in Egypt, it is known as the *Egyptian tradition*. It is probably as old as the Proto-Masoretic tradition.

Before the Qumran finds we also knew of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which differs in certain details from the Masoretic text. Among the biblical texts from Qumran there are manuscripts with the Samaritan form of text, manuscripts representing the *Proto-Samaritan tradition*.

During the post-exilic period in Palestine, then, we have to reckon with three different forms of the Pentateuch, and perhaps more. An awareness of this variety of biblical texts may be of importance for an understanding of the targums: the Aramaic rendering will reflect the Hebrew text used by the translator. Thus, for instance, in the Palestinian Targum (Genesis 4:8) Cain says to Abel: "Let us go out into the open field." This represents the Samaritan and Septuagint tradition rather than that of the Masoretic text, in which these words are missing. (A number of modern translations, I may note, add these words, taking them as representing the original Hebrew text; thus RSV, NRSV, NEB, JB.) With regard to the Targums, it appears that in general they presuppose the Masoretic text, although in some passages Pseudo-Jonathan may follow a different textual tradition.

## 6. Scribes and the Oral Law

The written Law of Moses was not sufficient for everyday life in the new religious community of the Jews. Beside it there now began to develop a

9. As already noted by Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (New York: Anchor Books, 1961), pp. 168-194, especially 181-186.

rich oral law, in part designed to explain and protect the Law of Moses, in part, apparently, quite independent of it. The men who were believed to have developed (or rather transmitted) the oral law of the Pharisaic/Rabbinic tradition from Ezra onwards were in rabbinic literature called “the men of the Great Synagogue,” the “Great Synagogue” being a rather comprehensive title for a period of which later Jewish tradition had few if any details.<sup>10</sup> The motto of these men was, according to the Mishnah tractate *Aboth* (1:1): “Be deliberate in giving judgment, and raise up many disciples, and make a hedge [or ‘barrier’] about the Law.” “Making a hedge about the Law” meant introducing new ordinances in an effort to keep the people from infringing on the Law of Moses itself. We have a good example of what this meant in the opening words of the Mishnah (*Berakoth* 1:1), where we read that things which by the letter of the Law of Moses must be completed before morning (e.g. Leviticus 7:15; 22:30) must by rabbinical rule be done before midnight, “to keep a man far removed from transgression.”

While it is generally granted by scholars that the Pentateuch more or less as we have it today was completed and promulgated in the Persian period, about the time of Ezra, we must admit that we have relatively little evidence on Jewish culture and religion between the era of Ezra and that of the Book of Daniel and Qumran literature. We have learned from the Qumran texts that there was great interest in a body of literature centered on Enoch, which might lead one to believe during this period Enoch rivaled Moses, if he did not quite displace him. However, scholars in this area of study note that the various authors of 1 Enoch were acquainted with the Pentateuch (as well as much of the rest of the Bible). Be this as it may, the use made by the Enochic authors of material from the Pentateuch (and of the Hebrew Bible in general), and what they omit to use, seems to indicate that the Sinaitic covenant and the Mosaic Torah were not of central importance to them. There is no anti-Mosaic bias or polemic in this. The Enochic authors stand more in the tradition of the prophetic and wisdom literature than in that of the Pentateuch. While Sirach (about 180 BCE) celebrates the Torah as the repository of divine wisdom, if not quite identifying it with wisdom (Sirach 24), his citations from the Pentateuch are rare, and his teaching is in the form of proverbs and in the tradition of wisdom rather than commandments. However, he does note that God gave Moses commandments and the law for Israel, so that he might teach Jacob the covenant (Sirach 45:1-5).

10. See George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 29-36.

It may be that by 200 BCE the figure of Moses and the Torah were becoming more central in Israel. There is no necessary incompatibility between interest in the Enoch tradition and apocalyptic and a life governed by the Law of Moses. We can presume that the Pentateuch, its reading and interpretation remained central to the body of the Jewish people in Palestine and in the Greek-speaking Diaspora.

From Ezra onwards the Law of Moses was studied by the body of learned men known as scribes (*Sopherim*). To them also were entrusted the oral law and the task of making new decrees. We cannot say when this new body came into being. By 200 BCE, however, the scribes were an established institution in Israel. This we know from Sirach — himself a scribe — who in the book that bears his name (also known as Ecclesiasticus) gives us an admirable description of the scribe. “The wisdom of the scribe depends on the opportunity for leisure; and he who has little business may become wise” (Sirach 38:24). While husbandmen and craftsmen are the mainstay of the social structure (38:25-32), their occupations give them no time for the wide range of studies required of the scholar and consequently “they are not sought out in the council of the people, nor do they attain eminence in the public assembly. They do not sit in the judge’s seat, nor do they understand the sentence of judgment; they cannot expound discipline or judgment, and they are not found using proverbs” (38:33). To all these things must the scribe address himself: to devote himself to the Law of the Most High, to seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, to be concerned with prophecies, to penetrate the subtleties of parables (39:1-5).

It was these men who controlled the development of Judaism in the centuries preceding the birth of Christ. They are the scribes mentioned so often in the Gospels, generally in conjunction with the Pharisees. This latter group came into existence some time during the second century BCE. They differed from the scribes in that they were not of the learned class. Both, however, were of the same tradition, being passionately devoted to the oral law and to the “tradition of the elders.”

The chief means of communicating a knowledge of the Pentateuch in New Testament times, and for long before, were the sabbath synagogue assemblies. “For from early generations Moses has had in every city those who preach him, for he is read every sabbath in the synagogues” (Acts 15:21). The Jewish historian Josephus (*Contra Apionem* 2 §175) is witness of the same: “He [i.e. Moses] has proclaimed the Law to be the best and most necessary instruction of all; not once or twice or many times must one lis-

ten to it; for he has ordained that every week, other works being set aside, the people should come together to hear the Law and learn it exactly.”

How successful this work of the scribes and other religious teachers of Palestine was is vouched for by the acquaintance which such ordinary Jews as the Apostles and the writers who gave us the New Testament show with the sacred writings. “That the synagogue gave opportunity to acquire such familiarity is sufficient testimony to the quality of its instruction. In the Hellenistic synagogues, the knowledge of Scripture which Paul assumes that his hearers possess gives similar witness.”<sup>11</sup>

## 7. Scribal Glosses

The activity of the early scribes can be seen in the glosses whose presence critics have identified in the Hebrew text of the Bible. These glosses were, apparently, first of all written down on the margins of scrolls bearing texts of the Bible and were later incorporated by copyists into the biblical text itself. Some of the glosses are the identification of earlier place names by later ones, for instance “Luz, that is Bethel” (Josh 18:13), “Hazazon-tamar, that is En-gedi” (2 Chronicles 20:2; contrast Genesis 14:7, identified in the Palestinian Targum as “En-gedi of the palm trees”). The glosses are evidence of a preoccupation to understand and explain the text of Scripture. In recent years a certain amount of attention has been devoted to such glosses, partly as evidence of inner-biblical exegesis. Their diverse nature gives us an idea of the widespread interests of those whose task it was to comment on the sacred text. In the course of an important earlier study on glosses Godfrey R. Driver noted their bearing on later post-biblical rabbinical interpretation, writing as follows:<sup>12</sup>

The classification of glosses, too, can be fairly well defined according to their purpose. Their primary purpose is to obviate difficulties whether by simplifying the construction of the sentence or by interpreting obscure or unknown words; a secondary purpose is to present

11. See Moore, *Judaism*, p. 289.

12. Godfrey R. Driver, “Glosses in the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament,” in *L'Ancien Testament et l'Orient* (Orientalia et Biblica Lovaniensia, vol. 1.1, 1957), pp. 123-161, at 160. See further Roger Le Déaut, “Les études targumiques. État de la recherche et perspectives pour l'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament,” *Ephemerides theologiae lovanienses* 44 (1968): 5-34, at 31 (with further references).



varying readings or draw attention to parallel passages. Glosses are also inserted in the text to explain historical allusions or even to put right what the glossator regards as false history. Others are added to enhance or mitigate the force of the original text or to give vent to feelings, chiefly of indignation, or to utter warnings which the reader or scribe may think appropriate. There are also glosses expressing theological opinions, and, what are exceptionally important, liturgical glosses. . . . The subject is a large one and calls for investigation, especially liturgical glosses and the relation to Rabbinical canons of interpretation to additions of every kind to the Hebrew text.

An examination of liturgical glosses would be of great interest for targumic studies. Professor Jacob Weingreen of Trinity College, Dublin, has devoted considerable attention to rabbinic-type glosses in the Hebrew text of the Bible and in the Greek Septuagint translation.<sup>13</sup> This he has done in an effort to bridge the gap between the Bible itself and the laws later formulated by the rabbis. The oral law which existed along with the Old Testament during the latter's phases of development Professor Weingreen would define in broad terms as being "a body of legalistic, historical, folkloristic and expositional literature which was external to, but in effect supplemented and often modified, the basic biblical text." This oral law he considers to have existed in Israel even before the Exile. It is possible, he believes, that it was written down in summary fashion in later times. Thus, the official law would not have been passed on entirely by word of mouth, without the aid of written records.

Turning from the oral law proper to rabbinic-type glosses, he considers that in these we find modes of interpretation which are the same as those of the Mishnah, and can therefore be described as rabbinic-type formulations. One example of such a gloss he considers the italicized words of the following text of the book of Joshua (Joshua 1:15): "Then shall ye return to your inherited land *and ye shall take possession of it* which Moses, the

13. Jacob Weingreen, "Rabbinic-Type Glosses in the Old Testament," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 2 (1957): 149-162; "A Rabbinic-Type Gloss in the LXX Version of 1 Samuel 1:18," *Vetus Testamentum* 14 (1964): 225-228; "The Case of the Woodgatherer (Numbers XV 32-36)," *Vetus Testamentum* 16 (1966): 361-364; "The Case of the Daughters of Zelophehad," *Vetus Testamentum* 16 (1966): 518-522; "Exposition in the Old Testament and in Rabbinic Writings," in *Promise and Fulfilment* (Hooke Festschrift), ed. F. F. Bruce (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), pp. 187-201; "Oral Torah and Written Records," in *Holy Book and Holy Tradition*, ed. F. F. Bruce and E. G. Rupp (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), pp. 54-67.

servant of YHWH, gave unto you.” The words in italics break the continuity of Joshua’s speech, constitute an obvious intrusion, are not found in the Greek Septuagint translation, and when they are removed the text flows freely. They are a brief note *on* the text, i.e. a gloss which some copyist inserted into the text. We may note in passing that this phenomenon of “interpolated passages” breaking the continuity of the text is very much a feature of the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch. We shall give examples of it later.

Another type of gloss is the variant reading. The scribe noted a different reading in another biblical manuscript and registered this variant above or next to the word in the text he was using. An example would be Psalm 55:16 (15): “for there are evil things *in their dwelling place, in their midst*.” The italicized words are really a twofold statement of the same idea, one of the two groups probably a gloss. In a recent critical edition of the Hebrew Text the apparatus suggests that the Hebrew word for “in their midst” (*bqrbm*) is probably to be deleted, having originated in an insertion (a marginal gloss).

Professor Weingreen finds a pure Masoretic note in Psalm 61:(7)8b, which is translated in the *Revised Standard Version* as: “bid [Hebrew text: *mn*] love and faithfulness watch over him” [Hebrew: *ynsrhw*], a somewhat awkward translation of the Hebrew text. The *n* (i.e. Nun) of the second Hebrew word given above, we may note, would ordinarily be assimilated to the following letter and the entire word written as *ysrhw*. The two-lettered word *mn* has for long caused trouble. Weingreen sees in it an abbreviation in the pure Masoretic tradition: *mn* — *male nun* — *Nun plene*, calling attention to the fact that, contrary to the usual rule, the (Nun) of *ynsrhw* is *not* assimilated. *Mn* is then a pure gloss, alien to the text. The text should be translated: “may steadfast love and faithfulness watch over him” — an understanding of the text visible in some later translations (for instance the NEB). The word *mn* seems to have been absent from the texts used by Aquila and Symmachus (or ignored by them) and is regarded as possibly a dittography in a recent critical edition of the Hebrew Text.

In all, Professor Weingreen finds four categories of such glosses: (a) explanatory; (b) extensions of themes; (c) variant readings; (d) Masoretic-type notes. In his judgment these glosses represent official, standard commentary, expressed tersely. They may then be regarded as the literary prototypes of commentary with which we are familiar in rabbinic writings, both talmudic and medieval. He concludes that official expositional notes were written above the affected words in private manuscripts and that the continued

association of these notes with the related words or phrases in the text led, ultimately, to their incorporation into the texts by copyists. Since such glosses appear in the Septuagint version, they point to an activity of authoritative exposition of biblical texts at least in post-exilic times.

The intention of these glossators, we may note, was that of the targumists: to give the sense of Scripture and help the people understand the reading.

## 8. Some Laws Underlying Post-exilic Exegesis

We now turn from the glosses to consider certain characteristic features of the Jewish approach to the Bible during the post-exilic age, characteristics found in later pre-Christian Jewish writings, both canonical and non-canonical.

### *i. Free Midrashic Development*

Midrash, as we have seen, is a creative and actualizing rendition of the biblical text. It seeks to make the Scriptures understandable, relevant and useful for a later generation. In our earlier treatment of the subject we spoke only of rabbinic midrash. The midrashic approach to the Scriptures is, however, well attested before the rabbinic and the Christian era. From the Old Testament period we have a clear example of it in chapters 10-19 of the Book of Wisdom where early biblical history and the narrative of the Exodus are freely retold. Wisdom 10:21, in fact, has a midrashic paraphrase of Exodus 15:2 found also in the Palestinian Targum to this same verse. We have further examples of pre-rabbinic midrash in the Passover Haggadah, the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo, and possibly in the *Genesis Apocryphon* from Qumran.

### *ii. Later Theological Views Inserted into a Biblical Text or Later Translation*

The doctrine of messianism, the future life and other beliefs developed considerably after the Exile. R. Tournay has shown how ideas on the future life and angelology, developed in the later years of Old Testament Judaism,

were inserted into the biblical text when the earlier tradition came to be re-edited. This process of recasting earlier teaching in the light of later doctrine is known as rereading. At the end of his study Tournay remarks:<sup>14</sup>

It is interesting to see to what extent the Scriptures continued to live within the community of believers and how the faith of these believers poured itself into the very text of the ancient writings, thus registering the development of revelation for future generations. The forward thrust [*élan*] of this revelation went beyond the material content of the texts, and these latter were not considered as dead documents, fixed once for all; they always remained open to eventual enrichment. The Bible was already read and meditated on within a living tradition, a tradition anxious to answer the spiritual need of the Jewish people at every moment of its existence.

It was within this same living tradition that the Aramaic paraphrases originated and Louis P. Smith justly compares the preoccupations of the final editor of Hosea with those of the targumists:<sup>15</sup>

The purpose of the edition was to present the teaching of the prophets in a form which would be understandable and edifying for the common people. So far as possible therefore ambiguities were made clear, contradictions were explained or removed, and teachings made applicable to the contemporary situation. Now this is exactly what the Aramaic paraphrase of the prophetic targum attempts to do a few centuries later with the Hebrew text.

Later theological concepts have occasionally influenced the Greek Septuagint rendering. As an example we may take Jeremiah 31:8 (Septuagint 38:8), where the Hebrew text, speaking of the return from Exile, says: "Behold, I will bring them from the north country . . . among them the blind and the lame" (*bm 'wr wpsh*). This in the Septuagint becomes: "Behold I will bring them from the north . . . in a Passover feast," reading the Hebrew words given above as *bmw'd psh*, an understanding facilitated by the letters *r* (*resh*) and *d* (*daleth*) in the later square Hebrew script. The Greek rendering is partly due to a misreading of the Hebrew text. But its

14. Robert Tournay, "Relectures bibliques concernant la vie future et l'angéologie," *Revue Biblique* 69 (1962): 481-505, at 504-5.

15. Louis M. Smith, "The Prophetic Targum as a Guide for the Higher Critic," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 52 (1933): 121-33, at 122.

rendering is nonetheless influenced by the belief that the Messiah would come at the Passover, a belief found also in the Palestinian Targum (Exodus 12:42) and commonly held by the Jews of St. Jerome's day.

### *iii. Avoidance of Anthropomorphisms*

This tendency, found already in the Elohist source of the Pentateuch, became very pronounced in later Judaism. In the words of D. Barthélemy:<sup>16</sup> "If one can judge by the tendencies manifested by the book of Chronicles and the ancient Septuagint, one can say that the preoccupation to eliminate from the Bible expressions injurious to the glory of God characterizes in a special manner the work of the scribes during the three centuries which preceded the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey" (in 63 BCE). All this is very much a feature of the targums.

### *iv. Respect Due to Israel and the Elders of Israel*

According to a later rabbinic dictum one should not speak disparagingly of the righteous, meaning by this the worthies of Israel.<sup>17</sup> We have seen how this maxim was probably shared already by the Elohist. The tendency to change the biblical text itself, or rewrite it in translation, in order to remove or tone down passages detrimental to the reputation of the elders of Israel is already attested in pre-Christian times. In Judges 18:30 we read of Gershom, the son of Moses, in a context speaking of idol worship in the tribe of Dan. In many manuscripts of the Masoretic Text, by a *nun* (the letter *n*) above the line, "Moses" (*mšh*, *mosheh*) of this text is changed to "Manasseh" (*mnšh*, *m<sup>e</sup>nasheh*), doubtless out of respect for Moses. Professor David Gooding of Queen's University, Belfast, has shown how the law later formulated by the rabbis is operative already in the Septuagint translation, or in the Hebrew text on which this rendering is based.<sup>18</sup> There we

16. Dominique Barthélemy, "Les Targums sopherim et la critique textuelle," *Vetus Testamentum*, *Supplements* vol. 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1963), p. 292.

17. See Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27, 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; reprint 1978), p. 54.

18. David Gooding, "Ahab according to the Septuagint," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 76 (1964): 269-70; also "The Septuagint's Rival Versions of Jeroboam's Rise to Power," *Vetus Testamentum* 17 (1967): 173-89.

have evidence of a “whitewashing” tradition exculpating Jeroboam and Ahab. This tendency affects the targumic translation of certain passages both of the Pentateuch and of other books.

#### *v. Geography*

A natural tendency in any translation desirous of being meaningful to its readers is to replace ancient names with what the translator considers to be their contemporary equivalents. Thus we find that the Septuagint in Isaiah 9:11 replaces the Arameans and Philistines of the Hebrew text with the Syrians and Greeks. The “bringing up to date of geographical facts and names” is a noted feature of the Septuagint of Isaiah in particular. Ancient translations such as the Septuagint and the Peshitta, however, differ here from the Aramaic targums in some respects. The former were for people living outside Palestine. On a number of occasions it was as well to leave the name of some ancient and unknown Palestinian site untranslated as to give a later equivalent, known in Palestine but unknown outside it. Renderings intended for Palestinian audiences, on the other hand, would be interested in giving the later name of the biblical site. And there was another factor which must have affected Aramaic renderings intended for Palestinian Jews. For official Judaism the exact identification of certain biblical sites was no mere matter of actualization or of exegetical curiosity. The location of certain biblical sites, such as the border towns of Israel, had a direct bearing on halakhah, on whether the inhabitants were bound by the laws of the sabbatical year for instance. Hence we find a certain preoccupation with the identification of the border towns of Israel in the Mishnah and Tosephta and in the Palestinian Talmud.<sup>19</sup> We may presume that there existed in Palestinian Judaism one or more traditions on the actual identification of biblical sites.

### **9. Conclusion**

From all this we can see that in the centuries preceding the birth of Christ there came into existence in Judaism a tradition on the interpretation of

19. See *Tosefta, Shebiith* 4; ed. M. S. Zuckerman, *Tosephta* (Pasewalk, 1880), p. 66, 10; Palestinian Talmud, *Shebiith* 6:36c; *Sifre*, section *Ekeb*, at end; Mishnah, *Shebiith* 6:1; *Halla* 4:8; *Gittin* 1:1-2; *Tosefta, Halla* 2:11 (99), and below, pp. 285-286.

the text of the Old Testament. The Scriptures were not transmitted as something without life or without a precise meaning for believers. The text was handed on together with its interpretation. It was on this tradition the scribes and translators drew in their explanation and rendering of the written Word of God. We must not consider the targumists outside this tradition. When these stood up in the synagogue to render the written Word in Aramaic, they spoke as heirs of a tradition.

However, it must be borne in mind, as those who study inner-biblical exegesis note, that one cannot assert direct evidence of inner-biblical exegesis on any particular form of post-biblical exegesis or tradition, although there are certain similarities between the literature of Qumran, late Second Temple pseudepigraphical texts, and rabbinic midrash. The similarities of each have to be examined in each particular case. This also holds with regard to the Targumim, while bearing the possibility or likelihood of a continuum with regard to tradition in mind.

## CHAPTER 3

# *The Synagogue and Synagogue Worship*

### 1. Introduction

Because of the intimate relationship of synagogue worship and the Targums to the Pentateuch and to the Prophets, it is necessary to consider what form this worship took in pre-Christian times and in the days of Jesus.<sup>1</sup>

Authors are not agreed on the origins of the synagogue. Ancient Jewish tradition traces the institution of the synagogue and the introduction of its most important prayers back to Moses, and some recent scholars (for instance Professor Jacob Weingreen) advance the view that the ingredients of the synagogue — meetings with congregational prayer, the reading of sacred texts, the recital of psalm-like praises and the expository sermon — already existed in pre-exilic times. These traditions the Jews would have taken with them into exile and probably developed more thoroughly. What Ezra did when he had the Torah read and expounded to the assembled Jews (Nehemiah 8:1-8) would then not have been something novel.<sup>2</sup>

1. For this chapter see Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (175 B.C.—A.D. 135), a new English version revised and edited by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, Matthew Black, vol. 2 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), §27, pp. 422-463 (translation/revision by C. H. Cave); George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), vol. I, pp. 280-307; A. Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life in the Days of Christ* (London, no date, preface 1876), pp. 249-280; Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. IV (Munich, 1928), pp. 115-188; Jacob Weingreen, "The Origin of the Synagogue" in *Hermathena* 98 (1964): 68-84; see p. 81 for summary.

2. Jacob Weingreen, "The Origin of the Synagogue," *Hermathena* 98 (1964): 68-84; see



A widely held view takes it that the later synagogue institution had its origins in the spontaneous meetings held by the Jews during the Exile for the purpose of praying, hearing their ancient traditions read and exhorting one another.

Others see the origins of the synagogue within Palestine itself in the post-exilic period. In this regard a number of modern scholars refer to Nehemiah 8:1-8 where we read that Ezra had the Law of Moses read to the gathered assembly before the Water Gate in Jerusalem. Together with the public reading there are public praise of God and explanation of the Law, and in the view of some also translation (*mēporaš*). Some would see here the sequence: public reading, followed by translation and interpretation, ending with community praise of God. This scene could thus be seen as the prototype of synagogue liturgy. Whether translation (into Aramaic) can be seen in this text is doubtful, as we shall see later. Other scholars believe the origins of the synagogue system lie later, in the late third century, and at the beginning that it had a profane, rather than a religious purpose, becoming a place of prayer only after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE.

The exact origins of the synagogue need not detain us further. What is important for our purpose is that by New Testament times, and long before, the synagogue had become an established institution both in Palestine and in the Diaspora. Furthermore, the order of worship in the synagogue was by then fixed in its essentials, without, however, fixed formulae for prayers.

Of course the Sabbath was the day *par excellence* for synagogue service. In Palestine, at least, there were also services on the second and fifth days of the week (Monday and Thursday), the market days when the peasants came to the villages.

The synagogue was the centre of Jewish religious life. It was there the ordinary Jew worshipped and received instruction in the Law of Moses. It did not, however, displace the Temple. In fact it helped in its own way to foster love for God's House in Jerusalem. While the relevant course<sup>3</sup> of the

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p. 81 for summary.; see also Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, revised edition, vol. 2, p. 426.

3. The "course" (Hebrew *mishmar*, plural *mishmaroth*; literally "guards") was a division of priests and levites for duty in liturgical functions. For this duty priests and levites were divided into twenty-four courses or "divisions," each course in its turn attending to the Temple liturgy. The Baptist's father, Zechariah, was of the "division," or "course" of Abijah (see Lk 1:5, 8, 23). On the "courses" see also Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, revised ed., vol. 2, pp. 245-256.

twenty-two courses of priests and levites performed their sacred functions in the Temple, the (lay) Israelites of that course assembled in the local synagogue to show their solidarity with them and to manifest the connection of the synagogue with the Temple.<sup>4</sup> Throughout this week of service, the Israelites who assembled in the synagogues read the first chapter of Genesis. Each day of the week, for the six days from Sunday to Friday, they read in order the work of the six days of creation. "On the first day they read from *In the beginning* . . . to *Let there be a firmament* [exclusive]; and on the second day, from *Let there be a firmament* [inclusive] to *waters be gathered together* [exclusive]; . . . on the sixth day, from *Let the earth bring forth* . . . to *and the heaven and the earth were finished*" (Mishnah, *Ta'anith* 4:3). We may remark that in the Palestinian Targum as found in Codex Neofiti the account of each of the six days of creation ends with the phrase: "the order of the work of creation: the first (respectively second, etc.) day."<sup>5</sup> This phrase may well be due to the synagogue custom just mentioned and may mark the conclusion of the daily readings for each of the six days.

## 2. Synagogue Worship

As principal parts of the synagogue liturgy the Mishnah (*m. Megillah* 13:12) mentions the recitation of the *Shema*<sup>6</sup>, with its accompanying blessings, the reading of the Torah (Pentateuch), the reading of the Prophets, and the priestly blessing. To this we can add the translation of the portions of the Scriptures read (presupposed by the Mishnah), and its explanation by means of an exhortation, stressed by Philo.

## 3. The *Shema*<sup>6</sup>

With regard to form of early Jewish prayers it must be borne in mind that this is often difficult or impossible to reconstruct, since there appears to

4. See Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, revised ed., vol. 2, pp. 292-293; 303, with note 41.

5. On other indications for the close connection of Neofiti with the Jewish liturgy see M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27, 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; reprint 1978), pp. 62-63; "Some Early Rabbinic Citations and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 41 (1966): 1-15, at 13.

have been great liberty in the manner in which the individual elements were expressed in the different synagogues and communities, which on this matter were not under a central control. The oldest Jewish prayer book (*Seder Amran Gaon*) we possess is from the ninth century. This, as one would expect, is based on older practice. With the aid of references in the Mishnah and other sources we can form a good idea of the prayers used in the synagogue during the early Christian centuries, and even in the time of Christ. It is now generally accepted that there was no fixed formula for the early Jewish prayers before 70 CE (and New Testament period) such as the *Shema*. There was unity on the central themes, which could be abbreviated or lengthened or given "in abstract."<sup>6</sup>

The *Shema* was recited morning and evening and preceded and concluded by specific prayers. The synagogue service began with the *Shema*, Israel's profession of faith in the One True God.<sup>7</sup> The *Shema* consists of the following three passages: Deuteronomy 6:4-9, Deuteronomy 11:13-21, and Numbers 15:37-41 — the text from Numbers probably being a later addition. It gets its name *Shema* ("Hear") from the opening section: "Hear O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." In Palestine the *Shema* could be recited in Hebrew or in Aramaic.

The recitation of the *Shema* was introduced and followed by short formulas blessing God and consequently known as *Berakoth* ("Blessings"). In the morning recitation two benedictions preceded it and one followed and in the evening two preceded it and two came after it (Mishnah, *Berakoth* 1:4; 2:1-2). The Mishnah (*Ber.* 2:2; *Tamid* 5:1) cites the first words of the closing (morning) benediction (*'mt wysyb*, "True and firm") exactly

6. See now David Instone-Brewer, *Traditions of the Rabbis from the Era of the New Testament*. Volume I: *Prayer and Agriculture* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 2004), pp. 45-47.

7. See Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, revised ed., vol. 2, pp. 454-455; C. P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, IV, pp. 189-207; Moore, *Judaism* I, p. 291; Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt a. M.: Kaufmann, 1924; 4th ed. Hildesheim, 1962), §7, pp. 16-26. English translation: *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History*, by Ismar Elbogen; translated by Raymond P. Scheidin (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1993; based on the original 1913 German edition and the 1972 Hebrew edition, edited by Joseph Heinemann et al.); Jakob J. Petuchowski, "Das 'Höre Israel,'" in *Jüdische Liturgie. Geschichte — Struktur — Wesen*, ed. Hans Hermann Henrix (Freiburg: Herder, 1979), pp. 66-76.

as they are used in today's Jewish liturgy. Allowing for later additions and changes of various kinds, the following can be taken as the essential parts of the benedictions recited before the *Shema*<sup>7</sup>. The morning prayer began by giving thanks to the Creator, with the following benediction:

Blessed be Thou, O Lord, our God of the universe, Who formest the light and createst darkness, Who makest peace and createst everything, Who in Thy mercy givest light to the earth and to its inhabitants, and Who in Thy goodness renewest every day continually the work of creation. . . . Who hast made the heavenly luminaries. Blessed be Thou, O God, Who makest the luminaries.<sup>8</sup>

The second benediction thanks God for the revelation and the election of Israel:

With an everlasting love Thou hast loved us, and with great and abundant mercy Thou hast had pity on us, our Father and King. . . . Thou hast chosen us from among other nations and tongues, and with love Thou hast joined us to Thy great name, our King, so that we may praise Thee, celebrate Thy unity and fear and love Thy name. Blessed be Thou, O God, Who out of love hast chosen Thy people Israel.<sup>9</sup>

The third of the morning benedictions follows the *Shema*<sup>7</sup>. It is the benediction of redemption and is the oldest of the three:

True, firm (*'mt wsysyb*), established, enduring, right, faithful and beloved is this word unto us forever. . . . Thou hast been the help of our fathers for all times. Thou hast been shield and salvation for them and for their children after them through all generations. Blessed be Thou, God, Redeemer of Israel.<sup>10</sup>

The evening *Shema*<sup>7</sup> is framed by four benedictions. The first three are similar to those recited in the morning; the last prays for divine help during the night. It has a less official character, and we shall not quote it.

8. Text given as in Joseph Bonsirven, *Palestinian Judaism in the Time of Jesus Christ*. Translated from the French by William Wolf (Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1964), pp. 129-130.

9. As in Bonsirven, *Palestinian Judaism*, p. 130.

10. Abbreviated form as in Bonsirven, *Palestinian Judaism*, p. 130; fuller form in Samuel Singer (translator), *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire*, 9th edition (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1912), p. 42.

#### 4. The Shema<sup>1</sup> and the Commandments

The three biblical texts comprising the *Shema*<sup>1</sup> were so much part of tradition in the second century CE that one could speculate on the choice of the order in which they are given. R. Joshua ben Karha (ca. 140-165 CE) says that Deuteronomy 6:4-9 preceded Deuteronomy 11:13-21 "so that a man may first take upon him the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, and afterward take upon him the yoke of the commandments." Again Deuteronomy 11:13-21 precedes Numbers 15:37-41, because the former applies both by day and night while the latter applies by day only (*Mishnah, Berakoth* 2:2).

Originally the commandments formed part of the *Shema*<sup>1</sup> (*Mishnah, Tamid* 5:1), and there were, apparently, Hebrew manuscripts in circulation containing only the commandments and Israel's profession of faith. The Nash papyrus (ca. 150 BCE) is an example, with the ten commandments and Deuteronomy 6:4-6.

In Christ's day, too, the commandments would have been part of the *Shema*<sup>1</sup>. The former were later omitted "to give no occasion to the cavils of heretics"; that these might not say: "The Ten Commandments only were given to Moses on Sinai" (*j. Berakoth* 3c middle; *b. Berakoth* 12a). The "heretics" in question were probably Christians: in Numbers 15:39 God tells Israel to remember *all* the commandments of the Lord and do them; the commandments for Christian were the Ten, for the Jews 623.

Synagogue liturgy apparently affected the Palestinian Targum rendering, where a blessing on the divine name is inserted after the translation of the opening words of the *Shema*<sup>1</sup> (Deuteronomy 6:4; Genesis 49:2). This is but another indication of the close connection of the Palestinian Targum and the liturgy of the synagogue. It is likewise a further argument for the venerable age of the former.

The bearing of the *Shema*<sup>1</sup> and of the targumic rendering of Deuteronomy 6:4-5 on certain New Testament texts, such as Mark 12:29-30 (and parallels), merits separate consideration, and will be treated in the second part of this work.<sup>11</sup>

11. Below, chapter 13, 3; pp. 190-194.

## 5. The Eighteen Benedictions (Shemoneh Esreh)<sup>12</sup>

The Eighteen Benedictions, usually called “The Eighteen” (in Hebrew *Shemoneh Esreh*) or “The Prayer” (*Tefillah*), is also known as the *Amidah* (the Hebrew for “Standing”) as it was recited standing. In the oldest form known to us this consisted in a series of “Benedictions,” so called because each ascription or petition ended with the words: “Blessed art Thou, O Lord,” etc. These prayers, apart from some reference to the fall of Jerusalem, are much earlier than Christian times. We have the *Shemoneh Esreh* in a Palestinian and Babylonian recension, the latter being considered a more developed form of the prayer than the former.

The arrangement of these Benedictions was made towards the end of the first century CE. Their number was then eighteen, in Hebrew *Shemoneh Esreh*, whence the name. When a nineteenth prayer (i.e. no. 12) against the “heretics” (*minim*, and *notsrim*, i.e. Christians) was introduced in the Palestinian Recension at the end of the first century, the prayer continued to bear the same name: the Eighteen (Benedictions).<sup>13</sup>

The prayer opens with the praise of God (nos. 1-3) and closes with thanksgiving to God (nos. 17-18[19]). In between (4-16) we have petitions. Rabbi Gamaliel II, under whose authority the arrangement of the Benedictions was made, expressed the view that every Jew should recite the Eighteen Benedictions daily, while an alternative rabbinic view was that an abstract was sufficient.<sup>14</sup> There was considerable dispute among the early rabbis as to the form of the abstract. Some regarded it as an outline of the Eighteen; others held that it contained at least the first three and the last

12. See Jakob J. Petuchowski, “Das Achtzehngebet,” in *Jüdische Liturgie. Geschichte — Struktur — Wesen*, pp. 77-88. For the texts of the Eighteen Benedictions see E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, revised edition, vol. 2, §27, pp. 455-463 (translation/revision by C. H. Cave); Instone-Brewer, *Traditions of the Rabbis*, pp. 52-119, for the relevant sections of the treatise *Berakhot* in the Mishnah, with treatment of the dating of individual passages and their bearing on the New Testament; with the text of the Eighteen Benedictions in the Palestinian (Genizah) version, together with commentary. The text of Benedictions 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 14 in C. K. Barrett (ed.), *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents*, revised edition (London: SPCK, 1987), pp. 205-206; of Benediction 12, p. 211.

13. In the opinion of Instone-Brewer, *Traditions of the Rabbis*, pp. 108-112, 118, Benediction no. 12 may have referred originally to the sinful Roman occupiers. Later the references to the *Perushim* (Pharisees) and *minim* (i.e. the Sadducees) were added by the Sadducees and Pharisees respectively, cursing each other. The reference to the *Nazarim* (Christians) was added later still, but before 70 CE.

14. In *m. Ber.* 4:3; see Instone-Brewer, *Traditions of the Rabbis*, pp. 54-57.

three Benedictions. It would appear that an abstract or abstracts of the Eighteen existed by 70 CE. and were legitimate at least on certain occasions. The earliest recorded abstract is that of R. Eliezer 1 (ben Hyrcanus; T2, 80-120 CE), which is as follows (*t. Ber.* 3:7): "May your will be done in the heavens above, and grant the ease of spirit to those who fear you and do what is good in your eyes. Blessed (is he) who listens to prayer." The Eighteen (or an abstract of them) was to be recited three times a day, at the Morning Prayer, Midday Prayer, and Evening Prayer. On the sabbath and festivals only the first three and the last three, i.e. those on praise and on thanksgiving, were recited, with a special benediction in praise of the Sabbath. For the recitation Hebrew or Aramaic could be used.

The language of the Benedictions draws heavily on the Scriptures, particularly on the Psalms. No. 2 expresses faith in the resurrection: "Thou art mighty for ever, O Lord; . . . Thou restorest life to the dead (cf. 2 Cor 1:9). Thou art mighty to save. . . . Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who restorest the dead." No. 14(15) looks forward to the Messiah. "Have pity, O Lord our God, on Israel thy people, on Jerusalem thy city, and on Zion the dwelling-place of thy glory, and on thy altar, and on thy Palace and on the kingdom of the House of David, the Messiah [of] thy righteousness. Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, the builder of Jerusalem." Thus the Palestinian recension. The Babylonian recension is more explicit: "The offspring of David, thy servant, speedily cause to flourish, and let his horn be exalted in thy salvation; for thy salvation do we hope daily. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who causest the horn of salvation to flourish." No. 3 is on the sanctification of the divine Name: "Thou art holy and fearsome is thy Name, and there is no God apart from Thee. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the holy God."

Sentiments expressed in these benedictions are found throughout the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch and the other liturgical paraphrases of the Old Testament as well. All originated at the very heart of Israelite piety.

The Lord's Prayer of the New Testament is seen to be similar to the Eighteen, or an abstract of them.<sup>15</sup> It is also noteworthy that like the Eighteen, in the early church the Lord's Prayer was prayed three times a day, and standing. The Lord's Prayer, however, does not conform to the Eigh-

15. On this see, among others, Instone-Brewer, *Traditions of the Rabbis*, pp. 55-56 (with bibliography); pp. 115-117 for a broader view of the Eighteen Benedictions and the New Testament. For a more detailed study of the question see Jakob J. Petuchowski and Michael Brocke (eds.), *The Lord's Prayer and Jewish Liturgy* (London: Burns and Oates, 1978).

teen; its petitions do not end with a response “Blessed.” The Lord’s Prayer is similar to many Jewish prayers (especially the Qaddish to be considered below) in a number of instances, for instance God’s name being blessed, a prayer for the coming of the kingdom, that his will be done (as in Eliezer’s abstract), food (Benediction 9: “Bless for us, Lord our God, this year to our benefit, with all kinds of produce . . .”) and forgiveness (Benediction 6: “Forgive us our Father, for we have sinned against you . . .”), but without mention of “as we forgive . . .” or: “have forgiven . . .,” which is stressed in the New Testament.

## 6. The Qaddish<sup>16</sup>

After the Prayer (*Tephillah*; the *Shemoneh Esreh*) came the reading of the Scriptures, accompanied in Palestine by a rendering into Aramaic. Then came the homily which in Palestine was for the greater part in Aramaic. The preacher closed the homily with the following ascription in Aramaic: “May his great name be blessed forever and for ever and ever.” In due time, and in the pre-Christian era, this developed into a longer Aramaic prayer known as the *Qaddish* which came to be used in other places of the liturgy as well. There are various forms of this extended prayer. It was also used in the Temple. The form of the *Qaddish* of New Testament times is hard to determine, but specialists in Jewish liturgy are of the opinion that the kernel of the prayer “May his great name be magnified and sanctified” and “May he establish his kingdom” (the first paragraph of the liturgical form) is very old and probably pre-70 or pre-Christian. Arguments for its antiquity are seen in the absence of the mention of the Temple’s destruction, and its similarity with Matthew’s form of the Our Father. The original *Qaddish* received different formulations in later Judaism. The original form of the prayer may have been the first paragraph of the liturgical *Qaddish* which is as follows:<sup>17</sup>

16. See Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, 12a, pp. 92-98; David De Sola Pool, *The Old Jewish Aramaic Prayer: The Kaddish* (Leipzig: Rudolf Haupt, 1909); Moore, *Judaism*, vol. 1, p. 308; vol. 3, p. 101, note 84; Paul V. Levertoff, “Synagogue Worship in the First Century,” in *Liturgy and Worship*, ed. W. K. Lowther Clarke and C. Harris (London: SPCK, 1932), pp. 74-75.

17. For the text see also Barrett (ed.), *The New Testament Background*, p. 206; Bon-sirven, *Palestinian Judaism*, p. 133.



Exalted and hallowed be His great name in the world, which He created according to His Will; and let His kingdom come in your lifetime and in the lifetime of the whole house of Israel, very speedily. R. Amen.

Blessed be His great name, world without end. Blessed and praised, celebrated and exalted, extolled and adored, magnified and worshipped be Thy holy name. Blessed be He far above all benedictions, hymns, thanks, praises and consolations, which have been uttered in the world. R. Amen.

May the prayers and supplications of all Israel be graciously received before their Father in heaven. R. Amen.

May perfect peace descend from heaven, and life upon us and all Israel. R. Amen.

May He who makes peace in His heaven confer peace upon us and upon all Israel. R. Amen.

## 7. Scripture Readings<sup>18</sup>

Readings from the Scriptures, from the Pentateuch at any rate, are probably as old as the synagogue system itself. In Jewish sources of the early Christian period Moses is said to have prescribed the reading of the Law on Sabbaths, holy days, new moons and the intermediate days of festivals with octaves or such periods, while Ezra is said to have ordained the reading on the market days (Monday and Thursday) and at the afternoon service (the *minḥah*) of the Sabbath. This is another way of saying that the custom was then of immemorial antiquity.

By New Testament times the reading consisted of passages from the

18. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. 1, pp. 296-303; Roger Le Déaut, "Targum," in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 13 (Paris: Letouzey, 2002), end, cols 1\*-344\*, at "Sitz im Leben, 1: Le Targum dans la synagogue" (cols 20\*-24\*: a) Récitation du Targum; b) Textes "à ne pas traduire"; c) la fameuse règle de R. Judah ["The one who translates literally is a liar . . ."]; d) Place du meturgeman); Charles Perrot, "*Petuhot* et *Setumot*. Étude sur les alinéas du Pentateuque," *Revue Biblique* 76 (1969): 50-91: a study of the open (*petuhot*) and closed (*setumot*) *parashyot* or sections of the Pentateuch and of the bearing of this on the history of the development of the readings of the Pentateuch in the synagogues. He believes that Neofiti represents an old recension of the Palestinian Targum.

Law and the Prophets. The lesson could be read by any male Jew, adult or minor, free from certain impediments. The reader was required to *read* from the scroll. He could not recite the passage from memory. And he stood as he read.

The Mishnah and Tosephta (tractate *Megillah*) give detailed instructions on this reading of the Scriptures. More than one reader was required: on a Monday, Thursday, and Sabbath afternoon three; on certain other days four; on a festival day five; on the Day of Atonement six; in the Sabbath morning service seven. There was no reading from the Prophets in the Monday, Thursday and Sabbath afternoon service, nor in the new moons and mid-festival services (Mishnah, *Meg.* 4:1-2). Each reader had to read a minimum of three verses from the Law (*m. Meg.* 4:4). As a general rule a Benediction was said by the first and last reader of the section from the Pentateuch.

### *i. Fixed Readings*<sup>19</sup>

Certain days had fixed readings assigned to them. The list given by the Mishnah (*Megillah* 3:4-6) is as follows:

#### A. The Four Sabbaths of Adar (i.e. the month preceding Nisan)

First Sabbath	(1) Exodus 30:11-16
Second Sabbath	(2) Deuteronomy 25:17-19
Third Sabbath	(3) Numbers 19:1-20
Fourth Sabbath	(4) Exodus 12:1-20

#### B. Festivals

Passover	(5) Leviticus chapter 23 (section: "The Set Feasts")
Pentecost	(6) Deuteronomy 16:9-12 (section: "Seven Weeks")
The New Year	(7) Leviticus 23:23ff
Day of Atonement	(8) Leviticus 16:1-34
First day of Tabernacles	(9) Leviticus 23:16 (as at Passover)
Other days of Tabernacles	(10) Numbers 29:17ff.
Feast of Dedication	(11) Numbers 7:1-89
Purim	(12) Exodus 17:8-16

19. See Moore, *Judaism*, vol. 1, p. 298.

## C. Other Festival Days

- First days of the month (13) Numbers 28:11-15  
(i.e. new moons)
- The Maamads (i.e. (14) Genesis chapter 1  
synagogue service while  
the course of priests  
and levites officiated  
in the temple)
- Fast days (15) Leviticus 26:3-46 ("The Blessing and the  
Curses")

The readings assigned to the four special Sabbaths are known from their opening Hebrew words as *Shekalim* ("Shekels"); *Zakor* ("Remember what Amalek did"); *Parah* ("The red heifer"); and *ha-Hodesh* ("This month"). Their choice for the season immediately preceding Nisan is obvious: they recall the duty of paying the temple tax and of performing the required preparations for Passover. Amalek, through Haman, is associated with the feast of Purim, held on Adar 14 (or 15). All these were probably fixed readings in pre-Christian times. So too, probably, are the lessons assigned to the major festivals and the Day of Atonement. About the others George Foot Moore has serious doubts.<sup>20</sup> This Mishnah prescription, he believes, has a systematic look about it and may be later than the fall of Jerusalem (70 CE).

ii. *Palestinian Cycle of Scripture Readings*<sup>21</sup>

For the New Testament period and for some centuries later there appears to have been no *lectio continua* of the Prophets (the *Haftarah*). This is implied by Mishnah, *Meg.* 4:4, which states that a reader may leave out verses in the Prophets, but not in the Law. The same tractate has repeated references to reading the Pentateuch "in the fixed order," but never refers to such fixed order for the *Haftarah*. The choice of passage was probably left

20. George Foot Moore, *Judaism*, vol. 1, p. 298.

21. See further, Roger Le Déaut, *Introduction à la littérature targumique* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966), pp. 45-51; Roger Le Déaut, "Targum," *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 13 (end), col. 19\*; Nahum M. Sarna, review of Jacob Mann and Isaiah Sonne, *The Bible as Preached in the Old Synagogue* (1966), in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 87 (1968): 100-105; Perrot, "Petuhot," pp. 74-78.

to the head of the synagogue or the reader himself. Luke 4:16-20 tells us of Jesus' participation at a synagogue service at Nazareth. The description corresponds exactly to what the Mishnah and later Jewish texts have on synagogue usage. It is not clear whether the Haftarah (Isaiah 61:1-2) read by Jesus was chosen by himself or determined by the head of the synagogue. The former seems to have been the case.

Today the Jews and Samaritans complete the reading of the Pentateuch in a one-year cycle. The present-day Jewish annual cycle is that attested for Babylonian Judaism in the early centuries of the Christian era. With this annual cycle of Babylon the text of the Babylonian Talmud (*Meg.* 29b) contrasts the triennial cycle then in use in Palestine: "Those [Jews] of the West [i.e. Palestine] complete the reading of the Pentateuch in three years." This Palestinian cycle continued in use in Palestinian Judaism for a long time, until it was finally superseded by the Babylonian custom. It occasioned the division of the Pentateuch into 154 sections (*sedarim*) still found in Hebrew Bibles.

The text of the Babylonian Talmud shows that the triennial cycle was established throughout Palestine in the third century. How much older than this it is, we cannot say. From the evidence available to us from the Mishnah and Tosephta it seems to follow that it was not the established practice in the second century CE. That the Pentateuch should be read consecutively, in a fixed order, seems to be a guiding principle. But in the middle of the second century R. Meir and R. Judah ben Ilai held divergent views on what this order should be (*t. Meg.* 4:10). R. Meir maintained that the *lectio continua* should embrace all synagogue readings of the Pentateuch. "At the place where they leave off at the Sabbath morning service, they begin at the afternoon service; where they leave off at that service, they begin on Monday; where they leave off on Monday, they begin on Thursday; and where they leave off on Thursday, they begin on the following Sabbath." His contemporary, R. Judah, was of the view that the *lectio continua* should embrace only the Sabbath morning service, and that the reading at each Sabbath morning service should commence where the reading of the preceding Sabbath morning service ended.

The system presumed by the Mishnah tractate *Megillah* appears to be that advocated by R. Judah ben Ilai. The tractate speaks of reading according to the "set order" (3:4.6; 4:4). This set order is put aside for the four special Sabbaths of Adar. "On the fifth they revert to the set order" (3:4). The *lectio continua* is also broken by other days to which a special reading is assigned. "At all those times they break off [from the set order in the

reading of the Law]; on the first days of the months, at the [Feast of] Dedication, at Purim, on days of fasting, and at the Maamads and on the Day of Atonement" (3:4). "On Mondays and Thursdays and on Sabbaths at the Afternoon Prayer [*minḥah*] they read according to the set order; and these are not taken into account" (3:6). Canon Danby is very probably right when he takes this to mean that on these days the lessons from the Pentateuch were from the section prescribed for the following Sabbath;<sup>22</sup> what was read during the week was read again the following Sabbath at the morning service.

In the rabbinic reckoning (noted at the end of the Hebrew Bible) there are 5,845 verses in the Pentateuch. Assuming the normal number of readers (seven) and the minimum number of verses (three) with a maximum number of forty-nine Sabbaths per year (i.e. fifty-three minus the four special Sabbaths), R. Judah's system, and that of the Mishnah, would take almost six years to go through. Add to this the Sabbath readings omitted by the concurrence of some of the other special days and the Sabbath, and the period will be longer. It has been reckoned that R. Meir's system would take about two years and four months for the reading of the Pentateuch.

There is clearly no evidence that in the Palestine of New Testament times or for some time later the Pentateuch was read in a cycle, beginning and ending on a given feast or date. G. F. Moore has serious doubts that there was even any *lectio continua* in mishnaic times. He takes the injunction of Mishnah, *Meg.* 4:4 — not to skip from place to place in the Pentateuch — as an indication that in practice this was done.<sup>23</sup> He is likewise of the opinion that when readings on ordinary Sabbaths first became customary in the synagogue service, the passage to be read was freely chosen by the reader or by the head of the synagogue.<sup>24</sup> This was scarcely the procedure in New Testament times.

According to the canonical book that bears his name, Ezra had the commission of teaching the Law of Moses to the Jews, and the synagogue was the ideal place to do this. It was important that all Israel know the entire Law. This would indicate that the Pentateuch be read through consecutively at the regular Sabbath morning services. The evidence from New

22. Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah. Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* (Oxford: University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1933), p. 205.

23. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. 1, pp. 298-299.

24. See Moore, *Judaism*, vol. 1, p. 298.

Testament times supports this. "For from early generations Moses has had in every city those who preach him, for he is read every sabbath in the synagogues" (Acts 15:21). The text of Josephus already cited indicates the same.<sup>25</sup> Philo, too, informs us that Moses commanded that the Jews should assemble on the seventh day, and, being seated, should reverently and decorously listen to the Law, in order that no one might be ignorant of it.

It would appear, then, that at least by New Testament times there was a *lectio continua* of the Pentateuch. The manner in which this was done does not then appear to have been determined. It was probably left to local custom. To postulate any cycle, be it annual, triennial or of some other sort, for Palestine goes beyond the evidence at our disposal. Theories based on any such cycle (and there are a number of them) are founded on very insecure premises.<sup>26</sup>

25. Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 2,17 (18), 175; see above chapter 2, 6 (pp. 54-55). The relevant text of Philo, book I of his *Hypothetica*, preserved by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 8, 7, 12-13, is cited below (p. 81) in the translation of F. H. Colson (*Philo with an English Translation*, by F. H. Colson, vol. 9; The Loeb Classical Library; London: Heineman; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960, pp. 431, 433).

26. See A. Buechler, "The Reading of the Law and the Prophets in a Triennial Cycle" in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 5 (1893): 420-68; 6 (1894): 1-73; Jacob Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, vol. I: *The Palestinian Triennial Cycle* (Cincinnati, 1940; reissue with prologue by Ben Zion Wacholder, New York: Ktav, 1971), on Genesis and Exodus; vol. II by J. Mann and Isaiah Sonne (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1966), on Leviticus and Numbers; see review by N. M. Sarna in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 87 (1968): 100-05. Mann's belief that the midrashic homilies were based on the *Haftaroth*, and not on the readings from the Pentateuch, is not borne out by an analysis of the texts; further bibliography on the Palestinian cycle in Le Déaut, *Introduction*, pp. 45-46. Aileen Guilding takes a Palestinian triennial cycle as the basis for her work, *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship: A Study of the Relation of St. John's Gospel to the Ancient Jewish Lectionary System* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960). This triennial cycle is also at the basis of R. G. Finch's work, *The Synagogue Lectionary and the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1939); likewise C. H. Cave in *New Testament Studies* 11 (1965): 374-87 (see p. 377); he has promised a larger work on the subject. He believes the triennial cycle originated before the Maccabean age. P. Carrington seeks to prove the relationship of the Gospel of Mark with the Jewish lectionary tradition and with the primitive Christian calendar (*The Primitive Christian Catechism*, Cambridge, 1940; *The Primitive Christian Calendar*, Cambridge, 1952). See critique of his position by W. D. Davies in *Christian Origins and Judaism* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1962), pp. 67-92. P. Levertoffin, *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, ed. C. Gore et al. (London, 1928), pp. 128ff, also attempted to trace a connection between the Jewish year and the Gospels; critique of this view in Davies, *Christian Origins*, pp. 92-95.

## 8. The Aramaic Rendering

The need for a rendering into the Aramaic vernacular of the passage read in Hebrew was a necessity in communities with little or no knowledge of Hebrew. Hebrew might be the "sacred tongue," yet the very purpose of the Scripture reading was to make the mass of the people acquainted with the Law of Moses.

We can presume that in Jesus' day, in Galilee at least, and most probably in Judea as well, the Hebrew text was rendered into Aramaic. We are ill-informed, however, as to the form that this translation took, and what relation it might have borne to the texts of the targums on the Pentateuch and Prophets now available to us. We shall return to this point later.

The Mishnah gives considerable detail on how this rendering into Aramaic was to be done. The interpreter (called the *Meturgeman*) had to be distinct from the reader. Any competent person, even a minor, could act as interpreter, subject, naturally, to the control of the head of the synagogue. As far as the Pentateuch was concerned, each single verse was rendered into Aramaic immediately after being read out in Hebrew. For the Prophets, three verses could be read before being translated (*Meg.* 4:4).

Certain texts, detrimental to the honour of Israel or the ancients, were read out in Hebrew and not rendered into Aramaic. These texts, listed in *Meg.* 4:10, are: the story of Reuben (Genesis 35:22); the second story of the golden calf (Exodus 32; exact verses uncertain); the blessing of the priests (Numbers 6:24-26); the story of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam 11:2-17); and the story of Amnon and Tamar (2 Sam 13). It was the oral rendering in the synagogue, not the consigning of a translation of these texts to writing, which was forbidden. Yet, it is interesting that all the Pentateuch passages are left untranslated in Codex Neofiti. In fact, this text even leaves untranslated the words detrimental to Reuben's honour in Genesis 49:4.

The Aramaic translation had to be given orally. It was forbidden to use written texts for this purpose. One reason given for this is that the written law should be transmitted in writing and the oral law by word of mouth (Palestinian Talmud, *Meg.* 4,1,74d, l. 16). Another reason given in the Babylonian Talmud (*Meg.* 32a) is that of impressing on the people the difference between the sacred text and its interpretative translation. This law may have been operative already in New Testament times. Jesus' disciples distinguished between the words of Scripture on Elias and the scribes' understanding of these words (Matthew 17:10; Mark 9:11).

In the second century CE, R. Judah ben Ilai gave as a principle of translation: "He who translates a verse literally is a liar, and he who adds to it is a blasphemer" (*t. Meg.* 4:41; *Qiddushin* 49a). To illustrate this he adduces Exodus 24:10: "They saw the God of Israel." To translate this literally would be a lie, since no man can be said to have seen God. To insert "angel" for God would be blasphemous since a creature would then be substituted for the creator. The proper rendering according to R. Judah is: "They saw the *glory* of the God of Israel." This, in fact, is substantially how the text is rendered in all targums of the passage, and was a rendering very probably current long before R. Judah's day. The mentality which inspired it can be seen in John 12:41 where Isaiah is said to have seen the *glory* of Christ (see Isaiah 6:1, 5).

By the time the Mishnah rule came to be codified, and probably long before, the task of the meturgeman was scarcely that of rendering the Hebrew text into Aramaic for the first time. Nor was he likely to have had the liberty to render the Hebrew text at will. The interpretative tradition had already been formed. His was rather the duty of conveying this traditional understanding of the text to the people. That this was so, would seem to follow from the nature of the case. The purpose of the reading of the Law and of the Aramaic rendering was to have the congregation understand the message of Moses. This was a very important function in which the meturgeman would surely be bound by tradition. That the "interpreter" transmitted a traditional rendering of the text seems implicit, too, in rabbinic texts referring to the translation of the Scriptures in the synagogues. In the Mishnah, *Meg.* 4:9 it is laid down that anyone who translates Leviticus 18:21 — "And you shall not give any of your seed to make [them] pass [through fire] to Moloch" — as: "You shall not give any of your seed to have them become with child in heathendom," be put to silence with a rebuke. We may presume that the translation censured was known to have been used in some synagogues. It was one rendering already in some way "traditional." It is, in fact, substantially the rendering of Leviticus 18:21 still found in Pseudo-Jonathan, the Peshitta and in a gloss to Neofiti.<sup>27</sup> The principle that the targum belonged to the oral law to be transmitted orally seems to indicate that it was looked on as a form of fixed tradition.

On the supposition that the meturgeman repeated a traditional rendering rather than gave a new one of his own, we can readily understand how minors were permitted to act as interpreters. We shall return to a re-

27. See further, McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 49-51.



lated matter when we come to consider the origin and transmission of the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch.<sup>28</sup>

### 9. The Homily<sup>29</sup>

By New Testament times the homily, in Palestine given in the Aramaic vernacular, was an independent part of the synagogue service. That such was the case in Palestine we know from the Gospels (e.g. Luke 4:16-21). The same was true of the Hellenistic synagogues. Paul, as we know, availed himself of the synagogue homily to preach the gospel to the Jews of the Dispersion. In Acts 13:14-41 Luke has recorded a homily delivered by the Apostle of the Gentiles in Pisidian Antioch. We have also the evidence of Philo. Referring to the Sabbath observance he says (*Special Laws*, II,15,61-62):

Innumerable schools of practical wisdom and self-control are opened every seventh day in all cities. In these schools the people sit decorously, keeping silence and listening with the utmost attention out of a thirst for refreshing discourse, while one of the best qualified stands up and instructs them in what is best and most conducive to welfare, things by which their whole life may be made better.

The subject matter of this discourse was piety and holiness towards God and humanity and justice towards men (*Special Laws*, 63). In another passage he tells us that in these assemblies the Law (of Moses) was expounded (*Hypothetica*; preserved in Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica* 8,7,12-13):

He [Moses] required them to assemble in the same place on these seventh days, and sitting together in a respectful and orderly manner hear the laws read so that none should be ignorant of them. And indeed they always assemble and sit together, most of them in silence except when it is the practice to add something to signify their approval of what is read. But some priest who is present or one of the elders reads the holy laws to them and expounds them point by point until about

28. See p. 126 below.

29. See Avigdor Shinan, "Sermons, Targums and the Reading from Scripture in Ancient Synagogues," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity*, ed. Lee I. Levine (Philadelphia: American School of Oriental Research, 1987), pp. 97-110.

the late afternoon, when they depart, having gained both expert knowledge of the holy laws and considerable advance in piety.

It would be interesting to determine the general pattern and content of the homilies delivered in the synagogues of Palestine during the time of Christ and earlier. The task of so doing is by no means an easy one. Unlike the rendering of the Scriptures into Aramaic no rules are laid down in the Mishnah, Tosephta or any other such source regulating the matter or the method of the homily. The greatest liberty would seem to have been allowed to the homilist, and the nature of the homily probably varied with time and circumstance. At Pisidian Antioch Paul delivers his homily at the request of the heads of the synagogue and in it he takes his listeners through sacred history from the Exodus to the resurrection of Jesus. On the other hand, Jesus seems to have based his homily at Nazareth on the passage from the Prophets read in the synagogue service (Luke 4:16-21). The form of the early homilies is probably conserved in the Jewish homiletic midrashim, although these come from a later date and generally follow the Palestinian triennial cycle of Scripture readings. Of the older homilies the homiletic style is clearest in the collection known as the *Pesiqta (de-Rab Kahana)*. A feature of these midrashic homilies, which begin with the liturgical passage from the Pentateuch or the Prophets read in the synagogue, is their liberal use of biblical quotations, not merely from the Law and the Prophets but also from the Hagiographa which were not read in the synagogue service. Peder Borgen has made a study of homilies which he believes he has isolated in the works of Philo (*De mutatione nominum*, 253-63; *Legum allegoriae* III, 65-753; 162-68; 169-73; *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini* 76-87; *De somniis* II, 17-30). All these he considers similar in structure to the homily in John 6:31-58. And the homily of John and those of Philo he considers constructed on a homiletic pattern found in the later Palestinian homiletic midrashim.<sup>30</sup> There may then have been a continuity in Jewish homiletic method from the first century onwards.

We are ill-informed on the origins of the homily and on the relation it may have borne in earlier times to the Scriptures rendered into the vernacular. The Jewish homily is a fine example of haggadic midrash, applying the biblical text as it does to later situations. In the New Testament homilies the actualization consists in showing how the biblical texts are fulfilled in the person of Christ (cf. Luke 4:21; Acts 13:26-41). It may be that

30. Peder Borgen, *Bread from Heaven* (Leiden: Brill, 1963), pp. 28-98.

at some early time both the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular and the homily were combined and that the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch represents this earlier period. George Foot Moore writes:<sup>31</sup>

It is hardly to be questioned that the early interpreters in some cases exercised considerable freedom in paraphrase. The Palestinian Targums, as we have them, come from a much later date, but in the freedom with which paraphrase runs into midrash they may be taken to illustrate the fashion of the older interpreters. . . . It is even possible that in the first stage of the institution translation and homily were not yet differentiated, and the interpreter was also the expository preacher.

Renée Bloch is of the same opinion. Of the Palestinian Targum she writes:<sup>32</sup>

This cannot be looked on as a translation. It is sufficient to read it to become aware of this. Whereas the Targum of Onkelos . . . [is] a kind of peshat, an interpretation of the Torah according to the talmudic halakah, the Palestinian Targum, for its part, comes nearer to the derash. It is much closer to midrash than to translation. It is even quite probable that originally it was a sort of homiletic midrash, or simply the outline-sketch of a series of homilies, given in the synagogue after the public reading of the Torah. It already contains the entire structure and all the themes of midrash.

Addison G. Wright remarked on Bloch's position that the Palestinian Targum is both targum and midrash: targum when it translates, midrash in its expansions.<sup>33</sup> Wright's central position, regarding midrash as a literary genre, was severely criticized by Roger Le Déaut.<sup>34</sup> He makes the point that midrash cannot be reduced to a literary genre. With "midrash" one is in

31. Moore, *Judaism*, vol. I, p. 304.

32. Renée Bloch in her essay "Midrash" in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 5 (Paris: Letouzey, 1957), cols. 1278-1279 (translation by the present writer). The entire essay has been translated into English by Mary Howard Callaway, with the assistance of James A. Sanders: "Midrash" (by Renée Bloch), in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism. Theory and Practice* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, for Brown University, 1978), pp. 29-50 (text cited at p. 47).

33. Addison G. Wright, "The Literary Genre Midrash," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 28 (1966): 105-138, 417-457 (at 422-423). Wright's work is also published separately in book form, under the same title (Staten Island: Alba House, 1967).

34. Roger Le Déaut, "A propos d'une définition du midrash," *Biblica* 50 (1969): 395-413; English translation by Marc C. Howard, "A Propos a Definition of Midrash," *Interpretation* 25 (1971): 262-82 (with introduction by James A. Sanders, pp. 259-261).

the presence of a Jewish category for which there is no equally comprehensive analogy in our Western categories and vocabulary. Midrash is a whole world which can be discovered only by accepting its complexity at the outset. It may be described but not defined, for it is also a way of thinking and reasoning. It included the Jewish way of approaching the biblical text. In a later essay (published in 2002) Le Déaut cites a text of V. Nikiprowetzky (1969) maintaining that the Targums “are the matrix from which midrash has emerged,” commenting that this formula is ambiguous in that midrash as an activity is at the source of Targum, but that it is exact in that Targum contains midrashic elements which would shortly afterwards have their own proper development and their own lives (in the midrashim).<sup>35</sup> This observation of the midrash (as understood in Judaism) as a source of the targumic rendering is important for our understanding of Targum, and we shall return to it in a later chapter.

In any event, the presumed close relationship between the Palestinian Targums and the synagogue homily belongs to an earlier stage of targum scholarship. It is quite possible that there was another institution of Jewish life at play in the origin and development of the targum tradition, namely the school. To this we now turn.

## 10. The Targums and the School<sup>36</sup>

In his latest and extensive work on targums the renowned targumic scholar Roger Le Déaut (died 2000) observed that the targumic texts available to us cannot be understood solely by their use in the liturgy. They were not just translations, but were also a means used in teaching and in introducing the students to the classical Jewish school curriculum: *Miqra* (Bible) → *Targum* → *Mishnah* → *Talmud*. He recalls the words of the renowned Jewish scholar Wilhelm Bacher in 1907: one must suppose “that the Targum was an integral part of the Biblical course of study designated as *Mikra*,”<sup>37</sup> a theme taken up in a special study by Anthony D. York in 1979.

35. R. Le Déaut, “Midrash,” in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris: Letouzey, 2002), vol. 13, cols. 1<sup>\*</sup>-344<sup>\*</sup> (at 243<sup>\*</sup>; at end of volume).

36. See Anthony D. York, “The Targumim in the Synagogue and the School,” *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 10 (1979): 74-86; Roger Le Déaut, “Targum,” cols 24<sup>\*</sup>-26<sup>\*</sup>.

37. Wilhelm Bacher, “Targum,” in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Isidore Singer, vol. 12 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906), p. 57.

In the Jewish system of education more advanced instruction in the tradition was given in the *Bet ha-Midrash* (literally “the place of study”), already mentioned *ca.* 180 BCE by Sirach (Sirach 51:23). Corresponding to this there was for beginners the elementary school known as *Bet ha-Sefer* or *Bet ha-Sofer*, reading and writing schools. The *Bet ha-Midrash* was associated with the synagogue, and in general distinct from it. The same could be said of the elementary school. We should not, however, make too great a distinction between the synagogue and school, especially for the early period, including the first century CE. Instruction in the Law and tradition was part of the function of the synagogue. A Greek inscription in the synagogue of Theodotus of Jerusalem (from before the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE) says that the building was intended for “the reading of the Law (*nomos*) and the teaching of the precepts.” In some cases, especially in smaller towns and villages, the *hazzan* (sexton or superintendent of synagogue services) might also be the teacher. The targums might also have served in the more advanced instruction in the *Bet ha-Midrash*, which might have had a role in the composition of the texts of the targums as transmitted to us. If the targum rendering was to be delivered orally in the synagogue it might well be that the person delivering it, even minors, would have learned the section by heart already from the advanced school, the *Bet ha-Midrash*. This approach to the study of the targums might explain the translational characteristics of the targums as we have them, especially the texts of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch. They were not entirely intended for an unlearned synagogue audience.

## CHAPTER 4

### *Aramaic as the Language of the Jews*

In order to understand the origins of the targums and to grasp the problems involved in a scientific study of extant targumic texts, it is first necessary to consider the evolution of the Aramaic language and its use by the Jews.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1. Stages of the Aramaic Language

The Arameans enter historical records in the late twelfth century BCE as a nomadic people invading the territory of the Assyrian Empire. About the tenth century BCE one branch of these nomads, known as Chaldaeans, settled in southern Mesopotamia. The Arameans penetrated Syria to a much greater extent and founded there a number of city-states, which retained an independent existence until they fell to the advancing Assyrian Empire in the eighth century. After this the Arameans survived as traders and merchants, and groups of them are later found in different parts of the Persian Empire, even as far south as Elephantine in Egypt.

##### *i. Old Aramaic*

The earliest recorded Aramaic is found in inscriptions from the Aramean states of northern Syria. This earliest form of the language lasted from

1. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Phases of the Aramaic Language," in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 57-84.

about 950 to 700 BCE. The evidence of the inscriptions reveals that during this period there existed no uniform standard Aramaic. What we have are a number of Aramaic dialects, each influenced by the Semitic but non-Aramaic language of the surrounding district.

## *ii. Official Aramaic (ca. 700-300 BCE)*

Being a much easier language to learn and write than Accadian (the language of Assyria and Babylon) and due to the somewhat ubiquitous character of the Arameans, Aramaic in time came to be accepted as the international language of diplomacy and trade. From 2 Kings 18:26 (= Isaiah 36:11) we learn that in 701 BCE it was understood and spoken by the diplomats of Assyria and Judah, but not by the ordinary people of Jerusalem. About a century later a Palestinian king (probably that of Ashkelon) wrote for help to the king of Egypt in Aramaic. During the Persian period Aramaic was the language used by the Persian chancery, and was widely employed for trade purposes and international correspondence. It was used by the Jews in Egypt. Inscriptions and other texts in Aramaic are found from places as far apart as Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Because of its use by the chancery of the Persian Empire, the Aramaic of this period is also known as *Imperial Aramaic* (*Reichsaramäisch*). The language of these texts is uniform; there is no evidence of any dialectal differences. From this, however, one would not be justified in concluding that dialects did not exist in the spoken language, as they had in the earlier period. The influence of the Persian chancery is sufficient to explain the uniformity of this literary Aramaic. We can ascribe the Aramaic portions of the biblical book of Ezra to this period.

## *iii. Middle Aramaic (ca. 300 BCE–200 CE?)*

With the advent of the Greek Empire, Greek replaced Aramaic as the official language of the chanceries. When new peoples came to write down Aramaic, dialectal differences are noticeable. The earliest attested form of Middle Aramaic is that of the book of Daniel (ca. 166 BCE). To Middle Aramaic also belongs *Nabatean*, the language used for inscriptions and official acts by the Nabateans, who were Arabs. They probably took this language

from Idumea, after their penetration of the region. Arabic, however, has also influenced Nabatean. Our earliest Nabatean texts are from the early mid-second (or possibly from the third) century BCE; the latest from the third century CE. Closely allied to Nabatean in many respects is *Palmyrean*, found in texts from Palmyra and Doura-Europos and elsewhere from the first century BCE to the third century CE. Palmyrene, as Nabatean, while belonging to Official Aramaic, already reveals some features of what will later appear as Eastern Aramaic. This is possibly due to an oriental influence in Palmyra. From the second century CE we have the *Aramaic Hatra inscriptions* where two peculiarities of oriental Aramaic are already visible.

Coming now to Jewish Aramaic of this period we have the new texts from Qumran, Murabba'at, and the letters of Bar Cochba. Apart from this we have precious little: the *Ta'anith* Scroll (late first century CE), short inscriptions on tombstones and ossuaries, a few Aramaic words in the New Testament and in Josephus, and short sentences and texts in Tannaitic literature. To these we shall return in greater detail later.

#### *iv. Later Aramaic (ca. 200-700 CE)*

We now have two clearly defined branches of Aramaic. On the one hand *Western Aramaic*, which included Syro-Palestinian Christian Aramaic, Samaritan Aramaic and Palestinian (or Galilean and Judean?) Jewish Aramaic; on the other hand *Eastern Aramaic*, i.e. Syriac, Babylonian Jewish talmudic Aramaic and Mandaic. We may add that a highly corrupt form of Aramaic is still spoken in three villages of Syria and in some few areas of Iraq.

The reader will excuse this schematic presentation of Middle and Later Aramaic. The dates given are those of Joseph A. Fitzmyer. The question of the evolution of Aramaic and the early presence of dialects is an extremely complicated one. What the evidence for the centuries around the turn of the era reveals is the presence of dialects showing through on various occasions. Our interest here is the language spoken by the people during this period, and the material at our disposal is not the most apt to reveal this to us. Much of the evidence comes from inscriptions or formal contracts. Both of these, the former in particular, tend to be archaic. The Qumran writings, and some at least of the rab-



binic texts, are of a literary nature. Neither one nor the other need reproduce the language spoken by the people.

## 2. Use of Aramaic among the Jews

At the Exile (as in 701 BCE) the language spoken by the Jews was Hebrew. In New Testament Palestine the language generally spoken by them was Aramaic, although in some areas Hebrew, in its later mishnaic form, continued to be used. Greek was also known and used to some extent. When the general change-over from Hebrew to Aramaic took place we cannot say. It may be that at the return from the Exile or shortly afterwards the Jews, in the main, spoke Aramaic.

In the latter half of the fifth century BCE Nehemiah set himself to remedy the problem of mixed marriages in Judah. Many of the Jews had married women of Ashdod, Ammon and Moab. "And half of their children spoke the language of Ashdod [Hebrew: *ashdodith*], and they could not speak the language of Judah [Hebrew: *yehudith*], but the language of each people" (Nehemiah 13:24). The "language of Judah" is probably Hebrew which was then being neglected in favour of the surrounding languages or dialects. These were probably, but not certainly, Aramaic dialects spoken by the neighbouring non-Jewish populations of Ashdod, Ammon and Moab. The Jews of Judah themselves were probably bilingual at this same period. Their co-religionists in Egypt were at this very time corresponding with Jerusalem on religious matters through the medium of Aramaic. The strong Aramaic influence on the later Hebrew books of the Old Testament argues towards a growing use of Aramaic among the Jews of Palestine. The fact that almost half the book of Daniel is written in Aramaic is a strong argument that by 166 BCE this language was commonly spoken among them. This it certainly was by the first century CE.

## 3. Aramaic in First-Century Palestine

Determination of the precise form of Aramaic used in Palestine in the time of Christ is of capital importance for a study of the Aramaic substratum of the Gospels and other New Testament writings. It is also important to ascertain whether the Aramaic of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch

can be taken to represent the spoken language of Palestine, or of some area in Palestine, in Christ's day. This question being of an extremely delicate nature, it is necessary to move cautiously, not allowing preconceived ideas to colour one's judgment. We must first of all consider the evidence, asking the reader to bear with the introduction of some philological details indispensable to any discussion of the problem.

From the first century BCE to 70 CE, but mainly from about CE 1 to 70, we now have a good number of Aramaic texts from Qumran. As already noted, from the first century we also have the rabbinic text *Megillat Ta'anit* ("Scroll of Fasting"), some Aramaic words or phrases in the New Testament and in the works of Josephus, as well as a few inscriptions on tombstones and ossuaries.

Dating from a later period (70-135 CE), from Wadi Murabba'at and the neighbouring area we have Aramaic texts containing contracts and some letters written by Bar Cosba (Bar Cochba), leader of the second Jewish revolt (132-35 CE). From the third century onwards we have a number of Jewish inscriptions and other texts in Aramaic.

Palestinian Aramaic, as found in the Palestinian Targums, the Palestinian Talmud and the Palestinian midrashim, has certain peculiarities which distinguish it sharply from Old Testament Aramaic, from the Aramaic of Qumran and Murabba'at and from that of the Targum of Onkelos and of the "Babylonian" Targum of the Prophets. Thus, for instance, in Palestinian Aramaic "to see" is expressed by *h<sup>a</sup>ma*, in the Aramaic of the other texts by *h<sup>a</sup>za*; "for" or "because" (= Hebrew *ki*) is expressed by *<sup>a</sup>rum*, absent from Qumran and expressed in the Targum of Onkelos and in the Targum of the Prophets by *<sup>a</sup>rê*. In certain cases in Palestinian Aramaic the letter *He* (= *h*) is elided, whereas in the other texts it is written. Thus, for instance, "his servants" in Palestinian Aramaic is *'abdoi*, but in the other texts *'abdohi*; "his brother" is *'ahui*, in the other texts, *'ahuhi*; "on him" is *<sup>a</sup>loi*, in the other texts *<sup>a</sup>lohi*. Another distinguishing feature of the Aramaic of the Palestinian Targum is that when it distinguishes the accusative by the use of a special particle (called *signum accusativi*), the particle it uses is regularly *yat*, whereas in Qumran Aramaic the *signum accusativi* is the letter *l* (*lamed*) prefixed to the accusative.

The absence of these distinguishing characteristics of the Aramaic of the Palestinian Targum from the Aramaic of the first-century texts from Qumran necessarily raises the question whether one can legitimately consider the Aramaic of the Palestinian Targum as a language spoken in Christ's day. From this comes the further question whether we can legiti-

mately take it into account in a consideration of the Aramaic substratum of the Gospels and other parts of the New Testament.

During the 1960s the view was defended by P. Kahle,<sup>2</sup> A. Díez Macho,<sup>3</sup> and Matthew Black<sup>4</sup> among others that the language of the Palestinian Targum represented the language of the first century and that spoken by Jesus, and hence is of capital importance for a study of the Aramaic substratum of the Gospels. In the historical overview of progress in this field given earlier we have seen how the question has progressed beyond this.<sup>5</sup> The Aramaic of the Palestinian Targum(s) is to be dated to the third century at the earliest. Hence, one can agree that for the consideration of *philological* questions it is too late for use in New Testament studies. However, this need not hold with regard to Aramaic vocabulary (for instance *ṭalitha*) or phraseology which is independent of philological forms.

The changed attitude towards the relevance of the Aramaic of the Palestinian Targums did not, and could not, impede the quest for the Aramaic substratum for the Gospel message, for the Gospels in general (particularly the Synoptics), or for particular sources such as Q. It is agreed

2. Paul Kahle, "Das palästinische Pentateuchtargum und das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49 (1958): 100-116. Similarly, and summarily, Paul Kahle in *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959), p. 208.

3. Alejandro Díez Macho, "Le lengua hablada por Jesucristo," *Oriens Antiquus* 2 (1963): 95-132.

4. Matthew Black, "Die Erforschung der Muttersprache Jesu," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 82 (1957): 664-668; Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 3rd edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 15-49 ("The Linguistic Approach," including "The Aramaic Targums and the Language of Jesus," 41-49); with Appendix E by Geza Vermes, "The Use of *br nš/ nš* in Jewish Aramaic," pp. 310-330, including the targums (pp. 315-316).

5. On this matter, see above, pp. 4-5 and p. 5, note 14. See especially Joseph A. Fitzmyer's reviews of the present writer's *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, in *Theological Studies* 29 (1968): 321-26, and of A. Díez Macho's edition of *Neofiti* in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 32 (1970): 524-25, as well as in other essays by Fitzmyer, for instance "The Languages of Palestine in the First Century A.D." in *A Wandering Aramean*, pp. 29-56 (at p. 42) (originally in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 32 [1970]: 501-531); likewise Jonas C. Greenfield's review of the republication of Etheridge's translation of the Targum to the Pentateuch in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 89 (1970): 238-39; Ben Zion Wacholder's review of the present writer's *Targum and Testament* in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 93 (1974): 132-33, and Anthony D. York's essay, "The Dating of Targumic Literature," in *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 5 (1974): 49-62.

that the chief centre of Jesus' ministry and of the Gospel proclamation was Galilee and that the language spoken in Galilee was principally Aramaic. It is also agreed that the chief language used by Jesus in his preaching and in teaching his disciples was Aramaic, even if Greek was also known in Galilee and if Jesus also knew and might have occasionally spoken Greek. The canonical Gospels, however, are in Greek and were composed in that language. It is also generally agreed among scholars that the source Q, used by Matthew and Luke, was known to them in Greek. The transfer of the message from the Aramaic-speaking stage in Galilee to the community or communities in which the Gospel message was formulated in Greek is not easy to trace. It has in part to do with the history of the earliest Christian mission. Jesus' public mission began in Galilee. According to Mark 14:28 on his way to Gethsemane Jesus told his disciples that after his resurrection he would go before them into Galilee (reproduced in Matthew 26:32, but not in Luke). After the resurrection the young man at the tomb told the women to remind his disciples and Peter of this promise (Mark 16:7, reproduced in Matthew 28:7, not in Luke). Matthew's Gospel ends with the appearance of Jesus to the Eleven in Galilee, and with the command to preach the Gospel to all nations (Matthew 28:16-20). The Fourth Gospel, in an epilogue (John chapter 21), also ends with an account of an appearance of Jesus on the shore of the Lake of Tiberias (Sea of Galilee). Luke omits all reference to a command to return to Galilee or to any post-resurrection appearance there. On the contrary Jesus' final command to his followers before his ascension was to stay in the city (Jerusalem) until they were clothed by the power from on high (at Pentecost) (Luke 24:49). The Acts of the Apostles tells how they carried out this command (Acts 1:12-26).

Whatever of the missionary mandate was given in Galilee, Galilee itself seems to have played little or no role in the early Christian mission. There is only one reference to it for this period in the entire New Testament, in a generalizing comment in the Acts of the Apostles (9:31): "The churches throughout Judaea, Galilee and Samaria were left in peace, building themselves up and living in the fear of the Lord." All the New Testament evidence, both of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul, points to Jerusalem as the centre of the early Christian mission. It is there Paul goes to meet Peter and the other "pillars." This early Jerusalem church was actively bilingual, composed of "Hebrews," speaking Aramaic or Hebrew, and Greek-speaking Hellenes. It was in settings such as these that the Gospel message, originating in Aramaic, was transmitted

and formulated, probably both in Greek and Aramaic, and possibly partly in Hebrew.

We shall consider this matter again in a later chapter.<sup>6</sup>

6. In chapter 16 (pp. 244-252 below).

## CHAPTER 5

### *Early Written Targums*

#### 1. Targum of Job from Qumran

The oldest known manuscript of a targum is 11Q10 (11QtgJob), found in 1956 by Bedouins in a cave at Qumran, now known as Cave 11. The manuscript doubtless once carried an Aramaic rendering of the entire book of Job. The extant manuscript contains long sections from the ending of the book, from 37:10 to 42:11, together with fragments of the rendering of 17:14 to 36:33. The script, of the type known as Herodian (37 BCE–70 CE), permits us to date the writing of the present manuscript to about 50 CE. The Aramaic of the scroll, however, is of an older form than that of the Qumran *Genesis Apocryphon*, and may possibly have been composed about 150–100 BCE.<sup>1</sup>

This Qumran targum does not appear to bear any relation to the one

1. The targum of Job from Qumran cave 11 was first described by J. van der Ploeg, *Le targum de Job de la grotte 11 de Qumrân* (11 Q Tg Job), Première communication (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche uitgeversmaatschappij, 1962). It was later published as: *Le targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumrân*. Edité et traduit par J. P. L. van der Ploeg, O.P. et A. S. van der Woude avec la collaboration de B. Jongeling (Koninklijke nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen; Leiden: Brill, 1971), and later incorporated, with English translation, in *Qumrân Cave 11*. II. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31, ed. Florentino García Martínez et al. (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 32; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). There is an English translation of the Qumran Job and Leviticus targum texts in F. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English*. Second Edition (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), pp. 145–153. See also the study of the text by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “The First-Century Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI,” in *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 161–182, originally published as “Some Observations on the Targum of Job from Qumran Cave 11,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 36 (1974): 503–524.

traditionally known as the Targum of Job. Unlike the latter, the targum from Qumran is a straightforward version, without long paraphrases. It does, however, occasionally add extra words to the Hebrew text and is more interested in giving the sense than rendering slavishly *ad pedem litterae*. In a preliminary report in 1962 J. van der Ploeg, to whom its publication was confided, thus describes its paraphrase:<sup>2</sup>

In the poetic parts, the author follows his text faithfully enough. But he does not feel himself obliged to do this in a slavish fashion; he takes the liberty of making slight modifications so that the reader may better understand what the translator has taken to be the sense of a passage. His translation intends to be a guide (a guide which betrays, evidently, the ideas of the author), but a guide which reads agreeably. He attains this end by embellishing his text by the addition of unnecessary words which make no difference to the sense or the context, and by other means. . . . He has also a tendency to rationalize when it appears to him that the expressions of the text should not be understood according to their literal sense. Job 38:7 presents a striking example of this tendency: the Hebrew text has the stars "sing" at the moment of creation, while the "sons of God" shout for joy; the Targum, however, renders: "Then when the morning stars shone together and all the angels of God shouted together for joy."

Linguistically, as said above, this work belongs to Official Aramaic, not to that of the Palestinian Targum.<sup>3</sup>

*4QTargum Job* — A few fragments of another copy of a targum of Job have been found in cave 4 (4Q157 [4QtgJob]), in handwriting from the mid-first century CE, similar to that of the targum of Leviticus 16. The fragments are very worn and contain only a few words of Job 3:4-5 and from 4:16 to 5:4.<sup>4</sup> They may represent a rendering different from that of 11Q10.

The two texts show that a number of copies of this targum were in circulation. Whether it originated within the Qumran Essene community is uncertain. The targum from cave 11 shows no trace whatever of any Essene

2. van der Ploeg (1961), *Le targum de Job*, p. 12; J. P. M. van der Ploeg and A. S. van der Woude, *Le targum de Job* (1971), pp. 7-8.

3. The suffix of the third person singular is *-ôhi*, not *-ôî*.

4. The 4Q fragments of Targum of Job (4Q157 [4QtgJob]) (and 4Qumran fragments of Targum Leviticus 16) have been critically edited by J. T. Milik, without translation, in *Qumrân Grotte 4. II*. (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 6); 4Q157 at p. 90; general observations on Targums at Qumran, p. 47; on fragments of Targum Leviticus, p. 86.

doctrine. The presence of a targum of Job in a highly literate community may be explained by the extreme difficulty of the Hebrew text of Job.

## 2. Targum of Job Known to Early Rabbis

In rabbinic literature (Tosephta *Shabbath* 13:2; Babylonian Talmud, *Shabbath* 115a; Palestinian Talmud, *Shabbath* 16:1, 15c, top; *Sopherim* 5 and 15) mention is made of a targum to Job having been known to Rabbi Gamaliel I (ca. 25-50 CE) and having been used by his grandson, R. Gamaliel II (90-110 CE). It occurs in the following account given by R. Jose ben Halaphta (second century CE):

It happened once that R. Halaphta [father of R. Jose] went to Rabban Gamaliel at Tiberias. He found him seated at the table of Johanan [son of] the excommunicated, and in his hands there was a book of Job in targum [i.e. a targum of Job] and he was reading it. R. Halaphta said to him: "I remember Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, your grandfather, who was seated on a stairway on the Temple Mount and a targum of Job was brought to him and he told the masons to immure it under the course of stones."

Both van der Ploeg<sup>5</sup> and Frank M. Cross<sup>6</sup> believe that the targum in question may have been a copy of that now known from Qumran. This may well be so, but it is no more than a possibility. Why Rabban Gamaliel ordered that the targum be immured we cannot say. It was hardly because he considered written targums forbidden by Jewish law. His grandson seems to have no scruple in reading it. And he played his part in reorganizing Judaism after the fall of Jerusalem. It is interesting to know that the family of Paul's teacher was acquainted with at least one written targum. We may also note that the text of the Babylonian Talmud speaks of "Johanan the excommunicated" where the Tosephta has "Johanan the son of the excommunicated." Some writers have thought that the Johanan in question is John the Apostle. Both the Pauline and Johannine writings have passages that can be compared with targumic tradition.

5. van der Ploeg, *Le targum de Job* (1961), p. 10; van der Ploeg and van der Woude, *Le targum de Job* (1971), pp. 5-6.

6. Frank M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (New York: Anchor Books, 1961), p. 26.



### 3. The Septuagint Ending of Job and the Targum

In some manuscripts of the Septuagint (MSS. Aleph, A, B and C) there is an epilogue which is introduced with the words: *houtos hermēneutai ek tēs syriakēs bibliou*. Some authors have taken this to mean that the passage is translated from an Aramaic (= Syriac) targum. Others now think that the *Vorlage* of the addition may well be the targum found in Qumran. Paul Winter, however, has pointed out that we cannot render the Greek as “this is translated from the Syrian (= Aramaic) book.” *Houtos* must refer to Job. Had the translator intended to refer to the addition he would have written *touto* (*hoc, illud*), not *houtos* (*hic, ille*). *Ek* (“from”) Winter takes as a corruption of *en* (“in”) and proposes that we understand the passage as: “This (man) is referred to in the Syriac book as dwelling in Ausis. . . .”<sup>7</sup> This, in fact, is how Sir Launcelot Lee Brenton had already rendered it in 1844 in his English translation of the Septuagint: “This man is described in the Syriac book as living in the land of Ausis. . . .”<sup>8</sup> The Syriac book in question may well be some Aramaic apocryphal haggadic work, since apparently lost.

### 4. Qumran Fragments of a Targum of Leviticus 16 (4Q156[4QtgLev])

In 1977 J. T. Milik published two small fragments of an Aramaic rendering of Leviticus 16:12-15 and 16:18-21.<sup>9</sup> The writing is early, of the second rather than of the first century BCE. The Aramaic orthography resembles that of the book of Daniel. The Aramaic is in keeping with that of the Qumran texts in general. The translation is literal, somewhat as Onqelos rather than Neofiti. In the rendering of certain Hebrew words, however, it occasionally agrees with Neofiti rather than Onqelos. The fragments, from Lev 16, are from the biblical ritual for the Day of Atonement. It is not clear that they are from an original entire targum of Leviticus. In an introductory note to the fragments

7. Paul Winter, “Lc 2,49 and the Targum Yerushalmi,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 45 (1954): 145-79, at 159.

8. Launcelot Lee Brenton reprinted in *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament with English Translation* (London: Bagster, no date), p. 698.

9. Josef T. Milik, *Qumrân Grotte 4. II*. (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 6): Qumran fragments of Targum Lev. 16 critically edited, without translation (with general observations on Targums at Qumran, p. 47; on fragments of Targum Leviticus, p. 86); van der Ploeg, *Le targum de Job*, p. 10.

of the targums of Leviticus and Job, Milik notes that these are the sole fragments (of Targums) identified among the Qumran manuscripts.<sup>10</sup> From this, he continues, it is quite certain that the inhabitants of Qumran did not know the liturgical use of the Targum, especially of the Pentateuch. This fact, he believes, is explained by high intellectual and literate level of the monastic community of Qumran. According to all appearances, neither did the Essene associations of the towns and villages of Palestine, of the “camps” of Damascus and of the Diaspora use in their synagogues the targum of the liturgical pericopes. Were this not so, one would have to find in the Qumran caves more of the Aramaic translations, since the Qumran scriptorium exported the manuscripts that were indispensable to the Essene “tertiaries,” for example the Damascus Document. He repeats the point in his introduction to his edition of the Aramaic translations of Leviticus 16:12-15; 16:18-21:<sup>11</sup> “It is not certain that these two fragments belonged to a targum *sensu stricto*, that is an Aramaic translation of an entire biblical book. They could have come from a liturgical work or ritual where some parts would be literal translations of certain sections of the Pentateuch; see the Aramaic ritual in the Description of the New Jerusalem (2Q24; *DJD III*, pp. 85-8).”

## 5. The Syriac Translation of the Pentateuch

That the Syriac (i.e. Eastern Aramaic) translation of the Pentateuch, the *Peshitta*, is in some way connected in its origins with the Targum to the Pentateuch seems undeniable. How to explain this relationship is much less certain. The problem was already posed by J. Perles in his *Meletemata Peschittoniana*.<sup>12</sup> In 1875 J. Prager propounded the view that the Peshitta Pentateuch is ultimately based on a targum from the second to first century BCE.

The question has been taken up once more in our time, particularly by P. Kahle, S. Wohl, C. Peters, A. Baumstark and A. Vööbus, all of whom see a strong influence of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch on the Syriac Pentateuch.

Kahle's view is that the Peshitta Pentateuch is made directly from a Palestinian targum sent from Palestine to the Jewish proselytes of Adiabene shortly before the Christian era. The Syriac Peshitta would then

10. Milik, in *Qumrân Grotte 4*. II, p. 47.

11. Milik, in *Qumrân Grotte 4*. II, p. 86.

12. Wrocklaw, 1859.

be merely a rendering of a Western Aramaic dialect into the Eastern Aramaic of Adiabene. Kahle himself sees a particularly close relation between the Peshitta Pentateuch and the Palestinian Targum especially as found in the Cairo fragments he published in 1930.<sup>13</sup>

P. Wernberg-Møller has challenged this theory of Kahle.<sup>14</sup> For him the relationship lies not with the Palestinian Targum but with that of Onqelos. R. Le Déaut did not find Wernberg-Møller's arguments convincing: the Peshitta agrees too often with the Palestinian Targum against Onqelos. And in any event, Le Déaut notes, since Onkelos depends in the final analysis on material of Palestinian origin certain points of contact between the Palestinian Targums and the Peshitta are easily explained. The traces of agreement between the Peshitta and the Palestinian Targums, as with Onqelos, reflect the use of a recension of Onqelos different from that we now know. Given the uncertainty in which we find ourselves concerning the early state of these versions, any conclusion with regard to their relationships remains problematic.

The Christians of Palestine, too, had their own rendering of the Pentateuch in Christian Palestinian Aramaic. Portions of this rendering survive, and A. Baumstark believes that it, too, was made from an old Jewish targum. M. Black, however, is of the opinion that the influence of the targum may here be only indirect — through the Peshitta.<sup>15</sup>

K. Beyer has more recently (1966) put forward a different explanation of the facts, and of the origin of targums in general.<sup>16</sup> While maintaining that the *spoken* language of Palestine from the first century BCE onwards was Western Aramaic (proof: Western Aramaisms of Palestinian literary Imperial Aramaic texts, Aramaisms of Hebrew Qumran texts, of the Mishnah, of the New Testament and of Greek transcriptions), he holds that until the end of the second century CE the *literary* language of Palestine was Im-

13. Paul Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1959), pp. 272-3.

14. Preben Wernberg-Møller, "Some Observations on the Relationship of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Genesis to the Palestinian Targum Fragments Published by Professor Kahle, and to Targum Onkelos," *Studia Theologica* 15 (1961): 128-180; also "Prolegomena to a Re-Examination of the Palestinian Targum Fragments of the Book of Genesis Published by P. Kahle, and the Relationship to the Peshitta," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 7 (1962): 252-266.

15. Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. 23-24; 3rd ed. (1967), pp. 26-27; also in Matthew Black (ed.), *A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologium (Berlin ms. Or. Oct. 1019)* (Texts and Studies, New Series 1; Cambridge: University Press, 1954), p. 336.

16. Klaus Beyer, "Der reichsaramäische Einfluss in der ältesten syrischen Literatur," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 116 (1966): 242-54.

perial Aramaic. The Syriac translation found in the Sinaiticus and Curetonianus manuscripts he takes as a Syriac adaptation of a Palestinian translation made in Imperial Aramaic.<sup>17</sup> The earlier targums would all have been in Imperial Aramaic. Only later did these diverge to give us the Babylonian (Onqelos and Jonathan to the Prophets) and Palestinian texts. The relation of the Peshitta to the targums is then to be explained through the underlying Imperial Aramaic, not through any influence of Western (i.e. Palestinian) Aramaic. The Peshitta, in turn, served as a basis for the Christian-Palestinian and for an Arabic translation of the Old Testament.<sup>18</sup>

The problem is complicated by a number of factors, not least among them the recensions which the Peshitta has undergone. There was, in Beyer's view, a recension in the fourth century CE aimed at normalizing the Syriac. Then again, the text was to a certain extent brought into line with the Greek Septuagint rendering. For him the Peshitta's relation to the targums, and to the Palestinian Targum in particular, still remains open.<sup>19</sup>

In the earlier edition of this work I noted that on many points the Syriac Pentateuch is closely related to the Palestinian Targum.<sup>20</sup> But the differences must also be borne in mind. Nor should we restrict ourselves to language alone when speaking of points of contact. Sometimes the Peshitta has the interpretation of the Palestinian Targum and of Onqelos but expressed in slightly different language. We have an example of this in the paraphrase of Exodus 19:6 (HT: "a kingdom [of] priests and a holy nation").<sup>21</sup> On other occasions the interpretation is the same while the words used to express it differ. A good example of this latter is Deuteronomy 6:5, where *me'od* (generally rendered "might": "love the Lord with all your might") of the Hebrew text is rendered in all Aramaic translations (and understood in the Mishnah, *Berakoth* 9,5[7]) as "riches." Yet each rendering has a different word to express the same idea. The Palestinian Targum (as the Mishnah) has "wealth" (*mamônkhôn*); Onqelos (and the Targum of

17. Beyer, "Der reichsaramäische Einfluss," p. 251.

18. Beyer, "Der reichsaramäische Einfluss," p. 253.

19. Beyer, "Der reichsaramäische Einfluss," pp. 242, 253.

20. Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966, 1978), pp. 50-51, 109, 229-30. Among clear points of contact we may note the rare words found only in the Targums to the Pentateuch and in the Peshitta, e.g. *qarxuta* in Lev 13:42-43; likewise the names of rare birds (Leviticus chapter 11); see John A. Emerton, "Unclean Birds and the Origin of the Peshitta," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 7 (1962): 204-11.

21. See McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 227-30.

2 Kings 23:25) has “property” (*niksak*), while the Peshitta has “possessions” (*qnynk*). Here there is dependence on a general interpretative tradition rather than on any particular targumic text.

After discussions over almost 150 years the question of the relationships of targum and Peshitta now seems to be solved. The critical edition of the Peshitta has almost been completed, and in 1998 Paul V. M. Flesher edited a volume of essays on the subject by leading authorities in the field. These examined in detail the individual areas under debate: the Peshitta and the Pentateuch Targums, the Twelve Minor Prophets, Targum Job and the Targum of Proverbs. The points of contact in each of the cases were admitted, but for the Pentateuch and the Twelve it was made clear that the relationship was not through dependence of Targum on Peshitta or vice versa, but rather the dependence of both on Jewish interpretative tradition. Similarly for the Peshitta and the traditional targum of Job. What relationship there is, consists in a familiarity of both with certain (Jewish) translation techniques. The same holds true for Targum Chronicles, Samuel and Kings and the Peshitta, where there are a limited number of isolated details, which should be understood as examples of similar exegetical or translation techniques. This is seen as agreeing with what Sebastian P. Brock calls “the sustained presence of interpretative renderings,” the targums at the top of the scale, the Peshitta and the LXX at the other end. Matters are different with regard to Proverbs in the Targum and Peshitta which have extensive passages (almost a third) identical in wording. In this the Targum (for Proverbs a later medieval translation) may depend directly on the Peshitta.<sup>22</sup>

22. In *Targum Studies*, volume 2: *Targum and Peshitta* (USF Studies in the History of Judaism 165, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), ed. Paul V. Flesher, the entire question of Targum and Peshitta is examined in detail by specialists in their subjects. The contents are as follows: Part I: Explaining the Issues: Targum and Peshitta: Some Basic Questions, by P. Dirksen; The Copernican Revolution in the Study of the Origins of the Peshitta, by M. D. Koster; Part II. Pentateuch: The Relationship between the Peshitta Pentateuch and the Pentateuchal Targums, by Y. Maori; Balaam's Third and Fourth Oracles in the Peshitta and Targums, by J. A. Lund; The “Given Levites”: Targumic Method and Method in the Study of the Targumim, by M. J. Bernstein. Part III. The Prophets and Writings: The Twelve Prophets: Peshitta and Targum, by A. Gelston; On the Influence of the Targum on the Peshitta of Job, by H. M. Szpek; The Peshitta of Chronicles, a Targum?, by M. P. Weitzman, and the Relationship between the Targum and Peshitta Texts of the Book of Proverbs, by R. J. Owens, Jr.

## CHAPTER 6

### *Some Characteristics of Targumic Renderings*

#### 1. Introduction

In an earlier chapter we have seen how certain principles guided the understanding of Scripture in post-exilic Judaism. It was there also remarked that some of these same principles are operative in the translations found in the extant targums. It now remains for us to say something on the targumic method itself.

In the original edition of this work published in 1972 I said that in this matter we have a field that has been but relatively little explored, yet one deserving of serious study, particularly with regard to the relation of this method to the Jewish canons of interpretation. I also gave what I considered seven characteristics of targumic renderings, such as the paraphrase must adhere to the biblical text; the interpretation is intended for the unlearned; explanation of difficulties and contradictions; reverential manner in speaking of God; respect for the elders of Israel; later doctrine read into the interpretation and the homiletic nature of certain passages.

This is an area that since then has been intensely investigated. Special attention has been devoted to the various targums of the Pentateuch. The Targums of the Prophets, however, have not been neglected. Their theology, translational techniques and characteristics of their renderings have been attended to in the pioneering work of Pinkhos Churgin in 1927 and the later classic on Targum Jonathan to the Prophets by Leivy Smolar and Moses Aberbach (1983).<sup>1</sup> In a monograph and in special essays Michael Klein has

1. Pinkhos Churgin, *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (New Haven: Yale University

made detailed studies of the manner in which the targums attend to the human manner (anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms) in which the Hebrew Scriptures speak of God, and of certain characteristic features of the Aramaic translations. In the introduction to his edition of the Genizah manuscripts of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch (1986) he lists and examines some translational characteristics of these Palestinian Targums (illustrative examples from the Genizah texts): added proper names and pronouns, toponyms, patronyms-Gentilic names, targumic doublets, associative and complementary translations, converse translation, euphemistic translations, avoidance of anthropomorphisms, forbidden targums, derogatory translation, halakhic influence, hortatory phrases.<sup>2</sup> The introductions to the individual volumes in the *Aramaic Bible* series (1987-2007), each in its own way, pay special attention to the theological concepts and to the translation techniques encountered in the individual targums. In his latest contribution to targum study,<sup>3</sup> Roger Le Déaut ends his treatment of the targums in general and of the individual targums with a section on targumic method. In this he begins by the remark that in general the different targums use the same methods and the same techniques, with greater or less frequency according to the texts. The targums of Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan can be regarded as two extremes. While aware of the targums in general, in this section, however, he concentrated on the Targums of the Pentateuch, showing particular interest in Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan. Le Déaut studies the targumic method under eight headings: link with the synagogue liturgy;

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Press, 1927), reprinted together with *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets*, by Leivy Smolar and Moses Aberbach (New York and Baltimore: Ktav and The Baltimore Hebrew College, 1983). On the approach of the targumist in the Targum of Prophets Churgin expresses himself as follows (Churgin, pp. 78-79 [in Smoler Aberbach, pp. 306-07]): "The exegesis in Jonathan." "The general underlying principle in the exegesis of T. Jonathan consists in an attempt to render intelligible to the fullest possible degree that which is obscure. To accomplish this the targumist does not resort to the undersense. It is the sense, the explicit and simple, which is fundamental in the exegesis. The object of the targumist was to translate the poetical mind of the Prophet into the lay-mind behind it. In other words, to the targumist the implication rather than the surface literalness of the passage or word involved is the chief consideration. It is, on the one hand, a desire to correctly understand the prophet, and on the other hand, to make the author intelligible to others."

2. Michael L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986), vol. 1, pp. xxix-xxxiv.

3. Roger Le Déaut, "Targum," in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 13 (end, with special column numbering, with asterisks; Paris: Letouzey, 2002), cols 1\*-344\*: "F. Méthode targumique," cols. 243\*-270\*.

hermeneutic rules and techniques (including *gematria*); hermeneutic procedures (harmonisation of texts, literal translations, converse translations, popular or learned etymologies); general tendencies (how to speak of God, the honour due to the people of Israel and its ancestors); some characteristic traits of early Jewish exegesis: development of biblical figures (for better or worse); the identification of persons with others, e.g. Melchizedek with Shem; Phinehas with Elijah; naming of the unnamed (also common outside the targums); interpretation of proper names and popular etymologies; establishing of links between events (for instance the well of water with Miriam, the column of cloud with Aaron, the manna with Moses), reasons behind certain texts (e.g. Abraham's fear, Genesis 15:1); popular traits; modification of the Hebrew text for various reasons; and finally the grouping together of certain important themes (for instance ten tests of Abraham, on Genesis 22:1, etc.; the four keys held by God, on Genesis 30:22; the four nights of sacred history, Exodus 12:42).

The characteristics of targumic renderings presented in the first edition of this revisited and revised presentation are essentially those identified by later research on the subject. For this reason I here reproduce the text of the first edition with changes and additions as seem indicated.

All the examples we use here are drawn from the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch, as represented by the one or other of the texts of Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan, the Fragment Targums and the fragments of the Cairo Genizah. The reader desirous of more information on any of these can turn to the Appendix of the present work. What is said here on targumic rendering with reference to the Palestinian Targums will hold good in the main for the Targum of the Prophets,<sup>4</sup> and to a certain extent for the other targums also. It is, in any event, prudent, if not altogether necessary, to treat of the targumic method of each group of targums separately in view of the differences in the original intent, the time of composition and the history of composition of the various targums.

## **2. Paraphrase Must Adhere to Biblical Text**

The translator of the targum in the synagogue differed from others who handed on Jewish tradition in that he was bound to translate the Hebrew

4. For the Targum of the Prophets see Churgin, *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets*, text cited note 1 above.



text of the Bible. It would be wrong to conceive of the Palestinian Targum as pure midrash. It is both translation and expansion, *peshat* as well as *derash* or *midrash*. The interpretative tradition could not ignore the biblical text. When a free paraphrase, or a midrash, is given, it has to be inserted into the rendering of the biblical text, occasionally to the detriment of syntax. This results in what we may call “targumic interpolations” in the text itself. Sometimes in order to give meaning to a passage of the Palestinian Targum in translation, it is necessary to change the order of the Aramaic text. Minor interpolations of this nature can be compared with the glosses already found in the Hebrew text of the Bible and considered above in an earlier chapter. We shall illustrate these “targumic interpolations” by some examples in which italics denote the interpolated expansion:

And whatever Adam called *in the language of the sanctuary* a living creature, that was its name (Palestinian Targ. Genesis 2:19).

And he [Moses] reached the mount *over which the glory of the Shekinah of the Lord was revealed* Horeb (Neofiti Exodus 3:1).

And when the Canaanite, the king of Arad, who dwelt in the south heard *that Aaron the pious man for whose merit the clouds of the Glory had led forth Israel had died* [literally “was taken up”] *and that Miriam the prophetess, for whose merits the well used to come up for them, had died* [literally: “had been taken up”], that Israel had reached the way by which the spies used to come up [Hebrew text: “the way of Atharim”], he waged war on Israel and took some of them captive (Neofiti Numbers 21:1).

### 3. Close Attention to Details of the Hebrew Text

The careful attention to the biblical text is evident in the manner in which the translators of the Palestinian Targums attempt to bring out the full meaning of the Hebrew words and phrases in their translation. Some of the features have been noted in the more recent studies of these works.

*i. Multiple Sense*

Some Hebrew words have more than one meaning. Which of the meanings suits a given context can be a matter of opinion. The Palestinian Targums often translate by retaining two or more senses for a Hebrew word. Thus, *šwp* of Genesis 3:15 is rendered by “aim at” and “smite.” Likewise, *b-‘qb* (“in/of the heel” etc.) of the same verse is translated by the Targumist’s desire to bring out the wealth of the Hebrew Text, as “the heel,” “the end,” “the days of the Messiah.”

*ii. Gematria*<sup>5</sup>

Gematria is an exegetical method based on the numerical value of consonants of the Hebrew alphabet. It is widely used in rabbinical literature. One of its uses is to identify the meaning of a number in the biblical text that does not seem to make sense of itself. Another use would appear to be to give a numerical value to a word in the biblical text that the tradition found difficult to accept literally, and to interpret this number as the equivalent of an acceptable meaning. Gematria is not frequent in the Targums. As an example we may note Genesis 14:14 where the biblical text says: “When Abram heard that his nephew [Lot] had been taken captive, he led forth his trained men, born in his house, three hundred and eighteen of them, and went in pursuit as far as Dan.” Readers could ask what this number 318 was intended to express. While Neofiti (with the error 310) and the Fragment texts remain faithful to the biblical passage, a truncated gloss in the margins to Neofiti reads: “those born in his house, and they did not desire to go with him, and he chose from among them Eleazar who was . . .” This is a truncated form of the translation of Pseudo-Jonathan: “he armed his *young men whom* he had trained for war, (*who had been*) brought up in his house but they did not wish to go with him. So he chose from among them *Eliezer, son of Nimrod, who is equal in strength to* all three hundred and eighteen of them, and he pursued (them) as far as Dan.” The value of the Hebrew letters of Eliezer (‘ly’zr, 1, 30, 10, 70, 7, 200) is 318. Jewish tradition found it difficult to accept that Moses’ wife, called *kšyt* in Numbers 12:1, was really an ethnic Cushite. Roger Le Déaut believes that they got around the problem by noting that the numerical value of the

5. On *gematria* see Roger Le Déaut, “Targum,” cols. 248\*-249\*.

Hebrew consonants is the same as the Hebrew words *ypt mr'h* "beautiful of appearance" used of Rachel in Genesis 29:21.<sup>6</sup>

In the New Testament we have a fairly clear example of *gematria* in the number 666 as the number of the beast in Apocalypse 13:18 (the numerical value of "Nero Caesar," *Nerōn Kaisar*, in Hebrew [NRWN QSR]; with as variant 616, the name being taken as the Latin *Nero*, n = 50). Some special significance probably stands behind the number of fish (138) caught at the appearance of Christ by the Sea of Galilee. Scholars throughout history, however, and in our own day speculate on what the number might refer to, but fail to agree on an answer.

### *iii. Targumic Doublets*

Related to the "multiple sense" problem of above, or perhaps as an aspect of it, we have what Michael Klein calls "targumic doublets," i.e., the use of two words to bring out the sense of a single word of the Hebrew Text, e.g., *ns'* (*s't* of Genesis 4:7) rendered by *šry wšbq*, "loose and forgive."<sup>7</sup>

### *iv. Stylized Translation*

We find in the Palestinian Targums some fixed translation terms and formulas, sometimes differing from one Palestinian Targum tradition to another. The rendering of *zr'* ("seed") of the Hebrew Text in the sense of human progeny is one example; it is rendered as "sons" in Neofiti, as "descendance of sons" in Nfmg and other texts. Likewise, we have the rendering of Hebrew Text *yldh* and *lmh* by *rbyt'* in Neofiti and by *ṭly(y)t'* in another tradition. There are many such stylized translations in the Palestinian Targum., e.g., of the Hebrew Text's "land flowing with milk and honey" as "a land bearing good fruits, pure as milk and sweet as honey" (with slight but regular variations); the regular addition of "redeemed" to the verb "bring (brought) out" of the Hebrew Text: "he brought (you) out redeemed (from the land of Egypt)."

6. Le Déaut, "Targum," col. 249\*.

7. Michael L. Klein has made a detailed study of these in his work *Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Targumim of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem: Makor, 1982), pp. 145-151.

*v. Associative and Complementary Translations*

This is the name used by M. Klein to describe the targumic phenomenon of the paraphrase of some texts being coloured by related biblical ones.<sup>8</sup> Thus, "Remember the sabbath day" of Exodus 20:8 is rendered (in CTg F) as "Beware (regarding) (*hwwn zhyryrin*) the sabbath day," in Klein's view under the associative influence of Deuteronomy 5:12. Similarly, Leviticus 23:2 is rendered under the influence of the similar verse in Leviticus 19:9, and Deuteronomy 5:23(26) is rendered in some texts in association with Deuteronomy 4:7, 8. Klein further notes that this technique was expanded and consciously applied in a later period by the redactor of the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum. It is worthy of note, however, that this law seems to be less operative in Neofiti than in other Targums. Thus in Exodus 20:8 and Deuteronomy 5:23(26) Neofiti follows the Hebrew Text text, as indeed do P and Pseudo-Jonathan.

**4. Interpretation and Concern for the Unlearned**

In explaining the Scriptures, particularly in interpreting the Law of Moses, the targumist had "to give the sense and make the people understand the reading" (see Nehemiah 8:8). This would entail giving the literal meaning, the plain sense of the text or *the peshat*. This he would do in the translation proper. But more was required of him. The synagogue presentation of the Aramaic translation, and our extant texts of the Palestinian Targum seem to have been in some way connected with the homily. They belong both to the Academy (as learned translations) and the Synagogue. They may possibly at an earlier period have served as the synagogue homily. The targumist had not merely to give the sense but also was required to bring out the meaning of the text for his audience. This he would do by *derash* exegesis. The faithful had to receive the text of the Law together with the doctrinal and halakhic development which had taken place since the formation of the biblical tradition. The homily and the synagogue rendering thus became the vehicles of tradition. Text and interpretation went naturally together.

Since this exposition of the Scriptures was for the masses, not merely for the learned, the manner in which it was done had to be adapted to the

8. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts*, p. xxxi.

minds of the synagogue congregations and be of a popular nature. Otherwise the people would not understand, or would misunderstand, the biblical message.

The text to be explained was the inspired Word of God, valid for all ages. Reverence for the inspired Scriptures meant the utmost respect for every word of the written text. Being God's Word it could not err; and being the Word of the living God it had a message for each generation. Difficulties in the biblical text had to be explained, or explained away. Some sense had to be made out of, or read into, obscure passages. Earlier and cruder biblical expressions which might sound ill to the ears of later generations had to be paraphrased, not rendered literally. This deep reflection on the inspired Word, and profound reverence for it, is seen in the targumic paraphrases.

### 5. Explanation of Difficulties and Contradictions

Many of the apparent and real contradictions found in the Pentateuch can now easily be understood in the light of the variety of sources that have gone into its composition and the long period of development in doctrine and law it records. Modern disciplines such as Source Criticism and Form Criticism were unknown to the ancients, who approached the Bible as the inerrant Word of God. Having no idea of a development in revelation, for the ancient Jewish expositors there was no *before* and *after* in Scripture. Difficulties had to be explained in the light of their understanding of Scripture. From this attitude to the Bible comes a whole series of interpretations which to us may seem quite fanciful.

Genesis 28:11, for instance, appears to say that Jacob used more than one stone for a pillow at Bethel. Yet Genesis 28:18 says he used only one stone. How explain this difference? Because, says the Palestinian Targum (Genesis 28:10), God by a miracle made one stone out of the many.

Then there is the question of the biblical chronology found in the early chapters of Genesis. Today we say that this chronology is artificial and fictitious, and is in no way to be taken to represent the real course of events. Things were different for earlier generations. In Genesis 11:10-11, for instance, Shem is said to have lived for six hundred years, five hundred years after the birth of his son Arpachshad. When this age is compared with the life spans of succeeding patriarchs we see that he must have been alive in the lifetime of Isaac and Jacob, some ten generations later. And so

in fact he was according to the Palestinian midrash, found in the Palestinian Targum on Genesis 14:18; 24:62; 38:6.

Some biblical texts require an explanation. Why was Tamar led forth to be burned (Genesis 38:24) rather than put to death in some other way? Burning, according to the Law of Moses (Leviticus 21:9), was the punishment reserved for the daughters of priests who had given themselves to prostitution. So in Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis 38:24 Tamar is said to have been the daughter of a priest, even of the high priest Shem the Great (Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis 38:6) who in rabbinic and targumic tradition (Palestinian Targum Genesis 14:18) is identified with Melchizedek and who is considered to have lived on until the days of Isaac and Jacob.

There are many other biblical texts which raise questions in the mind. Thus for instance in Genesis 15:1 we read: "After these things the word of the Lord came to Abram in a vision, "Fear not, Abram. . . ." What does "after these things" mean? And why should Abram fear precisely "after these things"? The paraphrase in the Palestinian Targum explains (italics denote biblical text):

*After these things*, after the kings had gathered together and fallen before Abram [as recounted in the preceding chapter of Genesis]. . . . Abram thought in his heart and said: "Woe now is me! Perhaps I have received the rewards of my meritorious deeds in this world, and perhaps there shall be no portion for me in the world to come!" And then *the word of the Lord was with Abram in a vision, saying: "Do not fear; . . . although these fall before you in this world, the reward of your good deeds exceeding great is kept and prepared before me for the world to come."*

"The Lord called Moses and said to him from the tent of meeting" (Leviticus 1:1) seems a rather abrupt way in which to begin a book of Scripture. The Palestinian Targum gets over the difficulty by prefixing a long midrash to the words in question.

If the Jews were miraculously fed with manna and given drink during the desert wanderings, why in Deuteronomy 2:6 does God say to them: "You shall purchase food from them [the sons of Esau] for money that you may eat; and you shall also buy water from them for money that you may drink"? The Palestinian Targum explains away this difficulty by paraphrasing :

You have no need to buy food from them for money because manna descends for you from heaven; and you have no need to buy water from them for money, because the well of water comes up with you to the tops of the mountains and [goes down] with you to the depths of the valleys.

In this text we have one occurrence of the targumic tradition (found also in other Jewish sources, e.g. Tosefta, *Sukkah* 4:9) that a (rock-)well followed Israel during the desert period. This tradition is used by Paul in 1 Corinthians 10:4. After Nehemiah's campaign against the marriage of Jews to foreign women (Nehemiah 13:23-27) it must have been embarrassing to read twice in Numbers 12:1 that Moses was married to a non-Jewish Cushite (Septuagint: "Ethiopian") woman. Pseudo-Jonathan (Numbers 12:1) explains that Moses was constrained against his will to marry this Ethiopian woman and that he later divorced her. Onqelos paraphrases "Cushite" as "beautiful." Other texts of the Palestinian Targum retain the word "Cushite" but go on to explain at length that she was not a Cushite ethnically speaking, but merely *like* a Cushite in complexion!

## 6. Converse Translation

Loosely related to the targumic phenomena of respect for the elders of Israel and the removal of difficulties and contradictions is that described as "converse translation," an interpretative technique isolated by M. Klein in the Genizah Palestinian Targum manuscripts but also found in other Palestinian Targum texts.<sup>9</sup> In this the translation says the opposite of what is in the Hebrew Text. There is generally a valid midrashic or theological reason for this technique, which is not restricted to Genizah manuscripts. Despite the biblical text, in Palestinian Targum Genesis 4:14 Cain says that it is impossible for him to hide from God. Again, despite the biblical text, in the CTg AA rendering of Exodus 17:11 Israel was victorious even when Moses let down his hands. (Once again, one must note, this does not hold for Neofiti, which follows the biblical text.) In Deuteronomy 2:6 God tells Israel to purchase food and water from the sons of Esau. Not so in the Palestinian Targum (Neofiti), which renders: "You have no need to

9. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts*, p. xxxi. More fully in M. L. Klein, "'Converse Translation': A Targumic Technique," *Biblica* 57 (1976): 515-537.

buy food from them for money because manna descends for you from heaven; and you have no need to buy water from them for money, because the well of water comes up with you. . . .” Sometimes we have not so much a converse translation as a slight variation, again for definite purposes. Thus, despite Nehemiah’s campaign (Nehemiah 13:23-27), Numbers 12:1 says that Moses was married to a non-Jewish Cushite. The Palestinian Targum says she was “like a Cushite in complexion”; Onqelos renders “Cushite” as “beautiful” (possibly through *gematria* as we have already noted); Pseudo-Jonathan expands.<sup>10</sup> With relation to Cush, possibly a nation disliked by Israel, we have a stronger example of “converse translation” in Amos 9:7, where God says: “Are you not like the Cushites to me, O people of Israel?” intended to mean that Israel was in no closer a relation to God than this distant (and despised?) people. This in the Targum becomes: “Children of Israel, are you not regarded as beloved children before me?” We have another example of the technique in Targum Malachi 2:16. In the Hebrew text the prophet Malachi says: (v. 15) “So look to yourselves, and do not let anyone be faithless to the wife of his youth. (v. 16) For I hate divorce, says the Lord, the God of Israel.” This in the Targum becomes: “So you shall take heed of yourselves, and shall not deceive the wife of your youth. (v. 16) But if you hate her, divorce her” — a translation, curiously enough found also in Jerome’s Latin Vulgate: “and when you hate her, put her away,” i.e. divorce her.

## **7. Reverential Manner in Speaking of God and Anti-anthropomorphisms**

This characteristic of the targums is well known. In them an attempt is made to avoid anthropomorphisms, but is not carried through systematically.<sup>11</sup> Some anthropomorphic expressions are allowed to remain. The reason for the avoidance of anthropomorphisms is that some of the earlier

10. Pseudo-Jonathan’s text reads (italics denote the added paraphrase): “. . . regarding the matter of the Cushite woman *whom the Cushites had married to Moses during his flight from Pharaoh, but he had separated from her because as a wife they had married him to the queen of Cush and he had kept at a distance from her.*”

11. See M. L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts*, p. xxxii; and more fully in M. L. Klein, “The Translation of Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Targumim,” in *Congress Volume Vienna 1980, Supplement to Vetus Testamentum* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), pp. 162-177.



Jewish ways of referring to God were likely to give a false impression, or even cause scandal, to later generations. Consequently, in the Palestinian Targum, as in the targums in general, God in his relation to the world is said to act through his Word (*Memra*), Glory, Shekinah, Glory of his Shekinah, etc. Rather than say God repents, grows sorrowful, etc., the targums speak of there being repentance, sorrow, etc., before God. The “hands, arms, face,” etc., of God spoken of in the biblical text become in the targums the “might, presence, power, *Memra*,” etc., of God.

Many examples of this feature of the Palestinian Targum will be given in the opening chapters of the second part of this work. The various manners in which the question is treated within the targums merit more detailed consideration here.

Those who have studied the treatment of anthropomorphisms in the targums agree that the Targumists do not delete or recast them all. To do so might well have proven an impossibility, given the inherent limitations of the human mind and human language in matters relating to the divine nature and activity. The approach of the Palestinian Targum to the subject can only be deduced from its usage. It would appear that, in general, anthropomorphisms tend to be avoided in the manners specified below. This has not always proved possible, and on occasion it seems that the Targumist recast one anthropomorphic expression, only to rephrase it by another equally so. Thus in Moses’ prayer to God in the Hebrew Text Genesis 18:3: “O Lord, if I have found favor in your *eyes* (*b’ynty*), do not pass by your servant,” in Neofiti becomes: “. . . if I have found favor in *your face* (*b’pyk*). . .” Bearing these translation problems in mind, I here list some of the major texts subjected to anti-anthropomorphic treatment.

#### *i. “in the eyes of the Lord (*b’ynty* YHWH)”*

In general, in Neofiti this is rendered as “before the Lord” (*qdm /mn qdm* YYY). That the change is due to the desire to remove the anthropomorphism seems clear from the fact that when the key words refer to a human person, Neofiti renders as “in the face of” (as it does in Genesis 18:3 in a context in reality most probably to be taken as referring to God).

*ii. "the hand of the Lord"*

In Neofiti, when there is question of rather evident anthropomorphism, this expression is changed, and indeed in a variety of ways. In Exodus 7:5, Yahweh's words "when I stretch forth my hand upon Egypt" become in Neofiti: "when I set the plague of my punishment upon Egypt." Similarly, in Exodus 9:3, "the hand of the Lord will fall with a very severe plague" becomes in Neofiti: "the plague of my punishment shall be upon." "Is the Lord's hand shortened?" of Numbers 11:23 becomes in Neofiti: "Is there deficiency before the Lord?" In Exodus 16:3, "by the hand of the Lord" becomes in Neofiti: "before the Lord." The Targumist, however, sees nothing wrong in the Lord saving Israel "by a strong hand," which he leaves unchanged (Exodus 13:3, 9, 14, 16; Deuteronomy 5:15; 6:21; 7:8, 19; 11:2; 26:8; 34:12). And Neofiti renders "(the sanctuary . . .) which your hands have established" of Exodus 15:17 as: ". . . your two hands have perfected it."

*iii. "the mouth of the Lord"*

In Neofiti, in such contexts "the mouth of the Lord" is rendered "the decree of the Memra of the Lord"; when humans are in question, "decree" is still inserted, but "mouth" remains unchanged, e.g. Genesis 45:12.

*iv. "the face of the Lord"*

Eight occurrences of an expression in the Hebrew Text which should probably be taken as referring to "seeing the face of God" caused theological difficulties to Israel's religious scribes and were vocalized as Niphal (reflexive, "to be seen/to appear before the Lord") rather than as *qal*, or as active. These, as would be expected, are also taken as reflexive in the Palestinian Targum.

*v. Avoiding Making God the Direct Subject  
or Object of Actions Relating to Creation*

This tendency is most noticeable with regard to the Hebrew Text verbs "saw" and "heard" when these have God as subject (often also in the Hebrew Text having an object marked with the object particle, *'et*). In the Pal-

estinian Targum the verb is put in the passive, followed by “before the Lord,” which in turn is followed by the erstwhile object now become subject (!) but with the object particle (*yat*). Thus Genesis 1:4: “God saw the light (*’et ha’ôr*) that (it) was good”; Neofiti: “It was manifest before the Lord the light (with accusative sign *yat*) that (it) was good.” So also Genesis 6:12; 21:17; 31:12; 31:42; Exodus 2:24; 4:31; even with an angel as subject, Genesis 31:12; see also Genesis 4:8; 4:18; 21:5.

### *vi. Actions Done before God*

The Targums in general, including the Palestinian Targums, frequently speak of actions being done, of events happening, “before the Lord” or “from before the Lord.” While the Aramaic expression itself is not restricted to the targums or to references to God, but is part of a broader vocabulary of reverential language, on a number of occasions its use in the targums is for anti-anthropomorphic purposes.

## **8. Respect for the Elders of Israel: Euphemistic Translation**

We have seen that this principle led to the rubric that certain passages of the Bible were to be read out but not translated in the synagogue service. This respect for the elders has influenced the rendering of certain passages in the Palestinian Targum. In the biblical text of Genesis 29:17 we read that the eyes of Leah, wife of Jacob and mother of some of the twelve tribes, were weak. The Hebrew text is rendered literally in the Fragment Targums. The rendering found in this representative of the Palestinian Targum was objected to by R. Johanan about 250 CE, apparently on the principle that it was a statement derogatory to Leah. Onqelos paraphrases: “Leah’s eyes were beautiful”; Neofiti has “Leah’s eyes were raised in prayer.” I earlier thought that Neofiti’s rendering was due to a later rabbinic ruling such as that of R. Johanan and that, consequently, we have in Neofiti’s rendering an indication that this work has undergone a rabbinic recension. In view of the fact that the principle of respect for the elders of Israel is already operative in the Septuagint translation, and possibly even in the Elohist source of the Pentateuch, no argument for a later rabbinic recension of Neofiti can be drawn from its paraphrase of Genesis 29:17. M. Klein designates this process as “euphemistic translation.”

## 9. Derogatory Translation

This is quite the opposite of the euphemistic translation just considered and describes the manner in which the Palestinian Targums in general translate Hebrew Text terms referring to idolatry or pagan worship. The term “gods” (*ʾthym*), when referring to pagan gods, is rendered “idols” (lit.: “errors”). Likewise, such figures as Balaam are generally referred to as “the wicked” (Palestinian Targum, Numbers 22).

## 10. Later Doctrine Read into the Interpretation

A certain amount of paraphrase is necessary in any translation intended for the general public. Even in our own day the paraphrastic *Jerusalem Bible* and the *New English Bible* are more easily followed than is the more literal rendering of the *Revised Standard Version*, even though the last-mentioned is more faithful to the original text. By the very nature of the case a greater amount of paraphrase was called for in the Palestinian Targums. Sometimes paraphrase was necessary to bring out the meaning of the original. The Hebrew text speaks of both men and sacrificial animals being “perfect.” The Targum rightly renders “perfect” in the former case as “perfect in good work(s),” in the latter as “perfect without blemish” (cf. 1 Peter 1:19). For the same reason “seed” of the biblical text is rendered as “children” in the targums (see Galatians 3:16).

In these examples there is question of the plain meaning of the text, i.e. *peshat*. Very often, however, the targumist goes beyond the plain sense to give extensive paraphrase or to include midrash. In many of the passages where the Aramaic translator gives an expanded interpretation, i.e. *derash*, which we see as a later development, he very probably took his understanding of the passage as the obvious and only meaning of the inspired Word of God. For him the text and its interpretation went together. This would clearly be the case in those passages interpreted messianically, e.g. Genesis 49:1; see Numbers 24:17-18. This phenomenon of linking text and interpretation is not peculiar to Judaism. It has also been a characteristic of Christianity from its origins until fairly recent times. We may recall how Catholic exegetes and theologians long took the literal meaning of Genesis 3:15 to refer to Mary. This understanding of the verse probably goes back beyond the days of St. Jerome and explains how *hw*’ (= “he,” “it”) of the Hebrew text and *autos* (“he”) of the Septuagint gave way to *ipsa* (“she”) in the Old Latin and

Latin Vulgate rendering. The understanding of verse 15 of the Hebrew text has in itself certain difficulties. The *Revised Standard Version* renders: "he shall bruise [in Hebrew *shuph*] your head and you shall bruise (*shuph*) his heel." *Shuph* can mean either "bruise" or "lie in wait for," and it is by no means certain whether it is to be rendered in the same way in both the occurrences in this verse. The Palestinian Targum is intent on bringing out all the possible meanings and implications of the text. It renders *shuph* both as "to aim at and bite" and "to bruise." The biblical text speaks of an enduring struggle between the seed of the woman and that of the serpent. For the targumist the outcome of the fight will depend on the attitude of the woman's children to the Law. Final victory will come with King Messiah when the children of the woman will effect a crushing (*shephiyyuta*, from the root *shuph*), that is, a crushing victory, over the serpent.<sup>12</sup>

Certain biblical texts must have had a given interpretation attached to them, an understanding that was naturally inserted into the Aramaic paraphrase. Deuteronomy 33:6 says: "Let Reuben live and not die." This would have meant little to Jews of a later generation unless paraphrased. In the Palestinian Targum it becomes: "Let Reuben live *in this world* and not die *in the second death, in which death the wicked die in the world to come.*" Thus paraphrased it becomes a reminder of the future life.

"In the end of the days" or its equivalent is a phrase used in certain biblical texts with the meaning of "in the days to come." With an evolution in eschatological and messianic teaching these phrases in due time came to be seen as referring to the end of the world or the advent of the Messiah. Thus, for instance, in Genesis 49:1 Jacob says to his sons that he will tell them what will befall them in the days to come. This in the Palestinian

12. I translate the word *shephiyyuta* (*špyywt'*) as "crushing," in order to retain the play with the root *šwp*, "crush." There is a targumic Aramaic root *šwp* (*šwp* II) with the meaning "crush" (J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des rabbinischen Schriftthums*, reprint Köln: Joseph Melzer, 1959, pp. 462-63; Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, reprint, New York: Pardes, 1950, p. 1539). The only meaning of the root in the Targum of the Prophets is "rub; anoint; grind." The Aramaic term is found in the targums only in the Palestinian Targums Genesis 3:15, in Neofiti in the form *špywt[y]h*, and *špwytya'* in the manuscripts VNL of the Fragment Targums. The Paris manuscript (P) of the Fragment Targums has *šwpyyt'*. The Neofiti and related form is derived by lexicographers from the root *špy* and translated "peace" (and "effect/make peace" as "to appease"). The root *špy* can have the sense of crush, to be quiet, at ease (see Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 1615). The paraphrase of the Palestinian Targum Genesis 3:15 recalls Paul's promise to the Romans (Romans 16:20): "The God of peace will shortly crush Satan under your feet."

Targum becomes: "I will show you the mysteries that are hidden, the appointed times that are concealed; what is the recompense of reward in store for the just, the punishment in store for the wicked, and what the joys of Paradise are."

In later Judaism almost all sacrifice was considered to have expiatory value. Not so the earlier religion. In Exodus 24:8 the biblical text, speaking of the Sinai covenant, simply says: "Moses took blood . . . and sprinkled it on the altar." This in the paraphrases of Pseudo-Jonathan and of Onqelos becomes: "Moses took blood . . . and sprinkled it on the altar *to make atonement for the people*."

By New Testament times Judaism had developed a rich theology on the Passover. The biblical text itself had said that the Passover night was to be for all Jews a night of vigil throughout all their generations (Exodus 12:42). In later times the Messiah was expected to come at the Passover. All this leads to the insertion in the Palestinian Targum at Exodus 12:42 of a hymn of four nights, all probably Passover nights, the last of which is that of the Messiah's coming.<sup>13</sup>

The exodus from Egypt was the first great liberation or redemption of Israel. It inspired in her the hopes of a future redemption. Hence where the biblical text speaks of Israel's coming out of Egypt, the Palestinian Targum paraphrases *coming* as *redeemed* out of Egypt. In the Targum Israel's God is he who has redeemed and will again redeem Israel.

In Exodus 3:14-15 God reveals his divine name Yahweh to Israel. For his people Yahweh was the God who acts, who is ever at his people's aid. The Aramaic paraphrases of Exodus 3:14-15 are at pains to bring out the attributes of God and consequently interpret the divine name so that it would connote God's eternal existence and active providence towards his people. We find such paraphrases of it as: "I am he who is and who was and who will be"; "I am he who spoke and the world was, and who is yet to speak and the world will be"; "I am he who was with you in the bondage of Egypt and who will be with you in every bondage."

An ordinary Jew might ask: What was the tree of life mentioned in the Paradise account of Genesis? The Targum explains: "The Law is the tree of life for all who labour in it; and anyone who observes its precepts lives and endures like the tree of life in the world to come" (Palestinian Targ. Genesis 3:24).

13. This hymn is the subject of Roger Le Déaut's doctoral dissertation *La Nuit Pascale* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1963).

All these examples show that the Aramaic renderings were made the vehicle of instruction. They brought out the lessons thought to be included in the inspired Word of God. This is very much a feature of midrashic interpretation, particularly of the homiletic midrashim. "The primary aim [of the targums] was to make the Bible relevant, to make the Bible come alive and serve as a source of spiritual nourishment."<sup>14</sup> In order to attain this end symbolical interpretation was occasionally employed. Exodus 13:18 speaks of the people of Israel coming up from Egypt *armed for battle*. In the Palestinian Targum the italicized words become "armed with good work(s)." This was the moral lesson of the passage, valid for all times.

### 11. Homiletic Nature of Certain Passages

In these and in many other ways the popular nature of the Palestinian Targum is revealed. The homiletic nature of certain passages is shown by the opening words: "My people, children of Israel. . . ." This is an expression used in the synagogue.<sup>15</sup> It is found in the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch to introduce exhortations to fidelity to God's Law, and opens the paraphrase of each of the commandments, e.g.: "My people, children of Israel, you shall not be adulterers, nor companions or partners with adulterers, an adulterous people shall not be seen in the congregation of Israel; lest your children rise up after you and they also learn to be an adulterous people; for by the sins of the adulterer pestilence comes upon the land."<sup>16</sup>

### 12. Updating of Geographical and Patronymic Terms

In the Palestinian Targums the biblical geographical and patronymic terms tend to be replaced by later forms. Together with this, later identifications of peoples connected with biblical names are given. A list of such later identifications in the Palestinian Targum will be given as an appendix to this work.

14. Addison G. Wright, "The Literary Genre Midrash," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 28 (1966): 105-38, at 132.

15. See Ismar Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt a. M.: 1924; 4th ed., Hildesheim: 1962), pp. 88, 192.

16. Examples of the expression in the Palestinian Targums: Exodus 20:7, 12-17; 23:2; 34:20, 26; 35:5; Leviticus 19:16; 22:28; Deuteronomy 25:4, 18, 19; 28:6, 12, etc. It does not always occur before a paraphrase, however. It can occur before a literal rendering.

### 13. Updating of Biblical Coins and Weights

In the Palestinian Targums some of the coins and weights mentioned in the biblical text are replaced by later forms. Thus regularly for the term *sheqel*. In the Palestinian Targum this Hebrew term *sheqel* is always rendered by the Aramaic term *sl'* — *sela*. This is in keeping with *b. Qidd.* 1:59d, bottom: "all shekels mentioned in the Pentateuch mean *sela*"; see also *b. Bek.* 50a: "every silver piece (*ksp*) in the Pentateuch without any qualification means a *sela*." With regard to the word *kkṛ* (*kikkar*), a rare term in the Hebrew Text — in Exodus 25:39 and 37:24 (in NRSV rendered as "talent" in both places), it is rendered as *qntr*, "*centenarium, kentenarion*," in Neofiti and P. In Exodus 38:24, 25, 27, 29 (NRSV, "talent"), Neofiti retains the Hebrew Text *kkṛ* (as does Onqelos, and Targum Prophets) throughout (likewise several times in Chronicles). The term *gerah* which occurs in the Hebrew text Exodus 30:13; Leviticus 27:25; Numbers 3:47; 18:16 (NRSV: "gerah"), Ezekiel 45:12 is rendered as *m'* (*m'yn*) in Neofiti. and in Targum Prophets Ezekiel 45:12. The Hebrew term *bega'* (NRSV, etc.: "half-shekel") occurs in Genesis 24:22; Exodus 38:26. In both cases it is rendered in Neofiti as *tb'*.

These few examples will give us some idea of what the targums are. They are free paraphrases, yet governed by certain laws. These laws have yet to be studied in greater detail, but were in the main operative in pre-Christian Judaism as is evidenced by the later history of the Old Testament canon and by the Septuagint version.



## CHAPTER 7

### *Origin and Transmission of the Palestinian Targum*

When examining Jewish tradition on the origins and use of targums, it is well to keep in mind that the targums referred to may not be identical with the rabbinical targums we know today. This remains to be proved in each individual case.

Jewish tradition from a very early date believed that targums were already used in the days of Ezra; Nehemiah 8:8 was interpreted in this light. We have already cited Nehemiah 8:1-8 when speaking of the reorganization of Judaism in the mid-fifth or possibly the early fourth century BCE.<sup>1</sup> The text tells us how the people told Ezra to bring along the Book of the Law of Moses and how he set about teaching it to Israel. The community was gathered together before the Water Gate of Jerusalem in solemn assembly to hear the Law of Moses from Ezra and the Levites: "And they read from the book, from the law of God, *mephorash*, and they gave the sense, so that the people understood the reading." In the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Megillah* 3a) this text is understood as referring to the targum:<sup>2</sup>

What is meant by the text, *And they read in the book, in the law of God, with an interpretation [mephorash], and gave the sense and caused them to understand the reading? 'And they read in the book, in the Law of God':* this indicates the [Hebrew] text; *'with an interpretation' [mephorash]:* this indicates the targum; *'and they gave the sense':* this

1. Above, pp. 50, 64.

2. In the translation of Maurice Simon, *Megillah Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices*, p. 10; in *The Babylonian Talmud. Seder Mo'ed*, vol. 4, General Editor I. Epstein (London: The Soncino Press, 1938).

indicates the verse stops; *‘and they caused them to understand the reading’*: this indicates the accentuation, or, according to another version, the massoretic notes. — These had been forgotten, and were now established again.

*Mephorash* is the Pual participle of *parash*, meaning “to separate,” “to cut,” “to decide” (the sense). Some think that here it means “in sections.” The *Confraternity Version* has “distinctly,” the *Revised Standard Version*, the *New English Bible*, the *Revised English Bible*, have “clearly,” the *New American Bible* has “plainly” (and renders the words translated above by “gave the sense” as “interpreting it”). By giving the marginal variant “with interpretation,” the *Revised Standard Version* recognizes the possibility of another rendering (that adopted by the *New Revised Standard Version*). In favour of the understanding of the word as “targum,” or “translation,” one could invoke the presence of *mepharash* (the Aramaic equivalent of *mephorash*) found in Ezra 4:18 which in one view may be understood as “translated.” This follows the view of Hans Heinrich Schaeder that it was customary for the Persian chancery to have documents translated into the language of the different countries of the empire.<sup>3</sup> Some modern writers take it that Nehemiah 8:8 speaks of the law being translated from Hebrew into Aramaic. The *Jerusalem Bible* and the *New Jerusalem Bible* render the passage simply as “translating and giving the sense.” (See also the same translation’s note on Nehemiah 13:24.) In a note on Nehemiah 8:8 in the *Old Testament Reading Guide* Frederick L. Moriarty comments: “The task of the Levites was to translate the Hebrew read by Ezra into Aramaic, the language of the people in post-exilic Palestine, and, finally, to explain its meaning and application to the community.”<sup>4</sup> Roger Le Déaut, too, believes that the sense of the *mephorash* in Nehemiah 8:8 seems to be that given to it by the rabbinic tradition.<sup>5</sup>

3. Hans Heinrich Schaeder, *Esra der Schreiber* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1930), pp. 35-39; *Iranische Beiträge*, I (Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1930).

4. Frederick L. Moriarty, *Ezra and Nehemiah* (Old Testament Reading Guide; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1966), p. 53.

5. Roger Le Déaut, *Introduction à la littérature targumique* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966), pp. 29-30. In his latest contribution on the subject (Roger Le Déaut, “Targum,” in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 13 [Paris: Letouzey, 2002], end, cols. 1<sup>\*</sup>-344<sup>\*</sup>, at 4<sup>\*</sup>-8<sup>\*</sup>, especially 5<sup>\*</sup>-6<sup>\*</sup>), with views favouring and against linking the targums with Ezra and Nehemiah 8:8; for instance Ben Zion Wacholder in the *Prolegomenon* to J. Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, I (New York, 1940, reprint New York: Ktav, 1971, p. xiv, concludes that Nehemiah 8:8 “may record the use of both the targum and

That there is question of an Aramaic translation in Nehemiah 8:8 would by no means be conceded by all. It would depend to a certain extent on whether or not the mass of the Jews then spoke Aramaic rather than Hebrew. And this, as we have seen, is again uncertain. Some believe that Nehemiah 13:24 may be an indication that they spoke Aramaic (understanding "the language of Ashdod," *'ašdôdît*, of the Hebrew text as Aramaic). The meaning of *'ašdôdît*, "the language of Ashdod," of this text is, however, not at all clear. Some form of the old language of the Philistines may be intended, or some speech believed to be unintelligible ("double Dutch"). But in any event "the language of Ashdod" in this passage is contrasted with *yêhûdît*, "Judaean," "the language of Judah," presumed to be Hebrew, as in 2 Kings 18:26 (where it is contrasted with Aramaic). Nehemiah 13:24, then, suggests that the language of Judah in the days of Nehemiah (and Ezra) was Hebrew, not Aramaic.

In any case, it is generally granted that by the first century BCE Aramaic translations of the Torah, and probably of other books of the Bible as well, were being made among the Jews.

Our main concern here is with the Targums of the Pentateuch. This was probably the first targum to be formed. How it came into being, whether all at once or gradually over a long period, is difficult to determine. It is only natural to see its origin in the synagogue service, as a rendering of those sections of the Torah read in public. As we have seen, the earlier manner in which the Torah reading was carried out is uncertain. Apart from the fixed readings for certain feasts, the choice of passage read may have been left at first to the head of the synagogue or to the reader. If this was the case, the origins of the targum would have been somewhat haphazard, and the rendering of the passages read assured of a greater an-

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the midrashic sermon"; similarly M. Smith in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. I (W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein, eds., Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 259: "It is not certain whether the last verses [Nehemiah 8:8-9] refer to exegesis of the law (midrash) or to a translation (targum) into Aramaic, or both. In any event both targum and midrash developed early." See also Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texten vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), pp. 273-274. Hugh G. M. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah* (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1985), p. 275, renders as "paragraph by paragraph," with "clearly, distinctly" as a possibility. (He renders Nehemiah 8:8 as: "And they read from the book of the Law, paragraph by paragraph giving the sense, and so they understood the reading.") Williamson in a note (pp. 278-279 and p. 56 on Ezra 4:18) rejects the view of H. H. Schaefer (*Esra der Schreiber*, Tübingen, 1930, pp. 35-39; *Iranische Beiträge*, I, Halle [Saale], 1930), followed by others, that the word is a technical term for extempore translation.

tiquity than other parts. By New Testament times there very probably was a *lectio continua* of the Pentateuch and an Aramaic rendering of the entire work. Josephus can boast:

For our people, if anyone do but ask any of them about our laws, he will more readily tell them all than he will tell them his own name, and this in consequence of our having learned them immediately as soon as we became sensible of anything, and of our having them as it were engraven on our souls (*Contra Apionem* 2,17[18] §178).

This knowledge of the Law of Moses the majority of the Israelites would have got from the synagogue rendering of the targums. It was already Ezra's mandate and intention to bring to them this knowledge of the Law of Moses, and the principle must have led the religious leaders of Judaism long before the Christian era to provide an Aramaic rendering of the entire Law.

The question now arises as to the characteristics of these earlier targumic renderings. The Qumran texts present rather literal translations. This leads Roger Le Déaut to ask whether the older written targums were not rather guides which followed the text quite closely, leaving to each the task of adding haggadic embellishments drawn from oral tradition. The more paraphrastic targums to arise later correspond to a time when midrashim were also written down, and would then represent a fusion of two literary genres.<sup>6</sup> Here we should probably distinguish between literary targums and liturgical paraphrases. The targums from Qumran appear to have been intended for a different public than were those in use in the synagogue, the targums in which we are principally interested. The purpose of a rendering used in the synagogue would have been "to give the sense of the biblical text and make the people understand the Scripture passage read" (see Nehemiah 8:8).

Our extant Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch, and to a lesser degree the Targum to the Prophets, express sentiments found also in the synagogue liturgy. It is then natural to see the origin of this targum in some manner connected with the synagogue liturgy itself. Further, the Targum of Onqelos also contains midrash, and some of its paraphrases seem to presuppose the Palestinian targumic tradition. This would appear to indicate that the Palestinian paraphrastic targumic tradition was formed at a very early date. The midrash and paraphrase are hence better considered

6. Roger Le Déaut, *Introduction*, p. 65.

something intrinsic to the targumic tradition itself. The indications, then, are that the synagogue targumic tradition originated at an early date in pre-Christian times and was formed in accord with the manifold laws of considering the text of Scripture of which we have treated in a preceding chapter.

A further question which needs consideration is the *language* of these early paraphrases. Was it official, literary Aramaic or the Aramaic of the people, when it so happened that one differed from the other? When the difference between the literary language and the spoken dialect was noticeable, it is legitimate to presume that the synagogue paraphrase was in the language of the people. The purpose of the paraphrase, after all, was to bring the message of the Scriptures to the people. There would be little sense in translating from an unknown language to a literary one but little known to the people. It might then well have been that in Palestine the language of the paraphrase was contemporary Palestinian Aramaic, while written records were in the literary language then in use. Another natural consequence of this principle is that the language of the synagogue paraphrase would evolve without necessitating any change in the paraphrase itself. In other words, from the nature of the language one cannot determine the date of origin of the paraphrase.

There remains the question of *written targums*. In 1832 Leopold Zunz wrote that "written translations of most of the books of the Bible certainly existed under the Hasmoneans" (i.e. 134-36 BCE).<sup>7</sup> The texts from Qumran appear to bear him out. These are literal renderings. The origins of the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum are very complex and a matter of debate among scholars. One may ask whether it is possible that the older parts of the work were at that time consigned to writing. Some of its midrash is very old. One passage (Deuteronomy 33:11) has been taken by some authors as a prayer for John Hyrcanus (135-105 BCE) and may have originated during his reign, a position still defended by R. Syrén<sup>8</sup> (1986) and E. Clarke<sup>9</sup> (1998). In some respects the language of certain passages is archaic (personal suffixes *-hôm*, *-kôm*) as in Middle Aramaic and Nabataean, but this

7. Leopold Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1st edition (Berlin: 1832), p. 61; see 2nd edition (Frankfurt am Main, 1892; reprinted Hildesheim: Olm, 1966), p. 65.

8. Roger Syrén, *The Blessings in the Targums. A Study on the Targumic Interpretation of Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1986), pp. 165-178 (for a discussion of the passage).

9. Ernest G. Clarke, *Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy. Translated with Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 5B; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), p. 100.

is now generally explained, as we have seen, as belonging to a late literary language, not a spoken one.

Written targums must have existed in Jewish circles in the early Christian centuries; they are legislated for in Mishnah, *Yadayim* 4:5. We have already spoken of the written targums of Job known to Rabban Gamaliel I and used by his grandson Rabban Gamaliel II (T2; 80-120 CE). In *Genesis Rabba* 79:7 (to Gen 33:19) we read of R. Simeon ben Halafta (T5; ca. 165-200 CE), R. Hiyya the Elder, R. Simeon ben Rabbi (both T6; ca. 200-220 CE) having forgotten (i.e. not knowing) some words from the targum and of their having gone to Arab territory, probably Nabataea, to find out their meaning.<sup>10</sup> This is a good indication that the Jews were interested in the targums, and moreover that the targum in question was something already formed — not merely in the process of formation — something whose language could present difficulties to the learned.

We cannot say whether this particular targum was oral or written. A written work would suit the context well. Some fifty years later we find R. Joshua ben Levi (PA1, 220-250 CE) giving advice to his children on how to prepare the weekly *parashah*, i.e. the weekly section of the Pentateuch read in the synagogue:

Even so did Joshua ben Levi say to his children: “Complete your *parashah* together with the congregation, twice the Hebrew and once the Targum” (*b. Berakoth* 8b).

Half a century later R. Ammi (PA3; ca. 290-320 CE) gives the same advice to all Jews:

R. Huna ben Judah says in the name of R. Ammi: “A man should always complete his *parashah* together with the congregation, twice the Hebrew text and once the targum, even such verses as Ataroth and Dibon [Num 32:3], for if one completes his *parashoth* together with the congregation his days will be prolonged” (*b. Berakoth* 8ab).

10. The original form of this text, unfortunately, is uncertain. Some manuscripts have it in Hebrew, others (including the MS Vatican Ebr. 30) in Aramaic. On the problem involved and the various manners in which it was understood in the Targums and other texts see note to Genesis 33:19 by Bernard Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis* (The Aramaic Bible 6; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), p. 118; Michael Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* (Aramaic Bible 1B; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), p. 117; Martin McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis* (The Aramaic Bible 1A; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), p. 161.

"Completing the *parashah* together with the congregation" means studying at home the Scripture passage to be read and rendered in the synagogue. It is hard to see how this could be done from any but a written targum. Because of this Wilhelm Bacher,<sup>11</sup> I. Epstein<sup>12</sup> and G. F. Moore<sup>13</sup> see a reference to a written targum in the above passage, and rightly so, it would appear. Moore remarks: "The latter prescription [i.e. that of R. Ammi] supposes that copies of an Aramaic version were in the hands of the educated."<sup>14</sup> He also notes that written targums may also have been used as aids by students in the study of the targum in the schools and by the meturgeman in preparation for his oral rendering in the synagogue.<sup>15</sup> About 300 CE mention is also made of a written targum in an episode narrated of R. Samuel ben Isaac (PA3; ca. 290-320) (*j. Meg.* 4,1,74d top).

Rabbi Joshua, R. Ammi and R. Isaac were all Palestinian rabbis. One naturally asks what kind of written targum would have been known to them. The fact that R. Huna and R. Ammi refer to a text of the book of Numbers indicates that they have a targum of the Pentateuch in mind. Moore believes the targum in question would have been Onqelos. This is highly improbable. Palestinian sources show little or no acquaintance with Onqelos before 800 CE or so. When we do find targumic citations in rabbinic sources from Palestine they are drawn mainly from a Palestinian Targum text. Elsewhere I have studied in some detail fifteen such citations from the first (second) century to the fourth and found that thirteen of them agree with Palestinian targum texts as found in Neofiti.<sup>16</sup> This may well have been a semi-official text in Palestinian Judaism.

The inference from all this evidence seems to be that the tradition enshrined in the Palestinian Targums was formed at an early date, and

11. Wilhelm Bacher, "Targum," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 12 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1903), p. 58.

12. In his interpretative rendering of the text in the Soncino translation of the Babylonian Talmud: "[reading] twice the Hebrew text and once the [Aramaic] Targum"; italics mine.

13. George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. The Age of the Tannaim*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 174-175. Moore nonetheless considers reference to a written targum no more than probable.

14. Moore, *Judaism*, p. 175.

15. Moore, *Judaism*, p. 174.

16. Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27, 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; reprint 1978), pp. 45-56; "Some Early Rabbinic Citations and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 41 (1966): 1-15.

even in pre-Christian times; that this targum was known in early times among Palestinian rabbis; and that certain written targumic texts existed, texts which probably carried the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch more or less as we now know it. Owing to the fact that no written text of such a work is mentioned by Origen or Jerome, it is probable that such written texts were few.

Our earliest texts of the Palestinian targums come from the Cairo Genizah. The oldest of these are assigned to the eighth or ninth century (or possibly earlier, for instance the seventh). These manuscripts show that texts of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch were being written in the seventh or eighth centuries. With the aid of the Cairo Genizah texts we can trace the history of the work from the seventh or eighth down to the eleventh century. From the opening years of the eleventh century we have numerous citations from this work in the lexicon (known as the *Aruk*) of R. Nathan ben Yehiel. We shall see further below how the main targum used by him seems to have been practically identical with Codex Neofiti.<sup>17</sup> Citations between the eleventh and the sixteenth century help somewhat to bridge the gap between R. Nathan's *Aruk* and the date of most extant copies of the Palestinian Targum. The manuscripts of the Fragment Targums date from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Codex Neofiti 1 was written in 1504 or 1499.

With regard to the likelihood of Palestinian Targum texts of the fourth century CE or earlier having been faithfully transmitted to the sixteenth, we should judge from the case of the Cairo Genizah Palestinian Targum text given the siglum E. This manuscript unfortunately is extant only for Genesis, and then only in fragmentary fashion: Genesis 6:18–7:15; 9:5–23; 28:17–29:17; 29:17–30:2; 30:46–31:15; 31:15–31:22; 38:16–39:10; 41:6–26; 43:30–44:4. P. Kahle in 1930 dated this manuscript to 750–800 CE. The leading present-day palaeographer, Professor Malachi Beit Arié, can be no more precise in his dating than “early,” i.e., ninth/tenth to mid-eleventh century CE.<sup>18</sup> The fact, however, that a text of this particular Palestinian Targum, or more probably a sister copy of it, is reproduced almost verbatim in the marginal glosses of Neofiti (copied 1504) shows how an early text was faithfully transmitted.

From the evidence presented it is likely that manuscripts containing

17. See below, pp. 278–279.

18. See Michael L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, vol. 1 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986), pp. xxxvii–xxxviii.



the Palestinian Targum tradition circulated in Palestine in the third or fourth century, if not earlier. We can presume that such manuscripts would not have a single uniform text, but rather the variety evidenced in the present witnesses to this targumic tradition. How far back beyond the third or fourth centuries we can trace the Palestinian Targum tradition is an independent question, one which merits consideration apart.

With regard to the Targum of the Prophets, together with the Targum of Onqelos, as we have seen, some scholars are of the opinion that linguistic arguments indicate a date prior to 135 CE.

## CHAPTER 8

### *Date of the Palestinian Targum*

#### 1. Introduction

In the introductory overview and in sections following on it, the problems raised in relation to the date of the Palestinian Targum have been discussed. At the end of this introductory section we may now return to the matter again. We shall first comment on the matter as it can be viewed in the context of current discussion, and then review the attempts earlier made with regard to this question and the deficiencies of the arguments put forward for an early date for the work as a whole.

We may begin by recalling the evidence on the transmission of the manuscripts of the Palestinian Targum tradition. Codex Neofiti dates from 1504 or 1499, but appears to be a faithful transmission of a text known and used by R. Nathan ben Yehiel in the tenth century, and seems closely related in its margins to MS E of the Palestinian Targum of the Cairo Genizah (from the ninth century or possibly earlier). The manuscripts of the Fragment Targums of the Palestinian Targum tradition date from the eleventh through the sixteenth centuries. The Genizah texts contain differing forms of the Targum which date from the eighth century (possibly earlier) to the eleventh. There is evidence that written targums of the Pentateuch were being used in Palestine in the fourth (possibly also the third) century, and one can presume that these were texts of the Palestinian Targum tradition, not of Onqelos. Philip S. Alexander (as some earlier writers) remarks that there are no good grounds for dating anything in Targum Neofiti later than the 3rd/4th century CE.<sup>1</sup>

1. Philip S. Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, vol. 6 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), p. 323.

We have some rabbinic citations of targums of the Pentateuch from the third centuries, and probably even from the second.

The form of Aramaic in the texts of the Palestinian Targums known to us represents the language of the third or fourth centuries at the earliest.

The question arises whether we can pass beyond this for an earlier date for the Palestinian Targum. Stephen Kaufman, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> notes that nothing within the text traditions of the Palestinian Targums demonstrates that there never was a Palestinian Targum text. He has argued strongly that we can and must reconstruct “the” Palestinian Targum. He believes that when his own lines of research have been fully explored they will lead us to the first-century CE text which can be regarded as 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 earliest stages of rabbinical biblical exegesis.

With regard to the origins of the Palestinian Targum some scholars have surmised that at its inception it represents a stage closely connected with the synagogue, one in which translation and paraphrase were not distinguished. I believe that the nature of the Palestinian Targum argues against this, as is evidenced by a study of the translational techniques of the Targum, among other things. The translation is in no way a haphazard work, an *ad hoc* rendering of individual texts read in the liturgy. A unity runs through the individual forms of the Palestinian Targum, both with regard to how individual words of the Hebrew Text are translated, and also with regard to phrases and theological concepts. The chief aim of the translation proper seems to have been to give the sense, and the rendering of individual words or passages had regard to the entire Pentateuch, not just sections read in the synagogue. The translation belongs more to the academy rather than to the synagogue — if one can make such a distinction, since in this field the “academy” and scribal activity can be presumed to have been closely related, if not quite identical.

One can legitimately inquire whether translation and paraphrase were united or separate at the beginning of the Synagogue targum tradition. For lack of evidence no definite decision can be reached. However, even if a more or less literal Aramaic translation existed independent of a paraphrase, we can presume that a paraphrase, be it haggadic or halakhic, existed and that this was linked to certain texts or sections of the biblical

2. Above, pp. 5-6.

text. In the synagogue tradition, standing behind our present Palestinian Targums, the Bible was not read without reflection. A reflective approach to the sacred text linked biblical texts together in a manner we have already commented on, and to which we shall return, for instance, texts on the gift of water in the wilderness, ending with the midrash on the well that followed the Hebrews, and on the various occurrences of “on the third day” which issued in the salvation and resurrection paraphrase of Targum Hosea 6:2. We have evidence of such reflective and associated reading of the Torah in the *Biblical Antiquities* of Pseudo-Philo, contemporary with the New Testament writings, but we can presume that it was much more widespread.

Scholars have noted the influence of earlier prophetic and wisdom literature on the writings of Second Temple Judaism, on the Enochic corpus and on the Qumran texts and the apparent absence of stress on the person of Moses, and any centrality of the Mosaic Law, until later post-exilic times, say about 200 BCE. However, we do have the practical identification of Wisdom with the Law in Sirach 24:23 (ca. 180 BCE) and Baruch 4:1 (possibly second or early first century BCE), and the Palestinian Targum paraphrase of Genesis 3:24. Even if we lack direct evidence on the influence of the Pentateuch and the centrality of its laws and traditions in earlier and later Second Temple Judaism, it is hard to accept that the Pentateuch was anything but central to post-exilic Jewish life. The work as we have it seems to be intended to address the post-exilic Judaism to remind them of their earlier traditions, of God’s covenant with them and of his covenant law, to confirm their faith in the present and give them direction for the future. From Josephus, Philo and the New Testament we know that it was central in New Testament times. We may presume that this was so over the preceding centuries. And the change of language from Hebrew to Aramaic among the Jews would indicate that there also was an Aramaic translation, a Targum of the Pentateuch.

To what extent our present targums of the Pentateuch represent an original Palestinian Pentateuchal Targum of the first century CE or earlier is difficult to say. It is clear that certain texts or sections of all representatives of our present Palestinian Targums suppose the destruction of the Second Temple, for instance the text on the efficacy of the Binding of Isaac in Palestinian Targum Leviticus 22:27. Other individual midrashim of the Palestinian Targum may also be shown to belong to the post-New Testament era.

## 2. Arguments for a Presumed Early Date for the Palestinian Targum

It would be very difficult to present arguments for an early date for the Palestinian Targum as a whole. Attempts have been made to do just this, as was the case in the first edition of this work, arguments that were believed to indicate that the Aramaic paraphrase found in the representatives of the Palestinian Targum known to us is very old indeed, and even basically pre-Christian. Some of these arguments were as follows:

### *i. Principles Underlying the Paraphrase*

A comparison of the *characteristics of targumic* paraphrase (considered in an earlier chapter) with what we know of the development of Judaism in the post-exilic period.

### *ii. Relation of Paraphrase to Early Jewish Liturgy*

We have seen how the spirit of the prayers used in the early synagogue liturgy is also found in the Palestinian Targum. Both speak of the resurrection of the dead, look forward longingly to the coming of the Messiah. We have also seen how Neofiti Genesis chapter 1 gives indications of having been used in the synagogue before the destruction of the Temple.<sup>3</sup>

### *iii. Antiquity of the Paraphrase*

G. F. Moore, who believed that our present texts of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch date from some centuries after Christ, had to admit, by the strength of the evidence, that the nature of the paraphrase (particularly in the freedom with which translation runs into midrash) was characteristic of a very early period. It could be from the earliest days of the synagogue homily, when the Scripture translation may well have served as version and expository homily at once.<sup>4</sup>

3. See above, pp. 64-65.

4. George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. The Age of the Tannaim*. vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 304.

*iv. Geography*

There appears to be nothing in the geographical terms of Neofiti, to be studied below in the Appendix, which would necessitate a date after the time of Christ for the formulation of the tradition found in this text.

*v. Early Form of Midrash*

Geza Vermes has made a deep study of certain midrashic themes in Judaism, going back from recent forms of a tradition to its earliest attested form (i.e. by the retrogressive method).<sup>5</sup> This has convinced him of the early form of the midrash as found in the Palestinian Targum and has borne out Renée Bloch's contention that the Jerusalem (that is, Palestinian) Targum stands midway between the Scripture text and later Jewish midrashic haggadah. Renée Bloch has expressed herself as follows:

During the study of the Jerusalem Targum, it became obvious to us that this Targum lies at the base of later aggadic tradition, that by serving as an immediate extension of the scriptural given, it acts as a sort of hinge, a bridge between the Bible and later rabbinic literature, and that it represents a starting point, not of the midrashic genre as such (which is already present in biblical literature), but of *midrash*, properly so-called, all of whose structure and themes it already contains.<sup>6</sup>

Rabbi M. Kasher, a specialist in rabbinic literature, writes of Codex Neofiti:<sup>7</sup>

5. Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. Haggadic Studies* (Studia Post-Biblica 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961; 2nd revised ed. 1973). See his introduction, pp. 6-10 and his conclusion, pp. 228-229,

6. Renée Bloch, "Methodological Note for the Study of Rabbinic Literature," translated from the 1955 French original essay by William Scott Green and William J. Sullivan, in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism. Theory and Practice*, edited by William Scott Green (Brown Judaic Studies; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1978), pp. 51-75, at 60-61. The text is cited in the original French in Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition*, p. 9.

7. In a letter to Alejandro Díez Macho, reproduced by Díez Macho in "Magister-Minister. Professor P. E. Kahle through Twelve Years of Correspondence," in *Recent Progress in Biblical Scholarship* (Boars Hill, Oxford: Lincombe Research Library, 1965), p. 43. Kasher has continued to defend the early origin of all Pentateuch Targums. In his view all three Targums — Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti — trace their origin back to the time of

It is my firm conviction that the contents are largely 200 years older than the earliest date given by some scholars for Targum Jonathan. It certainly contains much material of a later date, but its origins go back to the early days of the Second Temple, when at the direction of Ezra, scribes and scholars (the two were then just about synonymous) interpreted the Bible to the people in Aramaic (their spoken language), and began to record their translations cum interpretations.

### vi. *Form of the Halakhah*

A. Marmorstein considers the halakah (i.e. Jewish Law) of Pseudo-Jonathan similar to that of Philo (first century CE). Rabbi M. Kasher believes that the halakhah of Codex Neofiti is older than that found in Tannaitic sources: "I consider it certain that in the Targum ms. we have material which served as a source for the Mishnah and the halakhic midrashim of the Tannaim, such as Mekhilta, Sifra and Sifre."<sup>8</sup> These are weighty words, coming from a specialist in his field. Much more detailed study by scholars of Jewish law is, however, required before any definitive judgment can be given on the nature and age of the Palestinian Targum halakhah.<sup>9</sup>

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Ezra, and the Tannaim and Amoraim used these three Targums in their texts, both halakhic and haggadic, found in the Talmud and Midrash. See M. Kasher, *Torah Sheleimah*, vol. 24. *Aramaic Versions of the Bible. A Comprehensive Study of Onkelos, Jonathan, Jerusalem Targums and the Full Jerusalem Targum of the Vatican Manuscript Neofiti 1* (Jerusalem, 1974). The relevant texts of Kasher are given by B. Grossfeld, *Targum Neofiti 1. An Exegetical Commentary to Genesis including Full Rabbinic Parallels* (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press, 2000), pp. xxiii-xxv, with his own translation of Kasher's original Hebrew. Grossfeld (p. xxviii) believes that Kasher has not proven his contention.

8. Cited by Díez Macho, "Magister-Minister," p. 43.

9. As Michael L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, vol. 1 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986), pp. xxxiii-xxxiv, notes, many points of halakhah were in a state of flux and dispute throughout the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods. In some cases the Palestinian Targums follow the halakhic interpretation of the Pharisees (for instance at Leviticus 23:11, 15 and Leviticus 23:29), and Exodus 22:17. The Palestinian Targums may serve as a source of "early" or "external" halakhah, not preserved at all in the normative halakhic texts. He instances the Genizah manuscript A of Exodus 22:4, which undermines the Mishnaic derivation of the four kinds of torts. Unfortunately, Klein continues, the examples of identified "early halakhā" in the Palestinian Targums (excluding Pseudo-Jonathan) are still too few to serve as a means of dating the targumim relative to the halakhic midrashim.

*vii. Relation to the New Testament*

In recent years special attention has been devoted to the bearing of targumic evidence on the understanding of the New Testament writings. The parallels between them had been regarded by some scholars as seeming to favour an early date for the tradition found in the Palestinian Targum.

Furthermore, the arguments were regarded as converging and thus providing a very strong indication that the bulk of the material which we have in the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch comes from pre-Christian times. This evidence was likewise regarded as permitting us to assume that by the days of Christ the tradition enshrined in this paraphrase was already formed and has, in the main, been faithfully transmitted.

Such arguments have been examined by scholars in the field and found wanting. Neither individually or cumulatively do they prove or indicate a pre-Christian date for the Palestinian Targum(s) as known to us or any single representative of them. At most they might prove the early character of an individual tradition or paraphrase of the Targum, not the early age of the Targum as a whole.

We are thus left with the situation outlined in the introductory chapter to this work. The language of the Palestinian Targum texts can hardly predate the third century CE, and many scholars are sceptical regarding the early date of the paraphrase itself. However, the likelihood is that there was in Palestine an early, even pre-Christian translation of the Pentateuch (and presumably also of the Prophets) into Aramaic, the language spoken by the people. How literal, or how close to the basic translation of our present texts of the Palestinian Targums this was we cannot say. However, there were also traditions and paraphrases which developed from and around the Pentateuch. A number of these were early and pre-Christian. That a good part of this earlier tradition continued in Rabbinic Judaism and in the Palestinian Targum tradition, as a continuum, can be reasonably presumed, while granting that some paraphrases in our present texts of the Palestinian Targums are later developments.

The question as to the early age of targumic traditions or their relevance for the study of the New Testament cannot be answered in a global fashion. The individual cases have to be examined, and that is what we propose to do in the second part of this work.



### 3. Greek Loan-Words: An Indication of Late Date of Present Palestinian Targum Texts?

In Palestinian Targum texts, especially in Codex Neofiti the most complete of these, there are some Latin and numerous Greek loan-words. In this they differ from the Qumran Hebrew and Aramaic texts. Some have argued for a late date for the Palestinian Targum from the presence of such loan-words. This argument, however, is not persuasive. There are already Greek loan-words in the Book of Daniel (Daniel 3:5), a work written about 165 BCE. I have listed these Targum loanwords in the introduction to the translation of Neofiti in the *Aramaic Bible* series.<sup>10</sup> While the loanwords of themselves need not indicate a late date, it is important to ascertain as clearly as possible the age in which these words were current in Greek or Latin literatures. Professor Luc De Coninck, of the Department of Classics, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Campus Kortrijk), with the assistance of his colleague Dr A. Wouters, Professor of Greek at the same university, has made a detailed study from printed sources of all these loanwords in Codex Neofiti, indicating the era in which they appear to have been current.<sup>11</sup> For some of them he has no evidence for currency in the early Christian centuries.

This is a line of research which I believe could be further pursued in the search for criteria for dating our available texts of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch.

### 4. The Dating of Jewish Traditions

Even if an early date is presumed for the Palestinian Targum tradition, it does not follow that the form of Aramaic in which the tradition was trans-

10. Martin McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis. Translated with Apparatus and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 1A; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), pp. 16-23.

11. See Luc De Coninck, in McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, pp. 23-24, note 80. De Coninck divides the Greek and Latin loan-words of Neofiti into four groups: (class 4) 11 from the 1st century BCE-1st century CE; (3) 5 attested from the 2nd century CE on; (2) one word (*katella*) not attested in any of the lexicographical works consulted; (class 1) the vast majority, with words attested for the first time in sources from the third century CE on; some becoming common in the sixth century. One of them (*strata*) was first confined to poetry (*strata viarum*) and found in prose from the fourth century CE only. De Coninck ends by noting that much work remains to be done on each individual loan-word. He comments: "Nothing can be written definitely on the date of the Aramaic paraphrase until such work is done. Anyway, the first class of terms mentioned above will not easily be pushed aside in its entirety."

mitted did not evolve with the ages. Such linguistic evolution is a feature of a living tradition. We have a clear example of it in Irish and other vernacular literatures. The evolution in the targumic Aramaic can be seen by a comparison of extant texts among themselves. Nor does the assumption of an early age for the targumic tradition as a whole preclude the intrusion of some later material and the change of certain earlier texts to “update” them. The task still remains of proving, where possible, the age of any given targumic tradition.

This we must do by seeking evidence for its existence in dated texts. Such dated evidence we have in the following:

- i. *Patristic writings*, some of which show acquaintance with Jewish tradition. Outstanding among the Fathers in this field is Jerome (fourth century CE) who makes several explicit references to the Jewish understanding of Scripture in his own day. At other times Jewish influence is present in his writings even when his source is not mentioned. The Jewish (and targumic) understanding of Scripture has even influenced his Vulgate rendering. Jerome’s *Hebraicae quaestiones in Genesim* is replete with the understanding of Genesis found in the Palestinian Targum. Origen, and others, have also their contribution to make.
- ii. *Early Jewish art*. To take but one example: the frescoes of Doura-Europos (from about 250 CE) depict scenes from extra-biblical Jewish tradition. In one of these frescoes some scholars see depicted the sacrifice of Isaac on the Temple Mount — a tradition found in the Palestinian Targum (Genesis 22) as well as in other Jewish sources.
- iii. *Ancient Jewish writings* to which a definite date can be ascribed; e.g. the Dead Sea Scrolls, Pseudo-Philo’s *Biblical Antiquities*, the *Book of Jubilees*.
- iv. *Ancient translations of the Old Testament*, such as the Septuagint and the Peshitta, which are occasionally witnesses to Jewish exegesis.
- v. *Jewish liturgy*.
- vi. *The New Testament*. To give but two examples: in 1 Corinthians 10:4 Paul speaks of a rock which followed the Israelites during the desert wanderings. The Old Testament has no mention of this, although it does mention that the Israelites were miraculously given to drink from a rock. There is, on the contrary, a well-attested Jewish tradition on the well, in rock form, which followed the Israelites in the desert. The text from Paul is testimony to the early age of this tradi-

tion. The second part of this work will devote itself to an examination of a number of passages in which some New Testament texts and targumic tradition seem to be related. In an earlier work and in the first edition of this writing I also adduced the example of Jannes and Jambres. In 2 Timothy 3:8 we read of Jannes and Jambres opposing Moses. No mention of these names is found in the Old Testament. They are found, however, in varying forms, in Jewish tradition and exactly in the form given in 2 Timothy in the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan Exodus 7:11; 1:15. This particular text loses much of its probative value when the uncertain dating of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, and some other factors as well, are taken into account.<sup>12</sup>

12. On Pseudo-Jonathan see above, pp. 5-7, and below, pp. 260-268.

## PART TWO

# The Palestinian Targum and New Testament Studies

After this introductory consideration we come now to see what light the Palestinian Targums have to shed on the New Testament. In this second part we shall consider the Palestinian Targums in their setting within Jewish life. They are after all but part of the vast literature of Judaism and are intimately connected with liturgical texts and rabbinic writings.

The better to situate targumic evidence, we draw on the writings of the rabbis and on the Jewish liturgy as occasion requires. The evidence of the former tends to show, I believe, how embedded targumic tradition is in Jewish tradition. The testimony of the latter reveals how close is the relationship between the liturgy and the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch, which we look on here as liturgical renderings, which took their origin from within the liturgical services of the synagogue.

We shall occasionally treat of targumic texts other than ones from the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch. But this will be very much the exception, and only because they present material related to that of the Palestinian Targum. In the concluding chapter, after a brief consideration of individual texts, we shall give some concluding reflections.



## CHAPTER 9

### *Reverential Manner in Speaking of God*

#### 1. Actions Done 'before God'

The reverential attitude in speaking about God, already noticeable in the later writings of the Old Testament, is very much in evidence in the Aramaic paraphrases. When speaking of God's relations with the external world, the targumists shy away from making deity the direct subject or object of an action. To effect this, active verbs of the biblical text become passive in the Aramaic renderings, sometimes with a certain amount of violence being done to the Aramaic language. According to the biblical text of Genesis 1:4, 'God saw the light (*ra'ah 'et ha'ôr*) that it was good.' This in the Targum (Neofiti) becomes: 'And it was manifest *before the Lord* that the light was good' (literally: 'and it was manifest before the Lord the light [*yt! nhwr*': retaining the sign of the accusative *yt* with a verb in the passive] that it was good'). Likewise, throughout the entire chapter 'God saw' becomes 'it was manifest before God.' 'And God saw the earth, and behold it was corrupt' of Genesis 6:12 becomes 'and the earth was manifest [*wgly qdm YY yt 'r*': again retaining the sign of the accusative] *before the Lord*, and behold it had become corrupted' (cf. further Genesis 31:12, 42). 'God heard their groaning' of Exodus 2:24 is rendered in the Targum 'and their plaint was heard *before the Lord*.' Likewise 'God saw the people of Israel and God saw their condition' of Exodus 2:25 is translated as 'the servitude (*yt š'bwd*) of the sons of Israel was manifest *before the Lord*. . . .'<sup>1</sup> 'God will provide himself a lamb' of Genesis 22:8 is rendered

1. On this construction in Neofiti (also in other Palestinian Targum texts) see Da-

'Before the Lord is a lamb prepared.' Instead of the Bible's 'I know you fear God' (Genesis 22:12), the targumist writes 'I know that *you fear before the Lord*.' God cannot be the direct object of an action. Instead of 'tempt the Lord' (Exodus 17:2), the Targum has 'tempt *before* the Lord.'

This religious mentality which spoke of things being done before the Lord is not peculiar to the targums nor indeed to Israel.<sup>2</sup> We find it for instance in the Palmyrene inscriptions of Doura-Europos: 'May Maliku . . . be remembered *before* [the god] *Yarhibol*' (Inscr. no. 15, A.D. 103).<sup>3</sup> In a Jewish inscription from Doura we read: 'that Ahiah . . . may be remembered for good *before* [*qdm*] the God of the heavens'.<sup>4</sup>

This way of speaking about God is abundantly illustrated by gospel texts. In the gospels no more than in the targums are human emotions predicated of God. The Palestinian Targum renders Genesis 6:6 ('And the Lord was sorry that he had made man . . .') as 'and there was regret before [*qdm*] the Lord that he had created man.' In Luke 15:10 Jesus says that 'there is joy *before* [*enōpion*] angels of God [or in a variant reading 'in heaven'] over one sinner who repents,' i.e. God rejoices over the conversion of a sinner. Sparrows are not forgotten *before* (*enōpion*) God (Luke 12:6), i.e. God remembers them.<sup>5</sup>

The prodigal son confesses (Luke 15:18, 21): 'Father, I have sinned against heaven (*eis ton ouranon*) and *before* you (*enōpion sou*).' 'To sin before' someone is a phrase not found in the Hebrew texts, nor in the Septuagint. The expression used there is 'to sin against' (*ḥaṭa' l'*; *hamartanein eis*). 'To sin before' is a good targumic phrase. The targums, in fact, use both the phrase 'to sin against' and 'to sin before.' The latter is generally used when referring to a sin against God; the former when there is question of a sin against man. Thus for instance in Neofiti Genesis 20:6: 'And the Word of the Lord said to him [i.e. Abimelech] in a dream: "It is also manifest before me that you did this in the integrity of your heart, and I

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vid M. Golomb, *A Grammar of Targum Neofiti* (Harvard Semitic Monographs; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), p. 209.

2. See Michael L. Klein, "The Preposition *qdm* ('Before'): A Pseudo-Anti-Anthropomorphism in the Targumim," *Journal of Theological Studies* 30 (1979): 502-507.

3. See Comptes du Mesnil du Buisson, *Inventaire des inscriptions palmyréniennes du Doura-Europos* (32 avant J.-C. à 256 après J.-C.), new ed. (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1939), pp. 7, 15-16, 45-46; another example in inscription no. 45. See also B. Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum ludaicarum*, vol. II (Vatican City, 1952), no. 825, p. 74.

4. Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum*, no. 845, p. 87.

5. See Palestinian Talmud, *Shebi'ith* 38c: 'Not a bird perishes apart from heaven.'

have also restrained you from sinning *before me*.” Three verses later Abimelech says to Abraham: ‘What have I sinned *against you*?’ Joseph says to his master’s wife: ‘How can I do this great evil and sin *before my God*?’ (Neofiti Genesis 39:9). And the Lord said to Moses: ‘Whoever has sinned *before me*, I will strike out from the book of my Law’ (Neofiti Exodus 32:33). Psalm 51:6 says: ‘against you (*l’ka*) alone have I sinned.’ This in the Targum becomes ‘before you alone have I sinned’ (literally: ‘incurred debt’/ḥabet).

According to Luke 12:8-9, Christ says that those who confess him or disown him before men will be confessed or disowned before (*emprosthen*) the angels of God. The parallel passage in Matthew 10:32-33 has ‘before my Father who is in heaven.’ Dalman believes it probable that Luke has inserted ‘the angels of God’ merely to avoid the use of the divine name.<sup>6</sup> Which, if either, is the original form of the logion is hard to say. The Jews of Christ’s day may have mentioned both the angels of God and the Father in heaven in contexts such as this. In the Palestinian Targum to Genesis 38:25 we find mention of ‘the just fathers’. In the text in question Judah says: ‘It is better for me to blush in this world, which is a passing world, than to blush *before my just fathers* in the world to come’ (Neofiti).

## 2. Good Pleasure before God

In Matthew 18:14 Christ says: ‘There is not will before (*ouk estin thelēma emprosthen*) my [variant reading ‘your’] Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish,’ i.e. ‘it is not the will of my Father. . . .’ Again in Matthew 11:26 (= Luke 10:21) Christ says: ‘Yea, Father, for thus was there good pleasure before you’ (*houtōs eudokia egeneto emprosthen sou*), i.e. ‘for such was your gracious will’ (NRSV).

Here we are very much in targumic terminology, the corresponding Aramaic phrase — *raʿwa min qʿdam Adonai* — being of extremely common occurrence in the Aramaic paraphrases. *Raʿwa* is a word none too easy to translate precisely. It is used to render such Hebrew words as *rāṣôn* (‘good will,’ ‘favour,’ ‘will’), *ḥēseq* (‘desire’) and *ḥēpeš* (‘pleasure’). It can be rendered by ‘will,’ ‘good will,’ etc. The Greek translators of the early Chris-

6. Gustav Dalman, *The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of Post-biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language*. Authorised English version (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902), p. 210.



tian tradition were faced with the same difficulty as any modern translator. In Matthew 18:14 it is rendered as 'will' (*thelēma*); in Matthew 11:26 (Luke 10:21) as 'good pleasure' (*eudokia*). As just said, the expression 'good pleasure before the Lord' is very frequent in the targums and is by no means restricted to passages where the Hebrew text has one or another of the three words it is used to translate. Balaam says to the noblemen of Balak: 'Go to your country because there is not good pleasure before the Lord (*let ra<sup>w</sup>wah min q<sup>o</sup>dam YY*) to allow me to go with you' (Numbers 22:13, Neofiti, etc.). Later Balak says to Balaam: 'Come, now, I will take you to another place; perchance there will be good pleasure before the Lord (*yihwe ra<sup>w</sup>wah min q<sup>o</sup>dam YY*) and you will curse them for me' (Numbers 23:27; Neofiti, Onqelos, Pseudo-Jonathan). Many more examples could be given. The expression, which does not occur in the Hebrew Bible or in the Septuagint, is also found in Hebrew, in the prayer formula: *y<sup>e</sup>hi rāšōn mill<sup>e</sup>paneka*: 'may it be well-pleasing in thy sight,' literally: 'may there be [good] will before you.' Its antiquity is attested by 1 Maccabees 3:60: 'as there is the will (*thelēma*) in heaven. . . .' It may underlie Luke 12:32: *eudokēsen ho patēr hymōn*, 'it has pleased your Father.' We should also compare Luke 2:14, for which a Hebrew equivalent has been found in Qumran texts: '. . . so that all his creatures come to know the strength of his power and the abundance of his compassion to all the sons of his good pleasure' (*bny ršwnw*, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12 (IV), 32-33); 'your compassion for the sons of your good pleasure' (*bny ršwnkh*; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19 (XI), 9). The Qumran community shall be '. . . true witnesses for the judgment and the chosen ones by the good pleasure (*ršwn*) (of God) to atone for the land . . .' (1QS 8,6).<sup>7</sup>

Another word of extremely common use in the targums is *itr<sup>e</sup>e*, the Ithpe of *r<sup>e</sup>e*, *r<sup>e</sup>a*, meaning 'to be pleasing,' 'acceptable,' 'to delight in,' 'to be well pleased in,' etc. It is used, among other things, to render the Hebrew word *baḥar*, 'to choose,' especially when the subject of the action is God. The targums also use the word *b<sup>e</sup>ḥar*, 'choose,' when the subject of the action is man (Genesis 13:11; Exodus 17:9; 18:25 — Neofiti). Divine election, then, is seen as the effect of God's goodwill and good pleasure. To be a chosen one is to be one in whom God is well pleased. Bearing this in mind we find it easier to see a reference to the Servant of Yahweh in the divine voice at the baptism of Jesus: 'This is my beloved Son, *in whom* (Mark, Luke: 'in

7. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "'Peace upon Earth among Men of His Good Will' (Luke 2:14)," *Theological Studies* 19 (1958), 225-227; reproduced in *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Chapman, 1971), pp. 101-104.

you') *I am well pleased* — *en hō (soi) eudokēsa* (Matthew 3:17; Mark 1:11; Luke 3:22; cf. Matthew 17:5; 2 Peter 1:17). In the final phrase there seems to be a reference to the first Servant Song of Isaiah 42:1: 'Behold my servant, whom I uphold; my chosen one in whom my soul delights' (*bēḥiri raṣṣ'tah napši*). This in the targum becomes: 'Behold my Servant, I will bring him near; my chosen *in whom* my Word (*Memra*, i.e. I) is *well pleased*.' The Septuagint has: 'my soul has accepted him' (*prosedexato auton hē psychē mou*). The same targumic religious terminology is found again in Matthew 12:18: 'my beloved with whom my soul is well pleased' (*hon eudokēsen psychē mou*).

The way in which the citation from Psalm 39 (40) found in Hebrews 10:6 deviates from the Septuagint text may be due to the same mentality. The citation in Hebrews runs: 'in burnt offerings and sin offerings thou hast taken no pleasure' (*ouk eudokēsas*); the Septuagint reads: 'burnt offerings and sin offerings thou didst not require' (*ouk ētēsas*). The Masoretic Text has: 'sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire' (*lō ḥapaṣta*); the verb would naturally be rendered as 'you have taken (no) pleasure in.' Although rendered by *šebîta* in our present targum to Psalm 40:6 (7), *ḥpṣ* in the targums is very often translated by the verb *r'e*, 'to be well pleased in,' 'take pleasure in,' as for example in the targum to verse 9 of Psalm 39 (40).

## CHAPTER 10

### *God and Creation*

The expression of divine truths in human language will always present a problem to mortals. The Yahwist has given us both a deep psychology and a profound theology in anthropomorphic and mythical dress. Yahweh fashions man from clay, converses with him, walks in the garden of Eden, descends from heaven to see the tower of Babel. This manner of speaking about God must have appeared to many as not entirely becoming. In the texts traditionally attributed to the Elohist, God appears to mortals rather in dreams, or sends his angel as messenger. For the Priestly Writer God is the Almighty One who created the world by a word. And yet, despite his earlier anthropomorphisms, in Exodus 33:20 the Yahwist has Yahweh say to Moses: "You cannot see my face, for no one shall see me and live."

The task confronting later Jewish interpreters of the Old Testament was that of removing or explaining any expression which might be offensive to their audiences, or might be misunderstood by them. This led the targumists to remove anthropomorphisms, substituting for them references to the "Word" (*Memra*), "Glory" (*Y<sup>e</sup>qara*, *ʾIqar*) or "Presence" (*Shekinah*; Aramaic: *Shekinta*) of the Lord when speaking of his relations with the world. In communicating his will to humans we read of "the Holy Spirit" or the *Dibbera* (Word) rather than the Lord himself. For a Jew, of course, these were merely other ways of saying "the Lord." They were reverential ways of speaking about the God of Israel.

## 1. Word, Glory and Shekinah of the Lord

In the targums such phrases as “he went down,” “went forth,” “came,” etc., when referring to God, are naturally omitted. In their stead we read that God *’tgly*, *’itg<sup>l</sup>li* (Ithpeel), “revealed himself,” or preferably, “was revealed.” We read repeatedly in the targums that God, the Word (*Memra*) of God, the Glory of the Lord, the Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord (this last mainly in Neofiti), is revealed. “The Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord was revealed to see the city and the tower that the sons of man had built” (Genesis 11:5, Neofiti). With such language we should compare Stephen’s words in Acts 7:2: “The God of glory was seen (*ōphthē*, was revealed; appeared) to our father Abraham.” In the second century CE a dictum ascribed to Rabbi Judah ben Ilai gives as a principle for rendering the Hebrew text: “He who translates a verse quite literally is a liar, while he who adds anything thereto is a blasphemer” (*t. Megillah* 4:41; *b. Qidd.* 49a). He illustrates through Exodus 24:10, which in the biblical text runs: “and they saw the God of Israel.” To translate this literally would give a false sense, since no man can see God and live. To insert the word “angel” for God would be blasphemous: an angel would be substituted for God. The only possible rendering of the verse according to him is: “and they saw the Glory (*y<sup>e</sup>qara*) of the God of Israel,” which is substantially the rendering of all extant targums. This shows that this form of targumic rendering must have been current in the second century CE and even earlier. We are not surprised to see that according to Targum Isaiah 6:1, 5, Isaiah saw “the Glory of the Lord,” “the Glory of the Shekinah of the King of Ages.”

In some texts in Neofiti “Glory of the Lord” is a metonym for God and one which could equally well be replaced by “the Word (*Memra*) of the Lord.” Thus, for example, in Genesis:

*The Word of the Lord* created the two large luminaries . . . (1:16) . . . and the *Glory of the Lord* set them in the firmament (1:17). . . . *The Word of the Lord* created the son of man [i.e. man] . . . (1:27). . . . And the *Glory of the Lord* blessed them and the *Word of the Lord* said to them: “Be strong and multiply” (1:28); “. . . And on the seventh day the *Word of the Lord* completed the work which he had created . . .” (2:2); “. . . and the *Glory of the Lord* blessed the seventh day” (2:3).

Apart from these texts, however, the Glory of the Lord in the targums is employed in connection with God’s relations to the world. It is

revealed to see the work of the men of Babel (Genesis 11:5, Neofiti), and it is revealed to the patriarchs. Aaron, Nadab and Abihu saw the Glory of the Lord, or the Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord (Exodus 24:10).

This is the religious terminology we find in the New Testament. Whereas according to the biblical text of Isaiah 6:1, 5 Isaiah saw the Lord, Yahweh, John 12:41 speaks of him as having seen the *Glory* of Christ. This is good targumic language. We may also recall how John generally speaks of the glory of Christ in conjunction with “seeing” and “revealing,” as the targums do of the glory of the Lord.

## 2. Shekinah, Glory of the Shekinah

The Hebrew noun *shekinah* (in Aramaic in the emphatic singular *shekinta*) is an abstract noun from the verb *shakan* (root in Hebrew and Aramaic *škn*), “to dwell, rest.” It is a central term and concept in rabbinic literature, expressing God’s presence in the Temple and with his people. It is also very common in the various targums of the Pentateuch and of the Prophets, with differences, however, in the manner in which it is used in Onqelos, the Palestinian Targums (in particular Neofiti) and the Targums of the Prophets. Since the present work is not merely on the Targums, but rather on the Targums and the New Testament, it is indicated that examination of the matter begin with consideration of the possible early use of the term and concept in Judaism.

Whereas the verb *shakan* and terms from the root *škn* occur in the Hebrew Scriptures, and while the term *shekinah/shekinta* is extremely common in rabbinic literature and the targums, no occurrence of it is attested in pre-rabbinic literature. It is not found in the Qumran texts. This might lead one to believe that the term and concept originated after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE, or after New Testament times. However, an indication of its earlier use may be seen in 2 Maccabees 14:35 (in a work completed before the Roman conquest, 63 BCE). In a prayer for the safety of the Temple the priests remind God: “You were pleased that there should be a temple for your habitation (*naon tēs sēs skēnōseōs*) among us.” The abstract noun *skēnōsis* corresponds closely in meaning and form to *shekinah*, probably indicating that this term was already in liturgical use by 50 BCE. There are also early rabbinic texts indicating early use of the concept and term. The term *Shekinah* occurs only twice in the Mishnah, once in words ascribed to Rabbi Hananiah ben Teradyon (probably executed 135 CE): “If

two sit together and the words between them are of the Torah, then the *Shekinah* is in their midst” (*m. Aboth* 3:3). Again in *m. Aboth* 3:6: “R. Halafta b. Dosa [latter half of the second century] said: ‘If ten men sit together and occupy themselves with the Law, the *Shekinah* rests among them.’” A similar saying, with broader connotation, is attributed to R. Halafta of Sepphoris (R. Hananiah’s contemporary) who speaks of the presence of the *Shekinah* with any “two or three who sit together in the market place and the words between them are of the Torah” (*Abot de Rabbi Natan* B, ch. 34, p. 74). These texts are naturally compared with Matthew 18:20: “Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in their midst.” The difference between the two contexts must be borne in mind. Matthew’s text speaks of Jesus, rather than God’s *Shekinah*, being present, which is in keeping with the New Testament, where Jesus is spoken of as Immanuel. It is recognised that Matthew 18:20 may be related to the Jewish traditions, Matthew’s relation to rabbinic tradition being generally accepted. While it is possible that the Jewish tradition depends on Matthew, it is more probable that the Jewish rabbinic theology and terminology on the *Shekinah* were already a reality in the first century and that Matthew moulded this in keeping with New Testament christology.

The foregoing research on the date of the use of the concept *Shekinah* in Judaism was made by Professor Joseph Sievers of the Biblical Institute, Rome.<sup>1</sup> In his first study in English Sievers notes that the references to the *Shekinah* in Targum Onqelos as well as in the various recensions of the Palestinian Targum are numerous. Although the Targumim contain much earlier material, he continues, they were not redacted in final form before the third century. Therefore, they are of little help in establishing the origin of the term *Shekinah*. He omits all references to the targums in the revised form of the essay in German.

With regard to this one may observe that a concept and term of this nature if current, or used, in rabbinic Judaism of New Testament times (and earlier) can be presumed to have also been used in liturgical, or “popular” Aramaic translations of the Bible. And in point of fact we find it freely used in all the Targums of the Pentateuch (Onqelos and the Palestinian

1. Joseph Sievers, “‘Where Two or Three. . .’ The Rabbinic Concept of *Shekinah* and Matthew 18:20,” in E. J. Fisher (ed.), *The Jewish Roots of Christian Liturgy* (New York/Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1990), pp. 47-61; Joseph Sievers, “‘Wo zwei oder drei. . .’ Der rabbinische Begriff der Schechina und Matthäus 18,20,” in *Das Prisma: Beiträge zur Pastoral, Katechese & Theologie* 17,1 (2005), 18-29 (a revision of his earlier essay “‘Where Two or Three . . .’”).

Targums) and of the Prophets. There is a tendency to date the Targums of Onqelos and the Prophets before 135 CE. The precise manner in which the term *Shekinah* is used in the various targums differs from one to the other, and there should be no question of trying to ascertain which targumic usage is the oldest. In the use of the concept and term there was probably an inner-targumic development. Here as elsewhere the targumists were not free to introduce the term at will. Their primary purpose was to translate the Hebrew text. They insert reference to the *Shekinah* in places where the Hebrew speaks of God “dwelling/resting” in the Temple or with his people.

Bernard Grossfeld has listed its usage in Targum Onqelos.<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew text of Genesis 9:27 says: “May God make space for Japhet and let him dwell (Masoretic Text *w<sup>e</sup>yišken* from the root *šakan*, with Japhet as subject) in the tents of Shem.” Onqelos renders the ending as “and he (God?) will cause his *šekinta*’ to dwell in the tents of Shem” (with, apparently, the Lord as subject, as in the Palestinian Targums; “and may the Glory of his *Shekinah* dwell . . .”). Onqelos renders all cases in which *škn* occurs in reference to God by the phrase *’ašre šekinta*’, “made (his) *Shekinah* dwell” (Exod 25:8; 29:45; Num 5:3; 35:34). In this sense the Targum relates *šekinta*’ to God, in so far as he resides omnipresently in the midst of his people. So whenever the biblical text expresses God’s lingering or moving about in any particular place via the preposition *tók* (“in the midst of”), *qereb* (“near”), *’im* (“with”), the Targum adds *šekinta*’ (Exod 17:7; 33:3, 5, 16; 34:5, 9; Num 11:20; 14:14, 42; 16:3; 35:34; Deut 1:42; 3:24; 4:39; 6:15; 7:21; 33:16). Likewise *šekinta*’ is used frequently as a translation for the Hebrew *šem* (“name”) where this word designates more or less God’s omnipresence (Exod 20:21; Deut 13:5; 11:21). In a similar vein, the Onqelos targum employs *šekinta*’ in rendering the Hebrew *panîm* (lit. “face”) where the latter designates God’s personal presence (Exod 3:14, 15; 34:6; Num 6:25; Deut 31:17, 18).

Matters are quite different in Targum Neofiti.<sup>3</sup> In Nf the term

2. Bernard Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 6) (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), p. 30.

3. For Targum Neofiti see Martin McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis. Translated, with Apparatus and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 1A) (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), pp. 36-37. The most recent and thorough study of the subject is by Domingo Muñoz León, *Gloria de la Shekinta en los Targumim del Pentateuco* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto “Francisco Suárez,” 1977). There is a summary of Muñoz León’s work by Leopold Sabourin, in *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 6 (1976): 79-85 (“The Memra of God in the Targums”).

"Shekinah" occurs very rarely without being in combination with "Glory": Nf Exod 15:13: "... dwelling-place of the Shekinah of your holiness"; Nf Exod 15:17: "the house of your Shekinah . . . the house of your holiness"; Nf Exod 24:17: "the appearance of the Shekinah of the Lord was like a devouring fire"; Nf Num 24:6: "like the heavens which the Lord has spread out as the house of his Shekinah."

The usual expression in Nf is "The Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord." This occurs about 101 times in all in Nf, as follows: Nf Gen, nine times; Nf Exodus, thirty-seven times; Nf Leviticus, six times; Nf Num, eighteen times; Nf Deut, thirty-one times. The occurrences are in general not haphazard but follow regular patterns, associated with certain verbs, as follows: with the verb "dwell," forty times; with "was revealed," seventeen times; with the verb "lead," nine times; with the verb "go up," six times; with the words "is among," once (Nf Deuteronomy 6:15). There are twenty-three occurrences with other verbs or words, as follows: with "rebel against," Nf Num 14:9; with "tempt," Nf Deut 6:13; 6:16; with "to meet," Nf Exod 19:17; with "to see," Nf Exod 16:7; 33:23 ("see the Memra of the Glory of my Shekinah . . . but not . . . the face of the Glory of my Shekinah"); with "to look on," Nf Exod 3:6; with "will accompany among," Nf Exodus 33:14, 16; with "will pass (by)," Nf Exodus 12:23; 33:22; 34:6; with "filled," Nf Exod 40:34, 35; Num 14:21; with "was upon," Nf Exod 40:35; with "in the midst (of)," Nf Num 14:14; with "turn back," Nf Deut 23:15; with "cloud(s)," Nf Exod 19:9; Num 10:34; 14:14; Leviticus 23:43 ("the clouds of the Glory of my Shekinah," etc.).

The Targums of the Prophets also use the concept and term *Shekinah*, and with a variety of meanings.<sup>4</sup> The Shekinah is both hidden and revealed, both high above in heaven and dwelling among mortals, and in particular in Zion and the Temple of Jerusalem. Above all the Shekinah dwells among Israel. The exact phrasing depends somewhat on the underlying Hebrew text. Occasionally the designations Shekinah, Memra or Glory may be used interchangeably, e.g. Judges 6:12b: MT: "the Lord is with you," Targum: "the Memra of the Lord is at your aid"; Judges 6:13a: MT: "... if the Lord is with us . . . ?," Targum: "... if the Shekinah of the Lord is at our aid . . . ?"; Judges 6:16a: MT: "I will be with you"; Targum: "my Memra will be with you." Sometimes "Glory" could be substituted for

4. See Leivy Smolar and Moses Aberbach, *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (The Library of Biblical Studies) (New York and Baltimore: Ktav Publishing House and The Baltimore Hebrew College, 1983), pp. 221-223.



Shekinah, or could be paired with it as a synonym. Thus, concerning the Mount of Revelation (Paran), Targum Hab 3:4: "And the splendour of his Glory was revealed like the splendour of creation; . . . there he revealed his Shekinah which was hidden from the sons of men in the high fastness."

The concepts and terms glory and Shekinah, of course, are central ones in rabbinic literature, and scholars have paid attention to the exact meaning and usage of these terms and the relationship of the usage in the targums to rabbinic tradition. A. M. Goldberg<sup>5</sup> (1969) sees Onqelos's usage as original, corresponding to the primary stage in the rabbinic literature. He argues that the Palestinian Targums reflect a later stage of development than that in Onqelos, corresponding to the later tendency in both Talmud and Midrash to extend the very limited range of usage, denoting the deity as present in a particular place, to a much less differentiated term characterizing the deity as he reveals himself. D. Muñoz León has devoted a monograph principally to the phrase "the Glory of the Shekinah"<sup>6</sup> (1977), concentrating on the Palestinian Targums, and principally on Targum Neofiti. Of the two terms he considers "Glory" is the more dominant aspect, in contexts both of revelation and permanent presence, and this he considers amplified by the introduction of Shekinah as a "genitive of precision." While allowing that Shekinah may possibly represent a later addition to an original "Glory," he argues that the Palestinian Targum is still earlier and more original than Onqelos. W. E. Aufrecht has written a PhD dissertation on the subject<sup>7</sup> (1979), in which he devotes a main section to *Yeqara* ("Glory") and Shekinah. He criticizes previous work, especially Goldberg, for imposing a theological analysis on the targumic usage. He argues that the usage of *Yeqara* and Shekinah in the Targumim derives not from theological but from linguistic and translational considerations. Aufrecht believes that whereas theoretically it is possible that with the Glory of the Shekinah, Shekinah is the original element and Glory has been added later under the influence of Onqelos, the evidence as a whole suggests the opposite, that is, that Glory is original and Shekinah has been added for tendentious reasons, namely to specify that the Glory in question has reference to God's glory, since *yeqara*, "glory" can be predicated also of mortals. Because it does not have the Palestinian Targum's devel-

5. Arnold M. Goldberg, *Untersuchungen über die Vorstellung von de Schekhinah in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur — Talmud und Midrasch* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1969).

6. Muñoz León, *Gloria de la Shekinta*.

7. W. E. Aufrecht, *Surrogates for the Divine Name in the Palestinian Targums to Exodus* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979).

oped sense of Shekinah, Aufrecht argues that this does not mean that Onqelos therefore represents the original usage throughout. In fact, Aufrecht says, with regard to Shekinah Onqelos represents not the earliest but the latest stage of development, in keeping with the sense given to it in later Rabbinic theology. In his major study of these, and related titles, in reference to divine revelation A. Chester (1986) reviews and evaluates the earlier literature on the subject.<sup>8</sup>

I refer to these studies to indicate the problems relating to a study of these concepts and terms from the point of view of rabbinic literature and the Aramaic targums.

### 3. The Glory of the Lord Dwells with Israel

In the Palestinian Targums the usual expression is not “the Glory of God” but “the Glory of the Shekinah of God,” or “the Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord.” The insertion of “Shekinah” may be a further attempt to remove any trace of anthropomorphism. “In the evening you will know that the Lord has led you out redeemed from Egypt, and in the morning you will see the Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord” (Exod 16:6-7, Neofiti). “Shekinah,” i.e. presence, dwelling, calls to mind “the Glory of the Lord,” or his dwelling presence with Israel. “Moses led out the people from the camp to meet the Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord. . . . And the Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord was revealed upon Mount Sinai” (Exod 19:17, 20, Neofiti). “And Moses drew near to the cloud on Mount Sinai, where the Glory of the Shekinah of the Lord dwelt” (Exodus 20:21, Neofiti). It also dwelt in the wilderness (Exod 18:5, Neofiti). It leads Israel in the desert wanderings (Deut 1:30; 31:3, 6, 8, Neofiti). God promised to make the Glory of his Shekinah dwell among his people in the sanctuary (Exod 25:8). He also promised to sanctify the tent of meeting and said to Moses: “And I will place my Shekinah in the midst of the children of Israel, and my Word (*Memra*) will be for them a Redeemer God. And they will know that I am the Lord their God who brought them out of the land of Egypt so that the Glory of my Shekinah might dwell among them” (Exod 29:45-46).

These are but a few of the many texts which speak of God’s Glory dwelling with Israel (see e.g. Pal. Targ. Gen 49:17; Leviticus 16:16; Deut

8. Andrew Chester, *Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1986).

14:23-24; 16:2, 6, 11; 26:15; 31:17; cf. Gen 28:16). We shall see the bearing of this on the New Testament after we have devoted some study to the *Memra* of the Lord.

#### 4. *Memra* of Targums and Logos of John

In the quest for a background to the use of the term *logos* ("Word") for Jesus in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel four plausible proposals are put forward (omitting consideration of a Gnostic background), namely: (1) the Old Testament word of the Lord; (2) Wisdom in the Wisdom Literature; (3) the logos in Philo of Alexandria; (4) the Targumic *Memra* ("Word") of the Lord.

Our interest here is in the last of these: Targumic *Memra* and Logos of John. Before we come to examine this, however, it will help to consider the attention that has been given to the question of *Memra*, and its use in New Testament studies, over the past thousand years. The use of *Memra* in the Targums, and its exact significance, and not only in midrashic literature, is a question for Jewish studies first and foremost. The word *memra*, "the word/Word" (*mymr*) itself is the term *mymr* (*mêmar*) with the definite article suffixed. In form it is a substantival infinitive, from the root *'mr* (*m'mr*, with elision of the *alef*). It has a cognate term in classical and later Hebrew, *m'mr* (*ma<sup>a</sup>mar*), with the meaning of "word, command." The term *Memra* occurs frequently in Onqelos, more frequently in Targum Neofiti, and other Palestinian Targum texts, and is more frequent still in the glosses to Neofiti. It also occurs in the Targum of the Prophets, and in the Targums of the Ketubim. A constant concern of scholars down the centuries has been and is whether the word is to be understood as a translation device of the Hebrew text, or whether, in some or many instances at least, it is more than this, with a philosophical or theological content. Another concern of scholars is to determine the development, or revisions, in the meaning of the word as between Onqelos and the Palestinian Targumim, and within the Palestinian Targum tradition itself. The word (in the orthography *m'mr* with *alef*) occurs twice in the Qumran Targum of Job (11Q10; 28:9; 33:8; Job 36:32 and 39:27) as rendering respectively the Hebrew of a word from the root *šawah*, "command," and *peh*, "mouth" [= decree] (of God). The Jewish philosopher, exegete and Hebrew language linguist Saadya Gaon (d. 942) understood *Memra* to be an anti-anthropomorphic device. Maimonides (died 1204)

later saw *memra* as one of the means that Onqelos uses to paraphrase expressions that imply corporeality in God, while somewhat later Nachmanides (mid-thirteenth century) seems to have regarded it as one of the modes of denoting God in a particular form of his self-manifestation. The Christian scholar Brian Walton (1657) seems to have taken the Aramaic term Word (*Memra*) of the Lord as if it were a distinct person.

### *i. History of Modern Research*

In modern times the first serious examination of the question was made by S. Maybaum in a study of anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms in Onqelos in the later Targumim.<sup>9</sup> He argues that *Memra* is one aspect of Onqelos's method, used to modify expressions which he believes would express a misleading idea of God for the ordinary people. For him *memra* has the meanings of (1) order, command; (2) person, soul, heart. These, in Maybaum's opinion, are all literal translations, since they bring out the meaning implicit in the text, and are used to preserve the distance between mortals and God. M. Ginsburger<sup>10</sup> (1891) presented a similar view: *memra* is used for a dual purpose — (1) (along with the term *Dibbera*) it is used to remove the deity from any contact with mortals; (2) to paraphrase instances where God is found as the object of human action. On the other hand, in a work on the immanence of God J. Abelson<sup>11</sup> (1912) maintained that *Memra* has a positive theological meaning, being used, for instance, to express God's love, power and justice.

An entirely different approach was taken by F. Weber<sup>12</sup> (1897; 1880) and W. Bousset<sup>13</sup> (1906) in their works on Jewish religion and Jewish the-

9. Siegmund Maybaum, *Die Anthropomorphien und Anthropopathien beim Onkelos und den späten Targumim* (Breslau, 1870).

10. Moses Ginsburger, *Die Anthropomorphismen in den Targumim* (Braunschweig: Druck von Appelhans & Pfenningstorff, 1891).

11. Joshua Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature* (London: Macmillan, 1912).

12. Ferdinand W. Weber, *System der Altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midrasch, und Talmud* (Leipzig: Dorffling & Franke, 1880); revised edition by F. Delitzsch and G. Schnedermann in F. W. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften gemeinfasslich dargestellt* (Leipzig, 1897).

13. Wilhelm Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 2nd edition (Berlin, 1906).

ology in New Testament times. They take Memra as a hypostasis that mediates between God and the world, thus resolving the problem posed by God's transcendence. This approach exercised a great influence on Christian scholarship (Alfred Edersheim,<sup>14</sup> B. F. Westcott,<sup>15</sup> W. O. E. Oesterley and C. H. Box<sup>16</sup>), and provided a basis for understanding the Memra of the Targums as a precursor of the Johannine Logos. A sharp reaction to this approach came from George Foot Moore in his study on intermediaries in Jewish theology<sup>17</sup> (1922), building on the earlier work of Maybaum and Ginsburger. He argues for a philological approach, which shows that memra is not used of God's revelation or communication to humans, nor in the contexts of creative activity, but corresponds to the Hebrew *ma'amar* ("what is said") in the widest sense. Accordingly it takes on a different meaning in keeping with the context in which it is used (thus, for instance, "order/command/edict," "oracle," or effectively, "self"). In short, Memra is used as a natural paraphrase. In many cases it serves as a "verbal buffer" or euphemism, but in no sense as an idea or person. In Moore's words, "Memra is a phenomenon of translation, not a creature of speculation,"<sup>18</sup> and has nothing to do with any Christian hypostasis. Paul Billerbeck (1924) arrived, apparently independently, at similar conclusions. At the end of a very long excursus on "The Memra of Yahweh" (John 1:1),<sup>19</sup> Billerbeck concludes with these words:

The inference that follows from the foregoing statement with regard to the Logos of John can be in no doubt: the expression "Memra of Adonai" was an empty, purely formal substitution for the Tetragrammaton and is consequently unsuitable to serve as a starting-point for the Logos of John.<sup>20</sup>

14. Alfred Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1883; 2 vols. in one, 1906), vol. 1, 46-48; vol. 2, 659-663.

15. Brooke Foss Westcott, *An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, 4th edition (London, 1872), pp. 147-48; 8th edition (London: Macmillan, 1895), pp. 151-52.

16. William Oscar Emil Oesterley and C. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue* (London, 1907), p. 180.

17. George Foot Moore, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology: Memra, Shekinah, Metatron," *Harvard Theological Review* 15 (1922): 41-85.

18. Moore, "Intermediaries," p. 54.

19. Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 2 (Munich: Beck, 1924), pp. 302-333.

20. H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar*, vol. 2, p. 333.

The views expressed by Moore and Billerbeck were very influential and continue to be so. They are to be found in the works of Burkitt<sup>21</sup> (1923), Dalman<sup>22</sup> (1930) and others. An oft-cited remark on this issue is that of C. K. Barrett (1978), that Memra is “a blind alley in the study of the biblical background of John’s logos doctrine,”<sup>23</sup> cited with approval most recently (2003) by Craig S. Keener in his study of the question.<sup>24</sup> They were rejected by C. H. Box<sup>25</sup> (1932-33) who insisted that Memra’s basic sense is the personified word of God, the abstract expression of God’s action and power. R. D. Middleton<sup>26</sup> (1938-39) went further arguing that Memra, Shekinah and Yeqara (“Glory”) are all three terms to be found prominently throughout the Fourth Gospel, not simply in the prologue.

A new dimension was added to field for discussion in the 1930s with the publication of fragments of the Palestinian Targums from the Cairo Genizah. With this came the first discussion of Memra as a single topic (not as part of a larger consideration such as intermediaries or avoidance of anthropomorphisms) in a work in German by V. Hamp on “The concept ‘Word’ in the Aramaic translations of the Bible”<sup>27</sup> (1938). Hamp rejected the earlier views of Maybaum and Ginsburger, and argues that Memra is used from exegetical and grammatical considerations. He also rejects Moore’s characterization of Memra as a mere “buffer-word,” and Billerbeck’s understanding of it as an empty formula without any content or meaning. Hamp himself sees the predominant Targumic usage of Memra as having the sense of “word,” drawing on the resources of the Old

21. F. C. Burkitt, “Memra, Shekinah, Metatron,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1923): 158-159.

22. Gustav Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 2nd edition (1930), pp. 187-189; in the English translation of the first edition, G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902), pp. 229-231.

23. Charles Kingsley Barrett, *The Gospel according to John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster; London: SPCK, 1978), p. 97.

24. Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John. A Commentary*, vol. 1 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2003), pp. 349-350, with reference to Edwin Kenneth Lee, *The Religious Thought of St. John* (London: SPCK, 1962), p. 97.

25. C. H. Box, “The Idea of Intermediation in Jewish Theology,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. 23 (1932-33): 102-119.

26. R. D. Middleton, “Logos and Shekinah in the Fourth Gospel,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* n.s. 29 (1938): 101-133.

27. Vincenz Hamp, *Der Begriff “Wort” in den aramäischen Bibelübersetzungen* (Munich, 1938).

Testament use of “word of God,” with its various connotations of God’s omnipotence, wisdom and goodness, and also the divine will. A. Chester notes in his summary of Hamp’s position that Memra, on Hamp’s account, gives the impression of being a creative, dynamic development, and one which is used with some degree of theological sophistication.

A new phase in the study of Targumic Memra and Johannine Logos came with the discovery of Codex Neofiti 1 in the Vatican Library in 1949 and its identification as a complete text of the Palestinian Targum by Alejandro Díez Macho in 1956. In an essay in 1963 Díez Macho argued that Neofiti’s use of Memra, especially in Genesis 1–2, forms the immediate background to the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel.<sup>28</sup>

Any study of the use of this term will first of all need to examine the use of the expression in the targums themselves, to ascertain whether there is a uniform use of the expression in these writings, whether there is any inter-targumic development in the use of the term, and whether a date (however approximate) can be assigned to the usage. Considerable attention has been devoted to these questions in recent decades. Domingo Muñoz León has devoted a monograph to the subject: *Diós-Palabra. Memra en los targumim del Pentateuco*<sup>29</sup> (1974). Muñoz takes up the objections to the use of Memra in Johannine studies raised by G. F. Moore, P. Billerbeck, V. Hamp and others in his study of the use of the term in the targums, and examines the various contexts in which the term is used: in the theological sense Memra as Creator, Revealer and Redeemer. He notes the usage of the term in the various Pentateuch targums. Neofiti is the most sober in its use, and Pseudo-Jonathan and the Fragment Targums present almost the same characteristics as Neofiti in this regard. There is a more frequent use of the expression in the marginal glosses of Neofiti and the Cairo Genizah Fragments, especially with the verbs “(he) said, spoke, commanded.” In his conclusion, with regard to date he says that if his reconstruction and interpretation of the data are exact, the mention of the Memra of YY (the Lord) in the targumim is substantially contemporaneous with the later writings of the New Testament. The Fourth Gospel, like the early patristic literature, and in its own manner the contemporary pre-Gnostic Jewish heterodoxy, could all be heirs of the Synagogue.

28. Alejandro Díez Macho, “El Logos y el Espíritu Santo,” in *Atlántida* 1 (1963): 381–396.

29. Domingo Muñoz León, *Diós-Palabra. Memra en los targumim del Pentateuco* (Granada: Institución San Jerónimo, 1974).

Robert Hayward has also dedicated a monograph to the Memra in Codex Neofiti: *Divine Name and Presence: The Memra*.<sup>30</sup> In his view Memra in the Targums originally expressed God's 'HYH, God's name, for himself, the 'HYH 'ŠR 'HYH of Exodus 3:14. In Hayward's opinion Neofiti's rendering of Exodus 3:12, *w'mr 'rwm 'hwwy mmry 'mk* (Hebrew text *wy'mr ky-'hyh 'mk*, RSV: "[He said]: 'but I will be with you'") should be translated: "I, namely my Memra, will be with you." Memra is God's name for himself expounded in terms of his past and future presence in Creation and Redemption. The statistical analysis he had made of Memra's occurrence in Neofiti and Neofiti margins shows how the term itself has undergone a development from an original usage in certain phrases on a few well-defined occasions to a quite unsystematic use as a mere substitute for the Tetragram. He believes that the origins of the usage can be dated at its latest to the latter part of the second century BCE, and notable occurrences of Memra-theology can be found in the book of Wisdom (16:10-12; 18:14-16) and the Apocalypse of John, e.g., 19:12-13.

In 1979 in his Ph.D. dissertation *Surrogates for the Divine Name in the Palestinian Targums to Exodus* W. E. Aufrecht<sup>31</sup> made a detailed examination of Memra, with critiques of the then current literature on it. He found most studies of the Targumic surrogates to be vitiated by failures of method and the importing of presuppositions into the enquiry, thus limiting the range of questions and answers. He criticizes both Muñoz León and Hayward for defective method but more so for imposing theological interests on the Targumim. Aufrecht insists that the Targumim must be understood as translations, in the twofold sense of literal translation and idiomatic translation, and the surrogates are parts of that translation. It follows that the appropriate methods of investigation are descriptive and linguistic. Where Memra stands alone, apart from its presence in haggadic additions, it represents a translation of "voice" or "mouth" (of the Hebrew Text), or a pronoun referring to God himself in contexts where God is speaking. Where Memra or Memra of Y (the Lord) stand alone in haggadic additions, they represent an extension of this well-established usage, with no special features of theology; the vast majority of such instances occur in the glosses to Neofiti, and represent the fullest, most secondary and latest development.

30. Robert Hayward, *Divine Name and Presence: The Memra* (Totowa, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun & Co., 1981).

31. W. E. Aufrecht, *Surrogates for the Divine Name in the Palestinian Targums to Exodus* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979).



A little later (1982) Bruce Chilton examined the usage of Memra in the Isaiah Targum.<sup>32</sup> He finds the terms used in various (possibly eight) contexts: memra as an occasion for rebellion, as an agent of punishment, as a demand for obedience, as edict, as a voice, as divine protection, as an eternal witness, and possibly as an intermediary. Memra diction is thus sufficiently variable, even within the Isaiah Targum alone, to warn away from conceiving of its usage as limited to a single period (or even to several periods) in the long process of targumic formation. However, allowing for the possibility that on occasion “memra” may have been added at a later period to earlier renderings, in Chilton’s opinion it would at the moment be quite arbitrary to deny that the Isaiah Targum attests the use of the theologoumenon in its 66-132 CE framework (in which he believed Targum Isaiah was redacted).

In 1986 Andrew Chester published a major work, *Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim*.<sup>33</sup> In this he devotes a chapter of thirty-two pages to Memra, Shekinah, Yeqara, twenty-one of these treating of Memra. In this he reviews with great thoroughness the various writings on the topic from Saadya to Aufrecht, followed by his own critique and position on the issue. The attempts of the writers he has examined to construct a theology of Memra, he remarks, are unsatisfactory. It is in fact more plausible to see Memra (in form a substantival infinitive) as basically a translational and exegetical term, drawing on the various senses of the underlying verb *mr* and its related noun forms, with connotations such as “utterance, speech, word, promise, command” (with reference to Hamp). However, Chester goes beyond this and makes some interesting observations, agreeing with some of the remarks made by the writers he critiques. The problem with Aufrecht’s argument, as with Moore and Billerbeck, is that it does not appear to do justice to the full range of usage of Memra in the various Targumim. The explanation of these three writers, he notes, makes reasonable sense of most of Onqelos’s usage, but not that of Neofiti and its related tradition. Indeed, he continues, we are forced to ask whether there are two completely separate usages of memra, the one represented by Onqelos, the other by Neofiti. It is indeed easy enough to see the kind of usage that would suggest that Memra, once used

32. Bruce D. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel. The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982).

33. Andrew Chester, *Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1986).

as an exegetical device, would lend itself to taking on more developed theological significance. He notes the clear indications of the active, creative utterance or speech of God in Ps 33:6, 9: “By the word of Y. (*bdbbr*-Y) the heavens were made, by the breath of his mouth all their hosts. . . . For he spoke (*’mr*) and it was. . . .” He also notes that then there is the theme in rabbinic literature of the world being created by ten *m’mrwt* (“words”), itself drawing on the tenfold use of *’mr* in the Genesis creation narrative. In view of this kind of developed use of *’mr*, along with the marked usage of Memra in Neofiti and the Fragment Targumim in Genesis 1, it is difficult to see that Memra can have no theological significance whatever (*pace* Aufrecht). He hastens to add, however, agreeing with Hamp against Muñoz León (and Hayward), that this is developed and secondary. A little later he remarks that more plausible than the identification (of Memra) with *’HYH* (Hayward’s opinion) is that with Name at Numbers 6:27 and especially “light” at Exodus 12:42 (a text to which we shall return).

The latest monograph on the subject is by the South African scholar John Ronning. In a lengthy work of twelve chapters he makes a detailed study of Memra (and the related term *Dibbura/Dibbera*) as background to John 1:1, 14, with an examination of the bearing of targumic tradition on several features of the Fourth Gospel, arguing that the targumic background is a more likely one than any of the other three proposals put forward.

In a detailed study in Part II of his very important work *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (2004),<sup>34</sup> Daniel Boyarin makes a substantial case that Christianity’s developing Logos Christology should be seen as closely parallel to Judaism’s (the Targums’) Memra theology.

## ii. Targumic Memra and Johannine Logos

After this review of the history of modern research we may now return to the question of the possible bearing of the Targumic evidence as a background to the use of Logos in the prologue of John’s Gospel. There are three major objections against the use of the targumic evidence in a study of the question. One is that the expression “Memra of the Lord” is restricted to the targums; it does not occur in rabbinic or other literature. Then there is the difficulty of dating the targumic evidence or assuming

34. Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

that the targums represent a usage of New Testament times. There is the further perceived difficulty that the expression “Memra of the Lord” is not a hypostasis but a manner of speaking about the Lord (God) without using his name.

That the *Memra* of the Lord is merely a reverent circumlocution for “the Lord,” another way of expressing the same thing and in no way a hypostasis, is now generally held by students of Judaism. As H. A. Wolfson says: “No scholar nowadays will entertain the view that it is either a real being or an intermediary.”<sup>35</sup> An examination of its usage in the targums appears to substantiate this view. From the review of modern research, however, we have seen the complexity of the issue, and the need of seeing the different meanings and usages of the term in any use of it in New Testament studies. Noting this complexity, and the points made by scholars who believe in the relevance of the term for an understanding of John’s Gospel, in the remainder of this chapter I shall consider some aspects of the use of the term in Targum Neofiti in particular.

The term *Memra* is confined to the targums, occurring nowhere else in Jewish literature. In the targums it is inserted in passages speaking of God’s being at Israel’s aid, of man’s believing in him, in passages of an anthropomorphic nature, etc. On occasion it seems indifferent to the paraphraser whether it was omitted or inserted, for instance in the opening chapter of Genesis:

And *the Word of the Lord* said: “Let the waters swarm forth a swarm of living creatures. . . .” And *the Lord created* . . . every living creature which the waters swarmed forth (Genesis 1:20-21, Neofiti). And *the Lord* said: “Let us create man. . . .” And *the Word of the Lord* created the son of man [= man] . . . and the *Glory of the Lord* blessed them . . . (Genesis 1:26-27, Neofiti).

The “*Memra* (Word) of the Lord” is extremely frequent in the marginal glosses of the Neofiti ms (glosses drawn apparently from complete mss of the Palestinian Targum which are now lost) where the text has merely “the Lord.” One might conclude from this that the expression could, in very many cases, be inserted or omitted almost at will. This, however, would

35. Harry Austryn Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1947), p. 287; see also George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1947), vol. 1, pp. 417-19.

probably be a false approach. There may very well have been development in the use of the periphrasis in the course of history. When Moore writes<sup>36</sup> that the creative word of God is not his *Memra*, he is apparently going on the texts of Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan to Genesis 1–2 where *Memra* never occurs. It is different in Neofiti (and in all texts of the Palestinian Targums to Exodus 12:42, as we shall see), which mentions “the *Memra*” repeatedly in these chapters.

As already noted, present-day scholars tend to reject the targumic *Memra* as a background to, or contributing factor towards, John’s doctrine of the *Logos*. This they prefer to see prepared in the prophetic word (*dabar*) and in the Wisdom literature. This neglect of targumic evidence is unfortunate. Granted that the *Memra* of God and the Lord is but another way of saying “God” or “the Lord,” it by no means follows that John was not influenced by targumic usage in his choice of *Logos* as a designation for Christ. For John, too, “the Word was God” (John 1:14). John got his doctrine on the nature of the *Logos* from the New Testament revelation. The question at issue for us is the sources from which he drew the concepts and terms in which he expressed it.

If targumic background there be to chapter 1 of John, we would expect to find it in the Aramaic paraphrase of the opening chapter of Genesis. In the extant targums to this chapter, however, there is little help to be found. But the targums to Genesis chapter 1 are not the only place in the Aramaic renderings where the creation of the world is spoken of. It is mentioned again in the Palestinian Targum to Exodus 12:42 (Exodus 15:18 in the Paris MS of Frg. Tgs. P) in a song in honour of four nights. This liturgical composition is a kind of Jewish *Exultet*, summing up the course of sacred history in four nights, possibly four Passover nights. The first night is that of creation; the second, that in which the promise of posterity was made to Abraham; the third was that of the first Passover in Egypt; the fourth will be that in which King Messiah comes.

The paraphrase of Exodus 12:42 is extant in Neofiti, in the Vatican manuscript (V) and in that of Nürnberg (N) (reproduced in the *editio princeps* of Bomberg 1517–18) of the Fragment Targums, in a targumic tosefta in MS FF (mid-eleventh to late fourteenth century CE) of the Cairo Genizah and in Ps.-J. (The toseftot [or toseftas] are expansive passages of haggadic midrash which have their source in the Palestinian-Targum tradition.) All these texts have essentially the same poem, but occasionally

36. Moore, *Judaism*, p. 418.

with minor differences. From our point of view the central message of these texts is that on the first night there was darkness, and the Memra of the Lord was light and it shone. Given the importance of the text I give the relevant readings of all the passages in question fully. The first night is thus described in Neofiti:

The first night when the Lord was revealed above the earth to create it. The earth was void and empty and darkness was spread over the face of the abyss. *And the Word [Memra] of the Lord was the light and it shone* [wmmryh dYY whwh nhwr' wnhhr]; and he called it the first night.

The relevant part of this text, given above in Aramaic, should be rendered literally: "And the word of the Lord *and* it was [whwh] the light and it shone." The waw ("and") before hwh is evidently a scribal error, due to numerous waws of the context. That this is so seems clear from the texts of the Fragment Targums in MS V, N (the *editio princeps* and Walton's London Polyglot) and in the Paris ms (P). The former (V) text runs: "And the Word of the Lord was shining and illuminating" [hwh nhyr wmnhr]. Paris 110 (MS P) reads: "and in his Word he was shining and illuminating" [hwh nhyr wmnhr]. Similarly the Genizah tosefta: "And the Memra of the Lord was shining and illuminating" (hwh nhwr wmnhr).

These other texts are in substance the same as Neofiti. If the Word of the Lord shone at creation, this can only be because it was the light. It is identified with the primordial light.

Neofiti states explicitly what the other texts imply: at creation the Word of God was the light and it shone.

This is precisely what John in his Prologue says of the Logos. "In the beginning was the Word . . . and the Word was God. In him was light and the light shines in darkness" (John 1:1-5). And like the targumist, John is speaking of the activity of the Logos at creation. He was then light, and this light still shines in Christ.

In view of the close connection of the Prologue with the Palestinian Targum Exodus 12:42, it is legitimate to assume that the author of the Fourth Gospel was under the influence of the targums in the formulation of his doctrine of the Logos. A. Díez Macho thinks that the entire Prologue is equally so.<sup>37</sup> In his view, John draws on the then current Jewish concepts

37. Díez Macho, "El Logos," pp. 389-390.

of Memra, Glory and Shekinah (presence, dwelling) to express the incarnation and the mystery of Christ. He renders John 1:14 into Palestinian Aramaic as follows:<sup>38</sup>

*U-MEMRA bisra ʾitʾabed,  
we-ʾašre ŠEKINTEH benan,  
wa-ḥaminan yat-YEQAREH,  
Yeqara hekema yehida min ʾabba,  
mele ḥesad u-qešut.*

And the *Word* was made flesh,  
and placed his *Dwelling* among us;  
and we saw his *Glory*,  
the glory as of the only Son from the Father,  
full of grace and truth.

It is possible, in view of this, that when speaking of light and darkness the Johannine literature is more under the influence of Jewish liturgy than is now generally conceded. While admitting the rather evident influence of Qumran on certain texts, we should not be too prone to see it in every New Testament passage in which we find the contrast of light and darkness. That 2 Corinthians 6:14-16 ("What fellowship has light with darkness? What accord has Christ with Belial?") shows typical Qumran terminology is clear. Matters are different in 1 Peter 2:9:

But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, *that you may declare the wondrous deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light.*

The background here is the Jewish Paschal liturgy, not Qumran. A well-known text of the Jewish Passover liturgy, already found in Mishnah, *Pesahim* 10:5, says:

In every generation a man must so regard himself as if he came forth himself out of Egypt. . . . Therefore are we bound to give thanks, to praise, to glorify, to honour, to exalt, to extol, and to bless him who wrought all these wonders for our fathers and for us. He brought us out from bondage to freedom, from sorrows to gladness, and from

38. Díez Macho, "El Logos," p. 389.

mourning to a festival day, and *from darkness to a great light* . . . so let us sing before him the Hallelujah.<sup>39</sup>

It is quite possible that in many, if not all, texts speaking of light and darkness, the Johannine literature, too, is influenced by Jewish liturgy, as well as by Qumran. Christ, the Word, was the light which shone at the first creation, on the first night. The second creation for John would be the fourth night of the poem of the Palestinian Targum to Exodus 12:42. While no mention is made in this poem of the Messiah's dissipating the darkness, this does not mean that the Johannine literature is not dependent on it when speaking of the work of the Messiah. The very fact that it was the fourth *night* implies the presence of darkness. For John, at Christ's coming the world was in darkness. He, the Word, is the light which shines in this darkness (John 1:5). All who are not attached to him by faith and good works walk in the night; they are still in the darkness (John 8:12; 1 John 1:6; 2:9, 11). They who refuse to come to him do not benefit from the new age; they love darkness more than the light (John 3:19). They, on the contrary, who come to him walk no more in darkness (John 8:12), having submitted to the hypostatized Light of the new creation.

This creation, given in John chapter 1 as the counterpart of the first creation, began when the Word was made flesh. The true light then began to shine in the darkness. The progress of the Gospel is, consequently, the dissipation of this darkness, and 1 John 2:8 can say, "the darkness is passing away and the true light is already shining." Those who believe in the Messiah, the Word of God, the light, are the sons of the light (see John 12:36). Those who do not believe can be called sons of darkness, even though the expression does not occur in John, where we read rather of the contrast "children [*tekna*] of God" (John 1:12; 1 John 3:1, 2, 10), "children [*tekna*] of the devil" (1 John 3:10; cf. John 8:44).

39. In Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah. Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* (Oxford: University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1933), p. 151.

## CHAPTER 11

### *The Holy Spirit*

The New Testament doctrine on the Holy Spirit had as its point of departure the terms and the understanding of the holy spirit in the contemporary Judaism with which it had contact, whether this be Rabbinic Judaism, that of the Qumran documents, or possibly as known through the Targums. Which of these forms of Jewish literature are the most relevant can only be determined by close examination of the evidence. This holds in particular for the relevance of the targumic evidence in this particular matter. When the present writer first presented the targumic evidence as known to him in 1965, it was greeted as a welcome contribution by a leading scholar in this field. New Testament scholars have not seen the relevance of the Targums in this field as significantly important. For this reason, revisiting the field some four decades later for this chapter I prefer to reproduce the original presentation and then at the end comment on the situation as seen today.

References in the targums to the holy spirit are few but significant, and in order that their import for New Testament exegesis be properly understood they must be read in the light of Judaism as known from Tannaitic and Amoraic sources.<sup>1</sup>

1. See Wilhelm Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1899, 1906; reprinted, 2 vols in one, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965): vol. 1, *Die bibelexegetische Terminologie der Tannaiten*, pp. 180-82; vol. 2, *Die bibel- und traditionsexegetische Terminologie der Amoräer*, pp. 202-07.



## 1. The Holy Spirit in Judaism

For Judaism the holy spirit (*ruah haqqodeš*) is God conceived of as communicating his mind and will to man. The term is used in Tannaitic literature chiefly in passages saying that in a given biblical text the speaker in question is God.<sup>2</sup> Expressions commonly used in such contexts are: “the holy spirit says,”<sup>3</sup> “has said,” “the holy spirit cries (*sowaḥat*) and says.”<sup>4</sup> Prophets and other persons communicate God’s will etc., because the holy spirit rests on them (*šarat ’alêhem*, [etc.] *ruah haqqodeš*). Possession of the holy spirit leads to the resurrection of the body.<sup>5</sup>

The holy spirit, then, was God’s gift to Israel. But before the Torah was given, God spoke to the Gentiles also. They had the holy spirit. “After the Torah had been given to Israel the holy spirit was withheld [literally: ‘ceased’] from the nations” (*Seder Olam*, ch. 15, end).

The holy spirit was God himself conceived of as speaking with Israel. Rabbinic texts can express the same idea in other ways. In some contexts “the holy spirit” can be replaced by such terms as “the Shekinah,” “the Dibbera” (Word) and “Bat Qala” (Voice). In point of fact, where in one text we find “holy spirit,” in parallel texts we read one of the others, these being more or less synonymous in certain contexts.

To understand the targumic evidence we need to pay special attention to the *Dibbera* (in Hebrew it means “divine discourse” or “revelation”). It is the *nomen actionis* of the verb *dibber*, when this is referred to God.<sup>6</sup> In the plural (*Dibberoth*) it is used in Hebrew for the Decalogue, the ten words (*Dēbarim*). In Jewish sources of the Amoraic period (third century and later) the form used is not *Dibber* but *Dibbur*, a form not attested in Tannaitic times.

In the targums to the Pentateuch (except in Neofiti), whereas *Dibbera* (the Aramaic form of the Hebrew *Dibber*) is used in the singular for one of the ten words, and in the plural (*Dibberayya*) for the Decalogue,

2. See Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie*, vol. 1, pp. 180-1.

3. See Matthew 10:20.

4. See Romans 8:15-16.

5. Mishnah, *Soṭah* 9,15 (end), 306-07: in Danby’s translation: “R. Phineas b. Jair (ca. A.D. 200) says: Heedfulness leads to cleanliness, and cleanliness leads to purity, and purity leads to abstinence, and abstinence leads to holiness, and holiness leads to humility, and humility leads to the shunning of sin, and the shunning of sin leads to saintliness, and *saintliness leads to the gift of the Holy Spirit, and the Holy Spirit leads to the resurrection of the dead*”; cf. Romans 8:11.

6. See Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie*, vol. 1, p. 19.

the word used for God's address to Israel (when it does occur) is not *Dibbera* but almost invariably *Dibbura*. From this Paul Billerbeck<sup>7</sup> and others have concluded that these texts of the targum are dependent on the Amoraim and not earlier than the third century CE. We can grant that the targumic form *Dibbura* may be influenced by later sources. But the earlier form of the word could have been different: *Dibbera* and not *Dibbura*. And, in point of fact, the form in Neofiti throughout is *Dibbera*, never *Dibbura* — a further indication of the venerable age and faithful transmission of this text of the Palestinian Targum.

We now turn to the bearing of the targumic evidence on the New Testament. According to the biblical text, in Exodus 33:16 Moses says to God: "For how shall it be known that I have found favour in thy sight, I and thy people? Is it not in thy going with us, so that we are distinct, I and thy people, from all the people that are on the face of the earth?"

Apart from an inserted reference to the Shekinah, Neofiti renders this passage without significant additional paraphrases. Pseudo-Jonathan, however, translates it as:

And now, how is it that I have found mercy before you, I and your people, except in the *converse of your Shekinah* with us? *And distinguishing signs will be wrought for us when you withhold the spirit of prophecy from the nations and speak in the holy spirit [b<sup>e</sup>ruah qudsa] to me and to your people*, by which we shall be made different from all the nations that are upon the face of the earth.

The holy spirit was God's gift to Israel. By it she knew herself as God's people, distinct from all the other nations of the earth. One is reminded immediately of Acts 10:44-48; 11:15-18 in which Peter recognizes that the Lord has chosen the Gentiles by giving them the holy spirit, just as he had done to the earlier Jewish Christians. Possession of the holy spirit indicates membership in the people of God.

*Dibbura* (Neofiti: *Dibbera*), i.e. the Word, is, as we said, the term generally used in the Palestinian Targum when reference is made to God's communicating his will to man. Pal. Targ. Genesis 29:10 says that the Word (*Dibbera*) desired to speak with Jacob. The Word (*Dibbera*) of the Lord spoke to Moses from Sinai (Exodus 19:3, Neofiti). The place where God spoke with Moses was in the tent of meeting, from between the two cheru-

7. Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 2 (Munich: Beck, 1924; reprinted 1961), pp. 316-19.

bim. "When Moses had completed the tent of meeting, the Word (*Dibbera*) called him, and the Lord [*a variant reading*: 'Memra of the Lord'] spoke to him" (Lev 1:1, Pal. Targ.). Exodus 33:11 tells us that in the tent of meeting, the Lord used to speak to Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend. This in Pseudo-Jonathan (unlike Neofiti) becomes:

He [Moses] used to hear the voice of the *Dibbura* but the features he used not to see, as a man speaks with his friend. And after the voice of the *Dibbura* had ascended, he returned to the camp and related the words to the congregation of Israel.

Num 7:89 is a parallel passage to that of Exodus 33:11 just cited. This long chapter narrates how the tent of meeting was erected.

The final verse (7:89) is a generalizing account of Moses' relation with God within it. The biblical text reads: "And when Moses went into the tent of meeting to speak with the Lord, he heard *the voice* speaking with him from above the mercy-seat that was on the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim; and it spoke with him." This in Neofiti becomes:

And when Moses used to go into the tent of meeting to speak with him, he used to hear the voice of the *Dibbera* speaking with him . . . from between the two cherubim; from there the *Dibbera* used to speak with him.

*Dibbera* or *Dibbura* of all these texts could equally well be expressed by "the holy spirit," "the spirit." And, in fact, this is what we find in Pseudo-Jonathan to Num 7:89:

And when Moses went into the tent of meeting to speak with him, he heard *the voice of the spirit* [*qal ruah*] that conversed with him when it descended from the highest heavens above the mercy-seat, above the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim; and from there the Word [*Dibbera*] conversed with him.

Returning now to Paul's midrash on the veil of Moses (2 Corinthians 3:7; 4:6) we may recall that throughout the greater part of it Paul appears to be presenting a midrashic development of Exodus 32–33, a midrash as found especially in Pseudo-Jonathan, e.g. for the glory of Moses' face (3:7, 10–11) and the removal of the veil from the heart by conversion. We may then legitimately ask whether the Palestinian Targum to these chapters,

and Pseudo-Jonathan in particular, has any light to throw on the enigmatic *ho de kyrios to pneuma estin* of 2 Corinthians 3:17.

## 2. "The Lord Is the Spirit"<sup>8</sup>

Paul's midrash on the veil of Moses (2 Corinthians 3:7–4:6), culminating in his identification of the Lord with the Spirit in 3:17, has presented difficulties to commentators right down to our own time. In this passage the Apostle is contrasting the Old Covenant with the New, showing how much the second surpasses the first. The chief, if not sole, Old Testament background of his thought is Exodus 32:15–34:35, on the second and definitive giving of the Law to Moses. Some of the difficulties of the passage are occasioned by the fact that the Apostle has passed from the biblical text itself to a midrashic development of it. If we could come to identify the midrash he is following, we would probably find it much easier to follow his train of thought and his meaning.

In recent years a certain amount of light has been thrown on the passage by Jewish sources. When Paul speaks of Moses' face having been in glory (2 Corinthians 3:7) as he came down from the mountain, he is clearly under the inspiration of the Jewish traditional understanding of Exodus 34:29–35. In these verses the biblical text merely says that the skin of Moses' face shone because he had been talking with God. In Jewish tradition (the Septuagint included) this passage is interpreted to mean that (the skin of) Moses' face was rendered glorious.

In a midrashic development of the veil of Moses (cf. Exodus 34:29–35) Paul notes that a veil lies over the hearts of unconverted Jews whenever they read Moses, i.e. the Old Testament (2 Corinthians 3:15). Only in Christ is this veil taken away (3:14). "But when one turns to the Lord the veil is removed" (2 Corinthians 3:16). Here we have an evident reference to Exodus 34:34: "But whenever Moses went in before the Lord . . . he took off the veil." The difficulty is that while for Paul the expression "turn to the Lord" means "repentance," "conversion," in the Exodus passage (34:34) — whether in the biblical text or versions (Septuagint and all targums) — it is

8. For greater detail see Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27, 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; reprint 1978), pp. 168–88. See also Roger Le Déaut, "Traditions targumiques dans le Corpus Paulinien? (Hebr 11,4 et 12,24; Gal 4,29–30; II Cor 3,16)," *Biblica* 42 (1961): 28–48, at 43–47 for 2 Corinthians 3:7–18; p. 45 for Exodus 33:7–12.

used in a purely local sense. Roger Le Déaut has shown how the Pauline passage in question is paralleled in Pseudo-Jonathan Exodus 33:7-8. The biblical text speaks of the individual Israelite seeking the Lord in the tent of meeting which was outside the camp. This in the Targum becomes: "And anyone who used to turn in repentance, in a perfect heart, before the Lord, used to go out to the tent . . . which was outside the camp, confessing his sin [literally: 'debt' or 'guilt'] and praying on account of his sin ['debt'] and praying he was forgiven."

*The Lord is the Spirit* — Having noted that "when one turns to the Lord the veil is removed," Paul goes on to state: "Now the Lord is the Spirit (*ho de kyrios to pneuma estin*) and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom." In the tent of meeting, to which the repentant Israelite withdrew, God was enthroned. From between the cherubim he spoke with Moses and Israel. God so speaking with Israel is often referred to as *Dibbera*, "the Word." We have seen how he could equally well be referred to as "the holy spirit." This is, in fact, the case in two examples from Pseudo-Jonathan just cited: "And distinguishing signs will be wrought for us when you . . . *speak in the holy spirit to me and your people*. . . ." This is from Exodus 33:16, just a few verses after the targumic parallel to 2 Corinthians 3:16. Again, according to Pseudo-Jonathan Num 7:89, in the tent of meeting Moses heard "*the voice of the spirit (qal ruah)* that conversed with him."

For the paraphrase of Pseudo-Jonathan, in the tent of meeting the spirit conversed with Moses and the individual Israelite. And the Lord, i.e. Adonai, the God of Israel, was the spirit. But for the spirit to speak it was necessary to turn to the Lord in repentance, in order to hear his voice. So too in Paul's midrash. The Israelite must turn (i.e. in repentance) to the Lord to have the veil removed. And the Lord of which the passage speaks is the Spirit.

In view of this it seems better to take "the Lord" (*Kyrios*) of 2 Corinthians 3:16-17 as the God of Israel, and not as Jesus Christ. When Paul says that "the Lord is the Spirit" he then seems to identify the Lord of which the passage of Exodus speaks with the Spirit, God; but now in that richer sense which the New Testament revelation has given. As Lucien Cerfaux has put it: "The whole context [of 2 Corinthians 3:17] is that of a midrash and Paul means that *Kyrios* in Exodus 34:34, upon which he is commenting, should be understood as the Spirit, 'the Spirit of the Lord,' who has revealed himself in the Christian community."<sup>9</sup>

9. Lucien Cerfaux, *The Christian in the Theology of St Paul* (London: Chapman, 1967), p. 351; see also pp. 266-7 and note 7 to p. 266.

Texts such as this, and there are others, show the special importance of Pseudo-Jonathan as a repository of ancient material of importance for New Testament studies. Apparently Paul is merely christianizing a midrash already formed within Judaism. We should note how Pseudo-Jonathan (like Paul in 2 Corinthians 3:17) uses the term *spirit* not “holy spirit” which was the usual Jewish expression. We should also compare John 4:24: “God is spirit” (*pneuma ho theos*), bearing in mind the manifold ways in which Paul’s teaching parallels that of the Fourth Gospel. Could their resemblances be explained as a christianization of basically identical Jewish concepts? It may seem strange that Paul should use such Jewish traditions in a letter directed to mainly Gentile Christians. The explanation probably lies in the fact that the Apostle of the Gentiles never succeeded in being anything in his mental make-up but a Hebrew of the Hebrews. The more stirred his soul was, the more did he reveal his true religious upbringing.

### 3. Other Palestinian Targum Texts on the Holy Spirit

Apart from the texts given above, the Palestinian Targum speaks on a number of occasions of the “holy spirit” or “the spirit of prophecy,” both meaning the same thing. “And Jacob fled with all that was his. And he arose and crossed the river, setting his face to the mountain of Gilead” (Genesis 31:21); the marginal gloss of Neofiti continues: “because *he had seen in the holy spirit* that redemption would be wrought there for Israel in the days of Jephthah of Gilead.” “And Pharaoh said to his officers: ‘Where will we find a man like this [i.e. Joseph] on whom there is a *holy spirit* from before the Lord?’” (Genesis 41:38, Neofiti). “And Jacob *saw in the holy spirit* that corn was being sold in Egypt” (Genesis 42:1, Neofiti). From marginal notes of Neofiti we may mention Exodus 2:12: “[And Moses looked] in a *spirit of prophecy* in this world and in the world to come and saw, and behold, there was no innocent man to come forth from that Egyptian.” Another gloss on the same passage reads: “Moses saw the two worlds *in the holy spirit* and behold there was no proselyte destined to arise from that Egyptian.”<sup>10</sup>

In the New Testament, too, “the holy spirit” must at times be taken in this general sense of a divine power moving man to prophesy, praise God, etc. (e.g. Luke 1:41, 67; 2:25-27).<sup>11</sup>

10. See also Neofiti Exodus 31:3; 35:31; Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis 27:5; 37:33; 43:14.

11. See Alejandro Díez Macho, “El Logos y el Espíritu Santo,” in *Atlántida* 1 (1963): 381-396, at 394-96.

4. The Voice from Heaven (*Bat Qôl*)

We have seen how a synonym for “the holy spirit” and *Dibbura*, *Dibbera* in Judaism is “the voice” (*Bat Qôl*). Thus, for instance, whereas *Sifra* to Leviticus 10:4 (46a1) says: “The *holy spirit* answered them,” the parallel passage in a *barayta*, *Kerithoth* 5b has: “A voice (*Bat Qôl*) went forth and said.”<sup>12</sup> In point of fact, in many of the passages cited above in relation to “the Word” (*Dibbura*, *Dibbera*) or “the spirit,” the underlying Hebrew text speaks of the voice (*Qôl*) of God (see Exodus 33:11; Num 7:89). The “holy spirit,” as *Dibbera*, meant the voice of God from heaven. *Bat Qôl* (literally: “the daughter of a voice”) means “echo,” but is used extensively in Jewish literature and also in the targums in the sense of a mysterious divine voice from heaven. It is also mentioned by Josephus who designates it simply as “a voice” (*phônê*; *Jewish Antiquities* 13,10,3, §282). The word of God came to Israel through the prophets. After the cessation of prophecy heaven communicated with earth only occasionally, and then by a heavenly voice (*Bat Qôl*). As the Tosefta puts it: “When the last prophets, Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, died, the holy spirit ceased out of Israel; but nevertheless it was granted them to hear communications from God by means of a *Bat Qôl*” (*t. Soṭah* 13:2).

Frequent references to the *Bat Qôl* from all periods of Israel’s history are to be found both in rabbinic literature and in the targums. As Isaac was about to be sacrificed, “in that hour, a voice came forth [*npqt bt qwl*] from the heavens and said: Come and see two singular persons who are in my world” (Genesis 22:10, Neofiti). When Judah confessed his sin with Tamar, “a voice came forth (*brt qlh . . . npqt*) from the heavens and said: They are both just” (Genesis 38:25, Neofiti).

On three different occasions a voice came from heaven confirming Jesus’ ministry: at the baptism (Matthew 3:17 and parallels: *phônê ek tōn ouranōn*), the transfiguration (Matthew 17:5 and parallels) and before his passion (John 12:28, 39: *ēlthen . . . phônê ek tōn ouranōn*).

## “The Lord Is the Spirit” Revisited (2007)

I have left the section on “The Lord is the Spirit” exactly as it was in the 1972 edition. This was a summary of the view put forward in my disserta-

12. See Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie*, vol. 1, p. 181; vol. 2, pp. 206-7.

tion published in 1966. This work was benignly reviewed by Joachim Gnllka in 1969.<sup>13</sup> With regard to my understanding of the bearing of the targumic evidence on the interpretation of 2 Corinthians 3:17a he notes: "Through Jewish analogies the term *parrēsia* of 3:12 and the veiled countenance of Moses is given a clearer understanding. It must remain questionable, however, whether with regard to the disputed v. 17a he has found the right approach. From Targum analogies he makes note that the Spirit is named there, where God is active and manifest, but that does not justify the assumption to turn about (*umzubiegen*) the name Kyrios in the context so as to refer it to God and Christ in equal manner, since the Pauline context must remain decisive for the interpretation." In his review of the work Geza Vermes<sup>14</sup> cites my rendering of Pseudo-Jonathan Num 7:89 ". . . he heard the voice of the spirit that conversed with him," and my comment that the word *rwḥ* means "God considered as revealing himself to man." On this Vermes comments that he is unable to recall any instance in the language of the Palestinian Targum where, without further specification such as *rwḥ dqwdš*, *rwḥ dnbywt* ("spirit of holiness"; "holy spirit"; "spirit of prophecy") etc. *rwḥ* signifies anything but "wind," a meaning quite possible in the present context.

The interpretation of 2 Corinthians 3:17a, "The Lord is the Spirit," has received considerable attention in recent years, and continues to do so — in monographs, special essays and in commentaries on the Epistle. It is generally agreed that Paul is employing a midrash on the text of Exodus 33-34, and in particular Exod 34:29-35. While some would classify the variety of interpretations under five headings, others under three, the division of opinion is really on whether "the Lord" of the verse denotes Christ or "the Lord, Yahweh God of Israel," the "God," of Exodus 34:34, slightly rephrased to suit the argumentation by Paul in v. 16. In all this discussion of the text I have found no reference to any possible targumic association or background, or reference to Num 7:89. The argumentation has centered on how to explain Paul's line of thought in its own context, and with reference to the apostle's use of the biblical text. While recourse is made by some commentators to Qumran texts for an understanding of the "transformation" spoken of by Paul in 2 Corinthians 3:18, any targumic connection is not considered.

It may be that the Targumic passages adduced above have really

13. In *Theologische Revue* 65, no. 2 (1969): 109.

14. In *Journal of Semitic Studies* 14 (1969): 132.



nothing to offer for an understanding of the Pauline passage. Both of the targumic texts I use with reference to the Spirit (Exodus 33:16; Numbers 7:89) are from Pseudo-Jonathan, a writing notably difficult to date. Many scholars believe it is as late as the seventh or eighth century; others date it earlier — fourth century and possibly earlier. Whatever the date of the present text, the work seems to preserve some old traditions of interpretation. As well as this, there is also the problem raised by Vermes that the term *rwḥ* alone in Num 7:89, without further specification, ordinarily, and conceivably in this context, simply means “wind.” This I doubt, in view of the context and the parallel in Ps.-Jonathan Exod 33:16. I might now add a further difficulty in that Paul is formulating his midrash against the text of Exod 34, not Num 7:89.

Despite the neglect of these texts from the tradition preserved in Pseudo-Jonathan, and given the problem regarding the dating of this Targum, I still believe that the evidence in question merits consideration as a background for Paul’s reflections on the old and the new covenants in 2 Corinthians. In the larger context of his midrash Paul may have combined biblical texts from the books of Exodus and Numbers. Such a combination of related biblical texts is a feature of Jewish midrash, attested (as we have seen) in Jewish sources from the pre-Christian or early Christian periods.<sup>15</sup> Paul may have ‘christianized’ some traditional Jewish understandings of the Hebrew Scriptures already at the beginning of his career, during his sojourn in Arabia (Galatians 1:17), the kingdom of Nabatea with its centre of Petra, in the vicinity of which Jewish tradition located many of the events of the original revelation and the giving of the Law to Israel.

15. See, for instance, above, p. 13.

## CHAPTER 12

### *Father in Heaven*

#### 1. “Father in Heaven”:

#### In the New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism

In the use of the designation “Father in heaven” the vocabulary of the Gospels is in keeping with that of the Palestinian Targums and Rabbinic Judaism rather than that of Qumran.

The fatherhood of God is a central theme in the gospel of Matthew. In this chapter, however, I am not interested in this general question or in the presentation of God as Father in biblical or Second Temple Judaism. Instead I concentrate on the designation of God as Father in heaven (heavenly Father) in the First Gospel, in early Judaism and in the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch.

In Matthew’s Gospel Jesus speaks of God some twenty times as “Father who is in the heavens” (“My, thy, our, your Father who is in the heavens,” *patēr mou* [*sou, hēmōn, hymōn*] *ho en tois ouranois*): Matthew 5:16, 45, (48, in a variant reading); 6:1, 9; 7:11, 21; 10:32, 33; 12:50; 16:17; 18:(10,)14, 19; (23:9, a variant reading).

As a variant Matthew has also “(your/my) heavenly Father” — *ho patēr hymōn ho ouranios* (Matthew 5:48; 6:14, 26, 32; 23:9); *ho patēr mou ho ouranios* (Matthew 15:13; 18:35). It seems fairly clear that this is a Greek presentation of an original “Father who is in the heavens.” We may then accept it that “Father who is in the heavens” was current phraseology in the Matthean community.

The expression is also found in Mark 11:25: “And whenever you stand praying, forgive, if you have anything against anyone; so that your Father

who is in the heavens (*en tois ouranois*) may also forgive you your trespasses." The parallel passage to this in Matthew 6:14 (in the Sermon on the Mount) has "your heavenly Father." This form of the phrase in Matthew, as already noted, is a secondary formulation. Mark is here a representative of early Palestinian Christian language.

Luke does not have the expression, but in 11:13 he has a text from the Q source clearly dependent on the original Palestinian formula. Luke 11:13 has: "If you then, who are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will the Father who is from heaven (*ho patēr ho ex ouranou*) give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him!" The parallel text from Q in Matthew 7:11 reads: "... how much more will your Father who is in the heavens give good things to those who ask him!"

From all this it is clear that the expression "Father who is in the heavens" was current in the Matthean community, in the community from which Mark's Gospel ultimately emerged, and in the original form of the Q source. This eminently Semitic expression was, under Greek influence, changed in part in Matthew's Gospel to become "heavenly Father," and further in Luke's presentation of the Q source. It is an open question to what extent, if at all, Jesus himself used this expression. It was one of a number of ways of referring to the loving and caring God.

The corresponding Hebrew phrase *'ab še-bešamayim* is attested in rabbinic sources for a period from the end of the first century CE onwards.<sup>1</sup> "Israel and its Father in heaven" is a particularly common form, but even the individual "my Father in heaven" is put on the lips of R. Yochanan b. Zakkai (died ca. 80 CE). A common phrase is "Before the Father in heaven." Another favourite expression is: "To direct one's prayer to the Father in heaven." "To do the will of the Father in heaven" is a common mode of expression in rabbinic Judaism.<sup>2</sup>

The phrase "Father who is in the heavens (*'ab še-bešamayimi*)" occurs five times in the Mishnah.<sup>3</sup> It occurs three times in *m. Soṭah* 9:15 in the form "our Father who is in the heavens" (*'abīnū še-bešamayim*), twice on the state of depression resulting from the destruction of the Temple,

1. See Gottlob Schrenk, "*patēr*," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 5 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967), pp. 974-1002, at 979-981.

2. See Gottlob Schrenk, "*thelēma*," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), p. 54.

3. See C. Y. Kosovsky (ed.), *Otsar leshon ha-Mishnah. Thesaurus Mishnae: Concordantia verborum quae in sex Mishnae ordinibus reperiuntur*; revised edition (Tel-Aviv: Massadah Publishing, 1967), p. 4.

once on the turmoil to come “with the footprints of the Messiah.” Thus: “R. Eliezer the Great (ben Hyrcanus; *ca.* 120 CE) said: ‘Since the day the Temple was destroyed the sages began to look like school teachers. . . . On whom shall we stay ourselves? On our Father who is in the heavens.’”<sup>4</sup> In *m. Yoma* 8:9 we have the form “Your Father who is in heaven.” “R. Aqiba (put to death 135 CE) said: ‘Blessed are ye, O Israel. Before whom are you made clean and who makes you clean? Your Father who is in heaven . . .’” (citing Ezekiel 36:25).<sup>5</sup> In *m. Rosh HaShanah* 3:8 Exodus 17:12 and Numbers 21:8 are interpreted with the note that victory did not come automatically by Moses raising his hands, nor healing by gazing on the bronze serpent, but rather because “the Israelites directed their thoughts on high and kept their heart in subjection to the Father who is in the heavens, otherwise they suffered defeat (or: pined away).”<sup>6</sup>

## 2. “Father in Heaven” in the Targums

As already noted, this designation of God as “your” (“my”) “Father in heaven” is attested in rabbinic Judaism from about the end of the first century CE. It is found neither in the Old Testament nor in the Apocrypha. In the Old Testament Israel is called God’s son (Exodus 4:22-23), God’s sons (Deuteronomy 30:9; 32:5; Isa 1:4; Hosea 2:1; 1 Chronicles 29:10, etc.). In Jeremiah 3:4, 19 Israel calls God her father; so also in Isaiah 63:16; 64:8. In Jeremiah 31:8(9) and Malachi 1:6 God professes himself Father of Israel.

In later Judaism mention is made but rarely of God as Father of Israel. There seems to have been a tendency to avoid the designation. This tendency is noticeable in the Targum to the Prophets, where the word “father” is replaced by some other word, or the text is made to say that God is *as* a father. Thus “Thou art our Father” of Isa 63:16 becomes in the targum: “Thou art he whose compassions towards us are more than those of a father towards his children.” Likewise in Targum Isaiah 64:8. In Targum Jeremiah 3:4, 19 it is replaced by “master”; in Tg. Jeremiah 31:9 and Malachi 1:6 it is preceded by “as,” “like” (a father).

4. See the translation in Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah. Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* (Oxford: University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1933), p. 306; Jacob Neusner, *The Mishnah. A New Translation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 465-466.

5. See the translation in Danby, *The Mishnah*, p. 172; Neusner, *The Mishnah*, p. 279.

6. See translation in Danby, *The Mishnah*, p. 192; Neusner, *The Mishnah*, pp. 304-305.

Things are different in the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch. In one text (Deuteronomy 4:30, Neofiti) "the Lord your God" is replaced by "your Father." In the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch alone among the targums do we find the designation of God as "Father in heaven." As in the New Testament, it is never found alone, but is always accompanied by a qualifying pronoun, "your," "their," "our" ("Father who is in heaven"). Like most of the New Testament occurrences of the expression, in the targums too it is found chiefly in certain definite contexts, i.e. in reference to prayer, merit or divine will.

I have found a total of thirteen occurrences of the expression "Father in heaven" in the Palestinian targums: three in Pseudo-Jonathan, seven in the Fragment Targums and three in Neofiti. The texts are as follows: Gen 21:33 (Fragment Targums, manuscripts PVNL); Exodus 1:19 (Pseudo-Jonathan and Fragment Targums manuscripts P, V, B2 and in Neofiti); Exodus 17:11 (Fragment Targums, manuscript P; cf. all other Frg. Tgs. texts); Leviticus 22:28 (Pseudo-Jonathan, variant); Numbers 20:21 (Fragment Targums, manuscript V, Second *Biblia Rabbinica*, Neofiti); Numbers 21:9 (Fragment Targum, manuscript V, Second *Biblia Rabbinica*); Num 23:23 (Fragment Targum, manuscript V, Second *Biblia Rabbinica*, P); Deuteronomy 28:32 (Fragment Targum, manuscript V, Second *Biblia Rabbinica*, manuscript P); Deuteronomy 32:6 (Fragment Targum, manuscripts V, P); Deuteronomy 33:24 (Neofiti).

In only one instance (Exodus 1:19; prayer to Father in heaven) do all three representatives of the Palestinian Targum carry this particular designation of God. As in the Gospel evidence, we may ask, in which texts is it original and in which added? Is its absence or presence due to the date of composition or to later editorial work? Perhaps, like "holy spirit," *Shekinah*, *Dibbera* and *Bath Qôl* in rabbinic texts, "Father in heaven" was another of the expressions which could easily be replaced by a synonym.

### *i. Prayer before the Father in Heaven*

#### *a. Exodus 1:19*

As just noted, this is the only text in which all extant witnesses of the Palestinian Targum have the designation of God that interests us: Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, the extant Fragment Targums texts. The HT text "(the Hebrew women) give birth before the midwife comes to them" is rendered

in Pseudo-Jonathan as: “Before the [Egyptian] midwife comes to them they lift up their eyes in prayer, *supplicating mercy before their Father who is in heaven*, and he hears the voice of their prayers and at once they are heard and delivered in peace.”

The variants in the other texts are minor: Neofiti: “before their Father in heaven”; the Paris manuscript (P): “their Father of heaven” (*dšmy*’, possibly with erroneous omission of *b*-<sup>7</sup> “(who is) in”); B2 “before the Lord.”

*b. Exodus 17:11*

Fragment Targums. Paris manuscript (P) only. This text reads: “And when Moses had lifted up his hands *in prayer to his Father who is in heaven*, those of the house of Israel prevailed.”

All the other targum texts here (Pseudo-Jonathan, Neofiti, Fragment Targums, Vatican manuscript [V], Second *Biblia Rabbinica*) have the addition “in prayer,” but not “to his Father who is in heaven.” The reading may, then, be suspect as an addition of P alone, but not necessarily so, as this particular ending “to the Father who is in heaven” is implicit in raising the hands in prayer.

Association of this particular phrase with this verse is found in the Mishnah, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 3:8 (without ascription), where Exod 17:12 is cited, with the comment: “Could the hands of Moses promote the battle or hinder the battle! — it is rather to teach us that such time as the Israelites directed their thoughts on high and kept their hearts in subjection to their Father who is in heaven they prevailed; otherwise they suffered defeat.”

In the Mishnah the reflection on this verse is followed immediately by an identical reflection on the brazen serpent, citing Num 21:8, which we next consider. Numbers 21:8 is extant in Fragment Targums, the Paris and Vatican manuscripts (P, V) and B2. The relevant section of this verse is missing in Neofiti. The Fragment Targum manuscript V reads: “And anyone who was bitten by the serpent would raise his face (manuscript P: eyes) in prayer towards his Father who is in heaven, and would look at the bronze serpent and live.”

In the Mishnah, *Rosh ha-Shanah* 3:8, Numbers 21:8 is cited, followed

7. The editions of both Alejandro Díez Macho and Michael L. Klein have *dšmy*’; Díez Macho, *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensis*. Series IV. *Targum Palaestinense in Pentateuchum*. L. 2, *Exodus* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1980), p. 5; Klein, *The Fragment Targums of the Pentateuch according to Their Extant Sources* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), p. 70.

by an unascribed comment: "But could the serpent slay or the serpent keep alive! — it is, rather, to teach thee that such time as the Israelites directed their thoughts on high and kept their heart in subjection to their Father who is in heaven, they were healed; otherwise they pined away."<sup>8</sup> There is no evidence that the targum paraphrase depends on the Mishnah, although both reflect a similar interpretative tradition. Pseudo-Jonathan, while having "the name of the Memra of the Lord" instead of "Father in the heaven," has closer links with the Mishnah text. Pseudo-Jonathan reads: "he gazed upon the brazen serpent, with his heart intent on the name of the Word of the Lord."

*c. Gen 21:33*

Fragment Targums, all four manuscripts (VNLP) and in a marginal gloss to Neofiti. All these have our expression, although there are slight differences among the texts, and some difficulties in the reading of the Nürnberg manuscript (N). N has: "And our father Abraham used to say to them: (It is) from him who spoke and the world came to be by his Memra (or 'command'). Pray before your Father who is in heaven, since it is from his bounty you have eaten and drunk."

The Paris manuscript (P) has: "Pray before your Father of the heavens (*'bwhwn dšmy*);<sup>9</sup> read[?]: 'Father who is in heaven') from whose bounty you have eaten. . . ."

The marginal gloss to Neofiti (Nfmg) has: ". . . Pray before your Father who is in heaven. . . ." Ps.-Jon. reads: "And he proclaimed to them there: Confess and believe in the name of the Word of the Lord, the God of the world."

The designation is absent from Neofiti, which text reads: "You have eaten from him who said and the world was," without any reference to the "Father in heaven."

*d. Deuteronomy 28:32, Pseudo-Jonathan Only*

This text reads: "In your hand there will be no good work by which you prevail in prayer before the Lord, your Father who is in heaven, that he may save you."

8. Translation in Danby, *The Mishnah*, p. 192; Neusner, *The Mishnah*, pp. 304-305.

9. Klein, *The Fragment Targums*, vol. 2, p. 16, renders here as: "Before your Father in heaven."

Neither the Fragment Targums nor Neofiti has any reference to the “Father in heaven” in their paraphrase of this verse.

*ii. Reward before the Father in Heaven (Num 23:23)*

The expression occurs only in Fragment Targum texts of the translation of this verse. In this we read:

At that time it will be said to Jacob and to Israel: “What favour and consolations is the Word of the Lord to bring upon you of the house of Jacob.” He [Balaam] said, too, in his parable of prophecy: “Blessed are you, the just ones! How good a reward is prepared for you before your Father who is in heaven in the world to come.”

Neofiti speaks of reward “before the Lord in the world to come.” The paraphrase of Pseudo-Jonathan is quite different: “How praiseworthy are the signs and wonders which God has done for them.”

*iii. “Be You Merciful as Your Father in Heaven”  
(Pseudo-Jonathan, Leviticus 22:28)*

In Matthew 5:48 Christ concludes his exhortation to the better righteousness with the words: “You shall therefore be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.” The form of this logion in Luke (6:36) is: “Be you merciful as your Father is merciful.” We have already seen that behind Matthew’s “heavenly Father” there probably stands an original “Father who is in the heavens.” It is likely that the word “merciful” of Luke, rather than Matthew’s “perfect,” is the more original. Matthew’s interest in perfection (cf. Matthew 19:21) explains his reading in 5:48. The original reading might thus have been: “You shall therefore be merciful as your Father in the heavens is merciful.”

The words of Christ (especially in the probable original reading) are closely paralleled in the 1591 *editio princeps* of the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan of Lev 22:28, reproduced in the London Polyglot. While in the biblical text it is God who speaks, in the text of the *editio princeps* it may be Moses, who is introduced as speaker at the end of a midrash in v. 27, introducing the translation proper, and may be presumed to be speaker still in v. 28:



“My people, children of Israel, as *our Father is merciful in heaven* (*hykm’ bwnn rḥmn bšmy*) so shall you be merciful on earth; cow or ewe, itself and its young you shall not kill on the same day.”

Unfortunately, we are not sure of the original form of the words in Pseudo-Jonathan. In the London manuscript the speaker at the end of the midrash of v. 27 is Moses, yet we cannot say whether the intended speaker in v. 28 is God or Moses. If God is the intended speaker, “Our Father” in the mouth of God seems strange. And other variants of the opening words of this translation of Lev 22:28 are known. That of the London ms. of Pseudo-Jonathan reads: “My people, children of Israel, as I am (*hykm’ d’n*) merciful in heaven. . . .”

This, too, without mention of the “Father in heaven,” is the form found in the text of this rendering preserved in the Jerusalem Talmud, *j. Berakoth* (5,9c), and in the parallel passage of the Jerusalem Talmud, *j. Megillah* (4,75c), as a rendering censured by R. Jose ben Bun (or ben Abun).<sup>10</sup> The background to the Rabbi’s censure in the Talmud is the Mishnah to these passages which ordains that a person be put to silence if found reciting prayers such as: “To a bird’s nest do thy mercies extend, (O Lord)”; cf. Deuteronomy 22:7. The reason given for the Mishnah text in the Palestinian Gemara is that such a person “makes the ordinances of God to be simply acts of mercy, whereas they are injunctions.” The discussion on the text preserves the view of R. Jose (Palestinian Amora 5th generation, ca. 350 CE) on an Aramaic rendering of Lev 22:28 then current in Palestine. The text in *j. Ber.* 5, 9c reads:

R. Jose ben Bun said: “They do not do well who make the injunctions of the Holy One Blessed Be He (mere axioms of) mercy. And those who translate [Lev 22:28 into Aramaic] as: “My people, children of Israel, as I am (*j. Meg.* 4, 75c, as we are . . .) merciful in heaven, so shall you be merciful on earth, cow or ewe, itself and its young, you shall not kill both of them on the same day”; they do not do well, as they make the injunctions of the Holy One Blessed Be He (to be mere axioms of) mercy.

Whatever the uncertainty on the opening words, the central message of all texts is clear: God’s mercy as a model for human behaviour.

10. See further, Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966, 1978), pp. 133-138, at 136-138.

This text of Pseudo-Jonathan may represent the earlier Palestinian Targum rather than the two other extant texts, namely Neofiti and the Cairo Genizah (11th-12th cent.) with the siglum F. In F the translation proper is introduced by the phrase "My people, children of Israel," without any paraphrase. So too in Neofiti, where the ending of the translation and three earlier words are missing. "My people, children of Israel" is a liturgical formula, and is found in the Palestinian Targum very often (but not always) before paraphrases (e.g. in the Ten Words in Targum Exodus 20). It could be that all Pal. Tg. texts once had the paraphrase of Leviticus 22:28 now in Pseudo-Jonathan and that it was omitted in others due to rabbinic censures.<sup>11</sup>

#### *iv. Other Texts*

a. In Deuteronomy 32:6 Moses says to Israel: "Is he not your father who created you?" Whereas Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti are content to reproduce the biblical text without addition, the Fragment Targums (all texts: PVNL) paraphrase: "Is he not *your Father in heaven*, who established you?"

b. In his blessing of Asher, Moses in the Hebrew Text says (Deuteronomy 33:24): "Most blessed of sons is Asher; may he be the favourite of his brothers." Targum Neofiti paraphrases: "Blessed above sons may he be; welcomed in the tribes between his brothers and *their Father who is in heaven*." The reference to "the Father in heaven" is proper to Neofiti.

c. According to the paraphrase of Numbers 20:21 in the Vatican manuscript (V) of the Fragment Targums, the Second Rabbinic Bible, and Neofiti, Israel turned away from Edom "because they were *commanded by their Father who is in heaven* not to wage war on them." The Hebrew text simply has: "So Israel turned away from Edom." Instead of "by their Father who is in heaven," Pseudo-Jonathan has: "from before the Memra (or: command) of the heavens." This text of the Fragment Targums and Neofiti is to be compared with that of Matthew (7:21; 12:50; 26:42) which speaks of the will of the Father in heaven.

11. See further, McNamara, *The New Testament*, pp. 137-138.

### 3. Conclusion

“Father in heaven,” as a designation of God, was a well-established expression in the community within which the Gospel of Matthew originated. The same can be said with regard to the Gospel of Mark. We may presume that it formed part of the language of Jesus.

It is attested for Rabbinic Judaism for the late first century CE. The question arises whether it was current in Palestinian Judaism in the time of Jesus, or whether its use in rabbinic Judaism is to be explained through influence from the Christian community. Both existed side by side in Palestine and in theory the influence could have been in either direction.<sup>12</sup> Given the expression itself in both the Gospels and rabbinic texts, and its combination in other phrases, e.g. “before the Father in heaven,” “good will before your/our Father in heaven” etc., it seems preferable to assume that the expression was basically a Jewish one, pre-dating Christianity, but used by Jesus and the early Christian community, who would have infused new meaning into it by reason of the person and mission of Jesus.

12. See Schrenk, “*patēr*,” pp. 979-980.

## CHAPTER 13

### *Sin and Virtue*

In Matthew 6:12 “sin” and “sinner” are called “debt” (*opheilēma*) and “debtor” (*opheiletēs*): “Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.” So also in Luke 11:4. The designation of sin as “debt” and of sinners as “debtors” is very frequent in the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch. In Neofiti Exodus 32:31 Moses says: “This people have sinned great sins”; literally: “have sinned great debts” (*hattûn . . . hōbîn rabrabin*). In Neofiti Genesis 18:20-26 sin is called *hōba*, and a sinner *hayyeb*. It is, in fact, very often difficult to get a proper English term for the Aramaic words *hōba* and *hayyeb*. The fundamental meaning is “debt,” “debtor,” but they must often be rendered as “sin,” “sinner,” “guilt,” “guilty person.”

#### 1. The Sin of Adam

According to the Palestinian Targum, God placed Adam in the garden of Eden to “observe the commandments of the Law and fulfil its precepts” (Palestinian Targum Genesis 3:22). It may be that the targumist is reading back into Genesis ch. 3 a situation obtaining only after the giving of the Law to Moses. Yet we may recall that even for Paul, commandment and a law were laid on Adam (compare Romans 5:14 with Romans 4:15). It appears that according to Pseudo-Jonathan at least, Adam and Eve were considered to be in the state of glory in Eden, a glory they lost by their sin. This seems to follow from a tradition preserved in Pseudo-Jonathan’s rendering of Genesis 2:25 (“and they were not ashamed”): as “they did not long remain in their glory.” The same idea makes Pseudo-

Jonathan render Genesis 3:21 as “And the Lord God made garments of glory for Adam and for his wife upon the skin of their flesh, from the skin of the serpent, instead of their beauty which had been shed; and he clothed them.” Neofiti (Genesis 3:21) too speaks of God’s making garments of glory for Adam and Eve, but has no reference to any glory being lost.

This new garment of glory made for Adam and Eve, its transmission to Jacob, and by him to his children, is the subject of a midrash in Palestinian Targum Genesis 48:22. What theological idea it enshrines, I cannot say. The belief that through the sin of Adam humanity lost its glory probably lies behind Romans 3:23: “All have sinned and fall short (*hysterountai*) of the glory of God.”

Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis 3:6 identifies the serpent as Sammael, the angel of death. Late Judaism (Wisdom 2:23-24) and the New Testament identify him with Satan, the devil, “who was a murderer from the beginning” (John 8:44).

The tradition of the Palestinian Targum identifies the tree of life with the Law:

For the Law is the tree of life for all who study it, and everyone who observes its precepts lives and endures as the tree of life in the world to come. The Law is good for those who serve it in this world, like the fruits of the tree of life (Genesis 3:24, Neofiti).

The outcome of the struggle between the seed of the woman and that of the serpent will be determined by their attitude to the Law:

And I will put enmity between you and the woman, between the descendants of your sons and the descendants of her sons. And it shall come to pass that when the sons of the woman keep the precepts of the Law, they shall aim at you and smite you on the head. But when they forsake the precepts of the Law you shall aim at them and bite them on their heels. For them, however, there will be a remedy. And they are to effect a crushing<sup>1</sup> in the end, in the days of King Messiah (Genesis 3:15, Pseudo-Jonathan; Neofiti almost identical).

1. On the rendering “crushing” see further above, p. 116.

## 2. The Undivided Heart

I have shown elsewhere the relevance of the above text for the New Testament.<sup>2</sup> The tree of life in the Paradise of God figures in the Apocalypse (2:7; 22:2, 14, 19). For Paul the source of life is not the Jewish law, but Jesus Christ the true New Law. The inefficacy of the Old Law lay in the weakness of men's hearts. The New Law is written in the hearts of believers. Even though not explicitly stating so, Christ preaches this new law in his teaching on the better righteousness and the intensification or interiorization of religion. Mortals should set their heart on God alone; blessed are the pure in heart (Matthew 5:8). Where a person's treasure is, there is his heart (Matthew 6:21). No one can serve God and mammon (Matthew 6:24), the mammon of iniquity (Luke 16:9). One should be single-minded; his eye sound (perfect; literally, "simple" — Matthew 6:22-23; Luke 11:34-36). We find the same teaching in James 1:8. The double-minded (literally, "double-souled") are unstable in all their ways. Sinners, those of a double mind, are told to purify their hearts (James 4:8), i.e. the hearts of believers should be simple and perfect. There should be undivided attention to the Lord and his affairs (1 Corinthians 7:32-35).

We should compare this with what the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch has to say on "the perfect heart." Israel was commanded to love God "with *all her heart*" (Deuteronomy 6:5). In the targum full devotion to God is described as a "perfect heart," i.e. one that is completely set on God, not divided between him and created things. Palestinian Targum Genesis 22:6, 8 says that Abraham and Isaac "walked together [to Mount Moriah] with a perfect heart [*b'leb šalem*]." After the sacrifice of the animal in Isaac's stead Abraham reminds God: "*There was no division in my heart* the first time that you said to me to sacrifice my son" (Palestinian Targum Genesis 22:14), i.e. it was whole, perfect, not divided between God and creatures. At Sinai all Israel "*answered with a perfect heart*" that they would obey God's words (Palestinian Targum Exodus 19:8). Finally, in the verse preceding the command to love God with all one's heart, the twelve tribes of Jacob answered together "with a perfect heart and said: Listen to us, Israel, our father the Lord our God is one" (Palestinian Targum Deuteronomy 6:4).

2. See Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27; 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; second printing, with supplement, 1978), pp. 217-222.

### 3. The Shema' and True Worship of God<sup>3</sup>

The Shema', Israel's profession of faith, composed of Deuteronomy 6:4-9; 11:13-21 and Numbers 15:37-41, was recited at the opening of the morning service in the Temple and in the synagogue. In New Testament times the Shema' was preceded by the recitation of the Ten Commandments. The Shema' contains the very essence of the belief of Israel, faith in One God and the acceptance of the commandments he had given his people. Hence it could truly be said that in reciting the first sentence of the Shema' (Deuteronomy 6:4) one took upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven and then in the other texts proceeded to take upon himself the yoke of the commandments (R. Joshua, *ca.* 140-165 CE, *m. Berakoth* 2,2). Faith in God entailed acceptance of his will.

#### *Mark 12:28-34*

Debates of Jesus with Pharisees, Herodians and Sadducees are narrated in Mark 12:13-27. The Sadducees denied the resurrection of the body because they could find no basis for it in the Law of Moses. Jesus told them that it was implicit in "the passage about the bush" (Exodus 3:6) where God said to Moses: I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob." The God of Israel, Jesus explains, "is not the God of the dead, but of the living." The principle here is that the words of Scripture have a fuller sense, revealed by the development of revelation. To believe in Yahweh as a living God will ultimately be seen to imply that he is the God of the living, and that the dead will live again before him. Christ came to bring the Law to completion by revealing the riches latent in the revelation made to Moses. It was probably by exegesis such as that employed by Christ that the doctrine of the resurrection had come to be explicitly taught in Israel by the beginning of the second century BC (Dan 12:1-3).

The rabbis, and the targums, find the resurrection of the dead in Deuteronomy 33:6 by a similar exegetical method.<sup>4</sup> The biblical text (in the RSV) says simply: "Let Reuben live and not die and let his warriors be few." This in the Palestinian Targum becomes: "Let Reuben live *in this world*

3. See also Birger Gerhardsson, "The Parable of the Sower and Its Interpretation," *New Testament Studies* 14 (1968): 165-93 ("Shema," pp. 167-172).

4. See Martin McNamara, *The New Testament*, pp. 120-121.

and not die *in the second death in which death the wicked die in the world to come*.” Onqelos has the same interpretation of the text: “Let Reuben live in *eternal life*, and not die *the second death*.” The “second death” in the targums, as in the Apocalypse (20:6), means exclusion from the resurrection. “Not to die the second death,” then, means to arise again to eternal life. Deuteronomy 33:6 was, in fact, the *locus theologicus* in rabbinic Judaism for proving the resurrection of the dead, as we see from the Babylonian Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 92a):

Rabba [BA4, ca. 352 CE] said: How do we prove the vivification [i.e. resurrection] of the dead from the Torah? He said: *Let Reuben live and die not* (Deuteronomy 33:6). *Let Reuben live* — in this world; *and die not* — in the world to come.

To return to our text from Mark: Having recounted the debate with the Sadducees, the Evangelist continues (12:28-34; parallels in Matthew 22:34-40; Luke 10:25-28):

And one of the scribes came up and heard them disputing with one another, and seeing that he answered them well, asked him: “Which commandment is the first of all?” Jesus answered: “The first is, ‘Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind and with all your strength’ [*ex holēs tēs ischyos sou*]. The second is this, ‘You shall love your neighbour as yourself.’ There is no other commandment greater than these.” And the scribe said to him: “You are right, Teacher; you have truly said that he is one, and that there is no other but he; and to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the strength (*tēs ischyos*), and to love one’s neighbour as oneself, is much more than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices.” And when Jesus saw that he answered wisely, he said to him: “You are not far from the kingdom of God.”

Jesus here gives the opening words of the Shema’ as the greatest of the commandments, ordaining as it does to love God with all one’s being. To love one’s neighbour as oneself is a summary of the second part of the decalogue. By reciting the Shema’ the Jew took on himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven. This the scribe had done. Yet Jesus said that he was not far from the kingdom of heaven (or as Mark says, “the kingdom of God”). The scribe had not yet reached this kingdom. The expression “kingdom of



God" or "kingdom of heaven" (both mean the same thing) is one of those expressions so rich in meaning that no one definition can fully express its wealth. It means God's rule, God's sovereignty, God's will, the divine activity in the affairs of mortals, God's people accepting his divine will. A Jew accepted the yoke of the kingdom by his profession of faith. Before it he blessed the Lord who in his goodness, day by day, renewed the work of creation. Now in Jesus the greatest renewal of all was taking place. The kingdom was being preached in a sense as yet undreamt of. The deep meaning inherent in the Shema' was being revealed.

*Mark 10:17-31 (Matthew 19:16-30; Luke 18:18-30)*

We may presume Jesus cited Deuteronomy 6:5 to the scribe in Aramaic. It would be interesting to know what word he used as a rendering of *m'od* of the Hebrew text. The Septuagint renders this by *dynamis*, "might," "power," etc.; the synoptics use *ischys*, "strength." *M'od*, in the sense found in the Shema', is used only in Deuteronomy 6:5 and 2 Kgs 23:25. Elsewhere the word occurs only in adverbial phrases, with the meaning of "greatly." The lexicon of Brown-Driver-Briggs gives the fundamental meaning of *m'od* as "muchness," "force," "abundance," referring to the Assyrian word *mu'du*, "abundance." Palestinian tradition, as found in the Palestinian Targum, Onqelos and the Peshitta, rendered the word in the sense of "riches," "abundance," each choosing a different word to express this idea. The Palestinian Targum as found in Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan and the Fragment Targum has: "[thou shalt love the Lord] with all your wealth" (*mamônak*);<sup>5</sup> Onqelos (and Targ. 2 Kings 23:25) has "with all thy property" (*niksak*), while the Peshitta renders "with all thy possessions" (*qnynk*). We may safely assume, then, that in Christ's day this injunction of the Shema' was taken to mean a command to love God with all one's external possessions.

When the rich man came to Jesus asking what he should do to attain eternal life, Jesus replied that for him this meant putting this injunction of his profession of faith into practice in a particular way. Loving God with all one's riches was now interpreted for the rich man as meaning to sell what he had, give to the poor, and follow Christ. Jesus had here again brought

5. The Targum also knows of the "mammon of iniquity" (Luke 16:9, 11). We shall treat of this below, pp. 228-229.

the Law to fulfilment. Yet, the rich man went away sorrowful, “for he had great possessions.”

For the pious scribe the Shema<sup>1</sup> recalled what true religion was: the love of the One True God. “You are right, Teacher; you have truly said that he is one, and that there is no other but he; and to love him . . . is much better than all burnt offerings and sacrifices” (Mark 12:33). In the Palestinian Targum the Shema<sup>1</sup> is given not as the words of Moses, but as the profession of faith of the twelve tribes gathered together around the bed of the dying Jacob. We find this in essentially the same midrash inserted at Deuteronomy 6:4 (all texts) and Genesis 49:2 (in Neofiti and the Fragment Targums only):

When the appointed time came for our father Jacob to be gathered in peace from the world, he summoned the twelve tribes and set them round about his bed of gold. Our father Jacob answered and said to them: “From Abraham my father’s father there arose the worthless [*or*: blemished] Ishmael and all the sons of Keturah; and from Isaac my father there arose the worthless [*or*: blemished] Esau, my brother. Perchance (*dilma*<sup>2</sup>) you worship the false god which Abraham’s father worshipped? Or perchance you worship the false god of Laban, my mother’s brother? Or perchance you worship the God of Jacob your father?” The twelve tribes of Jacob answered together with a perfect heart and said: “Hear, O Israel, our father, the Lord our God, the Lord is one (YYY *’lhn* YYY *ḥd hw*). May his name be blessed forever” (Deuteronomy 6:4, Neofiti).

Here we have the Shema<sup>1</sup> as a rejection of false worship and as a profession of faith in the true God of Israel, a profession of faith addressed by the twelve tribes to Israel, the father of the nation.

In Neofiti, Deuteronomy 6:5 goes on to give the command to love God with all one’s being. The transition is somewhat abrupt by reason of the midrash inserted in verse 4. The text of Pseudo-Jonathan is smoother, in that it notes that in verse 4 the twelve tribes profess their faith, whereas in verse 5 Moses exhorts Israel to practise the true worship of their fathers. Its text of the two verses runs:

And when the time came for Jacob our father to be gathered from the world, he feared lest (*dilma*<sup>2</sup>) there should be a blemish in his sons. He called them and asked of them: “Perchance there is guile in your heart.” They all replied together and said to him: “Hear, O Israel, our father. The Lord our God, the Lord is one (YY *’elaqana*<sup>3</sup> YY *ḥad*).” Ja-

cob answered and said: "May his glorious name be blessed for ever and ever." Moses the Prophet said to the people, the house of Israel: "Follow the true worship [*pulḥana qasīta*] of your fathers, and love the Lord your God with the two inclinations of your heart . . . and with all your wealth."

For Israel the true worship of God is that professed by the tribes of old, Israelites in whom there was no guile (see John 1:47). The scribe who came to Jesus saw that the worship expressed by the Shema' was better than the Temple sacrifices. Christ will tell the Samaritan woman that God seeks a religion centred neither in Jerusalem nor Gerizim, but one in spirit and in truth (John 4:23-24).

#### 4. "This Is My Blood of the Covenant"

"This is my blood of the covenant," *touto estin to haima mou tēs diathēkēs* (Matthew 26:28 = Mark 14:24) is not good Greek. Against a Semitic (Hebrew or Aramaic) original for these Greek words it has been objected that an exact Semitic equivalent construction with the possessive suffix between the *nomen regens* and the *nomen rectum* is impossible according to the accepted rules of Hebrew and Aramaic grammar. Hence, some take the form of Luke (22:20) and Paul (1 Cor 11:25) to be earlier than that of Matthew-Mark. Even if the formula of Matthew-Mark were ungrammatical, it could still of course be early and from the lips of Christ. As J. Dupont puts it: Christ could have taken the same liberties with the laws of grammar that he occasionally took with the laws of Moses.<sup>6</sup>

In 1964 J. A. Emerton gave examples from the targums to show that the construction of Matthew-Mark is not ungrammatical in Aramaic.<sup>7</sup> As examples of such construction, with possessive adjective between the *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum*, he instances Targum Psalms 110:3 and 68:36: *ʾamuk dʿbet yisrael*: "Your people of the house of Israel"; and *bet maqdʿšak taqqipa dʿyisrael*: "Your strong sanctuary of Israel." The latter example is of no value. *Yisrael* is not governed by *bet maqdʿšak*, but by *taqqipa*. The text should be read, in conformity with the Masoretic text:

6. Jacques Dupont, "'Ceci est mon corps', 'Ceci est mon sang,'" *Nouvelle revue théologique* 80 (1958): 1025-1041, at 1032.

7. John A. Emerton, "Mark xiv.24 and the Targum to the Psalter," *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 15 (1964): 58-59.

“Terrible is God, from your sanctuary; the strong one of Israel gives power and strength to his people.” The first example is valid, and all the stronger in that it is not mere translation Aramaic.

Later the Cistercian J.-E. David<sup>8</sup> has shown that the construction with a possessive adjective between the *nomen regens* and its determinative is found in Hebrew, Phoenician and Ugaritic. Consequently he sees no reason why it should not also have been current in Aramaic. In fact in four of the seven biblical examples he gives, this construction is retained in the targum. In the targums, then, the construction must not have sounded too harsh to Aramaic-speaking Jews.

The formula of Matthew-Mark is modelled on that of the covenant at Sinai (Exodus 24:8): “Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord had made with you” (MT: *hinnēh dam hab-bērīt ’āšer kārāt Yahweh ’immākem*; Septuagint: *Idou to haima tēs diathēkēs, hēs dietheto kyrios pros hymas*). Neofiti renders the Hebrew literally as *ha ’a dam q’yama d’qayyem Adonai ’imkon*. Pseudo-Jonathan’s rendering is slightly different: *ha den ’a dam q’yama*, etc.; “Behold, this is the blood of the covenant. . . .” The Aramaic equivalent of Matthew-Mark’s formula would then be: *ha den ’admi* (or: *’idmi*) (*di*)*q’yama*.

Christ’s blood is shed for the remission of sins. It has atoning efficacy. Hebrews 9:18-22, comparing the blood by which the first covenant was ratified with that of Christ, clearly implies that the blood sprinkled by Moses had expiatory value. This has caused difficulty to those who hold that the blood of the peace-offering (such as was that at Sinai) did not atone for sins. Antonio Charbel has attempted to get over this difficulty by suggesting that the text is speaking of more sacrifices than that of Sinai.<sup>9</sup> But in fact there is no difficulty if we keep later Jewish teaching on sacrifice in mind. For Jewish thought, even in the New Testament period, all sacrifice was considered expiatory. Both in Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan (Exodus 24:8 — not however in Neofiti) it is explicitly stated that the blood had expiatory value. Their rendering is: “And Moses took blood . . . and sprinkled it on the altar *to make atonement for the people* and he said: Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord has made with you in all these words” (Pseudo-Jonathan).

8. Jean-Eudes David, “*To haima mou tēs diathēkēs* Mt 26:28: Un faux problème,” *Biblica* 48 (1967): 291-292.

9. Antonio Charbel, *Zebaḥ shelamim. Il sacrificio pacifico* (Jerusalem: Commercial Press, 1967), p. 84.

## 5. The Remission of Sins

When Christ spoke of his blood, the blood of the new covenant, being shed for the remission of sins, he was, then, using concepts and language that could be readily understood by the Apostles. The expression “for the remission of sins” is found in Neofiti Numbers ch. 7, which renders “[he offered] one male goat for a sin-offering” (see verses 7, 16, 22, 28, 34, 40, 46, 52, 58, 64, 70, 76 and 82) as “he offered one male goat as a sin offering, for the remission of debts [i.e. sins: *šbqwt ḥwbyn*], and for sins unwittingly committed [*wšlwwn*], to make atonement by the blood of the goat for his debts [i.e. sins] and for the debts of his tribe unwittingly committed.” Onqelos and Pseudo-Jonathan give merely a literal rendering of the Hebrew text.

In Pseudo-Jonathan the word for “to forgive (sin)” is *šbq* (*šēbaq*). Sins which are not forgiven are reserved, retained — *nētirin*. Thus in Genesis 4:7 (Ps.-J.) God says to Cain: If you make good your work, your debt [i.e. sin] will be forgiven you [*yšfēbeq lak*]; but if you do not make good your work in this world, your sin will be reserved [retained: *nētir*] for the day of great judgment.” A. Díez Macho,<sup>10</sup> following G. Vermes,<sup>11</sup> has shown how this terminology illustrates *aphēte* — *apheōntai* — *kratēte* — *kekratēntai* (“whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven; whose sins you shall retain, they are retained”) of John 20:23.

The fundamental meaning of *šēbaq* is “to leave,” “to let go.” To forgive sins, then, is to release them, to loose them. Another word used very much in Palestinian Aramaic for remitting sins is *šēri*, the basic meaning of which is “to loose,” “to untie.” “To forgive sins” is in fact nearly always expressed in Neofiti, and occasionally elsewhere in rabbinic sources, by a combination of both verbs: *šēri ušbaq*. Thus in Neofiti Genesis 4:7 we have: “Certainly, if you make good your work in this world, you will be remitted and forgiven [*yštry wyštbaq*] in the world to come.” In *Lev. Rab.* 5 end, we read: “Behold it is remitted [*šēre*] to you and behold it is forgiven [*šēbiq*] you.”

A translator of the targums is here once again faced with the problem of choosing the most appropriate terms by which to render the Aramaic.

10. Alejandro Díez Macho, “Targum y Nuevo Testamento,” in *Mélanges E. Tisserant* (Studi e Testi 231; Vatican City, 1964), pp. 163, 178.

11. Geza Vermes, “The Targumic Versions of Genesis IV 3-16,” *The Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society*, vol. 3, 1961-1962 (Leiden: Brill, 1963): 81-114 (at 107-111).

The early Aramaic-speaking Church may have expressed the original logion of Christ in different ways, or the Greek translation may have given two variant renderings of the original Aramaic logion. This probably happened as regards the word *ʾistalleq* — “to be raised up,” “to die.”<sup>12</sup> It seems obvious that John 20:23 bears some relation to the logia of Matthew 16:19 and 18:18 (“Whatsoever you shall bind — *dēsēs, dēsēte* — on earth shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose — *lysēs, lysēte* — on earth . . .”). How to explain this relationship is less clear. It is usual to take the relevant terms of these logia of Matthew as representing the rabbinic *ʾasar* and *šʾri* (*šera*) — Hebrew *ʾasar* and *hittir* — “to bind and loose,” i.e. “to forbid and permit.” The sense would then be a legal one, not very much in keeping with the nature of the Church and the kingdom of God. Diez Macho surmises that the original logion underlying both John and Matthew used a double form for each: *ʾasar û-nʿtar* (“to bind and retain”) and *šʾri u-šʾbeq* (“to remit and forgive”).

The Greek renderings would, then, present two different translations of one original logion. To fully understand either, it is necessary to place it in its setting within the nascent Aramaic stage of the Church.

## 6. Good Works and Reward

In the Gospels we find the good news presented in the simple language, “easily understood by the people.” There is absent from them that polemical theology we find in Paul. This we see, for example, in the reference to good works and reward before God. Good works seen as mere externals, and considered in themselves as a means of salvation, are for Paul a source

12. See McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum . . .*, pp. 145-149; more fully in *Scripture* 19 (1967): 65-73. On page 70, note 16, I suggested that the expression “he was taken up,” used by the apocryphal Gospel of Peter (Fragment 1,1,19) referring to Christ’s death on the Cross, might possibly reflect this Aramaic word, and should then be understood as “he died.” I now find that this is also Christian Maurer’s understanding of the text (in *The New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, Eng. trans. by R. McL. Wilson [London: Lutterworth Press, vol. 1, 1963], p. 181): “The statement ‘He was taken up’ (v. 19) may be simply a turn of expression, of which there are other instances for ‘to die,’ in which case we need not think of an ascension from the cross.” (A different formulation by C. Maurer and Wilhelm Schneemelcher in *The New Testament Apocrypha*, revised edition [Louisville/London: James Clarke and Co.; Westminster John Knox Press, 1991, 2003], p. 220.) See also Jerry W. McCant, “The Gospel of Peter: Docetism Reconsidered,” *New Testament Studies* 30 (1984): 258-273, at 265-267 (“He was lifted up”).

of boasting before God and the chief danger to salvation which comes from Christ alone. His censures on the works of the Law must be viewed in the light of his polemic against some real or perceived forms of Pharisaic Judaism.

In the Gospels we find repeated references to good works and bad works. These terms, occurring neither in the Hebrew nor Greek Old Testament, are extremely common right through the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch. We have already cited Palestinian Targum Genesis 4:7. The works of the generation of the flood were evil (Palestinian Targum Genesis 6:3). So were the works of the people of Sodom (Palestinian Targum Genesis 18:21). Abram is told by God to serve before him in truth and be perfect in good works (Genesis 17:7, Neofiti). God reassured him that the reward of his good works was exceeding great, and kept and prepared before God in his favour for the world to come (Palestinian Targum Genesis 15:1).

From good works, then, comes merit, *'agar*. This word is used in its original sense of "wages" in a number of places in the Palestinian Targum (Genesis 31:41, etc.). We find it very often, however, in the sense of the reward of good works. Christ says that the just should be glad and rejoice, for their reward is great in heaven (Matthew 5:12). They have it "before [*para tō*] their Father who is in heaven" (Matthew 6:1). This is the language we find in the Palestinian Targum: "Blessed are you, the just ones. What a good reward is prepared [*mittaqqen*] for you before your Father who is in heaven [Neofiti: 'before the Lord'] in the world to come" (Numbers 23:23, TJ 2). The reward of Abraham's good works is kept and prepared (*mittaqqen*) before the Lord in (for) the world to come (Palestinian Targum Genesis 15:1; italics denote the additional paraphrase to the Hebrew text). This text merits citation *in extenso*:

(15:1) After these things, *after all the kingdoms of the earth had gathered together and had drawn up battle-lines against Abram and had fallen before him, and he had killed four kings from among them and had brought back nine encampments, Abram thought in his heart and said: "Woe, now, is me! Perhaps I have received the reward of the precepts in this world and there is no portion for me in the world to come. Or perhaps the brothers or relatives of those killed, who fell before me, will go and will be in their fortresses and in their cities and many legions will become allied with them and they will come against me and kill me. Or perhaps there were a few meritorious deeds (mšwwn qlyln) in my hand the first time they fell before me and they stood in my favour, or perhaps*

*no meritorious deed (mšwh) will be found in my hand the second time and the name of the heavens will be profaned in me.” For this reason there was a word of prophecy from before the Lord upon Abram the just, saying: “Do not fear, Abram, for although many legions are allied and come against you to kill (you), my Memra will be a shield for you; and it will be a protection for you in this world, and although I delivered up your enemies before you in this world, the reward of your good works is prepared for you before me in the world to come.”*

Christ reminded those who came to hear him that those who perform their good deeds to be seen by men have no reward before God (Matthew 6:1). They have already received their reward while on earth (6:2, 5, 16). Abram, too, feared he would lose his reward in heaven because of favours received while on earth.

After these things, after the kings had gathered together and fallen before Abram. . . . Abram thought in his heart and said: “Woe now is me! Perhaps I have received the *reward* of my meritorious deeds in this world, and perhaps there shall be no portion for me in the world to come. . . .” And then the Word of the Lord was with Abram in a vision saying: “Do not fear . . . although these fall before you in this world, the reward of your good works exceeding great is kept and prepared before me for the world to come” (Genesis 15:1, Pseudo-Jonathan; differing only slightly from the other texts in the Palestinian Targums).

Likewise in Palestinian Targum Deuteronomy 7:10 (Neofiti):

He repays in this world the rewards of their good works to those who hate him, in order to be avenged of them in the world to come, and he does not delay in giving the good reward to those who hate him. While still in this world he repays them the reward of their small meritorious deeds that are in their hand” (HT: “He requites to their face those who hate him by destroying them; he will not be slack with him who hates him, he will requite him to his face”).



## CHAPTER 14

### *Eschatology*

Such familiar Gospel expressions as “this world — the world to come,” “the resurrection,” “the judgment,” “the great day of judgment,” “Gehenna,” “Paradise,” etc. are all found in the Palestinian Targum.

#### 1. This World — The World to Come

As George Foot Moore observes, in the sphere of eschatology “there is . . . not merely an indefiniteness of terminology but an indistinctness of conception.”<sup>1</sup> This is particularly true in relation to the meaning to be attached to the expression “the world (or ‘age’) to come.” This is due to the historical development of Hebrew thought on the subject. At all periods Israel was conscious of the actual order of things, later described as “this world.” What “the world to come” meant is not so clearly defined. It could mean the final order of things after the general resurrection, excluding the days of the Messiah. But it could also mean, or at least include, the days of the Messiah. This is something not without importance for New Testament eschatology.

The clearest distinction of the ages is found in Pseudo-Jonathan Exodus 17:16 (and in *Sifre Deuteronomy* §47): “The Lord swore that he would fight against those of the house of Amalek and would destroy them for three generations: from the generation of *this world*, from the generation of *the Messiah*, and from the generation of *the world to come*.”

1. George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. Age of the Tannaim*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927; reprint 1962), p. 379.

The “world to come” is called the “other world” in Palestinian Targum Genesis 4:8, where it means what we now call “the next life”: “There is a judgment and there is a judge and there is another world; there is a giving of good reward to the just and retribution is [exactd] from the wicked in the world to come” (Neofiti). The existence of this other world is given as one of the matters on which Cain and Abel argued. We have seen how Abram thought he may have already received in *this world* the reward which should await one in *the world to come*. God is avenged of the wicked in the world to come (Deuteronomy 32:35, Neofiti).

There are other texts where the same meaning of “the world to come” is less precise. The Lord is “King of kings in this world; his too is the kingship in the world to come” (Exodus 15:18, Palestinian Targum; Exodus 12:42, Paris MS 110).

Sometimes, apparently, by “the world to come” messianic times are meant. This seems to be the case in Palestinian Targum Deuteronomy 33:21: “As Moses led the people of Israel in this world, so will he lead them in the world to come.” In Palestinian Targum Exodus 12:42 we read of Moses’ leading the flock (variant reading: “in a cloud”) in messianic times. Likewise in a marginal gloss to Neofiti (and in Ps.-J.) to Exodus 2:12 we read: “Moses saw the *two worlds* [another variant: ‘*this world* and *the world to come*’] and behold there was no proselyte destined to arise from that Egyptian; and he smote the Egyptian and buried him in the sand.”<sup>2</sup>

Whereas in most of the New Testament passages “the world to come” clearly designates eternal life (e.g. Mark 10:30), we should not be surprised to find the exact meaning of the words occasionally ambiguous.

The contrast “this world — the world to come” (*praesens saeculum*, *futurum saeculum*) is found also in the apocryphal works 4 Esdras (4:2, 27; 6:9; 7:12, 50, 113; 8:1-2, 52), of the first century CE, and 2 Baruch (44:11-13). The words are nowhere found in Onqelos and are infrequent in the Targum to the Prophets. On this basis, G. Dalman considered them to be characteristic of the language of the learned in Christ’s day, rather than of the language of the people.<sup>3</sup> Since the phrases, while found in all three syn-

2. Further occurrences of this expression “this world — the world to come” in Exodus 3:14; Numbers 15:31 (Pseudo-Jonathan); Deuteronomy 32:39 (Neofiti) For a complete listing see Stephen A. Kaufman and Michael Sokoloff, *A key-in-Context Concordance to Targum Neofiti, A Guide to the Complete Palestinian Aramaic Text of the Torah* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), under the head word ‘*lm*’ (pp. 1097-98).

3. Gustav Dalman, *The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of the Post-Biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902), p. 151.

optics, are never found for any given logion or passage in more than one of the synoptics, he concludes that the expressions "this age" and "the future age," *if Jesus used them at all*, were not of importance for his vocabulary.<sup>4</sup> It is Dalman's neglect of the Palestinian Targum evidence and his undue respect for Onqelos which have led him to this conclusion. The synoptic problem involved with regard to their use is no different from that which we have seen in the targumic use of "the Father in heaven."

## 2. The Day of Great Judgment

On a number of occasions the New Testament speaks of the dreaded judgment awaiting humankind at a future date. It is the day when God avenges himself on those who deny him on earth (Matthew 10:15; 11:22, 24 and parallels). On the day of judgment mortals shall give an account of every idle word (Matthew 12:36). The angels who have sinned and the unjust are being kept in prison until the day of judgment (2 Peter 3:7). It is a day of fear (1 John 4:17). Jude 6 calls it "the judgment of the great day." The men of Nineveh and the Queen of Sheba will rise at the judgment and condemn the generation to whom Christ preached (Matthew 12:41-42 and parallels).

The "day of great judgment" (*yôm dîna rabba*) is often mentioned in the targums as well as in rabbinic literature. The thought of the judgment to come, and of "the account and reckoning of all one had done" (Palestinian Targum Genesis 3:19) which must be given at it, was a potent deterrent from sin. Joseph refused to sin with Pharaoh's wife "lest he should be condemned with her in the day of great judgment of the world to come" (Genesis 39:10, Ps.-J.). Likewise the Israelites were deterred on the plains of Moab (Palestinian Targum Num 31:50). On that day God will punish the wicked. As the Palestinian Targum says: "Is not this the cup of retribution, mixed and prepared for the wicked, sealed up in my treasury for the great day of judgment?" (Deuteronomy 32:34, Neofiti, Fragment Targums). In Luke 9:26 Christ says: "For whoever is ashamed of me and my words, of him will the Son of Man be ashamed when he comes in his glory and the glory of his Father and of his holy angels." Here we have a reference to the judgment which should be compared with Palestinian Targum Genesis 38:25. There Judah confesses his relations with Tamar and says: "It is better

4. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, p. 148.

for me to burn in this world with a fire that will die out that I may not die in the world to come which is an inextinguishable fire (literally: 'fire eating fire'). It is better for me to be ashamed in this world which is a passing world that I may not be ashamed before my righteous fathers in the world to come. . . . And blessed is every man who reveals his works" (Neofiti; similarly all other witnesses of the Palestinian Targums). The entire paraphrase of Palestinian Targum Genesis 38:25-26, we may add, reads somewhat like a page from the New Testament and has been employed by R. Bloch as a reason for Tamar's inclusion in the genealogy of Christ in Matthew.<sup>5</sup>

### 3. The Resurrection

Belief in the resurrection of the dead (called "vivification of the dead" in the targums and in rabbinism) is implicit in the final judgment. "Because you are dust and to dust you are to return; and from the dust you are to return and arise and shall give an account and a reckoning of all you have done," were God's words to Adam according to Palestinian Targum Genesis 3:19. The resurrection is also mentioned in many other texts of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch.

#### *i. Resurrection Seen in the Torah*<sup>6</sup>

The New Testament and Josephus provide ample information concerning belief in bodily resurrection among the Jews during the first century of the common era. The Sadducees denied it outright. The Pharisees believed in it firmly (Josephus, *War* 2,163; *Antiquities* 18,14; Acts 4:1-2; 23:6-10). In reply to a question of the Sadducees Jesus strongly espouses the doctrine of the Pharisees on the matter (Mark 12:18-27; Matthew 22:23-33; Luke 20:27-28). The Essene position appears to have been belief in an

5. Renée Bloch, "Juda engendra Pharès." Matth. 1,3," in *Mélanges bibliques rédigées en l'honneur d'André Robert* (1953) (Paris: Bloud & Gay, no date), pp. 380-397. For the bearing of the midrash of the Palestinian Targum Genesis 38:26 on texts of the Fourth Gospel see below, p. 215.

6. See Martin McNamara, *Palestinian Judaism and the New Testament* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983), pp. 180-185. M. McNamara, *Intertestamental Literature* (Old Testament Message 23; Wilmington, DE, Michael Glazier, 1983), pp. 233-237.

afterlife, without explicit mention of resurrection. In Jesus' day Jewish belief in an afterlife with rewards and punishments is indicated by texts such as Luke 16:19-31 (Lazarus in Abraham's bosom; the rich man in Gehenna) and Luke 23:43 (the repentant thief with Jesus in Paradise), while explicit belief in the future resurrection is expressed by Martha (John 11:24). Belief in the resurrection is also expressed in the *Life of Adam and Eve* (28,4), a work probably written in Palestine in the first century CE. There we read that on being driven out of Paradise and refused access to the Tree of Life, Adam is told by the Lord that when he comes out of Paradise, if he guards himself from all evil, preferring death to it, at the time of the resurrection the Lord will raise him up again, and then there will be given to him from the tree of life, and he will be immortal forever. Somewhat similarly in the Palestinian Targum paraphrase of Genesis 3:19: "... to dust you shall return. *But from the dust you are to arise again to give an account and a reckoning of all that you have done.*" In the *Lives of the Prophets* (probably representing first century CE Palestinian tradition) the doctrine of the resurrection is assumed without argument or polemic (2:15; see also 3:12).

Given belief in the resurrection of the body it was natural that Pharisees, scribes and rabbis of the first century should seek a foundation for the doctrine in their scriptures. We have no evidence that they invoked Exodus 3:6, the text referred to by Jesus. The texts called on for this belief by rabbis of the third and fourth centuries are Deuteronomy 33:6 ("Let Reuben live . . ."), Exodus 15:1, Ps 84:4 and Genesis 3:19.<sup>7</sup>

The prevailing belief in Palestine in Jesus' day was probably bodily resurrection at the end of time. The Essenes believed in immortality without bodily resurrection, and the commonly accepted view is that this was also the position with the Qumran community, although some scholars, on the strength of the text 4QMessianic Apocalypse (4Q521), fragment 2, col. II, 11-13 think that they believed in a resurrection. Amongst great things that God will do in the future age of the Messiah "the Lord will perform marvellous acts such as have not existed, just as he sa[id]: For he will heal the badly wounded and *will make the dead live (yhyh mtym)*, he will proclaim good to the meek, give lavishly [to the need]y, lead the exiled and enrich the hungry."<sup>8</sup>

7. See M. McNamara, *Palestinian Judaism*, pp. 181-182.

8. See J. Tabor and M. Wise, "4Q521 'On Resurrection' and the Synoptic Gospel Tradition," in *Qumran Questions*, ed. James Charlesworth (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press,

We have a good example of belief in immortality rather than in resurrection in the apocryphal work 4 Maccabees. This is a philosophical work, generally taken as having been composed in the first century CE. Its original language was Greek. It was composed in the Diaspora, more probably in Antioch of Syria rather than in Egypt. And yet it is closely linked with Palestinian tradition and seeks foundation in the Bible for its belief in eternal life for the just. At the end of the work the mother of the martyrs reminds her sons of the death of their father and of the teaching he gave them, particularly on those who bore witness to their faith in the Bible narrative. "While he was still with you he taught you the law and the prophets" (18:10). She goes on to give examples from the Law, the Prophets and the writings and concludes (18:16-19): "He recounted to you Solomon's proverb 'There is a tree of life for those who do his will' (see Proverbs 3:18). He confirmed the saying of Ezekiel, 'Shall these dry bones live?' (Ezekiel 37:2-3). For he did not forget to teach you the song that Moses taught, which says, 'I will kill and I will make alive: this is your life and the length of your days' (Deuteronomy 32:39)." We can presume that the pious father also interpreted these as containing the doctrine of immortality. They could as easily have been taken as referring to bodily resurrection.

Jesus' reasoning on the inner meaning of Exodus 3:6 may have a parallel in 4 Maccabees. Jesus says that the God in this passage proclaims himself as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, commenting that he is the God not of the dead but of the living (Mark 12:26-27; Matthew 22:32), to which Luke adds "For all live to him" (Luke 20:38). In 4 Maccabees 7:19 the author remarks that the martyrs "believe that they, like our patriarchs Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, do not die to God but live in God." Likewise in 4 Maccabees 16:25: "They knew that those who die for God live in God, as do Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the patriarchs." The martyrs further console themselves with the belief that if they die for the commandments they will be welcomed by Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (13:14-15, 17-18).

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1995), pp. 161-163; E. Puech, "Une apocalypse messianique (4Q521)," *Revue de Qumran* 15/60 (1992): 475-522; E. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?*, *Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, vols. I, II (Études Bibliques Nouvelle Série 21-22; Paris: Gabalda, 1993), pp. 627-692.

## ii. Consolation and Resurrection to Come on the Third Day<sup>9</sup>

A stream of Jewish belief and piety different from that of the Essenes and Qumran is preserved in the tradition handed down by Rabbinic Judaism. Absence of early written documentation makes it somewhat uncertain what form this took in the early or later part of the first century of our era. One central belief in this tradition, and one absent from Qumran, was belief in the resurrection of the body. An early form of this belief is attested in the book of Daniel (Daniel 12:1-3), from about 165 BCE. In this Jewish tradition as represented by the Aramaic renderings (targumim), Israel looked forward to the tranquillity of Eden (*šlwwth d'dn*), the determined time of the blessing and consolation (*brkt' wnhymt'*) (Palestinian Targum Genesis 49:1),<sup>10</sup> resurrection of the dead (Hos 6:2). In this text “after two days” and “on the third day” are intended to express a short space of time. The targumist paraphrases the future messianic age of consolation and of the resurrection, rendering thus: “He will give us life in the days of consolations (*nehemata*) that will come; and on the day of the resurrection of the dead he will raise us up and we shall live before him.”<sup>11</sup> The targumist paraphrases “after two days” as “in the days of consolations that will come,” and “on the third day” as “on the day of the resurrection of the dead.” This eschatological or messianic interpretation of this verse seems to have been

9. See McNamara, *Palestinian Judaism*, pp. 182-185; A. Rodríguez Carmona, *Targum y Resurrección*, pp. 148-153; “Resurrection on the Third Day” in H. W. Wolff, *Hosea* (ET; Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 117-18; Leivy Smolar and Moses Aberbach, *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets and Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* by Pinkhos Churgin (New York and Baltimore: Ktav Publishing House and The Baltimore Hebrew College, 1983; original edition 1927), pp. 181-183; Pinkhos Churgin, *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927), p. 107 (reprinted with Smolar and Aberbach, 1977, p. 335).

10. Unpointed, the words *brkt'* and *nhymt'* can be either singular or plural; here I take them as singulars; Kaufman and Sokoloff take them as plural forms: Stephen A. Kaufman and Michael Sokoloff, *A Key-in-Context Concordance to Targum Neofiti* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), pp. 262, no. 044; 978, no. 007. See also Palestinian Targum (Tg Nf) Num 23:23: ‘At this time (variant Tg. Neof. marg. ‘At that time’) there shall be announced (lit. ‘said’) to the house of Israel the good things and the consolations (*tbt' wnyhmt'*) that are to come upon you and (upon) those of the house of Israel.” This is followed by a prophetic macarism by Balaam: “Blessed are you, just ones! (*twbykwn sdyqyh*). What a good reward is prepared for you before the Lord for the world to come.” For the “good things” (*ta agatha*) in the messianic age see Matthew 7:11; Rom 10:15 (= Isaiah 52:7); Heb 9:11; 10:1.

11. In the translation of Kevin J. Cathcart and Robert P. Gordon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1989), p. 41.

current in rabbinic circles.<sup>12</sup> The understanding of “on the third day” of the resurrection and salvation must have been helped by the occurrence of the terms “showers,” and of “spring rain” in the following verse, terms which recall “dew,” understood in rabbinic tradition as an indication of the resurrection (see Isaiah 26:19), and also by rabbinic reflection on the various occurrences of “third day” in the Bible, all of which are seen to have been salvific.<sup>13</sup> Thus Genesis 22:4; 42:17; Exodus 19:6; Joshua 2:16; Hosea 6:2; Jonah 1:17.

With regard to the concept and term “consolations” we may also note Luke’s Infancy Narrative. Simeon was awaiting the consolation of Israel (*prosdechomenos paraklēsin tou Israēl*) (Luke 2:25); Anna spoke of the child Jesus to all who awaited the redemption of Jerusalem (*pasin tois prosdechomenois lytrōsin Ierousalēm*) (Luke 2:38).

With the crucifixion, the death and resurrection and ascension of Jesus, and with the coming of the Holy Spirit, the early Christian community felt a need to explain all this in connection with the Scriptures, the Hebrew and Greek texts of which were available to them. In Luke 24:27 in the narrative on the two disciples on the way to Emmaus we are told that Jesus, beginning with Moses and all the prophets, interpreted to them the things about himself in all the scriptures. Next, the risen Christ appeared to the eleven apostles and their companions, recalling the words he had spoken to them while he was still with them — that everything about him in the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms must be fulfilled. Then he opened their minds to understand the scriptures, and he said to them: “Thus it is written, that the Messiah (Christ) is to suffer and to rise from the dead on the third day . . .” (Luke 24:44-47). This text linking the suffering of Christ and his resurrection from the dead on the third day with scripture probably represents a very early Jerusalem tradition.<sup>14</sup> We find it again in Paul as part of traditional creed on the resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15:3-4: “For I handed on to you as of first importance (NRSV; *en*

12. See *San.* 97a; *Rosh Hashanah* 31a; Churgin, p. 335 (original edition p. 107).

13. See Rodríguez Carmona, *Targum y Resurrección*, pp. 148-153.

14. For “on the third day” (in Luke) see S. V. McCasland, “The Scripture Basis of ‘On the Third Day,’” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 48 (1929), 124-137; J. Kloppenborg, “Analysis of the Pre-Pauline Formula 1 Cor 15:3b-5 in Light of Some Recent Literature,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 40 (1978): 350-367, at 363-364 (“on the third day” in Luke 9:22 [and Matthew 16:21] as a reference to Hos 6:2); see also M. L. Barré, “New Light on the Interpretation of Hos 6:2,” *Vetus Testamentum* 28 (1978): 129-141, esp. 138-140; Jacques Dupont, *Études sur les Actes des Apôtres* (Lectio Divina 45; Paris: Cerf, 1967), p. 256.



*prōtois*, NJB, ‘in the first place’) what I in turn had received: that Christ died for our sins in accordance with the scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he was raised on the third day in accordance with the scriptures. . . .” Paul, presumably, had received this formulation of the tradition from Antioch, which in turn would have received it from Jerusalem, where Paul may even possibly have received it at his first visit to Peter *ca.* 39 CE (Gal 1:18). The scriptures regarded as prophesying the passion and death of Christ can be presumed to have been principally the passage on the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53. It is more difficult to find a scripture text on the resurrection on the third day. The text in question, as noted, is probably Hosea 6:2, but as interpreted midrashically in the Targum, in keeping with rabbinic Judaism.<sup>15</sup>

#### 4. Gehenna and Paradise

At the judgment Christ will say to the just: “Come ye blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world” (Matthew 25:34); but to the wicked: “Depart from me you cursed into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels” (Matthew 25:41). Heaven is won or lost by one’s attitude to Christ and his law. We read of “the Gehenna of fire” (Matthew 5:22; 18:9); it is unquenchable fire (Mark 9:43); the damned are thrown into Gehenna (Matthew 5:29; 18:9). God can destroy both soul and body there (Matthew 10:28). Matthew 23:33 speaks of the judgment of Gehenna.

With these texts we should compare those of the Palestinian Targum. The paraphrase to Genesis 3:24 says (in the rendering of Codex Neofiti):

Two thousand years before he created the world, he [God] had created the Law. He had prepared the garden of Eden for the just and Gehenna for the wicked. He had prepared the garden of Eden for the just that they might eat and delight themselves from the fruits of the tree, because they observed the commandments of the Law and fulfilled the commandments. For the wicked he prepared Gehenna, which is comparable to a sharp sword, devouring with both edges. Within it he prepared darts of fire and burning coals, enkindled for the wicked, to be avenged of them in the world to come because they did not observe

15. See M. McNamara, *Palestinian Judaism*, pp. 183-185.

the precepts of the Law in this world. For the Law is a tree of life for all who labour in it [or “study it”] and observe the precepts; he lives and endures as the tree of life in the world to come. The Law is good for those who labour in it in this world, like the fruit of the tree of life.

Abram was given a vision of Gehenna which Palestinian Targum Genesis 15:17 describes as follows:

And behold the sun set and there was darkness, and behold Abram looked while seats were being arranged and thrones erected. And behold, Gehenna, which is like a furnace, like an oven surrounded by sparks of fire, into which the wicked fell because the wicked rebelled against the Law in their lives in this world. But the just, because they observed it, will be delivered from the affliction. All this was shown to Abram when he passed between these pieces.

For Judaism, one’s eternal destiny was determined by one’s attitude to the Law. For the Christian, it is determined by one’s attitude to the Son of Man, Christ the New Law. In this, as in other respects, Christianity predicates of Christ what Judaism predicated of the Law.

## 5. Redemption

In the Infancy Gospel of Luke (chapters 1–2) we see the pious in Israel intently awaiting the redemption of their people, the salvation to come, according to the promises made to the fathers of old. At the birth of John, his father Zechariah blessed God, “for he has visited and *redeemed* his people, and he has raised up a horn of *salvation* for us in the house of his servant David, as he spoke by the mouths of his holy prophets of old, that we should be *saved* from our enemies . . . that we might serve him without fear” (Luke 1:68–74). The pious Simeon was “looking forward for the consolation [i.e. messianic redemption] of Israel . . . and it had been revealed to him that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord’s Christ” (Luke 2:25–26). In the *Nunc Dimittis* he expresses his gratitude for having seen God’s salvation, i.e. the redemption brought to Israel by God (Luke 2:30). The prophetess Anna spoke of the infant Jesus to all who were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem (Luke 2:38). There must at that time have been many of these in the Holy City and scattered throughout Pales-

tine. One of them was Joseph of Arimathea who looked for the kingdom of God (Mark 15:43; Luke 23:51). The kingdom of God and the redemption of Israel would have meant more or less the same thing.

There were doubtless various forms of messianic expectations among the Jews at the coming of Christ. Those pious Jews of whom the above texts have spoken would have nourished their piety from the liturgy, and very probably the liturgical texts themselves were influenced by the beliefs of the pious. The oldest Jewish prayers we possess make mention of Israel's redemption. "Rock of Israel, arise to Israel's aid and, according to your word, deliver Judah and Israel. Our *Redeemer*, the Lord of hosts is his name, the holy one of Israel. Blessed are you, O Lord, who *redeem* Israel" (blessing recited at the recitation of the Shema', basically pre-Christian). The ninth petition of the Eighteen Benedictions (*Shemoneh Esreh*) prays God to promptly bring near the appointed time of redemption. The *Qad-dish* prays: "May he cause his kingdom to reign, cause his redemption to bud forth, lead in his Messiah and redeem his people in our lifetime and in your days."

The idea of redemption runs all through the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch. Where the biblical text says that Yahweh will be Israel's God, the Palestinian Targum as found in Neofiti paraphrases: "he will be for you a Redeemer God" (see Genesis 17:8; Leviticus 11:45; 22:33, etc.). The great redemption, of course, was that from Egypt and, according to the paraphrase of Pseudo-Jonathan and the Fragment Targums, Israel proclaimed its Redeemer King at the Reed Sea:

When the people of the house of Israel saw the signs and wonders which the Holy One — may his name be praised — performed at the Reed Sea, and the might of his hands between the waves, they answered and said one to the other: "Come, let us place the crown of majesty on the head of our Redeemer. . . . For his is the crown of kingship; and he is the King of kings in this world, and his is the kingship in the world to come. And his it is and shall be for ever and ever" (Exodus 15:18).

Biblical passages speaking of God as having led Israel out of Egypt are so paraphrased as to render the idea of redemption explicit, e.g. "I am the God who led you *redeemed* out of Egypt"; "Israel came out *redeemed* from Egypt." But God is ever for Israel a *Redeemer* God. "I am the God who has redeemed and will again redeem."

At the Exodus Israel was told by God she would soon *see* the *redemption* of the Lord (Exodus 14:14, Palestinian Targum; Exodus 15:3, Paris 110). Later she must have often looked forward to this same redemption, just as the pious encountered in Luke's Infancy Gospel did. These had as their model their father Jacob. The targum on Genesis 49:18 has him say:

Jacob our father said when he saw Gideon bar Joash and Samson bar Manoah who were to arise as redeemers: "Not for the redemption of Gideon do I look nor for the redemption of Samson do I yearn, for their redemption is but the redemption of an hour [i.e. short-lived]; but for your redemption do I look and yearn, O Lord, because your redemption is an eternal redemption."

Thus Pseudo-Jonathan. For "your redemption" Neofiti writes: "To the *redemption of him*, does my soul look which you have said [i.e. promised] to bring to your people, the house of Israel. To you, to your redemption, do I look, O Lord." The redemption of him who has been promised is the redemption of the Messiah. In Palestinian Targum Genesis 49:1 the age in which this was to come is called "the appointed time of consolation" (cf. Luke 2:25-26).

We see from texts such as these how the opening chapters of Luke represent the atmosphere of first-century Judaism, particularly of that form of Judaism we find in the liturgy of the chosen people.

## 6. Day of the Messiah Not Revealed to the Prophets

"Truly, I say to you," Christ told his disciples, "many prophets and righteous people [Luke: 'prophets and kings'] longed to see what you see and did not see it, and to hear what you hear and did not hear it" (Matthew 13:17; Luke 10:24). We have seen how the pious Jacob looked forward to the redemption of the Lord, or, according to Neofiti, to that of the Christ. Yet he was not given to see it, even in vision. This is made clear in Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis 49:1:

And Jacob called his sons and said to them: "Purify yourself from uncleanness and I will show you the *mysteries* which are hidden, the appointed times [*qšyy*] which are concealed, what the recompense of reward for the just, the retribution in store for the wicked and the joys of

Eden are.” The twelve tribes gathered together around the bed of gold on which he lay. And after the glory of the Shekinah of the Lord was revealed, *the determined time* (*qyṣ*) in which King Messiah is to come was hidden from him.

The same idea is found in the renderings of this text in Neofiti and the Fragment Targum, albeit in a less explicit manner.<sup>16</sup> We find the same belief again in a reference to Balaam, who in Num 24:17 says he sees a certain individual arising from Jacob, a personage considered in later Judaism and in the targums to be the Messiah. Num 24:3, 15 is consequently paraphrased as: “[Balaam] to whom the mysteries hidden from the prophets were revealed.” The other Palestinian Targum texts render: “What has been hidden from all the prophets was revealed to him.”

The targumic rendering of Genesis 49:1 speaks of the Messiah’s *coming*. In general the targums speak of the Messiah as “being revealed,” and the same is true of 4 Esdras and 2 Baruch. We find this language in the New Testament in John 1:31 (cf. John 7:4) where the Baptist says he came baptizing in water that Christ might be made manifest, be revealed (NRSV: *hina phanerōthē*) to Israel.

In the targums the kingdom of God is also referred to as being revealed, as in Luke 19:11, and the *Sibylline Oracles* 3:46-50. It is arguable that when speaking of the *epiphaneia* of Christ and of the grace of God, Paul in 2 Thessalonians 2:8 and the author of the Pastoral Epistles are dependent on Jewish rather than Hellenistic terminology.<sup>17</sup>

The Palestinian Targum paraphrase of Genesis 49:10-11 presents the figure of a warring Messiah, one whose garments have been rolled in blood — a clear reference to Isaiah 63:2. The figure of the Christ we meet in Apocalypse 19:11-12 is the same as the one of the Palestinian Targum. The Apocalypse, here as in many other places, seems to be dependent on targumic tradition in its presentation of the Christian mystery.<sup>18</sup>

16. See Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27; 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; reprint 1978), pp. 244-245.

17. See McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 246-252.

18. See McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 23-33, 255-256.

## CHAPTER 15

### *The Targums and Johannine Literature*

We have already considered the bearing of the targumic evidence on the Logos doctrine of John and its relevance for the understanding of the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel.<sup>1</sup> In fact, after a consideration of the evidence for the relation of the targums — and of the Palestinian Targum on the Pentateuch in particular — to the New Testament, the present writer has been led to express the view that the Apocalypse of John is “the New Testament book which shows the greatest number of contacts with the Palestinian Targum.”<sup>2</sup> A study of the overall relation of the Johannine literature with the targums would be very rewarding. Here we can only note some special points.

#### 1. Some Theological Concepts and Linguistic Expressions

The use of “glory” and “Logos” (*Memra*) in the Fourth Gospel has already been dwelt on.<sup>3</sup> Christ wishes that those whom the Father has given him be with him “that they might see his glory” (17:24). We are reminded of Neofiti Genesis 45:13, where Joseph tells his brothers to relate to his father all his glory in Egypt. Jesus did not seek his own glory, but the glory of his

1. See above pp. 14 and 154-166.

2. Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27, 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966, 1978), p. 255. See now also, John L. Ronning, “Targum of Isaiah and the Johannine Literature,” *Westminster Theological Journal* 69 (2007): 247-278.

3. Above, pp. 154-166.

father (John 7:18). In the Palestinian Targums the dutiful son is one “who has consideration for the glory (*’iqar*; or ‘honour’) of his father” (Genesis 32:7(8), 11(12), Pseudo-Jonathan; Leviticus 19:3, Neofiti).

We have already considered the manner in which Exodus chapters 32-33 and their midrashic development have influenced St. Paul in his treatment of the nature of the new dispensation.<sup>4</sup> In Exodus 33:14 God promises Moses: “My presence will go with you and I will give you rest.” This in Neofiti becomes: “The glory of my Shekinah will accompany amongst you (*dbr’ bynykwn*) and will prepare a resting place for you” (cf. Genesis 46:28). This brings to mind Christ’s words in John 14:2-3: “I go to prepare a place for you.”<sup>5</sup>

An expression typical of the Johannine writings is “from the beginning” (*ap’ archēs*: John 8:44; 15:27; 1 John 1:1; 2:7, 13-14, 24; 3:8, 11; 2 John 5-6; *ex archēs*: John 6:64; 16:4). The Aramaic equivalent *min šerûi* — literally: “from the beginning” — is equally typical of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch and found only there. *Šerûi* itself is found only in Palestinian Aramaic. The Aramaic “from the beginning” can refer to an absolute beginning, e.g. “the language of the whole world was created *from the beginning*” (Genesis 11:1, 2; 13:4; 21:7). It is, however, also used in other contexts: Naphtali announced to Jacob “from the beginning” that Joseph was still alive. Issachar saw “from the beginning” that the land of Israel was good (Genesis 49:15), etc.

In Apocalypse 18:10, 17, 19 “one hour” (*mia hōra*) means a short space of time. So also in Palestinian Targum Genesis 49:18; 49:21 (“in a short hour”).

“Come and see” (plural, John 4:29) is also an expression of the Palestinian Targum (Genesis 22:8; 28:12). The Semitic equivalent given in Strack-Billerbeck<sup>6</sup> is used only in the singular and in the context of scholastic debates. Like John and the other New Testament writings, the Palestinian Targum uses the word “sign” (*nês, siman* — a Greek loan-word) in the sense of miracle; e.g. “five signs (= miracles) were worked for Jacob the time he went from Beersheba to Haran” (Genesis 28:10). Note also the following texts from Neofiti, Deuteronomy: 6:22, *’tyn wsymnym*, “wonders

4. Above (Holy Spirit), pp. 171-176.

5. On this theme see now James McCaffrey, *The House with Many Rooms: The Temple Theme in Jn. 14,2-3* (Analecta Biblica 114; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1988).

6. Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 2 (Munich: Beck, 1961), p. 371.

and signs”; 13:3, *th’ wsymn*, “a sign or wonder”; 13:2, “sign or wonder”; 28:46, *l’tyn wlsymnym*, “(and they shall be) signs and miracles to you.”

The exaltation of Christ is a concept about which the Fourth Gospel has developed a rich theology. I have elsewhere<sup>7</sup> indicated how an Aramaic term occurring in the targums may well stand behind the Johannine use of *hypsōthēnai*, “to be lifted up,” “exalted,” “crucified.” The Aramaic word in question is *s’laq*, “to ascend,” used in the Ithpael with the meaning of “to go away,” “depart,” “die,” although literally it would mean “to be raised up,” “exalted.”

## 2. The “Hour” in John and “the Hour of Distress” in the Palestinian Targums

In the first edition of this work I wrote as follows:

The ‘hour’ of Christ is another term round which John has built up a theology of Christ’s redemptive work. There are some targumic texts which come to mind in connection with certain of John’s expressions in this context. In John 12:27 Jesus prays: ‘Now is my soul troubled. And what shall I say? “Father, save me from this hour”?’ The words of Tamar as she was being led out to be burned come to mind: ‘She raised her eyes to the heavens on high and said: “I beg by the mercies which are before you, O Lord, answer me in this hour of my affliction”’ (Genesis 38:25, Pseudo-Jonathan). We may add that the Palestinian Targum has a number of long texts on the hour of affliction and distress (Genesis 22:14; 38:24; Leviticus 22:27). And in Palestinian Targum Genesis 38:26, as in John 12:28, a voice came from heaven.<sup>8</sup>

This now merits further development and a new presentation under the heading given to this section.<sup>9</sup>

It is agreed that “the hour” (*hē hōra mou*) is a central theme in the Fourth Gospel. At the beginning of the “Book of Signs” (John chapters 2–12),

7. See p. 197 n. 12, above.

8. Martin McNamara, *Targum and Testament* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), pp. 143–144.

9. For a detailed examination of the question see Craig E. Morrison, “The ‘Hour of Distress’ in *Targum Neofiti* and the ‘Hour’ in the Gospel of John,” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 67 (2005): 590–603. In my view the question is best examined in the context of the Palestinian Targum in general, with the variants in *Targum Neofiti* as secondary developments.



at Cana Jesus told his mother that his hour had not yet come (John 2:4), At the Feast of Tabernacles his enemies tried to arrest him, “but no one laid hands on him for his hour had not yet come” (John 7:30). Towards the end of the Book of Signs, just before his passion Jesus declares: “The hour (*hē hōra*) has come for the Son of Man to be glorified. . . . Now my soul is troubled and what should I say — ‘Father, save me from this hour’? No, it is for this reason that I have come to this hour. Father, glorify your name” (John 12:23, 27–28). The “Book of Glory” in John’s Gospel (John chapters 13–20) begins (13:1) by reminding the reader that “Jesus knew that his hour (*autou hē hōra*) had come to depart from the world and go to the Father.” Jesus’ “hour” was his death, and glorification on the cross, when he committed his mother to the care of the Beloved disciple. “From that hour (*ap’ ekeinēs tēs hōras*) the disciple took her into his own home” (*eis ta idia*, John 19:27). Jesus’ “hour” of his passion and death was an hour of distress, although this word is not used in the Fourth Gospel. Jesus’ soul is troubled, and he asks whether he should request the Father to save him from “this hour,” and answered his own question: “No, for this purpose I have come to this hour” (John 12:27).

In the context of this Johannine theme I believe the similar theme of “the hour of distress” in the Palestinian Targums may be informative and merits consideration. The theme of “the hour of distress” seems to be particularly developed in Targum Neofiti. However, it seems preferable not to begin with Neofiti, but with the texts that seem common to all the witnesses of the Palestinian Targum tradition. For this we have two well-developed midrashic expansions, quite independent of one another. One is the *Aqedah*, the Binding of Isaac in Targum Genesis 22, particularly in the prayer of Abraham in Genesis 22:14 at the end of the midrashic account of the sacrifice of Isaac. Abraham’s prayer is given rather briefly in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan as follows:

Abraham gave thanks and prayed there in that place and said: “I beseech, by the mercy from before you, O Lord! It is manifest before you that there was no deviousness in my heart, and that I sought to perform your decree with joy. Therefore when the children of Isaac my son enter the hour of distress (*lš’t ’nyqy*), remember them and answer them and redeem them.

It is worth noting that here, and in all the Palestinian Targum texts of Genesis 22:14 (except Neofiti, with *’qt’*; *’q’*) the word used for distress (*’nyqy*) is the Greek loan word *anankē*, used more often in the form *’nynqy* or *’nqy*.

This is also true of the midrash in Targum Pal. Genesis 38:25, to which we shall come later.

Targum Neofiti has a more expansive form of the midrash than Pseudo-Jonathan. It reads:

And Abraham worshipped and prayed in the name of the Memra of the Lord and said: "I beseech by the mercy that is before you, O Lord — everything is manifest and known before you — that there was no division in my heart the first time that you said to me to offer my son Isaac, to make him dust and ashes before you; but I immediately arose early in the morning and diligently put your words into practice with gladness and fulfilled your decree. And now, when his sons are in the hour of distress (*bš't 'qt'*) you shall remember the Binding of their father Isaac, and listen to the voice of their supplication, and answer them and deliver them from all distress (*'q'*). . . ."

The Fragment Targums, manuscripts VNL agree with Neofiti, slight variations apart: "when the children of Isaac enter the hour of distress (*lš't 'nqy*) . . . redeem them from every distress (*'nnqy*). . . ." Similarly Fragment Targum P: "in the hour (*bš't'*) that you said. . . . When the children of my son Isaac enter the hour of distress (*bš't 'nnqy*) . . . save them from every tribulation (*'q'*). . . ." A marginal gloss to Neofiti is almost identical with P, including the terms for "distress," "tribulation" — *'q'*, *bš't 'nnqy*.

There is another important occurrence of the theme in a text in no way connected with the *Aqedah*. It occurs in a lengthy midrashic development in Targum Neofiti Genesis 38:25 (also verbatim in P, V, N, L; in part in TJ) on Tamar's discourse as she was being brought out to be burned.

The text of Pseudo-Jonathan reads:

She (Tamar) lifted up her eyes to the heavens on high and said: "I beseech by the mercies before you, O Lord, answer me in this hour of my distress (*bhdh š't 'nnqy*), and enlighten my eyes that I may find the three witnesses. . . ."

The relevant section in Targum Neofiti for our purpose reads:

She (Tamar) lifted up her eyes on high and said: "I beseech by the mercies from before you, O Lord, You are he who answers the afflicted in the hour of their affliction. Answer me in this hour, which is the hour of my affliction (*š't 'nnqê*). . . ."

The midrash is in Fragment Tgs. PVNL also, with insignificant variants: P: “in this hour which is the hour of my distress” (as in CTgE); VNL similar to CTgE: “You are the God who answers the distressed in the hour of their distress; answer me in this hour which is the hour of distress” (or: “of my distress”).

The midrash is preserved with slight variations in two targum manuscripts of the Cairo Genizah, CTgD and CTgE. Thus in CTgD: “. . . You are the Lord who answers the prayer of the oppressed (or ‘distressed’) in the hour of their oppression (or: ‘distress’); answer me in this hour, and I will set up for you three righteous men . . .”; the relevant section of CTgE reads: “I beg mercy from before you, O Lord, God; answer me in this hour which is the hour of my distress.”

The phrase occurs at least five times in Targum Neofiti outside of translation texts, “distress” being expressed by one of three synonyms *’q*, *’nnqy* — the latter a Greek loanword *anankē* — and *š’r*. In Genesis 22:10, Neofiti margin (not in PVNL), Isaac says to Abraham: “[Father, tie me well, lest] in the hour of my distress, *bš’t š’ry*, I move convulsively.” Jacob expresses his intention to build an altar to the Lord at Bethel who answered him in the hour of his affliction (*bš’t ’qty*) (Genesis 35:3; Neofiti only). In a lengthy midrashic development on Leviticus 22:27 (Neofiti only) with mention of a bull or sheep or goat as an offering, the mention of the “sheep” is linked with the lamb Isaac; his Aqedah is recalled, and Isaac’s children are seen as praying in “the hour of their affliction” (*bš’t ’nnqy*), saying: “Answer us in this hour . . . and remember in our favour the *Aqedah* of Isaac our father.” The phrase “hour of his/its trouble” (*bš’t ’qth*) is used in Neof Deuteronomy 20:19 (Neofiti only) in relation to trees under siege, and in Neofiti Deuteronomy 32:15 (Neofiti only; not in other Pal. Targum texts) in an additional paraphrase: “they denied the fear of the Strong One who had redeemed them in the hour of their trouble” (*bš’t ’qthwn*).

## Conclusion

The expression “hour of distress” is found in all texts of the Palestinian Targums in two well-established midrashim: the Binding of Isaac (Genesis 22:14) and the prayer of Tamar (Genesis 38:25). One can justly presume that it has a long history in Jewish piety. The “hour of distress” is one in which God can be called on to answer and to help, to save the petitioner from the obvious danger. Abraham prayed that God would remember the

Sacrifice of Isaac and so answer. It is legitimate to postulate a link between such a tradition and the theme of Jesus' "hour" in the Fourth Gospel. In the trouble of his soul Jesus asks whether he should ask the Father to save him from this hour. A voice from heaven answers (see John 12:27-28).

### 3. Abraham's Vision of the Christ

In a discussion with the Jews, who regarded Abraham as their father, Jesus says to them: "Your ancestor Abraham rejoiced that he would see my day; he saw it and was glad" (John 8:56). Nowhere in the Jewish tradition do we read that Abraham had a vision of the days of the Messiah. It could, however, have been part of a Jewish tradition. In Wisdom 10:10 we read that wisdom showed the righteous man (Jacob) the kingdom of God. C. F. Burney<sup>10</sup> believes the tradition is to be found in Palestinian Targum Genesis 15, in which Abraham is assured of divine protection in this world and in the world to come (15:1), and is given a vision of four kingdoms to arise against his people (15:17). "All this was shown to Abram when he passed between these pieces" (15:17, Palestinian Targum).

The text which principally interests us here is Genesis 15:12, which is a midrashic development of the Hebrew *'ēmāh ḥ<sup>a</sup>šēkāh g<sup>d</sup> dolāh nopelet 'ālāyw* — literally: "dread darkness great falling upon him" (i.e. a dread and great darkness fell upon him). In the Palestinian Targum the paraphrase of 15:12 becomes:

And when the sun was about to set, a deep sleep [Neofiti: "sweet sleep"] was cast upon Abram, and behold four kingdoms were rising to enslave his children: *Dread* — that is, Babylon; *Darkness* — that is, Media; *Great* — that is, Greece; *Fell* — that is, Edom [other text: "Persia"], which is to fall and shall never rise again, and from there the people of the house of Israel is to come forth (text of Pseudo-Jonathan).

This midrash is based on the four kingdoms which according to Daniel precede the eternal kingdom of the Son of Man (Daniel 7:1-14). The midrash on Genesis 15:17 also reproduces the language of Daniel 7:9 ("I looked as thrones were being set"). The final kingdom of the Palestinian Targum is Rome, called Edom in most texts, but changed to Persia in the *editio*

10. Charles Fox Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), pp. 111-112.

*princeps* of Pseudo-Jonathan in order to escape ecclesiastical censors, Edom in medieval Judaism meaning the Christian Empire. (In the manuscript of Neofiti the final words are actually erased by the censor.)<sup>11</sup> The final empire will fall and never rise again. This destruction for Judaism would usher in the messianic age, and would most probably be the work of the Messiah. It would mean the ingathering of the exiles, referred to explicitly in the text of Pseudo-Jonathan and implicitly in the others. It would be the fourth night of Palestinian Targum Exodus 12:42, in which Moses and the Messiah would lead God's people.

#### 4. The Well of Jacob<sup>12</sup>

John's account of Christ's conversation with the Samaritan woman at the well of Jacob (John 4:5-23) brings other biblical texts on wells to mind. "Give me to drink" (4:7) recalls the words of Abraham's servant to Rebekah at the well in Paddan-aram (Genesis 24:14). This well, if not the same as that later mentioned in the story of Jacob (29:2, 3, 8), would very naturally have been identified with it in Jewish tradition. All the biblical text tells us of this well is that although covered by a stone so great that all the shepherds' strength was required to roll it back, Jacob did so unaided. Tradition as found in the Palestinian Targum sees two signs (i.e. miracles) worked for Jacob as regards this well. These are but two of the five signs God worked for him when he went from Beersheba to Haran. The first was that the daytime was made shorter because the Word of God (*Dibbera*) wished to speak to him (at night). The second was that the stones he used as a pillow in Bethel became one stone: that set up as a sacred pillar at Bethel. The third was that the space between Bethel and Haran was shortened "and he was found dwelling at Haran." All five miracles are found in the midrash to Genesis 28:10. The last two are:

And the fourth miracle: a stone which all the shepherds had come together to roll away from the mouth of the well and could not, when our father Jacob came he raised it with one hand, and gave to drink to the flock of Laban, his mother's brother. And the fifth miracle: when our father Jacob raised the stone from above the mouth of the well, *the*

11. See below, p. 276.

12. See José Ramón Díaz, "Palestinian Targum and New Testament," *Novum Testamentum* 6 (1963): 75-80.

*well flowed up* and came up to its mouth and was flowing up and coming to its mouth for twenty years — all the days that he dwelt at Haran (text of Neofiti).

The midrash occurs again in Palestinian Targum Genesis 29:22. It must, then, have been embedded in the tradition.

This tradition may well lie behind Christ's words to the Samaritan woman. The well of Jacob at Sychar was deep and Christ had nothing with which to draw water, yet he told the woman he could give living water (4:10), water that would become like a spring of water welling up to eternal life (4:14). He spoke of himself somewhat as Jewish tradition had spoken of the well of Jacob.

Christ's words are the fulfilment of a number of Old Testament prophecies (Ezekiel 47:1-2; Joel 3:18; Zechariah 13:1-14:8; cf. Ps 46:4). Jesus may well have spoken of this fulfilment in concepts borrowed from the tradition of his people. The water of life was spoken of again by Christ at the feast of Tabernacles (John 7:37-39), on the last day of the feast. His imagery on this occasion is generally explained by the special water rite of this feast.<sup>13</sup> But there may also be a reference to the well of Jacob, inasmuch as in Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis 35:14 the pillar of stone (subject of one of the five miracles in Palestinian Targum Genesis 28:10) erected by Jacob at Bethel was connected with the feast of Tabernacles:

And the Shekinah of the Lord went up from him in the place where it had spoken with him. And Jacob erected there a pillar of stone in the place where it had spoken with him, and he poured upon it a libation of wine and a libation of water, *because thus his children would do at the feast of Tabernacles*; and he poured olive oil on it.

## 5. Jacob's Ladder

Another text of Genesis developed midrashically in the Palestinian Targum (as in rabbinic midrash) is that of Genesis 28:12:

And he [Jacob] dreamed, and behold, a ladder was fixed on the earth and its head reached to the height of the heavens, and behold, the angels who had accompanied him from the house of his father ascended

13. See also *t. Sukkot* 3:3-16; above, p. 29; also *Genesis Rabbah* 70:8 on Genesis 29:2-3 (cited above, pp. 34-35).

to bear the good tidings to the angels on high, saying: "Come and see a just man whose image is engraved in the throne of the Glory, whom you desired [*'ithamedtun*] to see." And behold, the angels from before the Lord were ascending and descending and they observed him. (Text of Neofiti)

The biblical text does not tell us why the angels ascended and descended. The targumic paraphrase supplies a reason. They ascended and descended to see Jacob. They had desired to see him until then, knowing only his heavenly image. 1 Peter 1:12 tells us how the angels long to bend down in order to examine closely (*parakypsai*) the salvation brought by Christ. Nathaniel was a just man, a true son of Jacob, an Israelite in whom there was no guile (John 1:47). But the true Jacob was the Son of Man, on whom and in whose work faith would see the angels of God ascending and descending (John 1:51). Here again, Christ apparently availed himself of Jewish tradition to explain the mystery of his own person.

## 6. The Brazen Serpent

In John 3:14 Jesus tells the Jews that "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whoever believes in him may have eternal life." The brazen serpent is then a symbol of Christ, belief in whom brings eternal life.

Jewish tradition had, once more, prepared the way for this teaching. The brazen serpent which was raised up by Moses as a cure for the lethal bite of the fiery serpents (Numbers 21:4-9) was considered to be that later honoured in the temple. Because of the danger of superstitious practices attached to its veneration, King Hezekiah had it destroyed (2 Kings 18:4). To avoid danger from superstitious and magical beliefs, it was necessary to remind Israel that it was God alone, not the material serpent, who healed. This explanation we find in Wisdom 16:7: "For he who turned toward it was healed, *not by what he saw*, but by thee [the Lord], Saviour of all." The Palestinian Targum attributes the healing to God invoked by prayer:

When anyone bitten by a serpent lifted up his face in prayer to his Father who is in heaven [Pseudo-Jonathan: "turned his heart to the name of the Word of the Lord"], and looked upon the brazen serpent, he lived (Fragment Targum, manuscripts PVN).

The substance of this paraphrase is found in the Mishnah, as already noted.<sup>14</sup> In *m. Rosh Hashanah* 3:8 Num 21:8 is interpreted with the note that healing did not come automatically by gazing on the bronze serpent, but rather because “the Israelites directed their thoughts on high and kept their heart in subjection to the Father who is in the heavens; otherwise they pined away.”

## 7. The Second Death

In this section I further develop a theme treated in passing in the 1972 edition for the reason that I had already written on it more fully in an earlier publication in 1966.<sup>15</sup> I here expand on the subject, drawing on this earlier work.

In the paraphrase of Deuteronomy 33:6 found in the Fragment Targum (Paris manuscript 110) Moses prays: “Let Reuben live in this world, and not die in the *second death*, in which death the wicked die in the world to come.” This “second death” is spoken of also in the Apocalypse (2:11; 20:6), but is found nowhere in Jewish literature outside the targums. Furthermore, there are positive indications that in at least one passage where he uses the term (20:14), John has passed from the biblical text to the targumic rendering of Isaiah 65:15, 17-19.

This phrase “second death” (*deuteros thanatos*) is used four times in the Apocalypse, but is found nowhere in Jewish literature outside the targums. An expression used four times (Apocalypse 2:11; 20:6, 14; 21:8) must have been current coinage when the Apocalypse was being composed, in certain circles at least. Since we find the designation used in contexts speaking of such Jewish and Christian themes as the resurrection, general judgment and eternal punishment, it is evident that its origins are not to be sought in Hellenistic religion. The expression must have come from Judaism, unless it was coined by Christianity.

The texts in the Apocalypse of John are as follows:

2:11 (the end of the Letter to the church at Smyrna): “Whoever conquers will not be harmed by the *second death*”;

20:6 (of the thousand-year reign): “Those who had not worshipped the beast or its image . . . came to life and reigned with Christ a

14. See above, p. 179.

15. See Martin McNamara, *Targum and Testament*, p. 148; *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 118-125.



thousand years. This is the first resurrection (v. 5). Blessed and holy are those who share in the first resurrection. Over these the *second death* has no power, but they will be priests of God and of Christ, and they will reign with him a thousand years.”

20:14 (after the judgment): “Death and Hades gave up the dead that were in them and all were judged according to what they had done (v. 13). Then Death and Hades were thrown into the lake of fire. This is *the second death*, the lake of fire (v. 14); and anyone whose name was not found written in the book of life was thrown into the lake of fire” (v. 15)

21:8 (in the vision of the New Heaven and the New Earth): “But as for the cowardly, the faithless, the polluted, the murderers, the fornicators, and all liars, their place will be in the lake that burns with fire and sulfur, which is *the second death*.”

The vision of the New Jerusalem (see Ezek 48:30-35) follows immediately.

The corresponding Jewish expression for “second death” is *mwt’ šny* in Hebrew and *mwt’ tnyyn* in Aramaic. Paul Billerbeck notes that the Hebrew designation is found only in the late work, the *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer* 34 (18a).<sup>16</sup> This writing is dated to the beginning of the 9th century which makes its use as a parallel for the New Testament passages of no great value. The Aramaic expression for “second death” is found only in the targums, as has been noted by Billerbeck.<sup>17</sup> Billerbeck also remarks that although other Jewish writings do not contain the terms they do have the concept of “second death” which bears either of two meanings:

- (a) Exclusion from the resurrection, i.e. remaining in the grave.
- (b) Passing to eternal damnation.

Billerbeck gives only two examples from the Targums, Targum Jeremias 51:39, 57, and both in illustration of meaning *a* of the expression.<sup>18</sup>

16. Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zu Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 3 (Munich: Beck, 1961), p. 830 (to Apocalypse 20:8).

17. Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zu Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 3 (Munich: Beck, 1961), p. 830.

18. Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zu Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 3 (Munich: Beck, 1926; reprint 1961), pp. 830-831.

Both are taken from a chapter containing an oracle against Babylon. There are four other texts, one in Deuteronomy 33:6 and three in Targum Isaiah.

We shall take them in order.

The text of Deuteronomy 33:6 is the only occurrence of the phrase in the entire Pentateuch. It is noteworthy that all targum texts carry the phrase. This may be because the biblical text was a classical one in rabbinic Judaism for “proving” the “resurrection” (“vivification”) of the dead from the Pentateuch.

The Hebrew Text (NRSV) reads: “May Reuben live and not die, even though his numbers are few.” As already noted,<sup>19</sup> this is a classic *locus theologicus* in rabbinic Judaism for proving the resurrection (or in rabbinic terminology, “vivification”) of the dead. In the Talmud (*b. Sanh.* 92a) we read:

Rabba (BA4, ca. 352 CE) said: How do we prove the vivification of the dead from the Torah? He said: *May Reuben live and not die* (Deuteronomy 33:6). *Let Reuben live* — in this world; *and not die* — in the world to come.

Targum Onqelos paraphrases this text as: “May Reuben live an everlasting life and not die a second death.”<sup>20</sup>

Neofiti is more explicit: “May Reuben live *in this world*, and not die *in the second death (bmwtnh) in which the wicked die in the world to come.*” Similarly in all the other texts of the Palestinian Targum, and in Pseudo-Jonathan, using the term *bmwth* rather than *bmwtnh*. The word *mwtnh* means “plague, pestilence,” rather than “death,” but may also mean “death,” a sense in which it is to be taken in the Neofiti text. We may now turn to the texts from Targum Prophets.

*Targum Jeremiah* 51:39: The HT of this passage has: “While they are inflamed I will prepare for them a feast and make them drunk so that they swoon away and sleep a perpetual sleep and awake not,” says the Lord. The Targum paraphrases as follows: “*I will bring distress upon them and they*

19. Above, p. 191.

20. In the translation of Robert Grossfeld, *The Targum of Onqelos to Deuteronomy* (The Aramaic Bible 9; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), p. 104, with note 15 containing further targumic and rabbinic texts. See also the note by Ernest G. Clarke on Targum Pseudo-Jonathan Deuteronomy 33:6, in E. G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy* (The Aramaic Bible 5A; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998), p. 98, note 28.

*shall be like drunken men, so that they shall not be strong and they shall die the second death, and shall not live for the world to come.*"

The same idea is expressed a little later in Targum Jeremiah 51:57 in a parallel oracle on the princes and wise men of Babylon, where the Hebrew Text "They shall sleep a perpetual sleep and not wake" is rendered: "They shall *die the second death and shall not live for the world to come.*"

There are three occurrences of the phrase in Targum Isaiah.

The first is Isaiah 22:14, which is an oracle directed against Epicurean-minded Jews whose motto is: "Let us eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die" (Isaiah 22:13). To this, in the HT, the Lord replies: "Surely this iniquity will not be forgiven you till you die" (Isaiah 22:14). The Targum paraphrases: "This sin will not be forgiven you until you die *the second death.*"

The final two examples are from Targum Isaiah 65 in which the biblical author is moving towards the end of his composition. In the section 65:1-16 Yahweh has both a speech of judgment and a speech of assurance. Yahweh declares himself near, but some refuse to approach him, one group saying that he is too holy. The Lord responds: "These are a smoke in my nostrils, a fire that burns all day long (65:5). See, it is written before me: I will not keep silent, but I will repay; I will indeed repay into their laps their iniquities and their ancestors' iniquities together. . . ." The Targum renders Isaiah 65:5-6:

*Their retribution is in Gehenna where the fire burns all the day. See, it is written before me: I will not give them respite during (their) life, for theirs is the retribution of their sins and I will hand over their body to the second death.*

The final text to be considered (Targum Isaiah 65:15) is in a context in which the divisions of the Jewish community seem quite clear. There are those addressed by Yahweh as "you" (unfaithful ones) and others as "my servants" (Isaiah 65:13-16). The entire section 65:1-16 is a summons to the community of faith to decide. Those who seek the Lord will be blessed with life; those who reject him have a different destiny. The passage leads on (65:17-25) to God's promise of a new heaven, a new earth, a new Jerusalem. In Isaiah 65:15 God addresses his people: "You shall leave your name to my chosen (to use) as a curse and the Lord will slay you; but his servants he will call by a different name." The Targum renders faithfully, apart from paraphrasing the ending as: "and the Lord will slay you with

*the second death* and his servants the *righteous* he shall call by a different name.”

As a conclusion to this consideration on the “second death” in the Apocalypse and in the targums, I may be allowed to repeat my earlier observations on the topic.<sup>21</sup>

It is not easy to say what precise meaning we are to give to “the second death” in this context [of Targum Isaiah 65]. It may mean that the impious are excluded from the resurrection and the enjoyment of life in the new creation God is about to bring about. It could also mean eternal damnation, as this too implies exclusion from the life of bliss which is promised in the context.

Isaiah 65 is referred to a number of times in the New Testament. Paul cites vv. 1-2 as the complement from the Prophets to his texts from the Torah (Deuteronomy 32:21) when he shows that Israel’s blindness and culpability in not receiving the Gospel were foreshadowed or predicted in the Old Testament (Romans 10:20-21).

When the author of Apocalypse 2:17 (cf. 3:12) says Christ is to give a new name to his faithful ones he probably refers to Isaiah 65:15. He is certainly referring to Isaiah 65:17, 19 when he speaks of the creation of the new heavens and the new earth and the new Jerusalem in Apocalypse 21:1-4. In Apocalypse 20:14-21:4 John is thinking against the background of Isaiah 65:15 and the verses following on it. It appears from this that in 20:14 he has passed from the biblical text of Isaiah 65:15 to the manner in which this was understood in the liturgical paraphrase which we still find in the targum to this verse. This would indicate that in this section of the targum, and probably in the others which we have considered, we are in the presence of pre-Christian paraphrases which have influenced the thought and terminology of the Apocalypse.

That the author of the Apocalypse should draw heavily on a liturgical paraphrase is but natural. The liturgical colouring of this work is very pronounced.

As E. Stauffer has written on John’s relation to priestly tradition: “The Baptist’s disciple John is an apocalypticist cast in a levitical-liturgical mould just as Gamaliel’s disciple Paul is an apocalypticist cast in a rabbinic-dialectical mould.”<sup>22</sup>

21. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 124-25.

22. Ethelbert Stauffer, *New Testament Theology*. English translation from the 5th German edition by John Marsh (London: SCL Press, 1963), p. 42.

## CHAPTER 16

### *Other Passages and Concluding Remarks*

#### 1. Some Further Examples

What we have given in the preceding chapters are but a few of the many ways in which the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch may throw light on the New Testament. In this concluding chapter we give a few further examples.

##### *i. "Mammon of Iniquity"*<sup>1</sup>

The word *mamōnas* ("mammon") which occurs in Greek four times in the Gospels (Matthew 6:24, with parallel in Luke 16:13; Luke 16:9, 11) is evidently a loan word from the Aramaic *mamona*, the determinate (emphatic) state (noun with definite article) of *mamōn*. It occurs only on the lips of Jesus and indicates the Aramaic background to the tradition. The Aramaic (and Hebrew) word *mamōn*, as we have already seen, means "wealth, money, fortune." In the text in Matthew ("Do not become slaves of mammon") it has a negative connotation. Luke 16:9 speaks of "the mammon of unrighteousness" (*ek tou mamōna tēs adikias*), which suggests a direct translation of a Semitic expression, while Luke's "unrighteous mam-

1. See F. Hauck, "Mamōnas," in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. Gerhard Kittel (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1967), vol. 4, pp. 388-390; Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 2 (Munich: Beck, 1924; reprint 1961), pp. 220-221.

mon” (*en tō adikō mamōna*; Luke 16:11) is more in keeping with Greek. The term *mamôn* in the sense of “money, wealth” is frequent in Targum Neofiti. In Neofiti, Exodus 18:21 there is mention of “wealth unjustly gained,” literally “mammon of lies” (*mamôn d-šyqr*), an expression which also occurs in the Targum of Prophets (*mmwn šqr*; Targum of Amos 5:11; Targum Hosea 5:11, 12; Targum 2 Samuel 14:14; Isaiah 5:23; 33:15). We have a much closer Aramaic equivalent to Luke’s “mammon of unrighteousness” in Targum Habakkuk 2:9 *mmwn rš*, “mammon of wickedness.”<sup>2</sup>

## ii. *Korban* — (*korban ho estin dōron*)

In Mark’s Gospel after rejecting the position of the Pharisees and some scribes from Jerusalem regarding their tradition on hand-washing, Jesus goes on to condemn “them” (Pharisees and some scribes?) on another of their traditions, *qorban*. The text of Mark 7:9-12 reads: “Then he said to them: ‘You have a fine way of rejecting the commandments of God in order to keep your tradition! For Moses said: “Honour your father and your mother”; and “Whoever speaks evil of father or other must surely die.” But you say that if anyone tells father or mother, “Whatever support you might have from me is Corban” (that is, an offering to God) (*korban ho estin dōron*) — then you no longer permit him to do anything for a father or mother.’”

It is noteworthy that Mark gives both the Hebrew/Aramaic word *qorban* and its Greek rendering: “Anything which I have which might be used for your benefit is Corban, that is a gift” (Mark 7:11; NRSV), where *dōron* is given as a gloss on the Hebrew/Aramaic word *qorban*. The fact that Mark retains the Semitic as well as the Greek explanation might indicate that the combined Semitic/Greek formula may have been current in first-century Palestine. That this was so seems to have been borne out by Josephus who also gives both (*Antiquities* 4.4.4, § 73): “Such also as dedicate themselves to God as a *corban*, which denotes what the Greeks call a gift (*dōron*). . . .” Again in *Against Apion* 1.167 where he mentions that the Greek writer Theophrastus among oaths used by foreign (non-Greek) peoples mentions “*korban*; which oath,” Josephus remarks, “will be found

2. On the bearing of the Targum of Isaiah and related texts on the New Testament texts see Bruce D. Chilton, *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible. Jesus’ Use of the Interpreted Scripture of His Time* (Good News Studies 8; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1984), pp. 116-123.

in no other nation except the Jews, and, translated from the Hebrew, one may interpret it as meaning 'God's gift' (*dōron theou*)." (See also Josephus, *Antiquities* 4, 73: "... a korban to God — meaning what Greeks would call 'a gift' [*dōron*].") The Greek Septuagint renders the Hebrew *qorban* as *dōron* without retaining the Hebrew term. It is worth noting that the Greek term *dōron* exists as a loan word in Aramaic (particularly in the Palestinian Targums), sometimes as a rendering of the term *mnhh* (*minḥah*) of the Hebrew text, but more often in free paraphrase. It can alternate with the Aramaic *qrbnh* as a rendering of the Hebrew *minḥah*, with or without cultic connotations. Thus in a free paraphrase in Tg Pal Genesis 4, both in Targum Neofiti and in the other Palestinian Targum texts.

The term *korban* (*qrbn*) is found in an inscription in a first-century Jewish ossuary, which reads: "All that one may find to his profit in this ossuary is an offering (*qrbn*) to God from him who is within."<sup>3</sup> The Gospel text, however, occurring in the context of a rabbinic discussion is to be understood against the background of rabbinic tradition rather than that of a Jewish ossuary, even if this is roughly contemporary with the Gospel texts. With regard to the Jewish practice of *qorban* (Mark 7:11) one may note the related texts in the Mishnah, the date and relevance of which for New Testament studies are to be evaluated. That taking oaths or vows by use of the term *qorban* was part of Jewish piety is clear from the Mishnah tractate *Nedarim* ("Vows") where the practice is legislated for. Variants of the term were *Konam*, *Konah* or *Konas*. "If a man says to his fellow, *Konam* or *Konah* or *Konas*, these are substitutes for *Korban*, an Offering" (*m. Ned.* 1:2), that is, as a note in Danby's English translation says: "A thing forbidden to him for common use as a Temple offering."<sup>4</sup> We have a formula similar to Mark 7:11 in *m. Nedarim* 8:7: "*Konam* (= *Korban*) be the benefit thou hast of me. . . ." The question as to whether a vow could be dispensed by the sages by reason of "the honour due to father and mother" was also discussed in the Mishnah (*m. Nedarim* 9:1)

These Mishnah texts illustrate the Jewish institution of *qorban*, and thus serve as a background to the Gospel texts. However, there is little or

3. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Qorban Inscription from Jebel Hallet eX-Xuri and Mark 7:11, Matt 15:5," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 78 (1959): 60-65 (reprinted in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* [London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971], pp. 93-100).

4. Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah. Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* (Oxford: University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1933), p. 264.

no evidence for the precise form of the practice censured by Jesus. It may be that it was known to characterise at least some groups of Pharisees or scribes.

*iii. Zechariah son of Barachiah: Matthew 23:35 (Luke 11:51)  
and Targum Lamentations 2:20<sup>5</sup>*

Matthew and Luke transmit condemnation by Jesus of the scribes (lawyers) and Pharisees, but in different contexts. Both, however, end with a warning that on the current generation would come punishment for their sins and for the infidelity of their forefathers. Matthew's text runs: "Therefore I send you prophets, sages, and scribes, some of whom you will kill and crucify . . . (35) so that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed on earth, from the blood of the righteous Abel to the blood of Zechariah son of Barachiah, whom you murdered between the sanctuary and the altar. (36) Truly I tell you, all this will come upon this generation." Luke's text (Luke 11:49-52) lacks "son of Barachiah." The Zechariah in question seems clearly to be the Zechariah son of the priest Jehoiada of 2 Chronicles 24:21-22. During the apostasy of king Joash God sent prophets among the people to bring them back to the Lord, but they would not listen (2 Chronicles 24:19). "Then the spirit of God took possession of Zechariah son of Jehoida the priest who stood above the people and said to them: 'Thus says God: Why do you transgress the commandments of the Lord, so that you cannot prosper? Because you have forsaken the Lord, he has also forsaken you.' But they conspired against him and by command of the king they stoned him to death in the court of the house of the Lord. . . . As he was dying, he said: 'May the Lord see and avenge'" (24:20-22).

Two differences between the texts of Luke and Matthew and that of 2 Chronicles are to be noted. One is the place of the murder in the Temple (house of the Lord): between the sanctuary and the altar (Matthew), in Luke "between the altar and the house" (*oikou*), the term "house" being variously understood and rendered: "sanctuary" (NRSV), "Temple" (NJB), "temple building" (NAB), while 2 Chronicles simply has "in the court of

5. See the earlier treatment in Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27; 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; reprint 1978), pp. 160-63. See now Catherine Sider Hamilton, "His Blood Be upon Us": Innocent Blood and the Death of Jesus in Matthew," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 70 (2008): 82-100.



the house of the Lord.” Another difference is in the connection in the New Testament between the shedding of the blood of Abel and Zechariah and the punishment for these crimes to come “on this generation” of the scribes (lawyers) and Pharisees.

There is a further difference in Matthew’s text in that Zechariah is called the son of Barachiah. There are three Zechariahs mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures: Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah (Isaiah 8:2), rendered in the Septuagint as “son of Barachias”; the person already mentioned in 2 Chronicles 24:20-22; and the third the eleventh of the Twelve Minor Prophets, in the Book of Zechariah bearing the full title: “Zechariah the son of Berechiah the son of Iddo” (Zechariah 1:1). He is nowhere called by the short form “Zechariah son of Berechiah.” He is mentioned three times in the Old Testament, and identified through his grandfather’s name; “Zechariah the son of Iddo.” Matthew’s text is most probably to be explained by the identification of the Zechariah of 2 Chronicles with the Minor Prophet.

A text in the Targum of Lamentations (Tg Lamentations 2:20) throws light on Matthew’s text, and on the Jewish setting of both Matthew and Luke. In the targum Zechariah of Chronicles is identified with the Minor Prophet, but under his usual name “Zechariah son of Iddo.” When situated in the broader rabbinic context a fuller meaning of both Targum and New Testament texts is revealed. The Hebrew Text of Lamentations 2:20c says: “Should the priest and the prophet be slain in the temple of the Lord?” This is part of the author of Lamentation’s complaint against the Lord on account of the destruction of Jerusalem and the profanation of the Temple. In the preceding portion of the verse the poet complains: “Look, O Lord, and consider! To whom have you done this? Should women eat their offspring, the children they have borne?” The targumist lets the first part of the people’s complaint stand. In the paraphrase of v. 20c he has the Lord (under the designation “The Attribute of Justice”) answer the complaint (italics designate additional paraphrase to the Hebrew Text): “*The Attribute of Justice answered, and thus said: ‘Is it fitting to murder in the House of the Sanctuary of the Lord the priest and the prophet, as you murdered Zechariah the son of Iddo, the high priest and faithful prophet, in the House of the Sanctuary of the Lord on the Day of Atonement, because he admonished you not to do that which was evil before the Lord?’*”

The central point of the Targum’s paraphrase is that the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuzaradan (2 Kings 25:8-12) is linked with the earlier

murder of Zechariah (son of Barachiah) son of Iddo, and the blame for this laid on the generation of the destruction. There are some differences between the Targum and the account of this in 2 Chronicles. Zechariah is explicitly called “prophet,” implicit in Chronicles. He is also called “high priest,” which need not surprise as “priests” of the earlier biblical texts are often described as “high priests” in the targums (Melchizedek in Gen 14:18 and others),<sup>6</sup> and in any event Josephus (*Antiquities* 9,8,3) so designates Zechariah’s father. The murder is also said to have taken place on the Day of Atonement, which adds to the gravity of the crime. The Targum’s link of the Temple’s destruction with the much earlier (252 years earlier!) of Zechariah of Chronicles is best understood when set in the context of rabbinic tradition, within which our present text of this Targum originated. As Philip S. Alexander puts it in his note to the English translation of this targum: “The idea that the murder of Zechariah was a major cause of the destruction of the first Temple is an old and deeply embedded element in the tradition. According to a widespread rabbinic aggadah, the murdered Zechariah’s blood never dried, but continued to seethe until Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar’s general, slaughtered young priests to appease it.”<sup>7</sup> The apocryphal *Lives of the Prophets* (chapter 23, “Zechariah son of Jehoiada”), probably of the first century CE, of Palestinian origin, and contemporary with Matthew and Luke, does not have the rabbinic legend on this Zechariah, but records the belief in the disastrous consequences of his murder: “From that time visible portents occurred in the Temple, and the priests were not able to see a vision of angels of God or to give oracles from the *Debeir*, or to inquire by the Ephod, or to answer the people through Urim as formerly.”<sup>8</sup>

The targumic and rabbinic traditions seem to illustrate the connection made by Jesus between the murder of Zechariah (and others) and the

6. See Martin McNamara, “Melchizedek: Gen 14,17-20 in the Targums, in Rabbinic Literature and Early Christian Literature,” *Biblica* 81 (2000): 1-31, at 22-26.

7. Philip S. Alexander, *The Targum of Lamentations. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 17B; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008), p. 141, with many rabbinic references, including one to Targum Lamentations 4:13 where there is a reference again to the murder of Zechariah and its consequences for the destruction of the Temple. “*The Attribute of Justice answered and thus said: None of this would have happened but for the sins of her prophets . . . and the iniquities of her priests, . . . and they are the ones who caused the blood of the righteous to be shed in her midst.*”

8. See translation by D. R. A. Hare, “The Lives of the Prophets (First Century A.D.),” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 2, ed. James H. Charlesworth (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985), p. 398.

impending punishment to come on “this generation.” The New Testament, and Matthew’s text, can be taken as indicating an early date for this particular tradition, preserved in rabbinic literature and in the Targum of Lamentations, itself probably to be dated towards the end of the fifth century CE. The relevance of this text for an understanding of a New Testament passage would be an instance of the continuum of which we spoke earlier<sup>9</sup> — the continuation of a tradition through the centuries.

*iv. Ephesians 4:8 and Targum Psalms 67(68):19*<sup>10</sup>

In Ephesians 4:1-8 the author explains to the Christian church in Asia how the unity of the Church is the gift of Christ. Reigning in heaven after his ascension the Risen Saviour grants to the Church the gifts that are necessary for unity in diversity. The author of the letter first cites a text from an unidentified source (“he/it says,” *legei*) and then proceeds to gloss and to explain it as referring to Christ.

7But each of us was given grace according to the measure of Christ’s gift. 8Therefore it is said (literally: it/he says, *legei*): “When he ascended on high he made captivity itself captive; he gave gifts to men” (*edōken domata tois anthrōpois*). 9When it says, “He ascended,” what does it mean but (literally “what is this but”) that he had also descended into the lower parts of the earth? 10He who descended is the same one who ascended far above all the heavens, so that he might fill all things. The gifts he gave were that some might be apostles, some prophets . . . (etc.).

It is clear that the text cited and commented on in this passage is a form of Ps 67(68):19, one, however, which is not that of the Hebrew text or of the Septuagint. The Hebrew has a very obscure text in verse 17(18)c: literally “The Lord among them Sinai in the holy (place)” (NRSV: “The Lord came from Sinai into the holy place”), rendered in the Greek as: “The Lord is among them, in Sinai in the holy place.” This is followed by words addressed to an unnamed person: “You ascended on high; you took captiv-

9. Above, pp. 12-13.

10. See McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 78-81; Roger Le Déaut, “Targum,” in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 13 (2002), cols 308\*-309\*.

ity captive; you received (from the root *lqh*) gifts for men” (with the singular/collective “man,” *b-’adam*; or “among men”). The ending is rendered more or less literally in the Septuagint: “. . . you have received gifts for (or: among) man’ (*elabes domata en anthrōpō*). The text in Ephesians understands the psalm passage as “giving, distributing” rather than “receiving,” probably reading a Hebrew root *hlq* (“divide, distribute”) instead of *lqh*. This is the understanding and rendering of the passage we find in the Targum of Psalms, which is also that of the rabbinic commentary on this book. Several of the midrashic and haggadic additions in Targum Psalms have parallels in *Midrash Tehillim*. They may draw on a common body of haggadic reflections. In the text that interests us both of these seem influenced by the reference to Sinai immediately preceding. The unnamed person addressed is Moses. The verse is rendered in Targum Psalms (italics indicate additional paraphrase):<sup>11</sup> “19. You ascended to the firmament, O prophet Moses, you took captives, you taught the words of the Law, you gave them as gifts to the sons of man; even among the rebellious who are converted and repent does the Shekinah of the glory of the LORD God dwell.” As David Stec has noted: for the tradition represented by this text of Targum Psalms we can confer the rabbinic commentary on Psalms *Midrash Tehillim* 68.11: “Thou hast gone up on high, thou hast led the captivity captive; thou hast received gifts for men (Ps. 68:19). These words are to be read in the light of what scripture says elsewhere: A wise man goeth up to the city of the mighty, and bringeth down the strength wherein it trusteth (Prov. 21:22). This wise man is Moses, of whom it is said, ‘And Moses went up unto God’ (Ex. 19:3); the words thou hast received gifts for men refer to the Torah which was bestowed upon Israel as a gift, at no cost.”<sup>12</sup>

Targum Psalms is generally regarded as a late composition. Its language is considered by some as virtually the same as the Targum of Job and Pseudo-Jonathan. It is variously dated from the fourth to the seventh century. The relation of this paraphrase to the Epistle to the Ephesians would be another instance of the continuum in exegetical tradition.

11. In the translation of David M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 16; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004), p. 131.

12. In the translation of William G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms*, 2 vols. (Yale Judaica Series 13; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), vol. 1, p. 545.

v. *Jannes and Jambres*: 2 Timothy 3:8-9  
and Pseudo-Jonathan Ex 7:11; 1:15<sup>13</sup>

Forewarning Timothy of the distressing times to come “in the last days” the author of 2 Timothy says: “As Jannes and Jambres opposed Moses, so these people, of corrupt mind and counterfeit faith, also oppose the truth.” Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, and it alone of the Palestinian Targum texts, makes express mention of these two, and precisely under these names, in its paraphrase of Exodus 7:11 (italics denote added paraphrase): “Then Pharaoh summoned the wise men and sorcerers; *and Jannes and Jambres*, the sorcerers *who were in Egypt*, also did the same with the spells *of their divination*.” Explicit mention has already been made of these two in Pseudo-Jonathan at Exodus 1:15, in an inserted haggadah on Pharaoh’s dream on the birth of a lamb (Aramaic *ṭalya*; “lamb, kid” or “young boy”), interpreted by Jannes and Jambres chief magicians of Egypt as referring to the birth of a son among the Israelites, one destined to destroy Egypt. In an earlier work I proposed that the text of 2 Timothy was dependent on Pseudo-Jonathan.<sup>14</sup>

The coincidence of the names of the two sorcerers and their opposition to Moses in both the New Testament text and Pseudo-Jonathan is impressive. Nevertheless there are serious arguments against dependence of the Pauline text on a Palestinian Targum tradition as represented by Pseudo-Jonathan. There are first of all the problems regarding the composition and dating of this particular targum. Then there is the fact that the legend of a Jewish sorcerer, or sorcerers, in Egypt in Moses’ time was widely known. Josephus makes mention of one such, but assigns no name. In other forms of the Jewish tradition there are two, one of which is Johani (and similar forms), the other in Rabbinic and Latin texts called Mamre. The New Testament form of the names (Jannes and Jambres) is found in Greek texts, for instance in a text of the neo-Pythagorean philosopher Numenius (second century CE) preserved by Eusebius (in *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9,8,1). Given all this, while the similarities between the text of 2 Timothy and Pseudo-Jonathan are to be borne in mind, hardly any firm conclusion with regard to the age of Pseudo-Jonathan and the age or origin of this text can be drawn from it.

13. See McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 82-96; Le Déaut, “Targum,” col. 311\*; Lester L. Grabbe, “The Jannes/Jambres Tradition in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Its Date,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98 (1979): 393-401; J. C. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (Nashville-New York: Abingdon, 1972).

14. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, p. 96.

vi. Numerous Multitudes

In the Gospels we read of great multitudes (*ochlos polys*, *ochloi polloi*) following Christ. The Greek word *ochlos* has passed over into Aramaic as a loan-word and is encountered in the plural form occasionally in the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch and in other targums also. God says to Cain that the blood of the just multitudes (*ʿochlôsin*) that were to arise from Abel was crying out against him from the earth (Genesis 4:10). Otherwise it is used with the adjective “many,” “numerous” (seven times in Neofiti and Neofiti margins). God tells Moses to keep the people away from Mount Sinai lest his anger be enkindled against them and numerous multitudes (*ʿochlôsin sagyan*) of them should fall (Exodus 19:21).

vii. *bar nash(a)*

We may remark that in the Palestinian Targum, particularly in Neofiti, *bar nash*, *bar nasha* — “a son of man,” “the son of man” — is very often found in the sense of “man,” “anyone,” “whoever.” The use of *bar nash(a)* in Aramaic (in both targums and midrashim) has been treated extensively by Geza Vermes in an appendix to the third edition of Matthew Black’s *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*.<sup>15</sup> From the evidence for the use of the expression in extra-targumic texts he concludes that, like the other Aramaic expression *hahu gabra* (literally: “that man”; cf. English “yours truly”), *bar nash(a)* is also used as a circumlocution for the first person singular pronoun: “I.”<sup>16</sup> Black considers the evidence put forward by Vermes for the use of *bar nash* as a surrogate for the first person pronoun clear and convincing.<sup>17</sup> In a review of the work Joseph Fitzmyer admits that some of the examples Vermes cites in evidence for *bar nash(a)* used as a circumlocution for “I” seem convincing, but naturally objects to the use of “later” Aramaic in this discussion of New Testament texts.<sup>18</sup> Here we may note that there is basic agreement in Fitzmyer’s and Le Déaut’s criticism of the third edition

15. Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), pp. 310-328.

16. Vermes, in Black, *Aramaic Approach*, pp. 320-327.

17. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, p. 328.

18. Joseph Fitzmyer, in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 30 (1968): 426-428. See also Roger Le Déaut’s detailed discussion: “Le substrat araméen des évangiles: scolies en marge de l’*Aramaic Approach* de Matthew Black,” in *Biblica* 49 (1968): 388-399, at 397-399.

of Black's *Aramaic Approach*, apart from the use of targumic material in New Testament studies, of course. It is evidence to be borne in mind in any discussion of the New Testament Son of Man problem.

viii. "*Blessed is the womb . . .*" (cf. *Luke 11:27*)<sup>19</sup>

In the Palestinian Targum on Genesis 49:25 we find the very words used by the Palestinian woman when addressing Christ, but in reverse order, as indicated by the underlying Hebrew text ("blessings of the breasts and of the womb"): "Blessed are the breasts from which you have sucked and the womb in which you lay," i.e. the womb that bore you.

ix. "*Be merciful . . .*" *Luke 6:36* (*Matthew 5:48*)  
and *Pseudo-Jonathan Lev 22:28*<sup>20</sup>

We have treated of this in some detail above.<sup>21</sup> It is listed here to add to the list of targumic similarities with the New Testament.

x. "*Be merciful, just as your Father is merciful*" (*Luke 6:36*)

In Luke's Sermon on the Plain the section on love of enemies ends with Jesus' admonition: "Be merciful, just as your Father is merciful" (*Luke 6:36*; the corresponding text in *Matthew* has: "Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect"). Luke's text is paralleled perfectly in an ancient targumic rendering censured in the fourth century by Rabbi Jose Ben Bun, in a text cited twice in the Palestinian Talmud (*j. Berakoth* 5,3,9v and *j. Megillah* 4,9,75c) as an unacceptable paraphrase of *Leviticus 22:28*: "Rabbi J. Ben Bun said: 'Those do not act correctly who make the injunctions of the Holy One Blessed Be He (mere axioms of) mercy. And those who translated (*Leviticus 22:28* into Aramaic as): 'My people, children of Israel, as I am merciful in heaven so shall you be merciful on earth. You

19. See McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 131-133; Le Déaut, "Targum," col. 285\*.

20. See McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 133-138; Le Déaut, "Targum," cols 283\*-284\*.

21. See above, pp. 183-185.

shall not slaughter a cow and its young on the same day.” They do not act properly as they make the injunctions of the Holy One Blessed Be He (to be mere axioms of) mercy.” This rendering of the text is preserved only in Pseudo-Jonathan, verbatim (“as I am merciful in heaven”) in the London (British Library) manuscript of Pseudo-Jonathan, while the *editio princeps* has a slight variant (“as your Father is merciful . . .”). The other texts of the Palestinian Targums have the opening phrase “My people, children of Israel” followed by a literal translation of the Hebrew text. The presence of the homiletic opening may be an indication that all texts of the Palestinian Targums once had the paraphrase objected to by R. Jose, but it was later omitted by reason of the censure. This, however, is not quite certain, since some literal translations of these targums also have such an introduction (“My people . . .”). The preservation of the old paraphrase in Pseudo-Jonathan alone is a further indication of the difficulty of assigning a precise date to this work.

*xi. “With what measure you mete . . .” (Matthew 7:2; Mark 4:24; Luke 6:38 and Palestinian Targum Genesis 38:26)*<sup>22</sup>

The Palestinian Targums paraphrase of Genesis 38:26 is one that has a good many phrases and concepts reminiscent of New Testament texts. One of these is related to the New Testament text being here considered. It occurs in Judah’s confession of his sin against Tamar. In the opening section he says: “And listen to me, my brothers and house of my father. In the measure in which a man measures it shall be measured to him whether it be good measure or bad measure. And blessed is every man who reveals his works” (in the translation of Neofiti).<sup>23</sup>

*xii. “Remit and pardon”*<sup>24</sup>

We have considered this above in chapter 13. We need only list it here to add to the list of targumic similarities with the New Testament.

22. See McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum*, pp. 138-42; Le Déaut, “Targum,” col. 275\*.

23. See above, p. 203.

24. Le Déaut, “Targum,” cols 277\*-278\*. See also above, pp. 196-197.



*xiii. "Debts" = "sins"*<sup>25</sup>

We have dealt above with the concept of sin as debt, but briefly, and may thus return to it here. The equation is clearest in the form of the "Our Father" as given in Matthew 6:12: "And forgive us our debts (*opheilēmata*) as we have forgiven our debtors (*opheiletais*)." Luke's form replaces "debts" with "sins": "Forgive us our sins (*hamartias*) as we ourselves forgive everyone who is indebted (*opheilonti*) to us" (Luke 11:4). Similarly in Luke 13:2, 4 the equation is again natural. Concerning the Galileans reportedly killed by Pilate, Jesus asks: "Do you think that because these Galileans suffered in this way they were worse *sinner*s (*hamartōloi*) than all other Galileans. . . ? Or those eighteen who were killed when the tower of Siloam fell on them — do you think they were worse *offender*s (*opheiletai*) than all the others living in Jerusalem?" The use of "debt, debtors" for "sin, sinners" is proper to Aramaic usage; it is not found in Hebrew, and with it the term "pardon . . . the debt" for "to forgive the sin."

*xiv. "dogs" = "pagans" "gentiles" (Mark 7:27; Matthew 15:26 and Palestinian Targum Exodus 22:30[31])*<sup>26</sup>

The accounts of both Mark and Matthew make it clear that the Syro-phenician woman who begged Jesus to cure her daughter was a non-Jew. She was a Canaanite woman (Matthew 15:22), a Hellene (Mark 7:26; NRSV "a Gentile"). Jesus' reply to her request was: "Let the children be fed first, for it is not fair to take the children's food and throw it to the dogs" (Mark 7:27), with a clear contrast of Jews and gentiles, here referred to as dogs. The New Testament itself uses this disparaging designation, apparently of fellow Jews in Philippians 3:2, and those outside the gates of the New Jerusalem in Apocalypse 22:15.

The designation was rather commonly used in rabbinic literature of gentiles (and Samaritans). Paul Billerbeck cites many examples from this literature, but none from the Targums!<sup>27</sup> The usage occurs in the Palestinian Targum Exodus 22:30(31), to render the Hebrew text: "You shall be a

25. Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 274\*-275\*; see also above, p. 187.

26. Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 275\*-276\*.

27. See Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 1. *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (Munich: Beck, 1926; reprint 1961), pp. 722-26.

people consecrated to me; therefore you shall not eat any meat that is man-gled by beasts in the field; you shall throw it to the dogs.” The ending is rendered in Neofiti (and the Fragment Targums mss P and V; the margins of Neofiti) as: “You shall throw it to the dog, or you shall throw it to the gentile stranger, who is comparable to the dog.”

*xv. “to taste the cup of death”*

Roger Le Déaut has shown the significance of the expression “to taste the cup of death” (a phrase found only in the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch) for Christ’s reference to his passion.<sup>28</sup>

*xvi. “answered and said”*

Gustav Dalman maintained that the phrase “answered and said,” found so frequently in the Gospels, was due to the Greek authors of our canonical Gospels who in this were dependent on the translation Greek of the Septuagint.<sup>29</sup> Taking Onqelos and some other texts as his criterion for the Aramaic of Christ’s day, and ignoring or rejecting the evidence of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch, he concluded that the phrase did not exist in the Aramaic of first-century Palestine. “Answered and said” is of frequent occurrence in the Palestinian paraphrases of the Pentateuch, *especially in free paraphrase and midrashic passages where no influence from the Hebrew text can be suspected*, for instance, Genesis 4:8 (a number of times); 22:10; 50:1.

*xvii. “He (etc.) opened his mouth and said” (Matthew 5:2)*

This is another good idiom of the same paraphrase as the preceding (only in Fragment Targums and Neofiti margin of Deuteronomy 27:15). So are such other New Testament expressions as “he thought in his heart and said” (e.g. Genesis 15:1).

28. See Le Déaut, “Targum,” col. 280\*.

29. Gustav Dalman, *The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of Post-biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language*. Authorised English version (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902), pp. 24-25.

## xviii. "at that hour"

We often read in the Gospels of things happening "at that hour." This is the manner in which "at that time" (cf. Irish: *an uair sin*) is expressed in Palestinian Aramaic, where *š'h/š'th, ša'ah/ša'ta'*, has the meaning "hour" or "moment of time." It is extremely frequent in the Palestinian Targums and is the invariable targumic rendering of "at that time" of the Hebrew text.

## 2. Jewish Christianity

In the first edition of this work I wrote that targumic studies are not without relevance for a study of Jewish Christianity, a branch of study to which our attention has been drawn in previous years, particularly by the researches of Jean Daniélou and Hans-Joachim Schoeps.<sup>30</sup> In his work *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme*<sup>31</sup> Daniélou devotes a chapter to "Judaeo-Christian Exegesis" in which he treats of Judaeo-Christian targumim' and "Christian midrashim." Here he occasionally attributes too great a creative activity to the authors he studies, believing their paraphrases come from the Judaeo-Christian communities in an effort to christianize the text of the Old Testament. Targumic and other Jewish evidence shows that at times the "Christian" element in the paraphrase is minimal, at other times nil.

Thus, for instance, Num 21:8-9 cited in *The Epistle of Barnabas* (12,7) as: "[Moses has said]: When one of you shall be bitten, if he turns towards the serpent placed upon the wood [*xylon*] and hopes, believing that although without life, this [serpent] can give life, he will be cured."<sup>32</sup> With this we should compare the targumic rendering of Numbers already cited. The only typical Christian addition is the reference to the tree.

*Barnabas* (12,9) cites Ex 17:14 as follows: "Moses said to Jesus, son of Nun: Write this which the Lord has said: The son of God will exterminate the house of Amalek to the very root in the last days." This Daniélou takes

30. Hans-Joachim Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1949); *Das Judenchristentum: Untersuchungen über Gruppenbildungen und Parteikämpfe in der frühenden Christenheit* (Bern: Francke, 1964).

31. In English translation in *The Theology of Jewish Christianity* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964). References here to the original title *Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme* (Tournai: Desclée, 1958).

32. Daniélou, *Théologie*, p. 106.

as “a resume which christianizes the text.”<sup>33</sup> Actually it is a resume rather of the text of Pseudo-Jonathan on Exodus 17:14, 16:

And the Lord said to Moses: Write this memorial in the book of the ancients of yore and place these words in the hearing of Joshua because I shall utterly blot out the memory of Amalek from under the heavens. . . . And he said: Because the Word (*Memra*) of the Lord has sworn by the Throne of his Glory that he in his Word (*Memra*) will wage war on those of the house of Amalek and blot them out for three generations, from the generation of this world, and from the generation of the Messiah and from the generation of the world to come.

The only Christian addition, if addition it be, is the reference to the Son of God. But even this may be merely a christianization of the *Memra* of the targumic text.

In 7:3 *Barnabas* cites Lev 23:29 as: “The commandment has been given: He who does not observe [literally: ‘fast’] the fast shall be punished by death.”<sup>34</sup> In the biblical text, both HT and Septuagint, however, there is question of “humiliation,” not fasting (“For whoever is not afflicted on this same day shall be cut off from his people”). In Neofiti (and in Pseudo-Jonathan but not in Onqelos) this becomes: “For whoever eats on the *fast*, and does not fast at the time of the fast of the atonement, shall be blotted out from the midst of the people.”

We may note in passing that G. A. Allon<sup>35</sup> has found quite a resemblance between the halakhah of *Barnabas* and that of Pseudo-Jonathan. Research in this field will benefit both Jewish-Christian and targumic studies, showing how deeply rooted Jewish Christianity was in the traditions of its people and how old targumic traditions are.

R. Le Déaut has given an indication of how targumic studies may benefit liturgical research by showing that in the Targum to Genesis 14:18 Melchizedek is designated a “high priest,” as he is in the Roman Canon of the Mass.<sup>36</sup> The biblical text merely calls him a priest of the Most High God.

33. Daniélou, *Théologie*, p. 111.

34. Daniélou, *Théologie*, p. 113.

35. G. A. Allon, “The Halacha in *Barnabae epistula*,” in *Tarbiz* 11 (1939-40): 23-38; “A Note to ‘The Halacha in *Barnabae epistula*,’” *Tarbiz* 11 (1939-1940): 223 (both in Hebrew).

36. Roger Le Déaut, “Le titre de *Summus Sacerdos* donné à Melchisédech est-il d’origine juive?,” in *Recherches de science religieuse* 50 (1962): 222-229.

I reproduce this section here almost unchanged, mainly for the record. The relevance of any such texts for an understanding of the Targumic tradition would now have to take recognisance of the changed and changing concept of what “Jewish Christianity” really is, and the complex reality that is the targumic tradition itself.

### 3. The Aramaic Substratum of the New Testament. The Ongoing Quest

#### *i. Nascent Christianity. Jerusalem and Galilee*

In the essays in the preceding chapters I have rarely entered into the extremely difficult question of the bearing of the Aramaic of the Palestinian Targums on the Aramaic substratum of the New Testament. It is a topic that in recent years has been very much discussed, with concentration, however, on the form or nature of the Aramaic to be used and on relevant methodological questions. Occasionally major studies on the presumed Aramaic sources or background of individual works, such as the Gospel of Mark and the Q Document, have not met with general assent.

In this study it may be well to bear in mind what we know of the earliest years of the formation of the Gospel tradition. Jesus was a Galilean and so were the apostles and most at least of the earlier followers of Jesus during his earthly ministry. Most of his public ministry seems to have been in Galilee, and we can presume that his preaching was in the Aramaic language of Galilee. According to Mark (Mark 16:7) the risen Jesus told the women at the tomb to tell his disciples and Peter that he (Jesus) is going ahead of them to Galilee; there they would see him, just as he had told them. Similarly in Matthew (Matthew 28:10): “Go and tell my brothers to go to Galilee; there they will see me.” Matthew ends his gospel with the commissioning of his disciples by Jesus on a mountain in Galilee; they were to make disciples of all nations and baptize them (Matthew 28:16-20). The appendix to John’s gospel (John 21) narrates how Jesus appeared to seven of his disciples at the Sea of Tiberias, and commissioned Peter to feed his lambs and his sheep. We have nothing of this in the Gospel of Luke, who ends leaving us with the impression that the disciples remained in Jerusalem. In the introductory section of the Acts of the Apostles Luke says that before his ascension the risen Jesus ordered the apostles not to leave Jerusalem, but to wait there for the promise of the Father (Acts 1:4), that is, the coming of the Holy Spirit at

Pentecost. Then they would be his witnesses in Jerusalem, in all Judea and Samaria and to the ends of the earth (Acts 1:8). Luke in Acts follows this plan, giving us the narrative of the expansion of the Church from Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, even to Rome (with Paul), possibly taken to represent the end of the earth. In Acts there is no mention of Christianity in Galilee, apart from a passing mention in a generalising statement in Acts 9:31: "the church throughout Judea, Galilee, and Samaria had peace, and was built up. Living in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Spirit, it increased in numbers." Luke is probably guided by a theological principle in his history of the early church, seeing it as a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah 2:3: "for out of Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." Paul may be similarly influenced when in Romans 15:18-19 he speaks of what Christ has accomplished through him, "so that from Jerusalem as far as Illyricum" he has proclaimed the good news of Christ. Paul did not really begin his work of evangelisation at Jerusalem. In Galatians 1:22 he admits that he was unknown by sight to the churches of Judea that are in Christ. Nor is there any real evidence that his ministry reached as far as Illyricum, in the Adriatic at the end of the Egnatian way, nor is there need to posit a ministry of his there. Illyricum may have represented a form of the "ends of the earth" for Paul.

But whatever the theological plan governing Luke's narrative in Acts, the evidence from Paul, as well as from Acts, is that the activity of the early church centred in Jerusalem. It was there that Paul went to visit Peter and other apostles and leaders, the "pillars" he speaks of. It was there decisions were made. It would thus appear that the Jerusalem Christian community would have played a major role in the formation of the early Christian message and of the Gospel tradition. This Jerusalem community was bilingual, speaking Aramaic (possibly also in part Hebrew) and Greek. We may presume that much of the recasting of the Aramaic Gospel tradition into Greek took place in Jerusalem. It may be that the Q Document originated there. It is agreed that the Q Document known to Matthew and Luke was in Greek. It is also generally taken that Q originated in Galilee, based on what appears to be insufficient evidence.

There were, of course, other centres of Christian activity in first-century Palestine of which we are not informed in the Acts of the Apostles or in Paul's letters. There was probably a Judean and Samaritan stage of the Johannine community, possibly even a Galilean one. Matthew's gospel seems to have originated in a community in close contact with nascent rabbinic Judaism, possibly with Aramaic or Hebrew the dominant spoken language.

## ii. The Aramaic Substratum of the Gospels. The Ongoing Quest

Ancient and modern quests for the Aramaic substratum of the Gospels can search for the tradition behind an individual term, phrase, a special source or an entire Gospel or group of Gospels.<sup>37</sup> The quest has been going on since the pioneering work of Johann Gottfried Eichhorn (1804) who was convinced that the Gospels were based on various translations and editions of a primary Aramaic Gospel (*Urevangelium*).<sup>38</sup> There have been various approaches to the problem over two centuries, the history of which has been well traced by H. O. Guenther.<sup>39</sup> In recent time Maurice Casey has devoted his attention to (presumed) Aramaic sources of Mark's Gospel.<sup>40</sup> Q as known from Matthew and Luke is in Greek, and there is general agreement, as already noted, that Greek was also the language in which Q was originally written. In 1838 Christian H. Weise argued that originally Q might have been written in whole or in part in Aramaic,<sup>41</sup> and in this was followed by Wellhausen and Harnack. The opinion was most recently defended by Maurice Casey, whose view is that behind Q there stand both an Aramaic and a Greek original.<sup>42</sup> In a lengthy exposé of Casey's approach to Q Christopher Tuckett has indicated the complexity of this field of research, given the many factors involved.<sup>43</sup>

The quest for the Aramaic substratum or background of the Gospels will undoubtedly continue, and in this quest the evidence of the Aramaic

37. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "A Study of the Aramaic Background of the New Testament," in Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1979), pp. 1-27 (a slightly revised form of a lecture delivered at the *Journées bibliques de Louvain* in 1973 and published as "Methodology in the Study of the Aramaic Substratum of Jesus' Sayings in the New Testament," in *Jésus aux origines de la christologie*, ed. J. Dupont; Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium 40 [Gembloux: Duculot, 1975], pp. 73-102).

38. Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1804-1827).

39. H. O. Guenther, "The Sayings Gospel Q and the Quest for Aramaic Sources," *Semeia* 55 (1991): 41-76.

40. Maurice Casey, *Aramaic Sources of Mark's Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

41. Christian Hermann Weise, *Die evangelische Geschichte kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Hartel, 1838).

42. Maurice Casey, *An Aramaic Approach to Q* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

43. Christopher Tuckett, "Q, Jesus and Aramaic. Some Methodological Considerations," *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 26 (2003): 29-45.

of the Palestinian Targums (philological questions apart) should well be taken into consideration.

That such an Aramaic substratum has to be reckoned with, at least as far as the Gospels and parts of the Acts of the Apostles are concerned, seems clear. Aramaic was most probably, if not certainly, the language used at least normally by Christ. It was also that of his first listeners and followers. His words were transmitted in Aramaic for some time within the Aramaic period of the nascent Church. The first stage in the formation of the gospel tradition can, then, be presumed to have been Aramaic. That this early stage of the tradition should show through in our present Greek texts of the Gospels and Acts is to be expected. We must further recall that other writers of the New Testament, even when using the Greek language, were in mental make-up Semites, with Aramaic or Hebrew as their mother tongue. It is but natural to expect that their Semitic thought-patterns should occasionally show through the Greek they use. It has for long been the preoccupation of certain scholars of Aramaic and Hebrew to determine the Aramaic or Hebrew equivalents, or originals, of New Testament expressions, to reproduce the sayings of Christ in their "original" Aramaic form, to determine the influence of one or the other of these languages on the grammar of the New Testament.

The quest for the Aramaic substratum is altogether praiseworthy. The determination of it is, however, an extremely delicate task, and in a consideration of the problem the entire formation of the gospel tradition must be borne in mind. First we have the life and teaching of Jesus. Then we must consider how these words and deeds of Christ were transmitted in the early Church, in both its initial Aramaic and later Greek phases. It was not merely a question of passing on the record of the words and works of Christ unchanged from generation to generation. The early Church was very much a living community animated by the teaching and example of Christ. There was, in other words, an intensive evolution of doctrine during the nascent period of the Christian Church, in both its Aramaic and Greek phases. This means that not everything in the Gospels need represent an Aramaic (or Hebrew) original.

The period of which we have just spoken is studied by the science of Form Criticism. Redaction Criticism has made us aware that the authors of the Gospels as we now have them have impressed their own personalities on the tradition in consigning it to writing. All this means that in our quest for the Aramaic substratum we must ask ourselves whether a given expression is due to an Aramaic background, to the language spoken by



Christ or the early Christians, or whether it really is occasioned by the theological viewpoint of the evangelist, or of the theological tradition on which he depends.

While conscious of problems such as this, there still remain many passages where an Aramaic substratum can be presumed. But in seeking the Aramaic behind a given Greek text of the New Testament we must still reckon with the nature of New Testament Greek, i.e. the *Koine* or common Greek, which itself had already undergone a certain Semitic influence, or at least presents peculiarities found also in the Semitic languages. What this adds up to is that what at first sight might look like a Semitism (i.e. a peculiarity of a Semitic language, such as Hebrew and Aramaic) may really be normal in *Koine* Greek.

When *Koine* influence is ruled out, there remains the task of determining what is specifically an Aramaism (i.e., a peculiarity of Aramaic) and what is a Hebraism. Being Semitic languages, they have very many features in common. And more so as regards the forms of these languages as spoken in Palestine, where, apart from their family relationship, each language had to a certain extent contaminated the other. This difficulty leads a number of scholars to speak of Semitisms in the New Testament, rather than deal with a specific Hebrew or Aramaic influence.

Now we come to the final difficulty in this field. When we speak of an Aramaic substratum, what form of Aramaic can we legitimately take as representing the language of first-century Palestine? Joseph Fitzmyer, as we have seen, says it must be Aramaic which is clearly of the first century, i.e. the Aramaic of Qumran and of first-century inscriptions. The Aramaic found in the Palestinian Targum(s) he considers to be a later development.

While recognizing the great importance of Qumran Aramaic, we should be conscious of its limitations in our particular field. To begin with, Qumran Aramaic must be looked on as literary Aramaic. We cannot without further ado take it to represent the spoken language of the people. We have evidence of a difference between the literary Mishnaic Hebrew of the Qumran scribes and the spoken Mishnaic of the same period. There is every likelihood that the same holds true for Aramaic. But even if the Aramaic of Qumran were shown to be practically the same as the spoken language, there remains the further difficulty that literary texts reveal the trained, learned mind. The syntax and manner of expression of the learned differ from those of the common people. It is much more likely that from this point of view the Palestinian Targum is much closer to the language of the common people in New Testament times than are the Aramaic texts

from Qumran. In this aspect, it is of less importance whether the spoken language of Palestine in Christ's day was typically of the Palestinian form found in the Palestinian Targum or not. The probabilities are that the language used by Christ and by the Aramaic-speaking nascent Church was the language of the common people rather than that of the learned. From this it would seem to follow that the Palestinian Targum retains its importance in the study of the Aramaic substratum of the Gospels, the Acts and other writings of the New Testament.

In examination of the relevance of the Aramaic Targums for New Testament studies, cognizance must also be taken of the nature of Targumic tradition, at times as multi-layered as the Gospel tradition itself. This holds both for particular Targums of the Pentateuch or the Prophets, and admittedly later Targums such as those of the Hagiographa. Even late targumic compositions originated within a rabbinic tradition that had been developing over centuries. As Brian Walton noted in the London Polyglot in 1657, some later targumic compositions may contain the remnants of old traditions and interpretations. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan may, at worst, be a combination of traditions from various ages. Late Targums, such as those of Psalms and Lamentations, may, like the rabbinic tradition to which they are closely related, contain some very old interpretations.

#### **4. Targum and Testament Revisited: Concluding Reflection**

We come now to cast a glance backwards on the material we have considered in the course of this work. We have seen something of the development that went on over the period covered by the writings of the Old Testament and even later. One of the manifestations of this later development is the tradition enshrined in the Palestinian Targums to the Pentateuch, which tradition may well have been basically formed by the time of Christ.

The targumic tradition was a sacred tradition, originating in the liturgy. The Palestinian Targum, being recited every Sabbath in the synagogues, would have been well known to Christ and his Apostles, as well as to the Jewish converts to Christianity. That Christ should have made use of the religious traditions of his people when addressing his message to them is altogether natural. He came not to destroy the Law but to fulfil it, to bring it to perfection. The task which he completed was being prepared right through the Old Testament period. This preparation included the

progress in the understanding of revelation found in the targumic paraphrases. Jesus was a Jew of the Jews. His language and mental make-up were theirs. It is, then, not surprising that the manner in which he, and later the Apostles, presented the gospel to the Jews was that already known to them.

Form Criticism sets itself the task of studying the formation of the gospel tradition during the period prior to the writing of the Gospels, a period in which the gospel message was, in the main, transmitted orally. Form Criticism seeks to find the life situation, the *Sitz im Leben*, of each particular literary form of the Gospel narrative. In the light of this life situation within the Church, the *Sitz im Leben Ecclesiae*, Form Criticism sets itself the task of determining the origin and development of each particular literary form. One may legitimately ask whether this is too narrow a perspective. The early Church lived within a Jewish milieu. Surely the formation of the Gospel tradition must have been influenced by the tradition of Judaism. The Christians of the nascent period of the Church in Palestine were, after all, Jews. A knowledge of the targumic tradition, then, may well benefit Form Criticism in its studies of the Gospels.

The synoptic problem is well known to students of the New Testament. It arises from the fact that by and large the first three evangelists — Matthew, Mark and Luke — record the same episodes, the same miracles, the same parables, the same discussions and the same major events of the life of Jesus. A comparison with the Fourth Gospel shows how much the first three evangelists have in common. Yet despite this similarity, there are also very evident differences in the manner in which they report the words of Christ and episodes from his life. How to explain this unity in diversity and diversity in unity? Perhaps the synoptic problem of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch has something to contribute. For in this targum we do have a synoptic problem. No two texts of this targum in different manuscripts are altogether the same. There never was, it would appear, a fixed text. What we have is a fixed tradition of exegesis, found in basically identical fashion in the texts of Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan, the Fragment Targums and the Genizah fragments. Yet within this tradition there are differences in the manner in which it is expressed. We can presume that already in New Testament times this variety existed. Could not this variety within Judaism have influenced the formation of the gospel tradition, allowing various regions to formulate the basic Christian tradition in slightly divergent ways?

Redaction Criticism studies the editorial work of the evangelists. It

seeks to determine how each of the evangelists moulded the tradition and set it forth in accord with his own theological viewpoint. It is not always easy to determine whether differences between the synoptics are due to the evangelist or to the tradition on which he depends, and redaction critics tend to attribute too great a creative activity to the evangelists, to consider them outside their tradition. Targumic studies may be of help here. From what we have already said we see that apart from an individual text there was the larger Jewish tradition permitting a given concept to be expressed in a number of ways. For instance, God, when communicating with his people, could be referred to as *Dibbera* ("the Word"), "the Holy Spirit," "the Spirit," the "Voice from heaven" (*Bat Qôl*). One Jewish text chooses one of these words, another text uses another. The same holds true for "Father in heaven." There does not appear to have been any hard and fast rule for the use of these terms. Were a student of the targums to seek to determine which of these expressions, when variants occur, is "original" in the Palestinian Targum, he would very probably be setting himself an impossible task.

Might not the same be true for the New Testament? Some scholars are unduly preoccupied with determining the exact words used by Christ — the *ipsissima verba Jesu*. Are such expressions as "the Father in Heaven," "this world — the world to come," "the Son of Man," the *ipsissima verba Jesu* or are they due to the activity of the early Church? Why does the New Testament show such lack of concern for the exact form of Christ's words? For the early Christians there probably was no problem. The evidence of the Palestinian Targums, and of rabbinic Judaism, seems to indicate that it was a matter of indifference whether one used one or another of the synonyms to which we have referred above. When we focus on the light of its origins within Judaism, we more readily understand the manner in which the words of Jesus are transmitted in the Gospels.

The original edition of this work in 1972 was published at a time when some scholars believed that the Targums of the Pentateuch and the Prophets, in particular the Palestinian Targums, had a major contribution to make in the field of New Testament studies, especially for an understanding of the Gospels. The situation has since changed radically. The older presumption of an early, even pre-Christian date, of the Palestinian Targums can no longer be maintained, nor can their form of Aramaic be accepted as that spoken in Palestine in Jesus' day. However, after a review of the entire question, and granting the late date of the extant manuscripts of all the relevant targums, it still appears that the Targums of the Penta-

teuch and the Prophets, and some texts of Targums of the Hagiographa, have a contribution to make in the understanding of the New Testament. The targumic interpretative and midrashic tradition seems to be a very old one, and despite developments and changes over the centuries there remained a continuum, which continued to line later ages with the past.

## APPENDIX

### Introduction to All Extant Targums

With the exception of Ezra-Nehemiah and Daniel, targums to all books of the Hebrew Bible are known to exist. These targums differ quite a bit among themselves. From the point of view of language they fall into two groups: the Babylonian and the Palestinian. The latter are composed in Palestinian Aramaic while the former are in what is now often referred to as Jewish Literary Aramaic. The Babylonian Targum (i.e. Targum Onqelos of the Pentateuch and Jonathan of the Prophets) was edited in the Jewish academies of Babylon, and came to the West towards the end of the first millennium. All the other targums originated at various times in western Jewry. Since each group of targums presents us with its own peculiar problems, we shall now treat of each separately, concentrating mainly, however, on the targums of the Pentateuch.

For the other targums the reader is referred to the classic introductions, the most complete and most recent of which is R. Le Déaut's *Introduction a la littérature targumique* (Rome, 1966); to the same author's final detailed contribution on the targums in his essay "Targum" in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (2002); to Philip S. Alexander's masterly essay "Targum, Targumim" in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992); and especially to the learned introductions and notes to the recent English translation of all the targums in *The Aramaic Bible* series (1987-2007). Abundant references will be made to these in the course of the treatment of the individual targums in this Appendix.



## CHAPTER 17

### *Targums of the Pentateuch*

For the Pentateuch we possess the Targum of Onqelos and the Palestinian Targums, the latter preserved in the texts of the Fragment Targums, the Cairo Genizah fragments, in Codex Neofiti 1 and according to many scholars in the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan. We also have targumic toseftot, which are expansive midrashim which have their origin in the Palestinian Targum tradition. As well as these we have Jewish liturgical poems which draw their inspiration from the Palestinian Targum. All these require separate treatment. We have already treated of the Syriac Peshitta, written in Oriental Aramaic, which is in some way related to the Palestinian Targum.

#### 1. The Targum of Onqelos<sup>1</sup>

This targum covers the entire Pentateuch. Its connection with the person of Onqelos is due to a text (*Meg.* 3a) of the Babylonian Talmud, which reads:

1. For all questions relating to Targum Onqelos (author, place of origin, date, language, masora and vocalization, nature of the version — halakah, haggadah, theology etc.), with rich bibliographical references and bibliography, see Roger Le Déaut, "Targum," in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, vol. 13 (end; with special column enumeration, with asterisks [Paris: Letouzey, 2002]), cols. 33\*-44\*. See also Philip S. Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 4, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 320-31 at 321-22. Bernard Grossfeld, *The Targum of Onqelos to Genesis. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 6; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), pp. 1-40.



R. Jeremiah, or as some say, R. Hiyya bar Abba, said: "The Targum to the Torah, Onqelos the Proselyte composed [literally: 'said'] it from the mouths of R. Eliezer and R. Joshua. The Targum to the Prophets, Jonathan ben Uzziel composed it from the mouths of Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi."

R. Jeremiah was a disciple of R. Hiyya bar Abba (ca. 320 CE). R. Eliezer and R. Joshua lived about 120 CE. If this tradition were correct, the Targum of Onqelos would have been composed sometime in the early second century CE. A difficulty with the tradition is that while Onqelos the Proselyte is mentioned a number of times in the Tosefta and in the Babylonian Talmud, nowhere, apart from the text given above, is a translation of the Scriptures associated with his name. A parallel text from the Palestinian Talmud (*Meg.* 1,9,71c) throws light on that of the Babylonian. The text from the Palestinian Talmud reads:

R. Jeremiah, in the name of R. Hiyya bar Ba [i.e. bar Abba] [said]: "Akylos the Proselyte translated the Torah before [i.e. in the presence of] R. Eliezer and before R. Joshua, and they praised him."

The person mentioned here is Aquilas the Proselyte, whose Greek rendering is well known. The translation of which the text of the Palestinian Talmud speaks must, then, be the Greek one of Aquilas, not an Aramaic targum. What has happened, apparently, is that the passage of the Babylonian Talmud mentioning Onqelos is interpolated from the Palestinian. "Onqelos" of that text is merely a Hebrew form of the Greek Aquilas, and the rendering attributed to Onqelos is a Greek version, not an Aramaic targum. In like manner, "Jonathan" of the text of the Babylonian Talmud is merely a Hebrew form of the Greek name Theodotion, the other noted translator of the Bible into Greek. This understanding of the talmudic texts is now becoming generally accepted.<sup>2</sup>

In this understanding of the evidence, which many scholars adopt, it would follow that we have no tradition on the rendering associated with Onqelos. There may, however, be other readings of the evidences. In his revision of E. Schürer's *The History of the Jewish People*, Martin Goodman notes that the identification of Aquila with Onqelos, the reputed compiler of the Aramaic targum of the Pentateuch, is now widely accepted because

2. Paul Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwells, 1959), pp. 191-92; Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (Vetus Testamentum Supplement 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), pp. 152-153 (for Onqelos = Aquila); 148-156 (Theodotion = Jonathan ben Uzziel).

of the close parallels in the traditions recorded respectively of Onqelos in the Babylonian Talmud and Tosefta and of Aquila in the Jerusalem Talmud. The knowledge of Hebrew evident in Aquila's Greek translation would render it quite possible that he would also have been competent to produce the targum in a cognate Semitic language, though the alternative, that rabbinic references to *both* names concern a translation into Greek and not Aramaic, and that the extant targum was not produced by Onqelos at all, is quite possible.<sup>3</sup> An argument in favour of an Aramaic translation by Aquila is a text in the Jerusalem Talmud (*j. Qid.* 1:1, p. 59a) stating that R. Jose in the name of R. Johanan said: "Akylas the proselyte translated (*trgm*) in the presence of R. Aqiba." The haggadah and halakhah of Targum Onqelos tend to follow the tradition and biblical interpretation of R. Aqiba. The authorship of targum Onqelos, however, remains very uncertain, as is the case with all the targums.

The place of origin of this targum seems to have been Palestine. This commonly accepted view was challenged in 1902 by Hommel and in more recent times by Paul Kahle.<sup>4</sup> Both of these scholars believed that Onqelos was composed in Babylon, not in Palestine. Kahle's chief argument is that Onqelos is nowhere cited in Palestinian sources during the mishnaic or talmudic period. It makes its presence felt there only at a later date, together with other products of Babylonian Judaism.

The traditional view on the origin of Onqelos has been championed against Kahle by E. Y. Kutscher<sup>5</sup> and P. Wernberg-Møller<sup>6</sup> and, it would appear, justly. Babylonian Jewry, which took its traditions fundamentally from Palestine, can be expected to have also got its targum from there.<sup>7</sup>

3. Martin Goodman, revision of §33A ("Jewish Literature Composed in Greek") of Emil Schürer's *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (175 B.C.–A.D. 135), vol. III, part 1, an English version revised and edited by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar and Martin Goodman (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), p. 496 (with reference to Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, pp. 148-154).

4. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, pp. 194-195.

5. E. Y. Kutscher, "The Language of the 'Genesis Apocryphon': A Preliminary Study," *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 4, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1965), pp. 1-35, at 9-11.

6. Preben Wernberg-Møller, "Some Observations on the Relationship of the Peshitta Version of the Book of Genesis to the Palestinian Targum Fragments Published by Professor Kahle, and to Targum Onkelos," *Studia Theologica* 15 (1961): 128-180, especially 178-180; likewise: "Prolegomena to a Re-Examination of the Palestinian Targum Fragments of the Book of Genesis Published by P. Kahle, and Their Relationship to the Peshitta," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 7 (1962): 253-66.

7. There are other indications, too, of Palestinian origin, for instance, loan-words

Together with this, Onqelos seems to bear a relation to the Palestinian Targum. W. Bacher, in the early part of the twentieth century, noted that the paraphrase of Onqelos appears to be a curtailed form of an earlier and longer one, one still found in its entirety in the Palestinian Targum.<sup>8</sup> As instances he gives Genesis 4:7, 10; 49:3, 22; Exodus 14:15; Numbers 24:4 and Deuteronomy 29:17.

Modern studies on the Aramaic language and of Targum Onqelos fully support Palestinian origin, and probably in the earlier second century CE. There is also the possibility that our present text may be the outcome of various translation phases and be based on a Proto-Palestinian Targum of the first century of our era, whether it be oral or written.

Whatever its place of origin, Onqelos is justly called "the Babylonian Targum," being that cited by the Babylonian Talmud as the official rendering for Babylonian Judaism, and called there "our targum." It was edited in the Jewish academies of Babylonia and, being an official text, its rendering was made to reflect the official teaching of Babylonian Judaism. P. Kahle thus describes it: "It has a fixed text; it is an authorized version. It existed in two editions which show slight variations and were connected respectively with the Jewish academies of Sura and Nehardea in Babylonia; with these academies were also connected distinctive readings in Babylonian biblical MSS."<sup>9</sup>

Onqelos in general is a rather literal rendering of the Hebrew text with, however, occasional paraphrase, and indications of curtailed paraphrase. Paraphrase is most noticeable in the poetic sections.<sup>10</sup> We have already remarked how Onqelos has been seen to be related to the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch. Points of contact between the two are in fact in-

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from Greek. A full list of these is given by Gustav Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1927; reprint: Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960), § 37, pp. 182-187. They are also noted in A. E. Silverstone, *Aquila and Onkelos* (Manchester: University Press, 1931), pp. 148-152. "The eastern element in T.O. can easily be explained . . . by the fact of its transmission in Babylonia. But it would be difficult to account for the presence of western elements if it had originated in the east": E. Y. Kutscher, "The Language," p. 10.

8. In his article "Targum," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 12 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1903), p. 59.

9. Paul Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (The Schweich Lectures 1941; London, 1947), p. 119; in a modified form in the 2nd ed., *The Cairo Geniza*, 1959, pp. 193-195.

10. See Geza Vermes, "Haggadah in the Onkelos Targum," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 8 (1963): 159ff.; John W. Bowker, "Haggadah in the Targum Onkelos," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 12 (1967): 51-65.

numerable,<sup>11</sup> indicating the Palestinian origin of Onqelos. There is an especially close relationship between Onqelos and Neofiti, but it is not easy to determine whether this is to be explained by a common origin or by the influence of the former on the latter.

### *Texts, Versions and Concordances*

The Aramaic text of Onqelos was early finalized in the Jewish Academies of Babylonia, with variant readings recognized. A masora to Onqelos with these variant readings was compiled in Babylonia in the first half of the third century CE. A number of manuscripts of the Targum are known, some with Babylonian vocalization, others with Tiberian. The Aramaic text of Onqelos was first printed in Bologna in 1482, and later in the Polyglots and in the Rabbinic Bibles. A. Berliner re-edited the work in 1884 (in two volumes, one containing an excellent introduction).<sup>12</sup> The most recent critical edition is that of A. Sperber.<sup>13</sup> A new edition from ms. *Ebr. Vat. 448* was in preparation for publication in the Madrid Polyglot, but has never been published. This manuscript is of exceptional importance, provided, as it is, with a very early form of vowel-points. A facsimile edition of the manuscript has been published, with an introduction by Alejandro Díez Macho.<sup>14</sup>

There are three concordances to the work, those of E. Brederék,<sup>15</sup> Kasowski,<sup>16</sup> and Melamed.<sup>17</sup> All the words of Onqelos are reproduced in G. Dalman's Aramaic dictionary.<sup>18</sup>

11. See Roger Le Déaut, *Introduction à la littérature targumique. Première partie* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966), pp. 85-86.

12. Abraham Berliner, *Targum Onkelos: Text nach Editio Sabioneta V.J. 1577* (Berlin, 1884).

13. *The Bible in Aramaic. I, The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos* (Leiden, 1959).

14. *The Pentateuch: With the Masorah Parva and the Masorah Magna and with Targum Onkelos. Ms. Vat. Heb. 448* (Jerusalem: Makor Publishing, 1977; in 5 volumes) (only photostatic edition published).

15. Emil Brederék, *Konkordanz zum Targum Onkelos* (Beihefte, Zeitschrift für alttest. Wissenschaft, ix, Giessen, 1906).

16. C. J. Kasowski, *Ocar Leshon Targum Onkelos: A Concordance to the Targum of Onkelos* (Jerusalem, 1940; 2 vols; corrected edition Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1986).

17. Ezra Z. Melamed, *Millon 'arami-'ivri le-Targûm Onqelos (Lexique araméen-hébreu du Targum Onqelos)*, no date.

18. Gustav Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, und Midrasch* (Göttingen, 1938).

A Latin rendering of Onqelos can be found in Walton's London Polyglot and also in the earlier Polyglot Bibles. An English rendering of Onqelos and of the Palestinian Targums was made by J. W. Etheridge.<sup>19</sup> This rendering is not perfect, but until recently was the only one available. It was reprinted in 1968. A new English translation has been made from the Vatican MS Eb. 448 by Bernard Grossfeld, and provided with full introduction, apparatus of variant readings, and explanatory notes.<sup>20</sup>

Studies on individual books of the targum, and sections of it, have been made, for instance by Bernard Grossfeld and M. Aberbach for Genesis chapter 49,<sup>21</sup> and for the entire book of Genesis;<sup>22</sup> and by Israel Drazin for Leviticus and Deuteronomy.<sup>23</sup>

## 2. The Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan<sup>24</sup>

The first reference to a paraphrase of the Pentateuch by Jonathan ben Uzziel (the reputed author of the Targum to the Prophets) is found in the writings of Menahem Recanati, a fourteenth-century Italian kabbalistic writer. About 1540, Elias Levita says in the introduction to his targumic lexicon (the *Meturgeman*) that he had read in Recanati's writings that Jonathan ben Uzziel had compiled a targum of the Pentateuch as well as of the Prophets. Levita tells us that he himself had not seen this work and expresses surprise that it should have so quickly perished. The work had not

19. J. W. Etheridge, *The Targums of Onkelos and of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum*, 2 vols. (London, 1862-65; reprint 1968, New York: Ktav Publishing House).

20. Bernard Grossfeld, *The Targum Onkelos to Genesis; Exodus; Leviticus and Numbers; Deuteronomy. Translated, with a critical introduction, apparatus, and notes* (in 4 vols.; The Aramaic Bible 6-9; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988).

21. Bernard Grossfeld and M. Aberbach, *Targum Onkelos on Genesis 49. Translation and analytical commentary* (SBL Aramaic Studies 1; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976).

22. Bernard Grossfeld and M. Aberbach, *Targum Onkelos to the Book of Genesis: English translation and critical notes* (New York: Ktav, 1982).

23. Israel Drazin, *Targum Onkelos to Leviticus: An English translation of the text with analysis and commentary* (Ktav Publishing House, Inc.; Center for Judaic Studies, University of Denver; Society for Targumic Studies, Inc., 1994); *Targum Onkelos to Deuteronomy: An English translation of the text with analysis and commentary* (New York: Ktav, 1982).

24. For the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan see among others Michael Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis. Translated, with introduction and notes* (Aramaic Bible 1B; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1992), pp. 1-14; Roger Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 46\*-71\*. See also Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," at pp. 322-23.

been lost. In fact, it could still be found in Italy, even if not known to Levita. Some thirty-five years after Levita had written his introduction, Asaria de Rossi noted in his work *Me'or 'Enayim* (1573-75) that he had seen two complete and verbally identical copies of a targum of the Pentateuch. One was in the possession of the Foa family at Reggio and bore the title "The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel." The other was in the possession of R. Samuel Kasi at Mantua and bore the title "Targum Yerushalmi." De Rossi further notes that both targums began with the same words, which were not *bḥmt'* (*b'eḥokm'eta*: "in wisdom") but *mn 'wwl' br' h (min 'awla b'era' h*: "from the beginning God created"). Since the Targum Yerushalmi proper was, it would seem, known to begin with the words "in wisdom," and that of Pseudo-Jonathan with *min 'awla*, de Rossi had actually seen two complete copies of Pseudo-Jonathan, one falsely titled (or classed as) "Targum Yerushalmi."

The copy de Rossi had seen in the possession of the Foa family must have been the Foa ms. which we know was shortly afterwards (1591) published as the *editio princeps* of this targum. What happened to the other copy of the targum we cannot say. For long it looked as if no other copy of this work existed. Then in 1896 Gustav Dalman drew attention to an extant copy of the work in Ms. Add. 27031 of the British Museum.<sup>25</sup> This ms. was further described by H. Bernstein in 1899<sup>26</sup> and published in its entirety by M. Ginsburger in 1903.<sup>27</sup> This ms., according to Ginsburger, is in a sixteenth-century Italian hand. At the end of Deuteronomy it bears the signature of the censor Domenico Gierosolomitano with the date 1593. The work was therefore in Rome towards the end of the sixteenth century, where, like other Jewish works, it was subjected to ecclesiastical censorship.

The *editio princeps* lacks the following verses: Genesis 5:5-7; 6:15; 10:23; 18:4 (save two words); 20:15; 24:28; 41:49; 44:30-31; Exodus 4:8; Leviticus 24:4; Numbers 22:18; 30:20b-21a; 36:8-9. Genesis 18:4 and 20:15, but not the other verses, are in the London ms. A blank space is left in the London ms. where Genesis 24:28 and 44:30-31 should have been written. The Rabbinic Bible of 1794 (Vienna) carries the targum to Genesis 44:30-31.

25. Gustav H. Dalman. "Die Handschrift zum Jonathantargum des Pentateuch, Add. 27031 des Britischen Museum," *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 41 (1897): 454-56.

26. H. Bernstein, "A noteworthy Targum manuscript in the British Museum," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 11 (1899): 167-171.

27. M. Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan* (Thargum-Jonathan Ben Uziel zum Pentateuch). Nach dem Londoner Handschrift (Brit. Mus. Add. 27031) (Berlin: Calvary, 1903).

According to Ginsburger the following verses, found in the *editio princeps*, are missing in the London ms.: Genesis 16:9; 37:31; Exodus 14:6; Leviticus 7:26, 36, 37; 23:41; 25:19; Numbers 2:21; 4:31-32; 9:4; Deuteronomy 23:12; 24:21. The absence of certain verses from both the *editio princeps* and the London manuscript is an indication that both descend from the same defective original. One, however, is not dependent on the other, nor are both copies of the same manuscript.

The work probably came to be called "Targum of Jonathan (ben Uzziel)" through a false understanding of the abbreviation "T.Y." This, which really stood for "Targum Yerushalmi" — the Palestinian Targum — was taken to mean "Targum Yehonathan" — the Targum of Jonathan. The composition had nothing to do with Jonathan and is now generally designated as the Targum of Pseudo-Jonathan.

### *i. Characteristics of Pseudo-Jonathan*

Pseudo-Jonathan contains an Aramaic rendering of the entire Pentateuch, with the exception of the verses already noted. Unlike Onqelos and the Palestinian Targum proper (e.g. Neofiti), Pseudo-Jonathan is a composite and complex work. In some passages it reproduces Onqelos, even verbatim. In other passages its paraphrase is that of the Palestinian Targum. But even here the Aramaic it employs, while Palestinian, is not that of the Palestinian Targum as known from our other texts. This is especially noticeable in the form of the pronominal suffixes.

Any consideration of the nature and date of Pseudo-Jonathan will need to take account of the various elements that compose it, for instance, its relation to the other Pentateuchal targums; its Aramaic language; its halakhah; its midrashim. On these there has been, and still is, a wide diversity of opinion.

With regard to its relations to other targumim, some scholars (e.g. W. Bacher, R. Bloch, A. Díez Macho) believe that Pseudo-Jonathan is fundamentally a text of the Palestinian Targum which was later influenced by Onqelos and the midrashim; others (for instance G. Dalman, P. Kahle, P. Grelot) believe it is merely Onqelos completed by texts borrowed from older forms of the Palestinian Targum; G. Vermes is of the view that Onqelos depends, either directly or indirectly, on Pseudo-Jonathan<sup>28</sup> S. Kaufman, af-

28. Geza Vermes, "The Targumic Versions of Genesis IV 3-16," in *Annual of Leeds*

ter a study of the various elements in Pseudo-Jonathan does not believe that it can be reckoned as a Palestinian Targum at all.

With regard to its Aramaic language, Pseudo-Jonathan is composite.<sup>29</sup> It has forms of the Aramaic of Onqelos and of the Palestinian Targum, and at times forms of Aramaic older than both, especially in the pronominal suffixes. It shows no consistency. After a thorough examination of the issue S. Kaufman has concluded, as already noted,<sup>30</sup> that 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 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. To be sure, many of its features are clearly derived from the Palestinian tradition — such as the particle *ʾrwm* (*ʾarûm*) for Hebrew *kî* and the verb *hmy*, “to see,” for example, but that is no reason to assume a Palestinian origin for any of the texts written in this dialect. For purposes of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon it is classed as Late Jewish Literary Aramaic — LJLA.

From the nineteenth century onwards there has been equal division of opinion with regard to Pseudo-Jonathan’s halakhah and its relation to the rabbinic position.<sup>31</sup> It has been shown that in general it agrees with rabbinic halakhah, but at times opposes it diametrically. Such deviations from rabbinic law have been seen by some as ancient traditions connected with the Sadducees but repressed by the Pharisee movement. Arthur Marmorstein made a special study of the halakhah of the work and found it similar to that of Philo and the Karaites, surmising that it may have been contemporane-

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*University Oriental Society* 3 (1961-62): 81-114, at 98. On the relationship of Pseudo-Jonathan with Onqelos and the other targumim see also Alexander, “Targum, Targumim,” at pp. 323-324; Le Déaut, “Targum,” cols. 49\*-54\*, with rich documentation.

29. On the language of Pseudo-Jonathan see Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, pp. 8-11; Le Déaut, “Targum,” cols. 59\*-61.

30. Above, pp. 5-6.

31. On the targum’s halakah see Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, pp. 2-4 (with references to modern studies, esp. Y. Maori, “The Relationship of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Halakhic Sources,” in Hebrew, *Te’uda* 3 [1983]: 235-250); Le Déaut, “Targum,” cols. 56\*-59\*.



ous with Philo and a source for the Karaites.<sup>32</sup> It is generally recognised that Pseudo-Jonathan has borrowed from halakhic midrashim, such as the *Mekilta*, *Sifre*. With regard to the “anti-halakhic” material in this Targum, as with other items, it may be that from the beginning the work was intended as a literary composition to be read by individuals, rather than proclaimed in a synagogue. As a consequence, the presence of anti-halakhic texts would not of itself prove that this targum is old, dating from before the formulation of authoritative rabbinic halakhah. In modern times connections have been seen between Pseudo-Jonathan’s halakhah and that of certain texts from Qumran.

A much more distinctive feature of Pseudo-Jonathan, however, is its haggadah — the numerous paraphrases and midrashim proper to itself, i.e. found in no other text of the Palestinian Targum.<sup>33</sup> The paraphrase has a special unity within itself, at least at times. One passage often presupposes another. To take but one example: Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis 3:25 supposes that Adam and Eve had a special glory, lost by the fall; 4:21 again refers to this. The paraphrases and midrashim of Pseudo-Jonathan are, again, of various kinds. Some of them are demonstrably interpolated into the text from Jewish midrash. We have a clear example of this at Exodus 14:2 (from the *Mekilta* to the same passage), where the language betrays the interpolation. It has some recent references, such as the names Adisha and Fatima, the wife and daughter of Mohammed (Genesis 21:21); the six orders of the Mishnah (Exodus 26:9); and Constantinople (Numbers 24:24). The first two examples can be taken as interpolations, while the third example appears to be merely a rewriting of an earlier text to bring it up to date. The parallel text of the Fragment Targum has “in the Great City” instead of Constantinople. The contents of the haggadic material in Ps.-J. often differ from that of other texts of the Palestinian Targums, showing interest in popular beliefs, miracles and wonders, magic and witchcraft. Some of its paraphrases are of a rather lascivious character, and, to our minds at least, quite improper in a liturgical rendering. They, too, may conceivably be later interpolations into the text. But this should not be too readily affirmed. The antiquity of at least one of these paraphrases (Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis

32. Arthur Marmorstein, *Studien zum Pseudo-Jonathan Targum*, I. *Das Targum und die apokryphe Literatur* (Posen, 1905; 39 pages; part of a dissertation done at the University of Heidelberg); likewise in “Einige vorläufige Bemerkungen zu den neuentdeckten Fragmenten des jerusalemischen (palästinischen) Targums,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49 (1931): 231-242, at 234-235, 241-242.

33. On this see Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, pp. 5-8.

39:1), according to which Potiphar bought Joseph because he saw he was handsome and intended to practice sodomy with him, but Potiphar's testicles dried up and he became impotent, is vouched for by Jerome (*Heb. Quaest. in Gen.* 37:36) as well as rabbinic sources. But apart from these there are many other paraphrases proper to Pseudo-Jonathan which are demonstrably very old. Thus, e.g., the reference to the angels who fell from heaven (Genesis 6:2, 4). Others have been shown to represent very early Jewish haggadah.

In a number of ways Targum Pseudo-Jonathan is very similar to the later (eighth or ninth century) rabbinic work *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (a sort of rewritten Bible), on which it may depend. This relationship, and the nature of its haggadah have led some scholars to regard this Targum as a later work, by a scholar and intended for scholars, rather than originally intended for use in the synagogue.

## *ii. Origin and Date of Pseudo-Jonathan*

How explain this combination of ancient and recent elements? When did the oldest portions of Pseudo-Jonathan come into being? Pseudo-Jonathan Deuteronomy 33:11 contains a prayer for Johanan the High Priest, who can scarcely be any other than John Hyrcanus (135-105/104 BCE). A. Geiger, T. Nöldeke, P. Kahle and others take it that this passage dates from his reign.<sup>34</sup> This view is still defended by some scholars, but rejected by others. Some regard it as a very late haggadic development. A view on the origin

34. The various identifications of Johanan are discussed by Roger Syrén, *The Blessings in the Targums. A study on the targumic interpretations of Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33* (Acta Academiae Aboensis, ser. A; Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1986), pp. 168-178. Syrén argues that the text can really be understood as referring to John Hyrcanus I (135-105/104 BCE). None of the other targums contains this addition. In the opinion of Ernest G. Clarke (*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy*, The Aramaic Bible 5B; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1998, p. 100) the preservation of this addition in Pseudo-Jonathan possibly represents an early tradition that has been censored in the other targums. See also Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," at 322: Johanan is clearly John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE) but it is much less certain that this text goes back to the Second Temple period. Much more convincing evidence for an early component in Pseudo-Jonathan is the number of translations it contains that are expressly censured in rabbinic literature, scattered throughout the targum and part of its running text, seemingly making it reasonable to conclude that a stratum of Pseudo-Jonathan must have originated before the redaction of the Mishnah and the Yerushalmi Talmud.

and date of the work must take into account and explain the diverse component parts. The most likely explanation of the work's origin and nature is that it was not intended for synagogal reading; it is more in the nature of a re-written Bible than a Targum; the author was a scholar drawing on traditions old and new, and wrote in a literary, rather than a living, Aramaic language, in a language similar to that of the rabbinic targums of Job and Psalms; it is a later work, from the seventh or eighth century. More recently Paul Flesher and his student Beverly P. Mortensen (2006) put forward the view that Pseudo-Jonathan was written by priests for priests during the reign of the Emperor Julian (361-363), when there was hope that the Temple would be rebuilt, or soon afterwards.<sup>35</sup>

### *iii. Pseudo-Jonathan and the New Testament*<sup>36</sup>

New Testament evidence has on occasion been used as an argument for an early date for Pseudo-Jonathan. This has been the case in the original edition of the present work. There the point was made that some of the paraphrases proper to Pseudo-Jonathan illustrate certain texts of the New Testament. The paraphrase of Leviticus 22:28 reads: "My people, children of Israel, as our Father is [or: 'as we are?'] merciful in heaven, so shall you be merciful on earth." This is practically the text of Lk 6:36 (parallel Mt 5:48).<sup>37</sup> This text is now found only in Pseudo-Jonathan, but there is good evidence that it once stood in all texts of the Palestinian Targum. The midrash on Jannes and Jambres, found only in Pseudo-Jonathan Exodus 7:11-12, gives us the tradition referred to in 2 Timothy 3:8. The relation of the paraphrase proper to Pseudo-Jonathan with the Apocalypse has also been considered as especially close. In this paraphrase we find parallels to the divine name "who was and who is and who is to come," and to other passages of the Apocalypse as well.

A problem with such reasoning is that it reckons with individual texts, without due recognition of the problems of the date to be assigned to Pseudo-Jonathan as a whole, something which, as we have seen, is very problematic. The midrash on the veil of Moses, with the assertion that "the

35. See above, p. 6. Beverly P. Mortensen, *The Priesthood in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Renewing the Profession* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

36. On this section see Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 66\*-67\*; Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," p. 322.

37. See above, p. 7.

Lord is the Spirit,” of 2 Corinthians 3:17; 4:4, is to be compared with a midrash preserved in the main only in Pseudo-Jonathan. As we have seen above, there are problems in the relationship of the two texts.<sup>38</sup>

#### *iv. Text, Editions, Versions and Concordance*

We have already spoken of the mss. of Pseudo-Jonathan. The text of the 1591 edition can be found in the London Polyglot and in the Rabbinic Bibles. As far as Genesis is concerned, the differences between the London ms. and that printed in 1591 are minimal and where significant are noted in the new translation by Michael Maher and Ernest G. Clarke. In other books (e.g. Leviticus 22:28) there are occasional significant differences. The London manuscript was published by M. Ginsburger (1903),<sup>39</sup> an edition accompanied by a very useful introduction and notes giving midrashic parallels to the text. His edition of the Aramaic text itself is very inferior, and abounds in misreadings. The London manuscript was republished by D. Rieder in 1974 and 1984-85.<sup>40</sup> It was republished, with ample apparatus, by A. Díez Macho (and Spanish translation by Teresa Martínez Saiz) in the *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia*.<sup>41</sup>

A Latin rendering, not always faithful, accompanies the Aramaic text in the London Polyglot. The first English rendering made is that by J. W. Etheridge, noted above under Onqelos. His translation is far from perfect. A new English translation, with rich introductions and notes, by Michael Maher and Ernest G. Clarke has been published in the *Aramaic Bible Series*.<sup>42</sup>

38. See above, pp. 168-176.

39. M. Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan* (Thargum-Jonathan ben Uziel zum Pentateuch). Nach der Londoner Handschrift (Brit. Mus. Add. 27031) (Berlin: Calvary, 1903).

40. David Rieder, *Pseudo-Jonathan* (Thargum Jonathan ben Uziel on the Pentateuch copied from the London MS) (British Museum Add. 27031) (Jerusalem: Salomon's, 1974. Reprinted with Hebrew translation and notes; 2 vols. Jerusalem, 1984-85).

41. Alejandro Díez Macho, *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia*. Series IV. *Targum Palaestinense in Pentateuchum*. Additur Targum Pseudojonatan ejusque hispanica versio. Editio critica curante A. Díez Macho, adjuvantibus L. Díez Merino, E. Martínez Borobio, T. Martínez Saiz. Pseudojonatan hispanica versio: T. Martínez Saiz. Targum Palaestinis testimonium ex variis fontibus: R. Gririo, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. L. 1, *Genesis*, 1989; L. 2, *Exodus*, 1980; L. 3, *Leviticus*, 1980; L. 4, *Numeri*, 1977; L. 5, *Deuteronomium*, 1980.

42. *The Aramaic Bible* 1B (1992), 2 (1994), 3 (1994) (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press):

A concordance, together with the Aramaic text, has also been published.<sup>43</sup>

### 3. The Cairo Fragments of the Palestinian Targum

In 1930 Paul Kahle published portions of six manuscripts of the Palestinian Targum from the Cairo Genizah: MS. A with Exodus 21:1; 22:27; MS. B with Genesis 4:4-16; MS. C with Genesis 31:38-54; 32:13-30; 34:9-25; 35:7-15; MS. D with Genesis 7:17; 8:8; 37:20-34; 38:16-26; 43:7; 44:23 (fragments); 48:11-20; Exodus 5:20; 6:10; 7:10-22; 9:21-33; Deuteronomy 5:19-26; 26:18; 27:11; 28:15-18, 27-29; MS. F with Exodus 19:1-20, 23; Leviticus 22:26; 23:44; Numbers 28:16-31; MS. G with poetic rendition of Exodus 15 and 20.<sup>44</sup> Later A. Díez Macho found and published four additional fragments of MS. E with the Targum to Genesis 37:15-44; 40:5-18; 40:43-53; 42:34; 43:10. All the Genizah manuscripts of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch have been critically edited and translated into English by Michael Klein.<sup>45</sup> His collection comprises 38 distinct manuscripts, which fall into five general categories: (1) Palestinian Targum proper; (2) festival-liturgical collections of synagogue readings for holidays and special sabbaths; (3) fragment-targums, or collections of selected phrases and passages; (4) targumic toseftot, or additional expansive passages to the more literal Targum Onqelos, and (5) introductory targumic poems, recited before or during the Torah reading in the synagogue.

These new texts revolutionized the study of this ancient targum. Kahle dated MS. A to the late seventh or early eighth century CE; MS. E to 750-800 CE; MSS. B, C and D to the latter half of the ninth century; and MSS. F and G to the tenth or eleventh century. In his special contribution on dating to Klein's edition, the renowned palaeographer in this area, Prof. Malachi Beit Arié, is less precise. He has four categories: Very Early — 8th/9th century CE, or even earlier; Early — 9th/10th to mid-11th century CE;

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Michael Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, 1992; *Exodus*, 1994; *Leviticus* (1994); and by Ernest G. Clarke, *Numbers* (1995), *Deuteronomy* (1998) (The Aramaic Bible 4, 5B).

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

44. P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens II*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1930; reprint Hildesheim: Dims, 1967.

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

Middle — Mid-11th to late 14th century CE; Late — End of 14th century and later. He dates A as “very early (parchment)”; E as “Early (parchment)”; B, C and D as “ca. 1000 CE”; F as “Early/Middle (parchment)”; G as “Middle (parchment).”<sup>46</sup> This would mean that possibly already in the seventh century MSS. of the Palestinian Targum were being made in Palestine. We may legitimately presume that the Palestinian targumic tradition was being consigned to writing before this. What we have in the Cairo Genizah are merely the fragments which, owing to an accident of history, have escaped destruction.

Whatever the precise dating of the early manuscripts, the fact remains that in them we have MSS. some seven hundred years older than the other extant MSS. of this work, most of which are from the sixteenth century. A comparison of these MSS. among themselves (e.g. MSS. E and D Genesis 38:16-26) and with other texts of the Palestinian Targum shows that various recensions of the targum were current, all carrying substantially the same paraphrase, but expressing it in different ways.

#### 4. The Fragment Targums of the Pentateuch

##### *i. Name*

As Michael Klein has noted, Fragment-Targums are collections of texts of the Palestinian Targum(s) of the Pentateuch which seem, at least in part, to have been consciously selected and assembled.<sup>47</sup> Unlike the Genizah texts, they are not just fragments of the Palestinian Targums which have accidentally survived. Whereas the Genizah manuscripts generally contain lengthy passages, the Fragment-Targums have portions of the Targum to sections of all five books of the Pentateuch. Leopold Zunz has calculated that the texts known to him cover about one-third of Genesis, three-twentieths of Exodus, one-fourth of Leviticus, one-fifth of Numbers and one-fourth of Deuteronomy. Sometimes the paraphrase reproduced may cover entire chapters, but this is very much the exception. Often the paraphrase reproduces a long midrash to a given verse; sometimes it has

46. See in Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

47. Michael L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to Their Extant Sources*, 2 vols. (Analecta Biblica 76. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), vol. 1, p. 12. On the Fragment Targums see also Philip S. Alexander, “Targum, Targumim,” at pp. 323-324; Roger Le Déaut, “Targum,” cols. 71\*-79\*.

merely a few words, on occasion even a single word, all written down because for some reason or other they were of interest to the redactors. The extant manuscripts which are listed immediately below do not all descend from the same original. They are quite distinct from one another. They represent four or five distinct recensional families, one represented by the Paris MS "P," another by the Vatican, Nürnberg and Leipzig MSS (VNL), which have also various differences among one another. Then there is the New York, Jewish Theological Seminary text (J), and the two distinct Cairo Genizah texts (DD and Br).

## *ii. Manuscripts*

In 1517 the Jewish convert Felix Pratensis published a ms. bearing portions of the Palestinian Targum. This work has given rise to the designation "Fragment Targum(s)." Four mss. of the work have for long been known to exist: one at Rome, the Vatican Ebr. 440 (with siglum V); another at Nürnberg (Stadtbibliothek Solger 2.2<sup>o</sup>; siglum N); the third at Leipzig (Universität B.H. fol. 1; with siglum L); and the fourth that of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris (Hébr. 110; with siglum P), published by M. Ginsburger in 1899. Some other texts of Fragment Targums have later been identified: New York, Jewish Theological Seminary — Lutzki 605 (E. N. Sadler 2587; siglum J), with Fragment Targum Exod 14, 15, 17, 19 (with a total of 17 verses); and British Library Or 10794 (with siglum Br), with targums of verses or parts of verses of Deuteronomy 1:1–5:9. Two other manuscripts also contain sections of Fragment Targums: Moscow 3 (Günzburg Collection) and Sassoon 264 (in the Sassoon Library, Letchworth, England). It has been shown, however, that the Moscow MS has been copied directly from the Nürnberg MS, and the text in the Sassoon MS is a replica of the second *Biblia Rabbinica* of 1524-1525, hence both are of no consequence for the study of the Fragment Targums text. The British Library text (Br) is actually a single torn page of a Cairo Genizah manuscript. It has been published, together with another Genizah Fragment Targum text (MS DD), by Michael Klein in his edition of the *Genizah Manuscripts of the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*. It contains a total of 61 verses, or parts of verses, from Deuteronomy 23–33, including 14 passages which do not appear in any of the other Fragment-Targums.

*iii. Origin of the Fragment-Targums*<sup>48</sup>

It is not easy to say how or why these Fragment Targums originated. It appears that the various texts we now have are more or less in their original form. From our present knowledge we can safely say that the fragments were drawn from some entire text or texts of the Palestinian Targum. Zunz surmised that the fragments (known to him) are really variants which someone collected to supplement an entire text of the Palestinian Targum in his possession (Pseudo-Jonathan for Zunz). A. Geiger held the view that they were glosses inserted into the margin of an entire text of the Palestinian Targum. H. Seligsohn was of the opinion that the Fragment Targum originated in glosses intended to compensate the literal rendering of Onqelos. G. Vermes, on the other hand, takes the Fragment Targum to be an *aide mémoire* for preachers, to help them recall the interpretative traditions which they would be presumed to know. It is possible that their origin is connected with the synagogue liturgy or the Jewish academies. They may have been intended as an aid for the translator (meturgeman) to supplement the base translation he was using. A connection with the liturgy seems clear with regard to P and J which display a number of features indicating that they belong to a festival-liturgical recension. These features are, for the most part, missing in VNL and in Br.<sup>49</sup>

These Fragment-Targums are drawn from genuine Palestinian targums and are of no small value for the study of these, the paraphrase of the Palestinian Targums being occasionally older and purer than that conserved in the other texts of the Palestinian Targum.

*iv. Editions and Translations*

As we have seen, the text of one of the Fragment-Targums was first published in 1517-18 in the first Rabbinic Bible. It has been established that the text edited by Felix Pratensis was based on the Nürnberg MS and incorporated all the marginal glosses of that MS. The text of this first edition, later corrected, was reproduced in later Rabbinic Bibles and in the Polyglot Bibles, inserted at the appropriate places in the text of Pseudo-Jonathan.

48. For the *raison d'être* of the Fragment Targums see Klein, *The Fragment-Targums*, vol. 1, pp. 12-19.

49. See Michael Klein, *The Fragment-Targums*, vol. 1, pp. 12-19.



The Paris ms. was published by M. Ginsburger in 1899<sup>50</sup> accompanied by variant readings from the other mss., and by an invaluable list of citations from the Palestinian Targum found in Jewish writings. His reproduction of the Paris ms. is, unfortunately, badly done, and his readings from the other mss. are worse still! Michael L. Klein has produced a critical edition of all Fragment Targums text, with English translation.<sup>51</sup> A. Díez Macho has edited all the Fragment Targums texts (including Sassoon 264) in *Biblia Polyglotta* IV.<sup>52</sup> The Cairo Genizah fragments have been published, with English translation, by Michael Klein.<sup>53</sup> Walton's London Polyglot has a Latin rendering of the Fragment Targum. J. W. Etheridge published an English rendering in the work referred to above under Onqelos. English translations by the present writer of most of the significant variants from Neofiti in the Fragment Targums texts are given in the apparatuses to the English translation of Neofiti in the *Aramaic Bible* series.

## 5. Codex Neofiti 1

### i. Identification of Codex Neofiti 1

Until Alejandro Díez Macho identified Codex Neofiti as a complete text of the Palestinian Targum, this Targum was known only partially in the text of Pseudo-Jonathan, in that of the Fragment Targums and in the fragments from the Cairo Genizah published by Paul Kahle in 1930.

Work on the Targum of Onqelos brought Professor Díez Macho to the Vatican Library in 1949. Among the works listed in the catalogue as Onqelos was one numbered Codex Neofiti 1. A rapid glance at the ms. raised doubts in Díez Macho's mind. Not being particularly interested in the Palestinian Targum at the time, he let matters rest there. When, however, he came to study the Palestinian Targum, his thoughts returned to Neofiti 1. In 1956 he contacted Juan Arias, a young confrere of his studying for the priesthood in Rome, and asked him to copy for him the opening

50. Moses Ginsburger, *Das Fragmententhargum* (Berlin: Calvary, 1899; reprint, Jerusalem: Makor, 1969).

51. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums*.

52. Alejandro Díez Macho, *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia*. Series IV. *Targum Palaestinese in Pentateuchum* (see note 41 above).

53. Michael K. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts*.

chapter of the ms. On examination it was seen that Neofiti 1 was not Onqelos but a genuine text of the Palestinian Targum.

This Codex contains the entire Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch — apart from a number of verses omitted through homoiteuton.<sup>54</sup> It is written in a very clear, square hand, and has innumerable marginal and occasional interlinear glosses. The text is divided into liturgical parashoth such as one finds in the mss. and editions of the Hebrew Bible. Certain words and passages of the text have been erased, evidently by a censor. These are, in the main, texts referring to idols (images), or ones which could be seen in the sixteenth century as derogatory to Christians.

The colophon tells us that the transcription of the text was completed at Rome for “Maestro Egidio (written *’yydyww*) in the glorious [*hnhdr*] month of Adar.” In accord with an accepted Jewish practice, the date of composition is to be found in the numerical value of the Hebrew letters *h, n, h, d, r*; i.e. 5 + 50 + 5 + 4 + 200. This gives us 264, i.e. the year 5264 of Jewish chronology, which corresponds to 1504 CE, if we accept the initial *he* (the definite article) as part of the reckoning, otherwise 1499.

The Maestro Egidio for whom the work was written was most probably the noted humanist Giles (Egidio) of Viterbo. He had a keen interest in Judaism, particularly in the Kabbala, and from 1517-27 had with him in Rome the Jewish scholar Elias Levita. A difficulty immediately faces us here: if the ms. in question was made for Giles of Viterbo, how is it that no influence from it is found in later writings of Giles, even where one would expect it? And why does the ms. appear to have been totally unknown to Levita? He compiled a lexicon of the Targum (the *Meturgeman*). Although there is evidence that he used a complete ms. of the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch now lost or unknown, an examination of the citations from the Palestinian Targum found in his *Meturgeman* reveals that he scarcely could have known Codex Neofiti 1. Some of the citations found in the printed edition of the *Meturgeman* are found in Neofiti. This, however, does not invalidate the general conclusion drawn from the many differences between the other citations. A check of the citations in the first part of the ms. of the *Meturgeman* in the Angelica Library, Rome, has confirmed the present writer in the conclusion that Elias Levita did not use or know Codex Neofiti. Then again, many of the marginal glosses of Neofiti come from Pseudo-Jonathan, a work Levita said he did not know. These

54. On Targum Neofiti see M. McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, pp. 7-9; Le Déaut, “Targum,” cols. 84\*-102\*. See also Alexander, “Targum, Targumim,” at p. 323.

glosses must have originated in circles other than those of Levita; nor do the glosses appear to have been known to him.

*ii. Menahem, Chief Scribe of Neofiti and the Roman Jewish Medical Family of Manuele*<sup>55</sup>

The main text of the 446 folios of Codex Neofiti 1 was written by three main scribes and annotated in the margins and interlinearly by at least ten distinct hands, possibly more, including two of the hands of the main text. The main scribe is Scribe 3 (Menahem) who copied 244 of the 446 folios (scribe 1 wrote 70 folios and scribe 2 174), with small exceptions from fol. 241 (Leviticus 22:2) to the end, with the colophon at the end of Deuteronomy which reads:

The copyist is strong and the reader valiant.  
 It was copied by the youngest of the scribes, Menahem,  
 son of the honourable Rabbi Mordecai the physician  
 — may his rock and Redeemer keep him —  
 son of the honourable Rabbi Moses the Physician  
 — may his memory be blessed —  
 son of the most honourable Rabbi Menahem,  
 the most eminent of the physicians.  
 And I wrote it for the wise and great Master Aegidius  
 — may his glory be exalted —  
 here at Rome in the month of Adar the glorious.  
 The greatness of God I will sing.  
 Be strong and let your heart take courage all who fear the Lord.

For a reason unknown to us Menahem describes himself as the youngest of the scribes. He also seems to ascribe the writing of the entire work to himself. He is certainly the most self-conscious of the scribes involved in the production of the codex. On fol. 187v (at Exod 35:29-30) he has so enlarged initials in marginal glosses as to have the consonants of his own

55. On this see Martin McNamara, "A Colophon to Codex Neofiti 1," in M. McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Deuteronomy*, pp. 7-12; also "The Colophon of Codex Neofiti I: The Scribe Menahem and the Roman Medical Family of Manuele," in *Biblical and Near Eastern Essays. Studies in Honour of Kevin J. Cathcart*, ed. C. McCarthy and John F. Healy (London and New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), pp. 154-167.

name (MNHM) stand out. He further emphasizes this by lines and dots pointing towards the initials. He may have chosen to do so at this text by reason of its content: "Behold the Lord has designated Bezalel by the name of Master. . . ." While describing himself as a scribe, he describes his ancestors as Rabbis and physicians: his father the honourable Moredecai the Physician, his grandfather the honourable Rabbi Moses, his great-grandfather the most honourable Rabbi Menahem, the most eminent of physicians. The careers of rabbi and physician were often combined during the Middle Ages. The designation of his great-grandfather Menahem ("the most excellent" or "most eminent") was at that time used in Europe to express exceptional skill in a profession. His great-grandfather Menahem would have lived about 1400. With the help of Anna Esposito, a specialist in medieval Roman Jewish history, we can trace the ancestry of Menahem, scribe of Neofiti, back to his great-grandfather and earlier.<sup>56</sup> First, the Hebrew names Menahem, Mordecai and Mosheh correspond to the Latin/vernacular Manuel, Angelo and Mosè of medieval documents. In a series of eight volumes *The Apostolic See and the Jews* (1988-1991) S. Simonsohn has published documents which provide rich documentation with regard to the privileges and exemptions granted from 1376 to 1420 to the physician Manuele, his son Angelo (from the Trastevere district) and their descendants, down to a prominent physician by the name of Manuele, active about 1400.<sup>57</sup> Simonsohn notes that "the physicians Manuel (son of Angelo), his son Angelo and their descendants were among the leaders of the Roman community in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries." Manuel (who seems to have died in 1399) and his son Angelo were papal physicians and members of the papal household, and in 1392 Pope Boniface IX acknowledged the dedication of Angelo, son of Manuel, to the Roman Church. This Manuel (Menahem) who died in 1399 would appear to have been the great-grandfather of Menahem (Manuel) the scribe of Neofiti. They were a family that had the means to produce a manuscript such as Codex Neofiti 1, one of which the scribe felt proud, and a family in which Egidio, the young Augustinian scholar, probably felt at home.

56. See Martin McNamara, "A Colophon," pp. 11-12; "The Colophon," pp. 154-167, at 165-166.

57. S. Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews* (Studies and Texts 94, 95, 104-106, 109, 110; 8 vols.; Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies; Turnhout: Brepols, 1988-1991).

### iii. *Early History of Neofiti*

The researches of R. Le Déaut have thrown light on the early history of Codex Neofiti 1.<sup>58</sup> It gets its name from the fact that it is listed as No. 1 of the Neofiti mss. of the Vatican Library. This lot of mss. came to the Vatican from the *Pia Domus Neophytorum* in Rome, and in fact bears the seal of this college on the title-page together with the name of Ludovicus Canonicus Schüller, the last rector of the *Domus*. In 1543 Paul III founded a *Domus Catechumenorum* in Rome for converts from Judaism. In 1577 Gregory XII founded the *Pia Domus Neophytorum*, or to give it its original name, the *Collegium Ecclesiasticum Neophytorum*. The last rector of the house entered office in 1886. During his tenure of office its books and mss. were sold to the Vatican Library. The archives of the *Pia Domus* are now in the Vicariate of Rome. It is from these and other sources that R. Le Déaut has succeeded in throwing new light on the early history of Neofiti.

From the archives we learn of a list of eighty-two works donated to the college by Ugo Boncampagni in 1602. No. 20 of these is described as *fogli scritti a mano dove vi è el targumio hieroslomi*, probably a text of the Fragment Targum. No. 39 is *Aparafasi [= Una parafrasi] Caldea sopra al Pentateuco scritta a mano in carta pecora*, i.e. a Chaldaic (Aramaic) paraphrase on the Pentateuch written by hand on sheepskin = Codex Neofiti 1. This, and others of these works, were bequeathed to Ugo by the renowned convert Rabbi Andrea de Monte (21 September 1587) who is known from other documents to have acted as official ecclesiastical censor of Jewish works. He saw anti-Christian polemic in such terms as idols, idolaters, etc. It is doubtless he who has censored the present text of Neofiti. We may presume that some time after its completion for Giles of Viterbo, it passed into his hands for censorship. This explains how it remained unknown to Elias Levita. It was probably in Andrea's possession even before 1517.

### iv. *Characteristics of Neofiti*

The paraphrase of Neofiti is in general rather sober, and lacks some paraphrases found in other texts of the Palestinian Targum. A detailed study of the relationship of the paraphrase to the literal translation in Neofiti has

58. Roger Le Déaut, "Jalons pour une histoire d'un manuscrit du Targum Palestinien (Neofiti 1)," *Biblica* 48 (1967): 509-533.

been made by B. Barry Levy. His research on the subject led him to the conclusion that while much of the text of Neofiti remains literal, it seemed obvious to him that many passages were added to it in the course of its development and were not part of the original translation, which he maintains undoubtedly differed from the present document, i.e., Neofiti as it now stands. In his view, the evidence for this claim comes from the literary layering in the text (the seams are, in many cases, still evident) and the linguistic differences evidenced in it. These passages range in size from a word or phrase to a column of text.<sup>59</sup> I may note that what Barry Levy states here with regard to Targum Neofiti may hold for the Palestinian Targums in general. With regard to the date to be assigned to one element or the other, the literal translation or additional paraphrases — this remains difficult to assess, since both literal translation and paraphrase could have existed side by side in both school and synagogue.

The Aramaic is generally of a purer type than that of other texts of this targum, though somewhat more recent than that of the Genizah fragments of this targum. In certain sections of the work, nonetheless, the language and paraphrase appear to have been influenced by Onqelos. Here, however, a certain caution is indicated: in such matters it is not easy to say on which side the influence lies.

Neofiti lacks those recent references found in Pseudo-Jonathan. What date we should ascribe to the form of the Palestinian Targum as preserved in Neofiti is less certain. A. Díez Macho read a paper on the ms. at Oxford in 1959, after which W. F. Albright informed him that the geographical data of the targum pointed towards the second century A.D. as the date of the final recension of Neofiti. Díez Macho himself considers this targum to be, on the whole, a pre-Christian version. Rabbi Menahem Kasher, a specialist in rabbinic studies, goes further and considers Neofiti to be older than all the halakhic midrashim and earlier than the Mishnah; in fact he takes it to have originated some centuries before the Christian era. Such views now really belong to the history of research in this matter. As already noted on a number of occasions, no generalising judgment can be made with regard to the precise date of any targum, including Neofiti 1. The complexity of the evidence in each case must be respected.

59. B. Barry Levy, *Targum Neophyti 1. A Textual Study* (Studies in Judaism) (Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America), Vol. 1. *Introduction, Genesis, Exodus* (1986); Vol. 2. *Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy* (1987). For summary of his position see vol. 1, pp. viii-ix. For more details on the composite (as well as, to a certain extent, the uniform) nature of Neofiti see also Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 88\*-89\*.

### v. *Transmission of Neofiti*

The text of the Targum conserved in Codex Neofiti appears to have been faithfully transmitted, notwithstanding some interpolations and scribal errors. It may have been a semi-official text in Palestinian Judaism: it abides faithfully by the Mishnah and later rubrics on targumic renderings. It leaves untranslated those texts which the Mishnah (*Meg.* 4:10) says are to be read in Hebrew but not translated.<sup>60</sup> Palestinian rabbis from the second to the fourth century A.D. occasionally cite Aramaic renderings of the Bible. A study of these citations shows that they are in the main very similar to — when not identical with — the text of Neofiti.<sup>61</sup>

### vi. *Neofiti and the Aruk*

At the beginning of the twelfth century R. Nathan ben Yehiel (died 1106) compiled his lexicon, known as the *Aruk*, in which there are numerous citations from the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch. Probably more than one text of this work was available to him. A study of his citations reveals that his main work must have been a text identical, or almost identical, with our present Codex Neofiti 1.<sup>62</sup> Before Neofiti became known the targumic lexica had certain Aramaic words marked as being attested only in the *Aruk* (e.g. *p<sup>e</sup>gas*) but which are now found also in Neofiti. Occasionally where a lexicographer corrects an *Aruk* form of a word, we find that Neofiti supports the *Aruk* reading; thus e.g. *srd'* (*s<sup>e</sup>rada*) of Genesis 36:39 which Jastrow<sup>63</sup> emends to *ṭrd'* (*ṭirda*) of the Fragment Targums.

Of 158 citations from the Palestinian Targum to Genesis found in the

60. We have already noted above (p. 65) the relationship of Mishnah, *Ta'anith* 4:3 to Neofiti, Genesis, chapter 1.

61. On these see Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27, 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; reprint 1978), pp. 45-56.

62. The question has been examined in detail by Solomon Speier, "The Relationship between Aruk and Targum Neofiti 1," *Leshônênu* 31 (1966): 23-32, 189-198; 34 (1969-1970): 172-179 (in Hebrew). The *Aruk* citations are printed in full.

63. Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York and London, 1886-1903; reprint New York: Pardes, 1950), p. 1023.

*Aruk*, all but 48 are verbatim as in Neofiti. Of these 48, the differences between the text of Neofiti and the *Aruk* are often only minimal, and real differences could be reduced to about 30. The picture is the same in the citations from Exodus: 52 of the 87 citations are identical with the text of Neofiti; a further 14 are practically identical. Major differences are no more than 11. The *Aruk* has some 69 citations from the Palestinian Targum on Leviticus. Of these, 44 are identical with Neofiti (not reckoning 13 cases of differences in *matres lectionis*); there are 7 insignificant differences and 6 real differences of text. Of the 53 *Aruk* citations from Numbers, 31 are identical with Neofiti; there are a number of minor differences, but only 11 real ones. Neofiti's text for Deuteronomy is noted for the brevity of its paraphrase. It might appear that in it we have an abbreviated form of the Palestinian Targum to this book. Yet, our text appears to be identical with, or very similar to, that used by Nathan ben Yehiel. Of the 54 *Aruk* citations from the Palestinian Targum to Deuteronomy given by M. Ginsburger, 25 are identical with the text of Neofiti. There are only 4 real differences; the others are minor ones: one case of a different suffix; one of singular/plural; one of a different grammatical form; five with differences of only one word; five of very slight difference in spelling; two cases where the rendering is partly identical, partly different; eight with other forms of very slight difference.

A logical conclusion from this evidence is that the principal text of the Palestinian Targum used by R. Nathan ben Yehiel of Rome at the end of the eleventh century was identical with, or very similar to, Codex Neofiti 1.

### *vii. The Glosses to Neofiti*

A feature of Codex Neofiti 1 are the numerous marginal glosses and occasional interlinear ones it contains.<sup>64</sup> The marginal glosses are by several hands; as just noted, one series of them is in the hand of the author of the colophon, who by means of an acrostic even introduces his name (Menahem) in glosses to Exodus 35:30.

64. Early studies of these glosses were made by Martin McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch* (Analecta Biblica 27; 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; reprint 1978), pp. 46-47, note 26; also Alejandro Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1, Targum Palestinense* (Madrid: Barcelona, 1968), pp. 24-28, 43-48, 53-56.



These marginal glosses occasionally contain corrections of the text, but more often are variant readings from other targumic renderings. Menahem Kasher believes they are drawn from at least three different recensions. Many of them carry the text of Pseudo-Jonathan; occasionally they agree with Onqelos and occasionally, especially for Genesis, they agree with the fragments of the Cairo Genizah. Some of them agree with the Fragment Targums. The marginal glosses occasionally have a more or less extended paraphrase; more often they consist of a few words, even of a single word, giving a synonymous variant to the text of Neofiti.<sup>65</sup> The interlinear glosses are mainly grammatical.

These numerous variants must have been drawn from manuscripts of the Palestinian Targums extant in the sixteenth century and now, in part at least, apparently lost. They give us a vivid picture of variety to be found in this rendering and of the Palestinian Targum synoptic question. There was a well-formed tradition expressed in varying ways. Neofiti and its glosses can be compared to a Greek ms. of one of the Synoptic Gospels with marginal glosses giving variant readings from the other two.

### *viii. Editio princeps of Neofiti*

The *editio princeps* has been published by the Spanish Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, under the editorship of Alejandro Díez Macho. The edition has been published in five volumes: *Neophyti 1. Targum Palestinense. MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana*. Madrid-Barcelona, 1968, 1970, 1971, 1974, 1978. Each volume has extended introductions by Díez Macho himself, with discussion of current contributions, followed by the Aramaic text with Spanish translations by the editor, a French translation by R. Le Déaut, and an English translation by the present writer and M. Maher m.s.c. The long introduction to volume 1 contains a detailed account of the ms., its name and provenance, the copyists and glossators, the nature of the glosses, the date of copying and date of composition of Neofiti, its relation to other targums, the date of its form of Aramaic, etc.

65. In the English rendering for the *editio princeps* of Codex Neofiti 1, by Michael Maher and the present writer, an attempt has been made to reproduce these synonyms in English, keeping the rendering of Pseudo-Jonathan in mind when the Aramaic word of the gloss is that found in Ps.-Jon.

## 6. Targumic Toseftot

The toseftot (or toseftas; plural of tosefta) are expansive passages of haggadic midrash which have their source in the Palestinian-Targum tradition.<sup>66</sup> Some have been inserted into Onqelos manuscripts in their proper Biblical order; others have been collected separately in booklets which probably served as supplements to Onqelos. M. L. Klein has edited such toseftot from the Cairo Genizah collection.<sup>67</sup> He notes that the toseftot often have parallels in the extant manuscripts of "straight" Palestinian Targum and in the Fragment Targums. However, there are two major differences between the toseftot and the Fragment Targums. First, whereas the toseftot contain only expansive passages, the Fragment Targums also include many brief verses, phrases, or even single words, which are not necessarily haggadic. Second, all the Fragment Targums retain the dialect of the Palestinian Targumim. This is true not only for MSS. Br and DD of the Genizah texts edited by Klein but also for the non-Genizah MSS V, N, L and P, which suffer only minor dialectal corruption, unconsciously introduced by medieval copyists. Most of the tosefta texts, on the other hand, have undergone a *conscious* dialectal transformation to the language of Onqelos. This applies to the toseftot inserted into Onqelos texts as well as to those collected separately in independent booklets. And yet the Palestinian origin of the toseftot can hardly be doubted. Almost invariably, vestiges of the original Palestinian dialect survive in the transformed toseftot. The same Palestinian vestiges found in the Genizah tosefta collections edited by Klein are evident in the toseftot that were integrated into Onqelos texts, one of which is preserved in the Genizah fragment (MS CC).<sup>68</sup>

Klein has edited Cairo Genizah manuscripts toseftot to the following biblical verses: Genesis 4:7, 8, 23, 24; 17:11 (?); 21:10 (?); 22:5(7); 38:25, 26; 42:36; 44:18; 49:1, 18; 50:1, 16; Exod 4:25, 64; 12:42; 13:17; 14:13, 14; 15:1, 3, 12, 18; 17:12, 16; 20:2(7); Leviticus 1:1, 19, 20; 22:27.<sup>69</sup>

66. See Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. xxvi-xxvii; Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 103\*-105\*.

67. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. xxvi-xxvii; list of targumic toseftot on p. xlix, with indication on which pages (with Palestinian Targum texts) published. On the targumic toseftot see also Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," at p. 324; Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 103\*-105\*.

68. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts*, p. xxvii.

69. Michael L. Klein, "Targumic Toseftot from the Cairo Genizah," in D. Muñoz Leon, ed., *Salvación en la Palabra . . . En Memoria . . . A. Diez Macho* (Madrid, 1986), pp. 409-418;

Sperber has edited toseftot to the following texts from Onkelos manuscripts: Genesis 4:8; 38:25; 38:26; 42:36; 44:18; 49:18; Exod 13:17; 14:30 (*'yyl msh*); Leviticus 26:44.<sup>70</sup>

## 7. Introductory Liturgical Palestinian-Targum-Inspired Poems

We have some liturgical Palestinian poems inspired by the Palestinian Targum, and as such evidence of indirect transmission of this work.<sup>71</sup> Studies of these texts have been made over recent centuries, most recently by M. L. Klein in his edition of the Genizah Palestinian Targum manuscripts. In 1865, L. Zunz published in his *Literaturgeschichte* an extensive list of Aramaic introductions and poems. Most of these compositions were gathered from mahzor manuscripts and editions, and were related to the targum of the Torah readings for the 7th day of Pesah ("Crossing of the Sea") and for Shavu'ot ("Sinai Revelation"). Others belonged to the story of the death of Moses, in Deuteronomy chapter 34. Zunz merely cited the first and last lines of each poem, and provided a brief description of its contents.

Many of the poems listed by Zunz were published by S. Hurwitz in his edition of the *Mahzor Vitry* in 1889. Moses Ginsburger subsequently published two additional collections of targumic poems in 1900 and 1921.

When P. Kahle published the first major corpus of Palestinian Targum texts from the Cairo Genizah in 1930, he included as his MS G fragments of a poetic expansion of Exod. 15 and of two acrostic poems based on Exod. 20. Additional pages of this MS were recently discovered by Dr. Richard White of Oxford, and are included in Klein's edition of the Genizah Palestinian Targum texts together with Kahle's older material.

Among the compositions related to the reading for the 7th day of Passover (Exod. 14–15) is the most celebrated of targumic poems, *'yyl msh* ("Go Down Moses"). In 1978, J. Yahalom made the important discovery of a copy of this poem in a papyrus MS from the 4th–5th century CE. Following the principles established by J. Heinemann, Yahalom points out the

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M. L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1985), vol. 1, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

70. Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*. Volume 1. *The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos* (Leiden: Brill, 1959; second impression 1992), pp. 354–357 (edition of texts); xvii–xviii (introduction).

71. See Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts*, vol. 1, pp. xxviii–xxix.

“authentic Western Aramaic dialect,” the perfect quadruple metre, and the absence of rhyme as evidence of an even earlier date of composition. He also shows that the same poem in one of the Genizah MSS later published by Klein (MS T) is very closely related to the early version of the papyrus. Finally, Yahalom accepts the literary argument for a synagogal-targumic *Sitz-im-Leben* for these poems, even though they do not appear in such a context in the papyrus or in the Genizah MSS. In fact, in later medieval MSS. such as the *Mahzor Vitry* and the Fragment Targum according to MS Paris 110, *ʿzyl mšh* is inserted into the targumic text. In MS Hamburg-Universität 335, it is actually interwoven among the verses of targum. Likewise, in the Genizah MS PP there are several poems on Exodus 14 which are intertwined with the targum to verses 29-31.

## CHAPTER 18

# *Geography of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch*

### Abbreviations and Sigla for Biblical Books and Targums

Because of the frequent occurrence of references to biblical texts and targum texts and manuscripts of Targums in this chapter it has been found desirable to use sigla and abbreviations rather than write out in full on each occurrence.

#### Biblical Books

*Gen*

*Deut*

*Ezek*

*Num*

#### Targums

*Frg. Tg(s).*    *Fragment Targum(s)*

*HT*            *Hebrew Text*

*L*              *Leipzig Fragment Targum Manuscript*

*N*              *Nürnberg Fragment Targum Manuscript*

*Nf*             *Neofiti*

*Nfi*            *Neofiti Interlinear Gloss*

*Nfmg*        *Neofiti marginal gloss*

*Onq.*          *Onqelos*

*P*              *Paris Bibliothèque National Fragment Targum Manuscript*

*Pal. Tg.*       *Palestinian Targum*

*Ps.-J.*        *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*

## *Geography of the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch*

Sam. Tg.	Samaritan Targum
Tg.	Targum
V	Vatican Library Fragment Targum Manuscript

### Rabbinic Writings

b.	Babylonian Talmud
j.	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
Shebi.	Shebiith
t.	Tosefta

Place names which occur in various parts of the Hebrew Bible are generally identified in the Palestinian Targums with what is considered their later equivalents. Clusters of such place names are found in particular in the Table of Nations (Gen 10) and in the borders of the Land of Promise in Num 32:33–34:12. I have treated of these place names in the first edition of this work and again in the translation and annotation of Tg Neofiti Genesis in the first volume of *The Aramaic Bible* series, and in a more complete manner in the translation and annotation of the text of Neofiti Numbers in the same series (where the late Dr Ernest Clarke has added the information concerning Ps.-J.). There is more detailed consideration of many of these place names in the notes accompanying the translation of the targums of Neofiti and Ps.-J.

Some of the biblical names of the Book of Numbers are found in other books of the Pentateuch as well. In these cases Neofiti's identification for the Book of Numbers is generally that found for the other books of the Pentateuch. The Book of Numbers has also a number of place names proper to itself, of which Neofiti often gives non-biblical equivalents. Together with this, Neofiti (as other Pal. Tg. texts) at Num 34:15 has an inserted section on the borders of the two and a half tribes, for which no border is indicated in the Hebrew Text. Five sources may be distinguished for the material used by the targumist in this section: Num 32:33–34:12 and Deut 3:1–17; Ezek 47, especially 47:15–17; material related to the Tannaitic border list; added glosses, some of a haggadic nature; and a redactional stratum.<sup>1</sup> An early and Tannaitic list of border towns or locations is introduced in *Sifre Deut.* 51 (on Deut 11:24) as follows: "These are the bound-

1. See Philip S. Alexander, *The Toponymy of the Targumim with Special Reference to the Table of Nations and the Borders of the Holy Land* (Dissertation: Oxford University, 1974), pp. 218–252.

aries of the Land of Israel as seized by those who came up from Babylonia: the Ashkelon junction. . . .” The list is also found in *t. Shebi.* 4:11, *j. Shebi.* 6:36.<sup>2</sup> This Tannaitic list begins at Ashkelon, goes from southwest to north, northeast, southeast, and southwest (ending with Ashkelon). It has details only along the northern border.

Neofiti Num 34 gives a detailed indication of Israel’s border, for the south, west, and north, following the lines indicated by the biblical text. Then, for 34:15 it gives its special list.

As in Num 34 (Neofiti) there is a detailed list of Israel’s geographical borders, so in Ps.-J. Num 34:3-12 there is an extensive list of geographical names. These lists of names are related also to two other lists found in Josh 15:2-4 and Ezek 47:15-20. As one can see, Ps.-J. divides the list into places in the south (vv. 3-5), west (v. 6), north (vv. 7-9), east (vv. 10-12) relevant to the nine and a half tribes that crossed over to settle in the Promised Land. The territory of the three tribes Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, who dwelt east of the Jordan, is described in Num 32:33-42 and Deut 3:1-17. As noted above, Neofiti has a geographical list in v. 15 similar in many ways to the general outline in 34:3-12 (Ps.-J.). Ps.-J. in v. 15 simply says, “Two and a half tribes received their inheritance on the other side of the Jordan, to the east.”

**Adiabene:** *hdy* (*Hadyeph*), Gen 10:11-12, rendering Calah of חַת. By New Testament times it embraced most of the territory of ancient Assyria east of the Tigris (see Pliny, *Natural History* 5,13,66). In the early first century it was ruled by native kings under some kind of dependence on Parthia. In the early first century Izates II (died *ca.* 55 CE), king of Adiabene, and his sister Helena embraced the Jewish faith (see Josephus, *Antiquities* 20,2-4; *Jewish War* 2,19,2; 5,2,2; 3,3; 4,2; 6,1; 6,6,3-4). This dynasty ended in 116 CE when Trajan conquered Adiabene and made it the province of Assyria. There must have been strong Aramaic-speaking Jewish communities in Adiabene before the Christian era. Josephus wrote the first edition of the *Jewish War* in Aramaic and sent it to “the Upper Barbarians” whom he describes as “the Parthians, Babylonians, the remotest Arabians and those of our nation beyond the Euphrates,

2. This text, with minor changes, has been found in the mosaic inscription in the synagogue at Rehob. For an English translation of this inscription, see J. Sussman, in his essay “The Inscription in the Synagogue at Rehob,” in *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. L. Levine (Jerusalem, 1982), 146-159. See also R. Hammer’s note in his English translation of *Sifre Deut.* 51 (*Sifre. A Tannaitic Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy*, ed. R. Hammer [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986], p. 419).

with the Adiabenes" (Prooemium to *Jewish War* 1,2). No town bearing the name Adiabene is known. The capital of the region was Arbela.

**Africa:** *'prq'*, Gen 10:2. See Phrygia.

**Ain Gedi** of the Palm Trees: Gen 14:7; Num 34:15. Identified with Hazazon-tamar of HT, an identification found in 2 Chr 20:2, and one known to Jerome (*Hebr. quaest. in Gen.* 14:7).

**'Aion**, Fortress of (*krk d'ywn; karka di-'ayôn*). According to an additional paraphrase of Num 34:15, this lay to the east of Beth Yerah, on the boundary of the two and a half eastern tribes. Not found in the Fragment Targum. Identification unknown.

**Amanus** (?) of Taurus; see *Ṭaurus Umanus*.

**Antioch:** *'ntwky'* (*'Antokya*). Num 13:21; 34:8 (cf. Gen 10:18), rendering Hamath of HT. "From Taurus Umanos (Amanus) to the entrances of Antioch." HT: "From Mount Hor (*hor ha-har*) to the entrance of Hamath." The town in question is on Israel's northern border. Neofiti renders Hamath here, as in Num 13:21; see Gen 10:18: HT "Hamathites"; Neofiti "the Antiochenes." The identification of Hamath with Antioch is standard in early Jewish texts<sup>3</sup> but was not the sole identification. Josephus (*Ant.* 1,6,2 §138) and some rabbinic texts identified it with Amatha (modern Hama), also named Epiphaneia, and thus the Jews in general in Jerome's day, although some of them identified it with Antioch: *Nonnulli Antiochiam ita appellatam putant*, "Some people think that it (Hamath) was called Antiochia." (Jerome, *Hebr. quaest. in Gen.* 10:18; CCL 72,14). In Ps.-J. Antioch appears as the targumic identification of Hamath in Num 13:21, but in Num 34:8 Ps.-J. has Tiberias, which is an error for Antioch but may be Ps.-J.'s attempt to harmonize the text with Deut 3:17 (Ps.-J.).

**Apamea:** *'pmyh* (VN: *'pmyys*; Ps.J.: *'pmy'h*). Num 34:10, 11. On the eastern border of Israel, translating HT: Shapham. "And you shall draw a line for the eastern boundary from Tirat Enwata (HT: Hazar-enan) to Apamea. And the boundary goes down from Tirat Enwata to Daphne" (HT: Riblah). There are two possibilities with regard to location. One is that the city originally intended was Apamea. There were a number of cities of this name in the Seleucid empire, two or three of which are mentioned in rabbinic literature. One of these was Apamea on the Orontes, more precisely referred to as "Syrian Apamea." There are solid arguments in favor of accepting this as the targumic

3. See Alexander, *Toponomy*, pp. 81, 207.



identification of biblical Shapham. Josephus (*War* 2,28,5, §479) tells us that it had Jews among its population during the Jewish war, a fact borne out by *m. Hall.* 4:10-11, which classes it for first fruits as within the land of Israel. Jerome, moreover (*Commentary on Ezekiel* 47:18; CCSL 75,723; PL 25,478), says that the Jews of his day identified Shapham with Apamea. Some modern scholars believe that this is the city intended. However, the form *ʾpmyys* (Apameas) of the Frg. Tg. (VN) requires explanation. Other modern scholars, e.g., P. S. Alexander,<sup>4</sup> as R. Le Déaut, and already J. Levy and M. Jastrow believe that the place intended is really Paneas in northern Galilee (i.e., Caesarea Philippi). The initial aleph would be prosthetic.

**Asia:** *ʾsyh* (*ʾAsyah*), Gen 10:3. The region or Roman province around Ephesus. Identification of Ashkenaz of HT.

**Atadah:** Gen 50:10. Aramaic form of Atad of HT.

**Aulon (Aulos) of the Cilicians:** *ʾwwls dqylqy* (VN: *d-ʾwwl dqylqy*; Ps.-J.: *l-ʾbls dqylqy*). Num 34:8; HT: Zedad, *šdd*. A town or place on the northern borders of Israel. "From Taurus Amanus . . . to the entrance of Antioch; and the boundary shall come out at the Aulon of the Cilicians." Like HT Zedad, this place name is found only in the Pal. Tg. Num 34:8. The second element clearly refers to Cilicia: "of the Cilicians," "Cilician." The first part, not found elsewhere in rabbinic texts, seems to be derived from the Greek *aulōn*, a term with varied related meanings. One is: "a narrow or hemmed-in place," "a cleft between mountains." That seems to be the meaning here. The "Cilician Aulōn" would thus mean the Pass of Beilon, or the Syrian Gates, between Antioch and Cilicia. This is probably the location intended in the Targum. The Greek term *aulōn* could also mean "a broad but enclosed plain," in which sense the "Cilician Plain" could refer to the coastal plain of Cilicia that opened beyond the Syrian Gates. Another meaning of *aulōn* is "a narrow stretch of water" or "straits." And, in fact, the stretch of water between Cyprus and Cilicia is referred to as the "Cilician Aulon" (*kilikios aulōn*); see Ptolemy, *Geography* 6,4,4; Pliny, *Natural History* 5,130.

4. See Alexander, *Toponymy*, pp. 212-213, and Le Déaut, in Roger Le Déaut and Jacques Robert, *Targum du Pentateuque. Traduction des deux recensions Palestiniennes complètes*. Vol. 3. *Nombres* (Sources Chrétiennes 261; Paris: Cerf, 1979), p. 323, as already J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumi, and einen grosses Theil des rabbinischen Schrifthums* (Leipzig, 1881; reprints Köln: Melzer, 1959, 1966), p. 54, and M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols. (New York: Pardes, 1950 [preface 1903; various reprints]), p. 105.

The Aramaic form is Awlas (ʿwwls), or, as in Ps.-J., Ablas (ʿbls; representing the usual shift of *ww*ʿb). In either reading the final letter is *s*, not *n* — Awlas (Ablas) rather than Aulōn. This might represent Greek *aulas*, accusative plural form of *aulē* (Latin *aula*), “open court,” etc., and Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnika* [Peri Poleōn] 145,19) mentions a place by the name of Aulai in Cilicia. It was a seaport near Tarsus, which does not suit the Targum context. An original reading *Aulōn* seems to be the most suitable, indicating that we should emend ʿbls/ʿwwls to ʿbls/ʿwwls. The final Greek letter *s* (*samech*), in P. S. Alexander’s opinion,<sup>5</sup> may be an error for a similar-looking final mem. Other examples of such a misreading are known, e.g., Hispania as ʿaspm̄y; Paneas as p̄myʿs.

In manuscripts of Josephus’s *Antiquities* (13,15,4 §397) mention is made of a *Kilikēn aulōn* in a list of places held by the Jews under Alexander Jannaeus. While this is thought to be a scribal error for an original *halykos aulōn* (“Valley of Salt”), the scribal error itself (if such it be) seems to indicate that the place name *Kilikēn Aulōn* did exist.<sup>6</sup>

**Ayna:** ʿyynh (“The Spring”). Num 34:11; Ps.-J., VN: “The Springs”; 34:11 (16). Near Daphne (at Dan). Neofiti here has a simple rendering of the הַת: “Ain.” Ps.-J. and VN have the plural form.<sup>7</sup>

**Barbaria:** br̄bryʿ (*Barbarya*), Gen 10:3. הַת: Togarmah. A foreign (non-Roman) country. The exact place intended varies from text to text (in the midrash). Here, apparently, it refers to a region of Asia Minor, probably the Commagene near the borders of Cappadocia. In the targum to Ezek 27:14; 38:6, “house of Togarmah” is rendered as “the province of Germania,” probably Germanicia in the Commagene. *Gen. rabba* 3 identifies Togarmah of 10:3 as Germania (*q.v.*) or Germanicia. Jerome (*Hebr. quaest. in Gen.* 10:3), following Josephus, identifies Togarmah with the Phrygians.<sup>8</sup>

**Barboi (?) or Barkevi (?):** br̄b[k?]wy. Nf Gen 10:3. הַת: Riphath. Probably an error for Parkewi, the reading found in manuscripts V and N of the Fr̄g. (Tgs.) and in Levita’s *Meturgeman*, i.e. a country in northern Ariana.<sup>9</sup> *Gen. Rabbah* has Adiabene.

5. See Alexander, *Toponomy*, p. 208.

6. See further Alexander, *Toponomy*, pp. 207-209.

7. See Alexander, *Toponomy*, pp. 217-218.

8. On the word “Barbaria” in rabbinic literature see Paul Billerbeck, in Hermann Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, vol. 3, 3rd ed. (Munich: Beck, 1926; reprint 1961), pp. 27-29.

9. See Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 1229.

**Bar Sanigora.** Num 34:8 (Ps.-J.). According to Le Déaut,<sup>10</sup> the word is a corruption of Zenodore. It is on the border between Syria and Palestine.<sup>11</sup>

**Bar Zoemah.** Num 34:8 (Ps.-J.). A city in the north between Syria and Palestine.

**Batanea:** *bwtynyyn* (*Botneyin*), Num 21:33; 32:33; 34:15; Deut 3:1, 3, 11; 4:10, 13-14, 43, 47; 29:6; 32:14; 33:22; *Mtnyn* (*Matnin* Deut 1:4); HT: Bashan. The area known as Batanea in Roman times. The form *Botneyin* is proper to the Palestinian Targum. In the other targums Bashan is rendered as *Matnan*.

**Bathyra:** Neofiti: *btryh*. Num 34:15 (added paraphrase): “. . . the boundary went out for them to Qeren Zawwe (correct to: *qryy zkw't*, ‘villages of Zekhuta’) to Bathyra, and (to) the whole Trachonitis of Beth-Zimra.” Neofiti actually has: “(*qrn zwwy*) *dbtryh* (and all Trachonitis . . .),” which would ordinarily be translated: “(Qeren Z.) which is behind it (or: of Batreh) and all Trachonitis of Beth-Zimra.” Neofiti’s *qrn zwwy* is to be corrected (partly with Ps.-J.) to “Qirye Zekhuta,” Beth-Zimra is to be connected with the person Zamaris, and *btryh* is to be understood as having been intended originally to designate Bathyra. Zamaris was the name of a Babylonian Jew appointed by Herod the Great as a leader of a colony of Babylonian Jews in Batanea, on the borders of Trachonitis. They were settled there to discourage the incursion of Trachonite Arabs into the settled land. See Josephus, *Ant.* 17,2,1-2, §§23-28; *Life* 2, 11 (§54). The chief town of the settlement was Bathyra (Josephus, *Ant.*, 17,2,2, §26): “he (Zamaris) built in it fortresses and a village, and named it Bathyra.” It is the *bryrs/btryh* of rabbinic texts.<sup>12</sup>

**Beth ha-Jeshimon.** Num 21:20; 23:28. Rendering HT: Ha-Jeshimon. In Neofiti Num 33:49 the HT form is retained. Ps.-J. spells as Beth-Jeshimon only in 21:20 but Beth-Jeshimoth in 23:28 and 33:49.

**Beth Nimrin.** Num 32:3. HT: Nimrah. Ps.-J. has Beth Nimre.

**Beth Ramatha.** Num 32:36, rendering MT Beth-haran (occurring only here in the Pentateuch) as if it were *Beth ha-ram* (cf. Josh 13:27). No identification seems intended.

**Beth Sekel.** Num 34:9 (Ps.-J.). Identification unknown.

10. Le Déaut, *Nombres*, p. 322, note 16.

11. See Alexander, *Toponomy*, pp. 224-226.

12. See I. Gafni, “Bathyra,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 4 (1972), col. 323; Alexander, *Toponomy*, p. 286.

**Beth Yerah:** *byt yrh*; occurring in Pal. Tg. only in Num 34:15 (additional paraphrase). According to Neofiti, the border of the two and a half tribes went in part “to Chinnereth . . . to the fortress of Iyyon to the east of Beth Yerah, and from east of the Sea of Beth Yerah . . . to Yadyoqita . . .” The presence of the reference to Beth Yerah in the present text may be due to an error. (See below under Iyyon.) Beth Yerah itself, however, is identifiable. It was at the most southerly point of the Sea of Galilee (Lake of Tiberias). Beth Yerah (near Yerah) was a twin town of Sennaberis.<sup>13</sup> In *Gen. R.* 98:17, to Gen 49:21, explaining Kinnereth of Deut 3:17, *R. Eleazar* (ca. 270 C.E.) says that it is Geneserath; *R. Samuel ben Nachman* (ca. 260) that it is Beth Yerah, while *R. Judah ben Simon* (ca. 32) says that it is Sennabris and Beth Yerah. According to Josephus (*War* 3,9,7, §447), Sennaberis was about thirty stadia (three-quarters of a mile) from (the town of) Tiberias.<sup>14</sup>

**Beth Zimra:** *byt zymr*. Num 34:15 (added paraphrase). Beth Zimra is to be connected with the personal name Zamaris, the leader of the Babylonian Jews who settled on the borders of Batanea and Trachonitis, with Bathyra as chief town. See under “Bathyra.”

**Bithynia:** *bytny*, Gen 10:2. In Asia Minor. Identification of Jubal of HT.

**Butnin (Batanea):** *bwtnyn (Botneyin)*. Num 21:33; 34:15; also Deut 3:1, 3, 11; 4:10, 13f., 43, 47; 29:6; 32:14; 33:22; *Mwtnin* in Num 32:33; *Mtnyn* in Deut 1:4; HT: Bashan. The area known as Batanea in Roman times. The form Botneyin is proper to the Palestinian Targums. In other targumic texts Bashan is rendered as *Matnan*. Ps.-J. prefers the spelling “Matnan,” representing the consonantal shift of b/m and sh/t.

**Caesarea (Philippi):** “Image of the Cock of Caesarea” (*ydywqyt*/*ydywqytw*s [correct to: *yqwnyn*] *trngwl qsrywn*). Num 34:15 (added paraphrase); Neofiti reads: “Yadyoqitos (Image of the) Cock of Caesarea, which is at the east of the (Cave) of Dan.” “Upper Tarnegola of Caesarea” is also mentioned in the border lists of *Sifre Deut.* 51 on Deut 11:24 and *t. Shebi.* 4:11. The name Caesarea is also in Neofiti Gen 14:15 (HT: Dan).<sup>15</sup>

**Callirrhoe:** *qlrhy (Qalrahi)*, Gen 10:19. HT: Lesha. The renowned hot springs east of the Dead Sea.

13. (texts in Jastrow, p. 595).

14. See also Alexander, *Toponomy*, p. 228.

15. See also Alexander, *Toponomy*, p. 229.

**Cappadocia(ns):** *kpwdqy'* (Gen 10:14); *kpwtqyy'*, *kpwqdy'* (Deut 2:23). HT: Caphtorim.

**Cilicia, Aulon of.** Num 34:8. See under "Aulon of the Cilicians."

**Ctesiphon:** *qtsyppyn*, Gen 10:10. HT: Kalneh. A large city in the southern part of Assyria, on the eastern bank of the Tigris; first mentioned by Polybius (5,45; second century B.C.). Pliny (*Natural History* 5,44) states that Ctesiphon was in Chalonitis (cf. also Polybius 5,44). The identification is probably a very old one.

**Dabrah in Butnin:** "Dabrah in Butnin for the tribe of the sons of Manasseh"; HT: "Golan in Bashan"; Dabrah also in Ps.-J. Identification unknown.

**Damascus,** Springs of: *'yynwwtyh*. Num 34:15 (added paraphrase): "the Mount of Snow, at the border of Lebanon, which is to the north of the Springs of Damascus." Mention of these springs may have been occasioned by *'nn* in the name Hazar-enon of the border list of Ezek 47:17.

**Daphne:** *dpy*. Num 34:11; HT: Riblah. On the northern border of Israel: "Their boundary went from Apamea (M Paneas, at Dan?) to Daphne." The identification of the biblical Riblah with Daphne is general in rabbinic tradition. There were a number of cities with the name Daphne ("laurel"), one near Antioch, another near Paneas/Dan. Rabbinic tradition identified Riblah (of the land of Hamath) of Nebuchadnezzar's campaign (2 Kgs 25:20-21; Jer 52:26-27) with Daphne of Antioch. Jerome (*Comm. on Ezek.* 47:18; CCL 75,723; PL 25,478), apparently following Jewish tradition, identifies Riblah of Num 34:11 with Antioch, and the "spring" of Num 34:12 with Daphne of Antioch. It may be that it was this Jewish tradition which had the targumist identify Riblah of 34:11 with Daphne. The Daphne in question, however, by reason of the course of Israel's border being given, must be the Daphne near Dan/Paneas, not that of Antioch. This Daphne near Dan is mentioned by Josephus (*War* 4,1,1 §3).<sup>16</sup>

**Dardania:** *drdny[']*, Gen 10:4 (identifying Dodonim of the HT). A territory of Mysia in Asia Minor, mentioned already by Homer. Cf. also Strabo 7, p. 596; Ptolemy 3,29; Pliny, *Natural History* 3,9,2.

**Dirat Adarayya.** Num 34:4. This is Frg. Tg's (VN) rendering of the HT Hazar-addar, rendered ʿīrat Adarayya in Neofiti. See "ʿīrat Adarayya" below. Ps.-J. agrees with Neofiti here as well as in 34:9, 10.

16. See Alexander, *Toponymy*, 1974, 214-217; Le Déaut, *Nombres*, p. 323, n. 2.

**Divakinos.** Num 34:8 (Ps.-J.). Whether this word and Tarngola are one or two places is questionable. Alexander<sup>17</sup> (1971) considers the two words a corruption for “Image of the Cock.” Divakinos is then a corruption of *dywq* or Greek *eikōn* (“image, idol”). The reference would be to such an image at Caesarea Philippi.

**Edessa:** *hds (Hadas)*, Gen 10:9-10. HT: Erech. Ancient capital of Osrhoene peoples, called Ruhu by Assyrians (eighth century BCE). Its name was changed to Edessa under Seleucus I (312-280 BCE). In 132 B.C. it was capital of the Osrhoene. Its identification with biblical Erech is also found in St. Ephrem.

**Ford of the Passes:** *mgzwt 'bryyh*. Num 33:44; probably a mere interpretative rendering of lye-abarim of HT.

**Fort Tarnegolah:** *krk trngwlh* (literally: “the fortress of the cock”), Deut 2:8. HT: Ezion-geber. Since this place-name does not occur elsewhere, it is possible that in Neofiti Deut 2:8 we have merely an interpretative rendering of the Hebrew; *geber* (Hebrew) = cock. “Tarnegola (the rooster) of Caesarea” (*trngla dqysryn*) is also given in the rabbinic border list *Sifre Deut.* 51; *t. Shebi.* 4:11: “the depression of Iyyun, upper Tarnegola of Caesarea, Beth Sukkot. . .”<sup>18</sup>

**Fortress of Nephahayya.** Num 21:30; HT: Nophah. Possibly no identification is intended, merely a transcription of the HT word, with the Aramaic plural ending, and the added description of “fortress.” Ps.-J. presents a midrash on Dibon and the HT *nph*, “laid waste,” rather than a place name; hence Ps.-J.’s “desolation.”

**Gablah:** *gblh*. Num 24:18; also Gen 14:6; 32:4; 33:14; Deut 1:2, 44; 2:1, 5, 8, 12, 22; 33:2. HT: (Mount) Seir. So also Frag. Tg., Ps.-J. and Sam. Tg. The home of Esau. The identification of Seir with Gabla (Gebal) is found in the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QGenAp) 21,11,29 (first century BC): “The Hurrians who [were] in the mountains of Gebal [HT: ‘in Seir,’ Gen 14:6] until they reached El-Paran which is in the desert.” It is the Gobolitis or Gebalene which according to Josephus (*Ant.* 2,1,2 §6) the sons of Esau occupied and was part of Idumaea; it was also connected with the Amalekites (*Ant.* 3,2,1 §40; 9,9,1 §188). The Samaritan Targum, too, renders Seir by Gabla.

**Gennesar,** Sea of: *ym' dgnysr*. Num 34:11; also Deut 3:17; HT: Sea of Chinneret. The toponym Gennesar is found in 1 Macc 11:67, in the New Testament, and in Josephus.

17. See Alexander, *Toponomy*, pp. 228-229.

18. See also Alexander, *Toponomy*, p. 229.

**Gerarah**, Gen 20:1. Aramaic form of the biblical Gerar. The Aramaic form is found also in Josephus, *Antiquities* 1,12,1, §207.

**Germania**: *grmnyh*, Gen 10:2; identifying Magog of הַט. The same identification is found in Nfmg, Ps.-J., Tg 2 Chr 1:5; *Gen. R.* 37:1. The place intended by Germania in Gen 10:2 is best located in Asia Minor or Syria, probably Germanicia of the Commagene (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 4,14,8), annexed to the Roman province of Syria by Vespasian in 72 CE; in its coins *Kaisareia Germanikē*.<sup>19</sup> In favour of this original identification is the fact that all the other children of Japheth in these Targums of Gen 10:2 are in Asia Minor or (for Macedonia) in Northern Greece. In fact, the original form of the name may well have been Germanicia, with which a tradition conserved in the Palestinian Talmud (*j. Meg.* 1,71 bot.), Babylonian Talmud (*b. Yoma* 10a) and *Genesis rabba* (37) and some variant texts of the *Aruk of Rabbi Nathan* identify Togarmah of Genesis 10:3.<sup>20</sup> Historical events could have brought about the change. In Jerome's day some took Gog and Magog of Genesis and Ezekiel as referring to the Goths (*Hebr. quaest. in Gen.* 10:2), evidently a change in the understanding of an earlier view. (For Germanicia see also below under "Taurus Umanus.")

**Gileadah**, Gen 31:21, 23; Deut 2:36. Aramaic form of biblical Gilead.

**Graves of Those Who Were Desirous**. Num 33:16. A rendering of MT (RSV): *Kibroth-hattavah*. No identification seems intended.

**Ḥaluṣa**: *ḥlwṣh*, Gen 16:7; 20:1; Ex 15:22. הַט: Shur; Gen 16:14. הַט: Bered. Ancient Halasa. The Idumean city Elousa of Ptolemy (*Geography* 16,10, second century CE) and Elousa of the early Christian Church. It was a Nabataean emporium on the Petra-Avdāt-Gaza route, about 45 miles southeast of Gaza. In the words of a recent scholar: "Elusa apparently belongs to the first group of road stations established by the Nabateans in the 3rd century BCE or earlier, on

19. See D. and L. Stiernon, "Germanicia," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et géographie ecclésiastique*, vol. 20 (Paris: Letouzey, 1984), cols. 943-960, esp. 943-944.

20. See the texts "Targum Palaestinensis testimonia ex variis fontibus" (for Genesis 10:3) edited by Raimundo Griño in *Biblia Polyglotta IV. Targum Palaestinense in Pentateuchum*. L.1. *Genesis* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988), pp. 417-418 (with instances of variant Germanicia for "Germanias"). Some rabbinic texts Talmud Yerushalmi, *j. Meg.* 1,11,71b (identifying Togorma; also *j. Meg.* 1,71,47 (-48); Str.-B. III, 579) and *b. Yoma* 10a have *grmmyy'* (*Germania*). Tg Ezek 38:6 identifies Bet Togorma as Germamia. Some rabbinic texts refer to the Roman Province of Germania as *grmny' šl 'dwm* or *g. šl rwmy*.

the trade route from Arabia to Gaza. This is supported by the archaic Nabatean inscription dated to 168 BCE, and by the Hellenistic pottery. Painted Nabatean and early Roman pottery attest to the occupation of Elusa in the Middle Nabatean Period (ca. 30 B.C.E.–50/70 C.E.). In the Late Nabatean Period (2d–3d centuries C.E.) and Late Roman period it became one of the most important cities of the *Provincia Arabia*, and later of *Palaestina Tertia*.<sup>21</sup> A Nabataean inscription (possibly of the third century B.C.) has been found there. The Israelis have restored the ancient name Halutsa to the site. Onqelos renders Shur and Bered as Ḥagra, probably in the district of Petra (cf. Mishnah, *Gittin* 1:1). *Genesis Rabba* 45:6 (on Gen 16:7) explains “on the road of Shur” of the Hebrew Text by two Aramaic words (“on the road of Ḥaluṣa”) found in, and probably borrowed from, the Palestinian Targum. Here, as apparently elsewhere, the Palestinian Targum appears to underlie the midrash.

**Hauranite(s):** *ḥwrnyyh*, Gen 36:20ff. (vv. 22–30 missing in Neofiti); Deut 2:12, 22. In these passages the HT speaks of the Horite(s) who dwelt in Seir. This in Neofiti becomes “the Hauranite(s) who dwelt in Gabra.” I have not been able to find this word in the lexica of Jastrow, Levy or Buxtorf. The Fragment Targum, where extant, renders as Horites and so does Onqelos. In Neofiti Gen 14:6 they are called Haurites (*ḥwryy*). Hauranitis or Auranitis is Hauran of Ezek 47:16, 18. It was part of the territory of Herod’s son Philip.

**Hellas (?)**: *ʾls*, Gen 10:4. Identification of Elisha of the HT. Jastrow<sup>22</sup> believes *Magna Graecia* in Italy is meant; Levy understands it as a district in Asia Minor: Aeolis, Aeolia, probably Elis.

**Hill of Hatmana.** Num 34:9 (Ps.-J.). Possibly modern ‘Atman, north of Dera’a in Syria.<sup>23</sup>

**Hirata, Taverns of.** See under “Taverns of Hirata.”

**Huminas Taurus.** Num 34:7. See below under “Taurus Umanus.”

**Idols of Peor.** Num 23:28; 25:5. See below under “Peor, idols of.”

**India** (Greek: *Indikē*): *hndqy*, Gen 2:11. HT: Havilah. Current Jewish interpretation in Jerome’s day (cf. *Hebr. quaest. in Gen* 2:11).

21. Avraham Negev, “Elusa,” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), vol. 2, p. 484.

22. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, p. 72.

23. See Alexander, *Toponymy*, 1971, 227.



**Italy:** *ʾytly*. Num 24:24; also Gen 10:4; HT: Kittim. The Kittim mentioned in Dan 11:30 are generally understood as the Romans. In Num 24:24 the Vulg. renders as Italia. Ps.-J. expands on “Italy” to add “Rome” and “Constantinople.”

**Iyyon,** Fortress of: (*krkʾ d-*) *ʾywn*. Num 34:15 (added paraphrase). A border town in Neofiti’s list for the two and a half tribes, east of the Jordan: “to Chinnereth . . . ; the boundary went out for them to the fortress of Iyyon to the east of Beth Yerah.” This section of the paraphrase is not in the Frg. Tg. as found in VN.

The identification and localization of this fortress of Iyyon are connected with one’s view on the nature of this section of Neofiti. The present text situates it to the east of Beth Yerah, that is, at the southern part of the Sea of Galilee. A. Díez Macho,<sup>24</sup> with reference to I. Press, thinks it appears to be the present-day ʾAyyun (“Wells”) two and a half kilometers to the north of Al-Hamma and four kilometers to the east of the Sea of Galilee (Chinnereth). The reference to Beth Yerah in Neofiti, however (not in VN), may be an erroneous gloss, and Iyyon of the text seems to be connected with “depression of Iyyon” (*nqyptʾ* [corrected from *nqybtʾ*] *dʾywn*) of the border list of *Sifre Deut.* 21 (on Deut 11:24) and *t. Shebi.* 4:11; *j. Shebi.* 6,36c, where the border moves to “. . . Mesaf Sefarta, the depression of Iyyon, Upper Tarnegola of Caesarea (Philippi). . . .” Jastrow<sup>25</sup> identified this with Mardj ʾAyun in the north of Palestine. So also P. S. Alexander,<sup>26</sup> Merdj ʾAyun being a plain lying about the town of Merdj ʾAyun, to which it gave its name, to the northeast of Baniyas. According to Alexander, “the fortress of Iyyon” (of Neofiti Num 34:15) is probably Tell Dibbin at the northern end of the plain, the biblical Iyyon (1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Chr 16:4).

**Jabboka:** *y bqʾ*, Deut 2:37; 32:23. The Aramaic form of the Hebrew Jabbok.

**Kardun:** *qr dwn*, Gen 8:4. HT: Ararat. The mountain in Armenia on which the ark rested. It is “the mountain of the Cordyaeans [*Korduaion*]” on which, according to a passage of Berossus (ca. 330-250 B.C.), cited by Josephus (*Antiq-*

24. A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1. Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana*. Tomo IV. *Numeros* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1974), p. 320, with reference to I. Press, *Historical-Topographical Encyclopedia of Palestine* (in Hebrew), 2nd ed. (Jerusalem, 1951), p. 696, col. 1a (*ʾIyyon b*).

25. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, p. 933, with reference to A. Hildesheimer, *Beiträge zur Geographie Palästinas* (Berlin, 1886), pp. 37ff.

26. So also Alexander, *Toponymy*, p. 228.

unities 1,3,6, §93), one tradition believed part of the ark could still be found. The Peshitta, too, renders Ararat by Kardun.

**Kerak Tarnogolah:** lit. Fort Tarnegola, or Fortress of the Cock; Num 33:36; also Deut 2:8 (vocalized in CTg Br Dt 2:8 as Tornagala); HT: Ezion-geber. The border list of the two and a half tribes (and the rabbinic border lists) mention an Upper Tornegola near Caesarea (Philippi). See under Caesarea, Yadyoqitas. This is hardly the place intended in Neofiti Num 33:36 and Deut 2:8. In these we probably have only an interpretative rendering of the HT Ezion-geber, *geber* in Hebrew = “cock” (in Aramaic *tornegola*).

**Keren Zekutha.** Num 34:9 (Ps.-J.). HT: Ziphron. Possibly modern Zakiye, southeast of Damascus.<sup>27</sup>

**Kinnereth.** Num 34:15. Here Neofiti leaves the HT name untranslated. VN identify as “the Sea of Gennesar,” as do both Neofiti and VN in the other occurrence in Deut 3:17.

**Lahayyath, Lehawwath** (Moab). Num 21:15, 28 (*lḥwwt*; HT: Ar); 32:34 (*lḥyyt*; HT: Aroer). Also in Deut 2:9, 29 (HT: Ar); 2:36; 4:48 (HT: Aroer). Ps.-J. does not mention Lahayyath in Num 21:28.

**Liburnian ships.** Num 24:24. The Liburnians were dwellers of the Dalmatian coast and its offshore islands. Ps.-J. has an entirely different text at 24:24 and does not mention Liburnian ships.

**Lydia:** *lydy*, Gen 10:13. HT: Ludim. Lydia in Asia Minor.

**Ma'alath.** Num 32:3 (Ps.-J.); HT: Elealeh.

**Macedonia:** *mqdwny*, Gen 10:2. Identification of Javan of HT.

**Madbashta.** Num 32:3 (Ps.-J.); HT: Dibon.

**Makhlalta.** Num 32:3 (Ps.-J.); HT: Ataroth. This place was assigned to Gad (Num 32:3, 34). In the Mesha Stone (lines 10-11): “The men of Gad dwelt in the land of Ataroth.”

**Maresha:** *mryšh*. Num 22:39; HT (RSV): Kiriath-huzoth; Ps.-J.: “Birosha.” Neofiti may be an erroneous reading of “Birosha” but is much more probably a variant writing (mem for beth, as elsewhere; see above under “Aulon” and below under “Mikbar”).

27. See Alexander, *Toponymy*, p. 228.

**Media:** *mdy*, Gen 10:2. Identification of Madai (*mdy*) of HT.

**Mera.** Num 32:3 (Ps.-J.); HT: Sebam.

**Mikbar:** *mkbr*. Num 32:1, 3; MT: Jazer. A district in Peraea. The MT Jazer is retained in Neofiti Num 21:32; 32:15. Ps.-J. renders the Hebrew name as Mikwar, spelled as Mikbar in 21:32. This is the usual consonantal shift of w/b.

**Motenim:** *mwtnyn*. Num 32:33; MT: Bashan. The MT Bashan is generally rendered as Butnin in Neofiti. See under "Butnin" above. Ps.-J. translates the HT "Bashan" as Matnan as usual. The Motenim in Neofiti seems to be a consonantal shift of b/m.

**Mount of Iron:** *twr przl'*. Num 34:4; MT: Zin (Sin). The HT reads: "and your boundary shall . . . cross to Zin, and the end shall be south of Kadesh-barnea." In Neofiti Zin is identified as "the Mount of Iron" and Kadesh-barnea as "Reqem de-Ge'a." Num 34:4 is the only place in the Pentateuch where Zin (Sin) occurs alone. In Num 13:21; 20:1; 27:14 (twice); 33:36; 34:3; Deut 32:51 we read of the Wilderness of Sin, identified as Kadesh in Num 33:36. In all these cases Neofiti reproduces the Hebrew form "wilderness of Zin," which it naturally identifies as "Reqem" in Num 33:36.

The "Mount of Iron" was a real geographical locality, mentioned in Josephus, *War* 4,8,2 §454, and *m. Sukk.* 3:1. See also 1 Enoch 67:4-5 and 1 Enoch 52. Josephus, describing the Transjordan, tells how a second range of mountains beginning at Julias "extends itself southwards as far as Somora, which borders on Petra in Arabia. In this ridge of mountains there is one called the Iron Mountain, that runs in length as far as Moab."<sup>28</sup> In 33:36 and 34:3 Ps.-J. translates Zin (*šin*) as plural, rendering MT "the wilderness of Zin" as "the wilderness of the Thorn-Palms (*šyny*) of the Iron Mountain";<sup>29</sup> see also Ezek 47:19.

**Mount of Snow:** *twr tlgh*. Num 34:15 (in a free paraphrase); also Deut 3:8; 4:48, rendering HT "Mount Hermon." Also in VN, Num 34:15. In Neofiti Num 34:15 the Mount of Snow is given with the Lebanon as the northern border of Israel. Mount Hermon must be intended. Ps.-J. only makes reference to Mount of Snow in Deut 4:48; otherwise Ps.-J. uses Hermon.

28. See further Alexander, *Toponomy*, 1974, 189-191.

29. Le Déaut, *Nombres*, p. 315, and note 32, and 319. Ernest Clarke (in the *Aramaic Bible*, vol. 4, pp. 286-287) renders in both cases as: ". . . the desert of the Thorn-Palms, (at) the Iron Mountain."

**Mysia:** *mwsy'* (*Mûsia*). A district in Asia Minor, Gen 10:2 identifying Meshech of the הַט. The reading of Neofiti is supported by the *Aruk*.

**Naḥal Segula:** “the wadi of the cluster of Grapes.” Num 13:23, rendering the הַט: “Eschol,” “cluster of grapes.” Probably a simple translation, not indication of an actual place name, is intended. Ps.-J. as well as Onq. uses the variant Aramaic word *'tkl'* rather than Neofiti's *sgwlh*.<sup>30</sup>

**Nepḥaḥayya,** Fortress of. Num 21:30; הַט: Nophah. See under “Fortress” above.

**Nile of the Egyptians:** *nylws dmšryy*. Num 34:5; הַט: “the Brook (*nḥlh*) of Egypt.” Also in Neofiti Gen 15:18: “the Nile of Egypt,” rendering הַט “River (*nhr*) of Egypt.” Also Ps.-J.

**Nisibin:** *nšybyn*, Gen 10:10. הַט: Calneh (RSV: Calah). A town between Edessa and Mosul; modern Nusaybin in Turkey on the Syrian border. It is referred to in Assyrian inscriptions from the beginning of the first millennium as Nesibina. In the third century B.C. it was the capital of a rich province under the Seleucids. In 68 B.C. it was taken by Pompey, but fell to the Persians later and was recaptured by Trajan in 115 CE.

**Ocean:** *'wqyynws*. Num 34:6. In a targumic addition on the western boundary: “And the boundary of the Great Sea — Ocean; these are the Waters of the Beginning, its islands, its ports and its ships, with the primordial waters that are in it (*bgwwh*; or: ‘in the midst’); this shall be for you the sea boundary.” הַט: “For the western boundary (*gbwl*), you shall have the Great Sea and (its) coasts; this shall be for you its western boundary (*gbwl*).” As western border, “the Great Sea” (Josh 1:4: “towards the going down of the sun”), like “the western sea” (Deut 11:24), might normally be taken as indicating the Mediterranean. The presence of “boundary/border” (*gbwl*) twice in Num 34:6 led to exegetical speculation among the rabbis; R. Judah ben Ilai (fourth century) maintained that the border intended must be the border of the Great Sea, which R. Judah took to be the Atlantic; see *b. Gitt.* 8a. The targumic text may have been built up from a series of glosses, which, however, represent an exegetical tradition, one which probably represents a world view. Alexander<sup>31</sup> refers to Ps.-Aristotle, *De mundo* III (393a16), where the Mediterranean is called “the inner sea,” as opposed to “the outer sea,” or the Oceanus which surrounds the islands of the inhabited world. For this reason, in Neofiti we should probably read *bgwwh* (referring to the Mediterranean), with the meaning “in the midst” (“the inner sea”).

30. See Le Déaut, *Nombres*, p. 125, n. 11.

31. Alexander, *Toponomy* (1974), 201.

It is not clear how the expansions in Neofiti are linked to the geographical boundaries. A first level of translation and interpretation may have been that the western boundary was as far as the Great Sea, interpreted as the Atlantic, and included the Mediterranean, with its islands, ports, and ships. This led to the concept of Oceanus and the primordial waters — less quantifiable concepts which fit none too easily into earthly geographical boundaries.<sup>32</sup>

**Orthosia** (*Orthosites*): *ʿrtwsyʿ*, Gen 10:17. HT: Sinites. Orthosia was a Phoenician seaport, north of Tripoli, mentioned in 1 Macc 15:37.

**Paneas**, in Northern Galilee. See “Apamea.”

**Pardesayya**, Plain of; see “Plain of the Gardens.”

**Passes of Abarayya**: *mgzt ʿbryyh*. Num 21:11; 33:44; HT: *ʿyy hʿbrym*; RSV: Iyeabarim. Very probably no particular locality is intended in Neofiti, which merely attempts a translation of the first element and transcribes the second, with an Aramaic ending. See also “Tirat Adarayya” below. Ps.-J. in 21:11 reads “the plain of Megaztha,” but in both 27:12 and 33:44 Ps.-J. agrees with Neofiti.

**Pelusium**: *pylwswpyn* (probably an error for *pylwsyn*). Num 33:5; also as *pylwsyn*, Gen 47:11; Exod 12:37. HT: Rameses, the place of residence of the Israelites in Egypt.

**Peor, idols of**: *ṭʿwwth dpʿr*. Num 23:28; HT here: “Top of Peor” (*rʿš hpʿwr*), a form occurring only here. HT Num 25:18 and 31:16 have Peor alone (“the affair of Peor”) and in Num 25:3, 5 “Baal-Peor,” in all of which instances Neofiti renders as “the idol of Peor.” In Deut 3:29 and 4:46 HT “Beth-Peor” is rendered in Neofiti as “the idol of Peor.” For Ps.-J. the distribution is somewhat different. In Num 23:28 and Deut 4:46 there is no mention of Peor. In Num 25:3, 18 and 31:16 Ps.-J. translates as HT. Only in Num 25:5 does Ps.-J. follow Neofiti.

**Phrygia**: *ʿpryqy* (*ʿAphriqi*), Gen 10:2. Region in Asia Minor. Identification of Gomer of HT. That Africa is not meant follows from the fact that Gomer is a son of Japheth and that almost all the other peoples of the verse are located in Asia Minor. Josephus (*Antiquities* 1,61, §123) identifies the Gomerites with the Galatians. The prefixed aleph is typical of Palestinian Aramaic. For other examples in place-names see *Reqem* (Josephus: *Arekem*) and *Trachon* (also written *ʿAtrachon*).

**Plain (or Valleys) of the Gardens** (or of Pardesayya): *myšr prdsyʿ*: *mešar pardesayya*, Gen 14:17. HT: Valley of Shaveh; Gen 14:3, 8, 10. HT: Valley of Siddim. The area in Gen 14:17 is one near Jerusalem where Melchizedek comes

32. See further Alexander, *Toponomy*, 1974, 200-203.

out to meet Abram. This must be the same as the Phordisia mentioned in a fifth-century Christian text, and the Phordesa (*Phordêsân*) found in a fifth/sixth-century processional cross and studied by J. T. Milik.<sup>33</sup> Milik suggests that Pardesayya as a rendering of *Siddim* (HT: *sdym*) in 14:3, 8, 10 in Neofiti and other Palestinian Targum texts comes from reading the Hebrew *sdym* as *sadim* — “fields” instead of *Siddim* as in the pointed Masoretic text. We cannot really say when this area was first called “The Plain of Pardesayya.” In the *Genesis Apocryphon* 22:13 it is identified as “the Valley of the King, the Valley of Beth-haccherem” (i.e. of “the House of the Vineyard”).

**Plains (or Valleys) of the Vision:** *myšry ḥzwh* (*mešre ḥezwah*), Gen 12:6. HT: “the oak of Moreh”; Gen 13:18; 14:13; 18:1. HT: “the oaks of Mamre.” The rendering may be a purely interpretative one, there being no place bearing that name.

**Pontus:** *pwnṭws*, the kingdom of Arioch according to Gen 14:9. HT: Ellasar (here and in 14:1; in 14:1 Neofiti reproduces HT). Pontus is on the Euxine Sea in northeastern Asia Minor. The *Genesis Apocryphon* (21:23), making Arioch king of Cappadocia, also places his kingdom in Asia Minor. Symmachus and the Vulgate also identify Ellasar as Pontus.

**Pundaque Hirata:** see “Taverns of Hirata.”

**Qeren (?) Zawwe** (read: *Qryy zkwṭ*): *qrn zwwy*. Num 34:15 (in an added paraphrase on the borders of the two and a half tribes): “From the Great River, the river Euphrates, the boundary went out for them to *qrn zwwy* (*Qeren Zawwe*), to Bathyra (*btryh*), the whole of Trachonitis of Beth-Zimra.” VN have *qryn zwwṭ*; Ps.-J. *qrn zkwṭ*. The original form of the name seems to have been *qryy zkwth*, “the villages of Zakhuta.” The place in question seems to be connected with *skwth* (with initial samech), Sakutha, of the rabbinic border list in *Sifre Deut* 51; *t. Shebi.* 4:11: “Sakutha, Nimrin. . .” Alexander<sup>34</sup> proposes one of two possible identifications: Modern Zakiye, south-southwest of Damascus, or the Zakkaia of Ptolemy, *Geography* V,14,20.

**Qesem:** *qsm*. Num 34:4, 5; “(Shuq Masai at) Qesem.” HT: (Hazar-addar to) Azmon (*šmn*). The place is present-day el-Quseima, at the eastern end of the wadi el-Arish, and very probably the correct identification of the biblical Azmon.<sup>35</sup>

33. See J. T. Milik, “Saint-Thomas de Phordesa et Gen 14:17,” in *Biblica* 42 (1961): 77–84.

34. Alexander, *Toponymy* (1974), 227.

35. See Alexander, *Toponymy* (1974), 199; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, vol. 1 (Paris: Gabalda, 1938), p. 306.

**Ramatha:** *rmth* ("height"), Num 21:20; 23:14; Deut 3:17, 27; 4:49; 34:1. Renders Pisgah of the Hebrew Text.

**Raphion (Raphia):** *ropywn*. Num 34:15 (in added paraphrase on the border of the two and a half tribes), which in its final stage "... goes out to Raphion (*ropywn*), and to Shuq Mazai (*mzy*), and to the Cave of Ain Gedi until it reaches the border district of the Sea of Salt." VN have a similar text but read Raphia (*ropyh*) instead of Raphion: "it goes out to Raphia and to Shuq Mazai until it reaches the border of the Sea of Salt." In Neofiti Num 34:4 the southern border is described from the Ascent of Akabbim, by the Mount of Iron, Reqem de-Ge'a, "and shall pass by the boundary of Shuq Masai (*msy*) at Qesem." (VN is similar, omitting the reference to Shuq Masai.) Qesem, as we have seen above, is at the southwest border, in the area of Gaza. If Shuq Mazai of 34:15 is the same as Shuq Masai of 34:4, Raphion would appear to have been in the same area. In this case Neofiti's reading (*ropywn*) is best corrected to VN's Raphiah (*ropyh*) and identified with Raphia, south of Gaza. Thus A. Díez Macho.<sup>36</sup> However, the reference to Shuq Mazai in Neofiti and VN 34,15 may be an erroneous gloss, added because a glossator took an original Raphia to be the town in southern Palestine. Thus Alexander.<sup>37</sup> In this case, with a Transjordan location, Neofiti's reading "Raphion" can be kept, and the place possibly identified with the Raphion of 1 Macc 5:34 (= Josephus, *Ant.* 12,8,4 §342).

Another possibility, and a variant of the first, might be that the texts of Neofiti (and VN) are original, not glosses, but that what the compiler intended was to have the border list end as the larger border list began: at the southwest of Palestine. Thus, here two traditions would be combined: the rabbinic tradition beginning and ending the border list at the south-west with Ashkelon, and the list for the two and a half tribes, ending in some way at the Dead Sea.

**Reqem:** *rqm*. Num 13:26; 20:1, 14, 16, 22; 33:36, 37. Also in Gen 14:7; 16:14; 20:1; Deut 1:2, 19, 46; 2:14; 9:23. HT: Kadesh. Reqem is the constant identification of HT Kadesh in all Targums and in the Peshitta Pentateuch.

Reqem (*rqm*) was the Semitic name for Petra in Edom; see Josephus,

36. A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1. Targum Palestinense MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana*. Tomo IV. *Numeros* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1974), p. 322, with reference to I. Press, *Historical-Topographical Encyclopedia of Palestine* (in Hebrew), 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Jerusalem, 1951), pp. 883-84; and Avi-Yonah, *Geografiyya Histōrit šel Erec Isra'el* ["Historical Geography of Eretz Israel from the Return to Zion until the Arab Conquest"] (Jerusalem, 1951), p. 118 (English translation of the work 1966 and 1977). See also F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, vol. 2 (Études Bibliques; Paris, 1938), p. 172.

37. Alexander, *Toponymy* (1974), 128.

*Ant.* 4,4,7 §2: “Moses led his forces through the desert and came to a place in Arabia which the Arabs have deemed their metropolis, formerly called Arkē (read: Arkem), today named Petra. There Aaron ascended a lofty mountain range that encloses the spot . . . and died with the eyes of the multitude on him” (cf. *HT Num* 33:37-38; 20:22: “and they set out from Kadesh and encamped at Mount Hor . . .”). See likewise Josephus, *Ant.* 4,7,1 §161 (on the death of Rekem [LXX: Rokom], the Midianite king, *Num* 31:8): “the fifth (Midianite king) Rekem, the city which bears his name ranks highest in the land of the Arabs and to this day is called by the whole Arabian nation, after the name of its royal founder, Rekeme; it is the Petra of the Greeks.” The Semitic form of the name has been confirmed by a Nabataean inscription, in which the city is designated as RQMW (the waw being a standard Nabataean ending).<sup>38</sup> Ps.-J. agrees with the references in Neofiti except that in *Num* 20:1 Ps.-J. does not contain Requem.

**Requem de Ge’a.** In Neofiti, *Frg. Tgs.* and Ps.-J. *rqm dgy’h* (or *gy’*), with an ayin; in *Onq.* and *Pesh.* *gy’* (with an aleph). Neofiti *Num* 32:8; 34:4; also in *Deut* 1:2, 19; 2:14; 9:23. This is the constant rendering of *HT* Kadesh-barnea in Neofiti, in all other Targums, and in *Pesh.* The name is also found in the rabbinic border lists of *Sifre Deut.* 51 and *t. Shebi.* 4:11, towards the end: “. . . Sakuta, Nimrin, the fort of Zariza, Requem of Gaia (*rqm gy’h*; with aleph), the Garden of Ashkelon, and the great road leading to the wilderness.”

The name Gi’a itself, without combination with Requem, is found as the name of a place, city, or village one and a quarter miles east of Petra, at the upper end of Wadi Musa. It is called el-Gi in Arabic and is attested with the writings *gy’*, *gy’*, *g’y’* (with aleph) in Nabataean inscriptions. The place indicated by these was probably a town. It may be that mentioned by Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 62,16: “Gai: a stage of the Israelites in the wilderness. There is to this very day a city called Gaia close to Petra.” In connecting this with a stage in the wilderness, Eusebius was probably under the influence of LXX *Num* 33:44, 45, which renders *HT* *’Iyyim* (with initial ayin) (of Moab) as Gai. The LXX translators, however, scarcely had a site near Petra in mind for this biblical place name, far removed from Petra. Gamma was a recognized transliteration of Hebrew ayin in certain words.

The targumic exegetical tradition clearly located the biblical Kadesh-barnea in the vicinity of Petra. Thus also Eusebius, *Onomasticon* 112,8: “Kadesh-barnea: the desert, stretching alongside the city of Petra in Arabia.”

38. See Alexander, *Toponymy* (1974), 192-199.



The linking of Ge'a to Reqem may have been intended to distinguish this particular area or place near Reqem from another, also well known, namely Reqem di-Hagra, also mentioned in rabbinic texts.<sup>39</sup>

**Šapit(a):** *špyt(')*, Gen 31:49. Perhaps merely an Aramaic rendering of Mizpah of the HT.

**Saracens:** *srq'yn, srqyn*, Gen 37:25, 27-28; 39:1. HT: Ishmaelites. By the fifth century CE the Saracens are well known. At the time Jerome wrote his commentary on Isaiah (ca. 408-410 CE) they had been known for a sufficient time in Palestine to give their name to a region: "Cedar is a region beyond *Arabia of the Saracens*" (on Isaiah 42:11). See also Jerome, *Comm. on Ezek.* VIII, cap. xxv. As in Neofiti, the Ishmaelites of the Bible were identified with them: "Cedar is a region beyond Arabia of the Saracens who are called Ishmaelites in Scripture" (Jerome on Isaiah 60:7). Augustine (*Questiones in Numeros* iv, q. 20, on Num 12:1) says that the Midianites of Ethiopia were in his day called Saracens. The Saracens are mentioned about 380 CE by Ammianus (*Hist.* 14,4). About 300 CE R. Levi says one of the three angels appeared to Abraham in the form of a Saracen (*Gen. Rabbah* 49:8, on Genesis 18:2). In the second century Ptolemy (*Geography* 6,7,21) gives the Saracens (*Sarakēnoi*) as a people of Arabia Felix and in *Geogr.* 5,17,3 he gives *Sarakēnē* as a region of *Arabia Petraea* near Egypt. They must, then, have been known in the area long before. They were probably nomads who were accustomed to migrate from the northeast towards Egypt. They are probably the people mentioned by Pliny (first century CE) in *Nat. Hist.* (6:28[32] 157); the reading of the text, however, is uncertain. In the Palestinian Talmud (*Bab. Met.* 2:8c) a Saracen is mentioned in an episode narrated of R. Simeon Shetah of ca. 90 BCE. It is quite probable that they were known in Palestine before the Christian era. Once known, the identification with the Ishmaelites of the Bible could easily be made.

**Sea of Gennesar.** Num 34:11. See above "Gennesar, Sea of."

**Segulah,** Valley of: *nḥl sgwlh*, Deut 1:24; HT: Valley of Eshcol.

**Seleucia:** *bsylywqh* (written *syl ywqyh*), Deut 3:10. HT: Salecah. Town in north-western Palestine. Probably the Seleucia mentioned by Josephus among the conquests of Alexander Janneus (see *Ant.* 15,15,4; *War* 2,20,6; 4,1,1; *Life* 37).

**Shalmaites:** *šlmyyh*. Num 24:21; HT: Kenite (*kyny*); also in Gen 15:19 (*šlm'y*), HT: Kenizite (*kyny*). The same translation of HT Kenite is also in other Tar-

39. See further Alexander, *Toponymy* (1974), 192-199.

gums. The term is also found in rabbinic texts: *j. Shebi.* 6,36b (bottom); *Gen. R.* 44 (one view identifies the Kenizites as Shalmaïtes); *b. Bath.* 56a (identifying Kadmonites as Shalmaïtes); *j. Qidd.* 1, 61d (top; identifying the Kenites as Shalmaïtes). They are probably the Salmani, the Arabian people in or near Mesopotamia mentioned by Pliny, *Natural History* 6,26, §30; the *salmēnoi* of Stephanus of Byzantium. In Ps.-J. this word appears in 24:22, not in 24:21.

**Shiran.** Num 32:3 (Ps.-J.); HT: Nebo.

**Shuq Masai** (at Qesem): *šwq msyy.* Num 34:4; see also 34:15. In 34:4 Shuq Masai is given as the extreme western end of Israel's southern border: "(the boundary . . . shall continue to) Tirat-Adarayya and shall pass by the boundary of Shuq Masai at Qesem . . . and . . . from Qesem to the Nile. . . ." HT: "to Hazar-addar and pass along to Azmon." In Neofiti HT Hazar-addar is identified as Tirat-adarayya, and Azmon as Qesem. The reference to Shuq Masai is extra. The Frg. Tgs. (VN) and Ps.-J. do not contain here the reference to Shuq Masai, and in the following verse HT Azmon is rendered in Neofiti simply by Qesem, without any reference to Shuq Masai. Here, apparently, Neofiti has incorporated a marginal gloss intended to identify Qesem. Shuq Masai here is the Sykamazon of Byzantine texts, a town and a district to the south of Gaza (between Gaza and Raphia), modern Khirbet Suq Mazen.<sup>40</sup> Shuq Masai is not elsewhere mentioned in rabbinic texts. The gloss would appear to date from Byzantine times, when Sykamazon seems to have been of some importance and to have had a bishop. See P. S. Alexander on the name;<sup>41</sup> also above under "Qesem" and "Raphion." The word does not appear in Ps.-J.

**Shuq Mazai** (in the Transjordan)? A Shuq Mazai (with *zain*) is also mentioned in Neofiti Num 34:15, but in connection with a Raphion (presumably in the Transjordan) and Ain Gedi at the Dead Sea, and towards the end of the boundary list of the two and a half tribes. One explanation is that both place names in Neofiti here are glosses erroneously inserted. Another is that the same places as in Neofiti Num 34:4 are intended to conclude the border list. The error in this case would be the connection with Raphion of the Transjordan. See above under "Raphion."

**Simath:** *symt* (with initial samech). Num 32:3; Nf only. HT: Sebam, a word found only here in the Pentateuch. The Frg. Tgs. VN and Onq. reproduce the

40. See F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Études Bibliques; Paris: Gabalda, 1938), p. 172.

41. See Alexander, *Toponymy* (1974), 199.

HT word. Frg. Tg. L<sub>2</sub> has *swbr*; Ps.-J. has Mera for the HT Sebam; see “Mera” above. The Aramaic term *symt* does not appear to be elsewhere attested.

**Springs of Damascus**, Num 34:15. See above “Damascus, Springs of.”

**Sukkatha**: *skth*, Num 33:17. Aramaic form of Sukkoth of HT.

**Tanis**: *tnys*. Num 13:22. HT: Zoan (MT: *šo'an*); also in Exod 1:11. HT: Pithom. In the Pentateuch Zoan occurs only here, and Pithom in Exod 1:11.

**“Tarnegola (the rooster) of Caesarea”** (*trnglh . . . dqysry*). See under “Fort Tarnegola”; and also below under “Yadyoqiṭa” (end).

**Tarsus** (Greek: Tarsos): *ṭrss* (*Tarsas*), Gen 10:4. Identification of Tarshish of HT. Josephus (*Antiquities* I,6,2 §127) sees the name in Tarsus of Cilicia. Jastrow gives *Tarentum*.

**Ṭaurus Umanus (Ṭaurus Amanus)**: *ṭwrrws mns*; *wmnš ṭwrrs*. MT: *Hor ha-har*; RSV: Mount Hor. Neofiti: “. . . from the Great Sea . . . to Huminas Taurus (*hwmys ṭwrrws*); from Taurus Menos (*ṭwrrws mynws*, with yod deleted in manuscript) to the entrance of Antioch.” The original reading of the Neofiti and Pal. Tg. tradition is uncertain, as texts differ. Ps.-J. has *ṭwrrys 'wmnys*; *ṭwrrws 'wmnys* (and in Num 33:37-38 *ṭwrrws 'wmnws*); P (34:8): *ṭwrrws mnws*; VN: *ṭwrrws mnws*.

Obviously the original reading from which these derive had a double rendering for HT *Hor ha-har*, the first element of which rendering was “Taurus.” The second was a variant of “Amanus.” It is agreed that the double name corresponds to the two distinct mountain ranges, the Taurus and the Amanus. In the Pal. Tg. these are given as the northern boundary of Israel. Josephus, too (*Ant.* 1,6,1-2 §§122, 130), makes the mountains of Taurus and Amanus the boundary between the sons of Japheth and the sons of Ham. Likewise, according to *t. Hal.* 2:11,<sup>42</sup> on the question: “What is Israel and what is foreign territory?” the answer is: “Everything from the Taurus Amanus (*ṭwrrws 'mnws*) downwards . . . is the land of Israel; from the Taurus Amanus and beyond is foreign territory.” (See also *m. Hall.* 4:18; *Shebi.* 6:1, with simple Amanus.)

The Amanus range begins on the coast to the west of Antioch and runs in a north-northwesterly direction for about a hundred and fifty kilometers almost to Germanicia (modern Marash), where it is separated from the Taurus range by the gorge of Jihum. There are few passes through it, one being the

42. Edition M. S. Zuckerman, *Tosephta* (Pasewalk, 1880), 99.

Beilan Pass to the north of Antioch, which connects Syria and Cilicia, the Syrian Gates of antiquity (Ptolemy, *Geography* 5,14,9).<sup>43</sup> The Amanus range was an important natural barrier, and, as noted, was given by Josephus as a frontier between Japheth and Ham.

P. S. Alexander<sup>44</sup> thinks that the original Pal. Tg. identification of the biblical *Hor ha-Har* of Num 34:8 may have been simply Mt Taurus at the Beilan Pass. Amanus would have been added later to specify the Taurus as Taurus of the Amanus range, and not the more famous and extensive Taurus range to the north. He notes that 1QGenap 30:16 places the “Mountain of the Bull” (*ṭwr ṭwr*) on the northern border of the land of Israel, and the Taurus of Beilan is what is probably intended. Behind the Aramaic *ṭwr* (“Bull”) of this text stood the Aramaic Targum form *ṭwwrws*.

In this context it is worth noting that Jerome (*Comm. on Ezek.* 47:15-17; CCL 75,721; PL 25,477; written 411 C.E.) says that the Jews of his day maintained that *Hor ha-Har* of Num 24:8 was the Amanus or the Taurus (*uel Amanum montem significare uel Taurum*).

With regard to the other and southern Mount Hor (*hor ha-har*) where Aaron died (Num 20:22, 23, 25, 27; 21:4; 33:41; Deut 32:50), Neofiti retains the Hebrew in Aramaic form (*hr ṭwr*). Ps.-J.’s rendering is influenced by the Pal. Tg. identification in Num 34:7, 8.

**Taverns of Hirata:** (or “of Licentiousness?”) *pwndqy hyrth hyrt*; *pwndqy* is a Greek loan word, *pandakion*. Neofiti Exodus 14:2, 9; Numbers 33:7, 8. Not in Ps.-J. HT: Pi-Hahiroth. The *Mekilta* (on Ex 14:2) interprets the Hebrew text to mean the licentiousness (*herût*) of the Egyptians. This tradition, apparently, has influenced some texts of Ps.-J. and Frg. Tg. which for Ex 14:2 write *hyrt* (*herûta*), not *hyrt*.

**Telassar:** *tl’sr*, Gen 10:12. HT: Resen. “Telassar between Nineveh and Adiabene.” It may be Telassar of Is 37:12; cf. 2 Kgs 19:12. Other Palestinian Targum texts on Gen 10:12 have Talsar (*tlsr*).

**Thracia** (Greek: *Thrakē*): *trq*’ (*Tarqa* or *Tarqe*). Gen 10:2. HT: Tirs.

**Ṭirat Adarayya:** *ṭyrt ‘dryyh*. Num 34:4. HT: Hazar-addar. The Frg. Tgs. (VN) 34:4 have: Dirat Adarayya (*dyrt ‘dryyh*). In neither case is there a direct identification; both simply translate the Hebrew *ḥsr* and transliterate the second element, adding an Aramaic plural ending. The term *tyrh* means “enclosure” (as in

43. See Alexander, *Toponymy* (1974), 204.

44. Alexander, *Toponymy* (1974), 204.

Neofiti Gen 25:16); *dyrt* means “a courtyard,”<sup>45</sup> probably related to the Aramaic word *drh*, “courtyard, dwelling.” See also *dyrt* under “Dirat Adarayya” above.

**Ṭirat Enwata:** *ṭyrt 'nwwth*. Num 34:9, 10. HT: Hazar-enan; VN Nfmg: *dyrt 'nwwt*. The targumist simply translated the Hebrew *ḥsr* (as earlier in Hazar-addar) and read HT *'nn* as a plural. He must not have known any identification of the Hebrew place name.<sup>46</sup> For the meaning of *ṭirah* and *dyrh*, see under “Ṭirat Adarayya.” Jerome may have known the targumic rendering of *ḥsr* as preserved in the Frg. Tg. tradition (*dyrh*, “courtyard”). Sometimes Jerome translates as “Villa Enon” (*Comm. on Ezekiel* 47:18; CCL 75, 721, 723), but occasionally also (as in *Comm. on Ezek.* 47:18, CCL 75, 723) as *atrium Enan*, “the courtyard of Enan” (= targumic *dirat 'Enan*, of VN and Nfmg).

**Top of the Height:** Num 21:20; 23:14; also in Deut 3:27; 34:1. HT: “top of Pisgah.” Probably not intended as an identifiable place name.

**Trachon(a):** (*kl*) *ṭrkwn* (*byt zymr*). Num 34:15 (in an added paraphrase); also in Deut 3:4 (*ṭrkwnh*; with initial teth); 3:13, 14 (*ṭrkwnh*; with initial tau). HT: Argob. It is Tracho (*ho Tracho*) of Josephus (*Ant.* 13,16,5 §427; etc.); Trachonitis of Luke 3:1.

**Valley of the Hebrews.** Num 21:11 (12); cf. 27:12 (7); see also Fords of Abarayya: Num 33:44 (17); 33:44 (14). HT: Iyeaberim.

**Valleys of the Gardens;** see “Plain of the Gardens.”

**Villages of Jair:** *Kuphranê d'ya'ir*: Num 32:41 (*kwprny dy'yr*); Deut 3:14 (*kwprnwy dy'yr*). HT: Havvoth-jair.

**Yadyoqiṭa:** *ydwqyṭ*, *ydywqtws*. Num 34:15, in an added paraphrase on the borders of the two and a half tribes: “. . . to the fortress of Iyyon to the east of Beth Yeraḥ; and from the east of the Sea of Beth Yeraḥ the boundary went out for them to Yadyoqiṭa, and from Yadyoqiṭas Tarnegol of Caesarea, which is on the east of the (Cave) of Dan, the boundary went out for them to the Mount of Snow.” The text “the Sea of Beth Yeraḥ” (found in no other text of this paraphrase on Num 34:15) is probably an erroneous insertion in Neofiti. The point of departure for the boundary of “Yadyoqiṭos” would then have originally been Iyyon near Dan/Paneas. “Yadyoqiṭas,” variously given in the texts,<sup>47</sup> is pa-

45. See Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), p. 148.

46. See Alexander, *Toponymy* (1974), 219f.

47. See Martin McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Numbers* (The Aramaic Bible 4;

tently a corruption, and most probably of an Aramaic form of the Greek loan word *eikōn*, a likeness of any kind, whether a picture, a carving, or a free-standing statue. The form of this loan word in our sources is almost invariably corrupt, and presumably intentionally so, the image in question (of a rooster *trngl*) having been regarded as an abomination. This particular image was situated near Dan/Paneas/Caesarea (Philippi). Thus in all the texts (Neofiti, VN, Ps.-J., Nfmg).

“Tarnegola (the rooster) of Caesarea” (*trngla . . . dqysry*) is also given in the rabbinic border list *Sifre Deut* 51; *t. Shebi.* 4:11: “the depression of Iyyun, upper Tarnegola of Caesarea, Beth Sukkot. . . .”<sup>48</sup>

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Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995), p. 178 (Apparatus to Numbers 34:15, and note 20 to same verse).

48. See Alexander, *Toponymy*, p. 229.

## CHAPTER 19

### *Targum of the Prophets*

#### 1. Babylonian Targum of the Prophets

The Targum of the Earlier and Later Prophets has traditionally been attributed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel, the disciple of Hillel (*ca.* 50 CE). This is due to the Babylonian Talmud, *Meg.* 3a. It has now been generally agreed, however, that the “Jonathan” mentioned in this text is a Hebrew form of Theodotion, just as “Onqelos” of the same text is but a Hebrew form of Aquila. The translation connected with the name of Jonathan (that is Theodotion) in the text of the Talmud is most probably a Greek, rather than an Aramaic, targum. Elsewhere in the Babylonian Talmud the Targum of the Prophets is associated with the name of R. Joseph bar Hiyya, not with that of Jonathan. But this association does not amount to a tradition on the authorship of the targum. It follows that we know nothing on the author of the Targum of the Prophets. This, of course, is in keeping with the origin of the targums in general.

The Targum of the Prophets as we now have it has come to us redacted in the Jewish schools of Babylonia. It must, however, have come to Babylonia from Palestine. This means that it is basically a Palestinian work. We cannot really say how much the Babylonian redaction has affected the original work. We can presume that no small amount of paraphrase was removed to bring the text nearer to the original Hebrew. The redaction, however, has been less thoroughgoing than was the case with Onqelos, the result being that Targum Jonathan of the Prophets retains more paraphrases than does the Babylonian Targum of Genesis.

In its present form the Targum of Prophets dates from the third to

the fifth century CE. It must have been widely known in Babylonia at an early date since it is cited at the beginning of the fourth century as authoritative (Babylonian Talmud *San.* 94b).

A. Tal (Rosenthal) has devoted a monograph to the language of the Targum of the Former Prophets.<sup>1</sup> By comparison with the Aramaic of Qumran and other relevant Aramaic texts he concludes that the language of this Targum is to be assigned to Judea before 135 CE. This Targum generally gives a literal translation of the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible. Unlike the other Targums it contains few extended midrashic passages. Departure from the Hebrew Text usually occurs in the several hymns. It does have the usual targumic translational techniques and theology, departure from the Masoretic Text by changes in expression to describe God and his activity. It has the expected midrashic additions, theological interpretations, and halakic harmonizations.<sup>2</sup>

A lot of research has been devoted to the Targum of Prophets, particularly of the Latter Prophets.<sup>3</sup> The date assigned to the form of text as we now have it is generally regarded as early, as pre-135 BC. Opinion is somewhat divided as to whether it should be assigned a pre- or post-70 CE date. The weight of opinion would appear to favour the latter.<sup>4</sup>

As Smolar and Aberbach remark on the halakah of Targum Jonathan of the Prophets:<sup>5</sup> “[T]he central purpose of the Aramaic translation was

1. Abraham 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 [in Hebrew]).

2. For a detailed introduction to the Targum of the Former Prophets see Daniel J. Harrington and Anthony J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets. Introduction, Translation and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 10; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987), pp. 3-13. They find that Tal's position assigning the work to Judea before 135 CE seems reasonable, provided that allowance is made for the insertion of later material into the text and the possibility of some editorial activity in Babylonia prior to the Arab invasion.

3. The fullest modern study of the Targum of Prophets, with the history of research and exhaustive bibliographical references, is by Roger Le Déaut (d. 2000), “Targum” in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 2002), vol. 13, end, cols. 1\*-344\* (special numbering); prepared for publication by Jacques Robert; bibliography updated by Claude Tassin. See also Philip S. Alexander, “Targum, Targumim,” in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 4, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 320-331 at 324-325.

4. See Robert P. Gordon, *Studies in the Targum to the Twelve Prophets. From Nahum to Malachi* (Supplements to *Vetus Testamentum* 51; Leiden: Brill, 1994), pp. 134-137.

5. Leivy Smolar and Moses Aberbach, *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* by L. Smolar and M. Aberbach, and *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* by Pinkhos Churgin (The



not to provide an accurate rendering for the benefit of scholars, but to instruct the masses with an up-to-date version, one which perforce had to agree with current laws and customs." For the same writers the theology of Targum Prophets is, with rare exceptions, identical with orthodox Judaism as developed by the Pharisees and rabbis.<sup>6</sup> As in other areas, it is the religious theology of the school of Akiba which prevails throughout.<sup>7</sup> It has the usual targumic emphases, in what it says on the concept of God, God and humanity, idolatry, fear of God and sin, Torah and good deeds. It has much to say on prayer, on reward of the righteous and punishment of the wicked, sin and the justice of punishment, on the divine presence and eschatology.

While the unity of tradition in the Targum Prophets had been the accepted view, linguistic probes have shown up certain differences in the language. Some differences between the linguistic stock of Tg. Former Prophets and Tg. Latter Prophets has been observed by A. Tal, who, however, did not wish to draw any radical conclusion from this on the relationships of the two parts of Tg. Prophets. B. Grossfeld has noted a different translation of the Hebrew *nws* in the Latter (*'rq*) and Former (*'pk*) Prophets, and thinks that the Tg. Latter Prophets may represent an earlier translation than Tg. Former Prophets.<sup>8</sup> More detailed examination of the contents of the Tg. Latter Prophets seems to indicate that there are layers of traditions within them. In four studies B. Chilton has sought to determine the exegetical context of the Isaiah Targum.<sup>9</sup> He is sceptical of the position of Smolar and Aberbach linking it with Rabbi Akiba.<sup>10</sup> He believes that there is common ground between Tg. Isaiah and the kingdom sayings of Jesus.<sup>11</sup> He finds two stages of development in Tg. Isaiah,

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Library of Biblical Studies; New York and Baltimore: Ktav and the Baltimore Hebrew College, 1983). p. 61. See also citation from P. Churgin, above, in Chapter 6, note 1, p. 102.

6. Smolar and Aberbach, *Studies in Targum Jonathan*, pp. 129-227.

7. Smolar and Aberbach, *Studies in Targum Jonathan*, p. 129.

8. Robert Grossfeld, "The Relationship between Biblical *brx* and *nws* and Their Corresponding Aramaic Equivalents in the Targum — *'rq*, *'zl*, *'pk*: A Preliminary Study in Aramaic-Hebrew Lexicography," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 91 (1979): 107-123, at 115, 120.

9. Bruce D. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel. The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (JSOT Supplement Series 23; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983); *A Galilean Rabbi and His Bible. Jesus' Use of the Interpreted Scripture of His Time* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1984); *The Isaiah Targum* (The Aramaic Bible 11; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987).

10. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum*, p. xxii.

11. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel*.

Tannaitic and Amoraic, and a pre-70 and a post-70 Tannaitic stage. He finds different levels of meaning in the Targum corresponding to its different phases, and believes that at both phases current interpretations of Isaiah were obviously gathered together. It is impossible to know whether a complete Targum was produced at the Tannaitic phase, to be reworked in the Amoraic phase, or whether both Tannaitic and Amoraic phases produced partial Targums, to become a coherent whole when brought together in the Amoraic period. He favours this latter position. Not everyone is convinced by Chilton's analysis and dating of the Isaiah Targum.<sup>12</sup>

In a detailed introduction to his English translation of Tg. Jeremiah R. Hayward noted that it shows no influence from the synagogue cycle of readings as *haftarah*.<sup>13</sup> The paraphrase of Tg. Jeremiah reflects some very ancient exegesis of Jeremiah, while more recent interpretations are also represented. There are indications that it is aware of a number of old exegetical traditions known also to LXX and some points of contact with Qumran and pre-Rabbinic literature.<sup>14</sup> However, there is little doubt that this Tg. in its present form reflects in its paraphrase Rabbinic exegeses and ideas such as are expressed in the Talmud and Midrashim,<sup>15</sup> even though there are passages where Tg. Jeremiah does not reflect the exegesis of Jeremiah found in Talmud and Midrash. As a whole, then, Tg. Jeremiah appears to have its exegetical roots in (probably) pre-Christian study and interpretation. It also shows contact with, and keen awareness of, Rabbinic schools with their traditions. It has close affinities with the other Tgs. of the Latter Prophets, and the impression which it creates is of a carefully thought-out coherent understanding of the text.<sup>16</sup> There are few, but very clear, early citations of Tg. Jeremiah in Rabbinic texts; one text which is very probably a citation of Tg. Jer 2:2 has been found in a magic bowl from Nippur dated 350-500 CE.

The Tg. of Ezekiel is in the tradition of the Tg. of the Latter Prophets, with regard to text and theology. S. H. Levey believes that it is dependent on Jewish Merkabah tradition. It translates the designation of Ezekiel *ben 'adam* ("son of man"), not literally as *bar 'enaša*, but as *bar 'adam*, which

12. R. Gordon, *Studies in the Targum to the Twelve Prophets*, pp. 17-18.

13. Robert Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 12; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987), pp. 1-7.

14. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah*, pp. 26-28.

15. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah*, p. 28.

16. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah*, p. 29.

Levey renders as “son of Adam,” possibly because in some Rabbinic circles Adam (like Ezekiel later) was given to see the entire course of human history.<sup>17</sup> Tg. Ezekiel may have influenced later Jewish liturgical texts. It is used as authoritative by medieval Jewish lexicographers (Rabbi Nathan; Elias Levita) and commentators on the book of Ezekiel (Rashi, Solomon b. Isaac, Kimhi, Maimonides).

Kevin Cathcart and Robert Gordon have provided a very learned and informative introduction to the Targum of the Minor Prophets: on its translational characteristics, theology, life-setting (synagogue/school), text and versions, language, rabbinic citations and parallels, and dating among other matters. What is said for the Targum of these books will, of course, hold in good part for the Targum of the Prophets in general. There are several indications of connections with the synagogue, but others pointing to a role of the school in the work's formation. Abraham Tal's philological arguments in favour of a pre-135 CE date for the targum of the Former Prophets is considered in detail and its merits assessed. With regard to dating, indications for a pre-70 CE date for some of the Targum's texts are noted. The authors go on to remark that there are, on the other hand, fairly clear indications of a post-70 CE origin for various Targum references, especially in relation to the two topics of Shekinah and “the land.” As to the Shekinah, the Targum twice alters statements about God's presence with Israel so that they speak of the future residence of the Shekinah among them (Habakkuk 2:20; Zephaniah 3:15), implying the loss of the Shekinah with the destruction of the Temple. Shekinah can now be talked of only as a hope for the future.

## 2. Targum of Prophets: Texts, Versions and Concordances

The manuscripts of Targum Prophets are numerous, some with Babylonian vocalization, other with Tiberian or no vocalization. The text of the Former Prophets was published in Leiria in 1494, and in the *First and Second Rabbinic Bible(s)*, Venice: Bomberg, 1515-1517 and 1524-1525. The text of the Latter Prophets was published in the First Rabbinic Bible, Venice: Bomberg, 1515-1517, again in the Second Rabbinic (= The First Masoretic)

17. Samson H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 13; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1987), pp. 6-11.

Bible, Venice: Bomberg, 1524-1525. The *Targum of Prophets* was later printed in the Complutensian (1514-1517), the Antwerp (1569-1573, vols. 2 and 4) and London (1654-1657, in volume 2) Polyglot Bibles. In more recent times Paul de Lagarde published the Aramaic text of the Targum of Prophets in *Prophetæ Chaldaice*.<sup>18</sup> The present-day standard edition is by Alexander Sperber.<sup>19</sup> The base text used by Sperber for this edition is British Library, Manuscript Or 2211, with variants in his apparatuses from other manuscripts.

The Aramaic text of the Targum of Isaiah, with an English translation, was edited by John F. Stenning.<sup>20</sup> In the *Aramaic Bible Series* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier), there are English translations of all the Targums of the Prophets accompanied by critical introduction, apparatus and notes: *The Former Prophets* by Daniel J. Harrington and Anthony J. Saldarini (1987); *Isaiah* by Bruce D. Chilton (1987), *Jeremiah* by Robert Hayward (1987), *Ezekiel* by Samson H. Levey, and the *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* by Kevin J. Cathcart and Robert P. Gordon (1989).

With regard to *Concordances*, Johannes B. van Zijl published a concordance of Targum Isaiah.<sup>21</sup> There is a concordance to Targum Prophets (Former and Latter) in 21 volumes (Aramaic-Hebrew Concordance, with English translation of head words), with Johannes De Moor as Director. In the final volume (edited by Alberdina Houtman and Johannes De Moor) there are additions and corrections, a cumulative English-Aramaic Index and cumulative Aramaic-Hebrew Index, with English translation of head words.<sup>22</sup>

18. Leipzig; 1872; reprint Osnabrück, 1967.

19. Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*. Volume 2. *The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 1959); Volume 3. *The Latter Prophets according to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 1962).

20. John F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah. Translated and Based on Yemenite Manuscripts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949).

21. Johannes B. van Zijl, *A Concordance of the Targum of Isaiah* (SBL Aramaic Studies 3; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1970).

22. *A Bilingual Concordance to the Targum of the Prophets* (Former and Latter Prophets). Project Director: Johannes C. De Moor. In 21 volumes (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 1995-2005).

## CHAPTER 20

### *Targums of the Hagiographa*

Unlike the Law and the Prophets, the Hagiographa did not form part of the synagogue liturgy. No Aramaic rendering was then required for synagogue use. Rabbinic tradition seems to have been aware that no Aramaic translations of these works were known. The Babylonian Talmud records (*b. Megillah* 3a) that Jonathan ben Uzziel wanted to provide one, but was restrained by a heavenly voice because the date of the Messiah is foretold in the writings. Yet we possess targums to all these works, with the exception of Ezra-Nehemiah and Daniel. All these targums, with the possible exception of the Targum of Proverbs, are basically in Palestinian Aramaic.<sup>1</sup> Each presents its own peculiar problems. According to what general view there is on the subject, these works are held: (1) to have originated not before the talmudic period, and perhaps later; (2) to be the works of individuals, unlike Jonathan and Onqelos; (3) not to have been destined for the use of school or synagogue. More detailed study would probably introduce many nuances. While more attention has been given to these Targums in recent years (systematically so in the introductions in the *Aramaic Bible* series), much work yet remains to be done. As yet there is no critical edition of most of these Targums. In his edition of all the Targums in *The Bi*

1. On the Targums of the Hagiographa see Roger Le Déaut (d. 2000), "Targum" in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 2002), vol. 13, end, cols. 1\*-344\* [special numbering]; prepared for publication by Jacques Robert; bibliography updated by Claude Tassin, at cols. 121\*-243\*, with detailed discussion of each Targum, ending with treatment of the manuscripts, editions and studies. See also Philip S. Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 6, ed. David Noel Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), pp. 320-331 at 325-328.

*ble in Aramaic* Alexander Sperber reproduces the text of Chronicles and Ruth from earlier printed editions and from the manuscript Or. 2375 of the British Library, a text he regards as full of misspellings.<sup>2</sup> He makes no attempt to offer the texts in a critical edition as he had done for the earlier volumes with the Pentateuch (Onqelos) and the Prophets. The reason he gives is that these Hagiographa texts are not Targum-texts at all, but Midrash-texts in the guise of Targum. In this Sperber has not been followed by other scholars, and preparation of critical editions of the Targums of the Hagiographa continues to be pursued.

### 1. Targums of Job

The Tgs. of Job and of the Psalter are very similar in language, style, and textual type.<sup>3</sup> Both may have gone through a parallel process of transmission, often found the same manuscripts, and according to some scholars may have originated in the same milieu; on the relationship see further below on Targum Psalms. As S. A. Kaufman has noted,<sup>4</sup> the Aramaic form of the language of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan is virtually the same as the language found in the canonical Targums of Job and the Psalter.

The manuscripts of Targum Job represent four different recensions of the text. One distinctive feature of the Targum Job is multiple translations. Within the text itself (and in all recensions) two, sometimes three or even four, different translations of a verse or substantial part of a verse are given under the rubric *targûm aher* ("another translation") or *lašôn aher* ("a different wording"). The origin of this feature has not been ascertained.

The translation has affiliations with the Palestinian Targums; sometimes with Onqelos, sometimes with Pseudo-Jonathan.

There is no mistaking the fact that Targum Job shares much haggadic

2. Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*. Vol. 4A. *The Hagiographa: Transition from Translation to Midrash* (Leiden: Brill, 1968; reprint 1992), pp. vii-viii.

3. On the Targum of Job see Celine Mangan, *The Targum of Job* (The Aramaic Bible 15; Collegeville: Liturgical/Edinburgh: Clark, 1991); also Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 124\*-135\*; Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," at 325-326.

4. Stephen A. Kaufman, "Dating the Language of the Palestinian Targums and Their Use in the Study of First Century Judaism," in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 166; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 118-141, at 125.

material with the Babylonian Talmud, but there is much that is different. It is difficult to say which depends on which, or whether both depend on a common source.<sup>5</sup>

The first medieval writer to cite Targum Job is Saadya Gaon. It is also cited in the *Aruk* of Rabbi Nathan of Rome (1035-1110), R. Samuel Ben Nissim of Aleppo (early 13th century), R. Moses ban Nahman (1194-1270) and Elias Levita (1469-1549) in his *Meturgeman*. On the other hand Rashi and Ibn Ezra make little use of it.

The Targum of Job is not very rich in haggadah. It does, however, have insertions on the Law; some references to sacred and Jewish history; to angels (beyond what is in the biblical text), heaven, and occasionally to the life to come (15:21), the future kingdom (36:7), to the resurrection (11:17; 14:14) but not at 19:25, which is rendered as "I know that my redeemer lives and after this his redemption will stand upon the dust." The date of composition is uncertain, before Saadya (died 942 CE).

## 2. Targum of Psalms

The Targum of Psalms has as yet not been critically edited, but L. Díez Merino has published the text, together with a Latin translation, from a sixteenth-century manuscript.<sup>6</sup> Eighteen manuscripts are known to include Targum Psalms, a larger number than that available for the Targum of Job.<sup>7</sup> The similar features which the Targum of Psalms shares with the Targum of Job have been noted for a long time, and it has sometimes been thought that they may have had a common origin. In the introduction to his recent translation of Targum Pss David Stec makes the following remarks on this matter, with regards to the similarities, on three points. (1) Both are similar in general character, giving for the most part a fairly literal translation of the Hebrew, into which haggadic insertions are made, and they share certain common themes in these insertions.

5. See Mangan in *The Targum of Job*, p. 6.

6. Luis Díez Merino, *Targum de Salmos: Edición Principe del Ms. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora* (Biblioteca Hispana Biblica 6; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto 'Francisco Suarez', 1982).

7. For all details concerning Targum Psalms see now David M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 16; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004); for manuscripts and editions, pp. 21-22. See also Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 136\*-141\*; Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," at 326.

Thus for instance an interest in the Law, instruction, prophecy, angels, and Gehenna. Targum Job also refers to many of the same persons and events from biblical history as those found in Targum Psalms: the Garden of Eden, the generation of the Flood, the Patriarchs, particularly their righteousness and piety; Sodom, Esau, the Exodus, the Egyptians and Pharaoh, Korah and Jonah. On the other hand some themes that are prominent or well attested in Targum Psalms are not attested in or totally absent from Targum Job. Likewise, several persons and events from biblical history referred to in Targum Psalms are not mentioned in Targum Job, for example, Moses, Aaron and a number of others connected with David and from later biblical times. However, the basic difference between the (Davidic) liturgical book of Psalms and Job may explain this. (2) The multiple translation of verses is found in both Targum Psalms and Targum Job; this phenomenon, however, is manifested on a much smaller scale in Targum Psalms than in Targum Job. (3) Targum Psalms and Targum Job have much vocabulary in common and frequently use the same equivalents to render the original Hebrew, though there are often differences between them. Stec concludes that although there are similarities between Targum Psalms and Targum Job, it is not clear whether these are sufficient to be attributed to a common origin. The relationship of these two Targums to each other is a matter requiring detailed research.

While the exact date of origin of our present Targum Psalms is difficult to determine, it undoubtedly has some very old traditions. The Aramaic for Targum Ps 22:1 (*'eli 'eli* [v.l. *'elahi 'elahi*] *metul mah šebaqtani*) is similar to Jesus' word on the cross (Mark 15:34; Matthew 27:46); and the Targum for Ps 68:19 ("You ascended the firmament, prophet Moses, you took captivity captive; you learned the words of the Law, *you gave them as a gift to the children of men*") is near the form of this text as we find it in Ephesians 4:8.<sup>8</sup> And yet we cannot from this demonstrate that our present Targum Psalms is old.

Although the Psalms were central to Jewish liturgy we cannot even say that our present Targum originated in a liturgical, rather than in a scholastic or private study context. After all, it is in the tradition of Targum Job, a book which was not used in Jewish liturgy.

8. See Martin McNamara, *The Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch and the New Testament* (Analecta Biblica 27, 27A; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1966; 1978), pp. 78-81, and above, pp. 234-235.



### 3. Targum of Proverbs

We still await a critical edition of Targum Proverbs. It is unique among Targums in that its language is eastern Aramaic, if not Syriac, with some western Aramaic features — a question undoubtedly connected with its origins.<sup>9</sup> It has no additional haggadah, even though Rabbinic tradition is rich in the development of such themes of Proverbs as Wisdom (Prov 8:22f.), identified with the Law. Targum Proverbs has many non-MT readings. Of its 915 verses, 300 are verbally identical to Peshitta Proverbs. An explanation of these facts is difficult. It may be that the Aramaic of Targum Proverbs is a mixed, artificial one representing that of a scholar translator rather than a spoken dialect. Three explanations of its relation to the Peshitta have been offered. (1) The Peshitta used and depends on Targum Proverbs; (2) Targum Proverbs depends on the Peshitta; (3) Targum Proverbs represents a very early Eastern Jewish Targum on which our present Targum Proverbs and the Peshitta depend. No precise date can be given for the date of origin of Targum Proverbs, and views differ from the second to the seventh or eighth centuries. Future research may help clarify some of these issues. In any event Targum Proverbs presents us with another facet of the rich tradition of Targum.

### 4. Targum Lamentations

Like Targum Canticles there are two recensions of Targum Lamentations extant, a Yemenite one and a Western text. The Western text is the longer of the two, and generally regarded as the better and the original. The Targum of Lamentations is very expansive, the haggadic expansions tending to be towards the beginning of the work. Its paraphrase is closely related to the Rabbinic *Lamentations Rabbah*, generally regarded as one of the oldest of the Rabbinic midrashim. It is hard to say where the dependence lies, and which of the two (Targum or Midrash) is the older. Targum Lamentations mentions Constantinople (founded 330 CE) by name. Some would date it as late as the seventh century.

9. For a recent treatment of Targum Proverbs see further John Healey, *The Targum of Proverbs*, pp. 1-11, in C. Mangan, J. F. Healey, and P. S. Knobel, *The Targums of Job, Proverbs, and Qohelet* (The Aramaic Bible 15. Collegeville: Liturgical Press/Edinburgh: Clark, 1991). See also Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 141\*-147\*; Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," at 326-327. See also above, p. 100.

With regard to Targum Lamentations we are fortunate that in recent years major works on this targum have been produced in English by Christian M. M. Brady and Philip S. Alexander.<sup>10</sup> Over twenty years the many questions regarding Targum Lamentations have been examined in detail by Philip S. Alexander, who gives us the fruits of his labour in the introduction and notes to the translation of the work in the *Aramaic Bible* series (2007). He argues that Targum Lamentations is a literary unity with a single author. Though that author's text was reworked in one major recension, done in Babylonia but now found in the Yemenite MSS, it is not difficult to recover the original Targum, which is well preserved in the Western MSS. The language of the original was Galilean Aramaic, indicating that it was composed in the west, probably in Galilee. Its affinities with the midrashic work *Lamentations Rabba* suggest that it originated in a rabbinic milieu. It is a learned work, done by someone with a good command of both biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, and blessed with considerable philological acumen. Its primary audience, however, was not scholars but the people at large, for whom it offered a translation and interpretation of Lamentations to help them observe the fast of the Ninth of Ab (commemorating the destruction of the Temple). Its author, like the author of the later Targum Canticles, may have been associated with the Academy of Tiberias. On the vexed question of date Alexander argues for a rather precise date from Targum Lam 4:21-22. 4:21 predicts that Constantinople in the land of Romania (= eastern Roman empire; correcting from the manuscript reading "Armenia") will be devastated by the Persians, while 4:22 states that wicked Rome, which is built in Italy, will be oppressed by the Persians (accepting a minority manuscript reading "Persians" instead of "Parkewi" [= ? Parthians]). This would give a time-frame of 324 (foundation of Constantinople) and 500 (the effective end of Rome as the western

10. In 1999 Christian M. M. Brady completed for the University of Oxford, under the supervision of Prof. Philip Alexander and Dr Alison Salvesen, the Ph.D. Dissertation "Targum Lamentations. Reading of the Book of Lamentations," unfortunately never published in printed form, but available from an internet site. In 2003 Brady made his views on Targum Lamentations available in a major publication: *The Rabbinic Targum of Lamentations: Vindicating God* (Studies in Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 3; Leiden: Brill, 2003). Then in 2007 in the *Aramaic Bible* series Philip S. Alexander published his translation of Targum Lamentations, with a detailed introduction and copious notes to the text: Philip S. Alexander, *The Targum of Lamentations. Translated, with Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible, vol. 17B, 2007) (with translation of Western Text and of the Yemenite Recension in an appendix). For Targum Lamentations see also Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 190\*-206\*; Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," p. 327.

capital of the empire). While recognizing the legitimate doubts, such as the reference to Rome and Constantinople being later insertions, or earlier pre-500 apocalyptic traditions incorporated by a later writer, there are further arguments for a date in probably the later fifth or early sixth century. One is the relation to *Lam. R.* which can be dated no earlier than the fifth century; the apocalyptic outlook of Targum Lamentations is reminiscent of the texts of the apocalyptic revival, the earliest of which can probably be dated no earlier than the late fifth century. The Galilean Aramaic of the text effectively disappears from view soon after the Islamic conquest of the early seventh century.

The biblical book of Lamentations is on the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple by the Babylonians in 586. The Jews commemorated both destructions, 586 BCE and 70 CE by the Romans, as one. Targum also sees both as one. The Targumist sees the biblical work speaking directly to himself and his contemporaries, with a message of God's justice and a message of hope. The targumist is addressing the question in the biblical Lamentations itself: *'Eikah* ("How [has it come about that]?"). God is called on to answer. This God does in rabbinic fashion as the Attribute of Justice (*middat dina*). The Targumist hears Lamentations as an accusation against God; God is arraigned in the heavenly court against himself. The Attribute of Justice's defence of God is that he acted in response to Israel's sin: her sins in general and specific historical ones, for instance Josiah's disobedience of God's command not to oppose Pharaoh Necho (1:18; cf. 4:20), and the murder of Zechariah the son of Iddo, the high priest and faithful prophet, "in the House of the Sanctuary of the Lord on the Day of Atonement" (2:20).<sup>11</sup> This led to Judah's exile, an exile still probably regarded as continuing for the Jews away from sovereignty in their land. But there is hope. The nations have sinned against Israel. When the measure of Israel's suffering and the iniquity of the nations have been filled up, redemption will come. The agent of deliverance will be the Messiah, to whom the Targumist finds allusions in 2:22 and 4:21-22. The Messiah is a political figure and his redemption essentially a political one. He is accompanied (not preceded) by Elijah the High Priest, who like a second Moses and Aaron will gather the exiles scattered abroad. The messianic redemption of the Targumist is essentially a this-worldly political process, but like the Targumist of Canticles,

11. On this text and its possible relation to Matthew 23:35 see McNamara, *The Palestinian Targum*, pp. 160-163, and above, pp. 231-234.

he is a pacifist. He makes it abundantly clear that to engage in overt political or military action to force redemption would be wrong. Israel is to repent for her sins, in the certain hope that though he tarries, the Messiah will finally come in due time.

## 5. Targum of Song of Songs

The Targum of the Song of Songs was without doubt one of the most popular and widely disseminated works of the Jewish Middle Ages.<sup>12</sup> It survives in numerous manuscripts of various provenance and date. Together with this we have early translations of it into Ladino, Yiddish, Judaeo-Arabic, Judaeo-Persian and the Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Jews of Kurdistan.<sup>13</sup> It has survived in practically as many manuscripts as Onqelos, whereas the Rabbinic exposition of the Song of Songs, *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah*, survives in only four complete manuscripts. Targum Canticles was first printed in the first Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1517; prepared by Felix Pratensis; printer Daniel Bomberg). This was basically reproduced in Bomberg's second Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1525). It appears that the sole MS used in these was the present Nuremberg MS, Stadtbibliothek, Solger 1-7, 2°. A later edition, prepared by Benito Arias Montano, was published in the Biblia Regia (Antwerp, 1568-73), taking his text apparently from either Bomberg I or Bomberg II, but collated with MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, 16-Z-40. A later edition by Johannes Buxtorf (Basle, 1618-19) seems to be a revision of Bomberg II. This was reproduced by Brian Walton in the London Polyglot (1654-57). The first modern edition was by Paul de Lagarde (1873),<sup>14</sup> who in the main followed the accepted text. Modern editions from manuscripts were made by R. H. Melamed (1921-1922),<sup>15</sup> Carlos

12. On the Targum of Canticles see Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 159\*-177\*; see also Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," at 327, and more recently Alexander's exhaustive treatments of all questions relating to the Targum in Philip S. Alexander, *The Targum of Canticles. Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 17A; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 2003).

13. For details of the texts, transmission, editions and translations see Alexander, *The Targum of Canticles*, pp. 1-7.

14. Paul de Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaica* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1873).

15. Raphael H. Melamed, *The Targum of Canticles according to the six Yemen MSS. compared with the "Textus Receptus"* (ed. de Lagarde) (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1921;

Alonso Fontela (1987),<sup>16</sup> A. Sperber (1968),<sup>17</sup> I. Jerusalmi (1993)<sup>18</sup> and others.

The manuscripts of Targum Canticles represent two recensions, groups or traditions, the Yemenite and the Western. The Western seems to be the better text and probably better represents the original, although the Yemenite group may on occasion have better and the more original readings. There are varying views as to the origin of our present text of Targum Canticles. One is that it represents the growth of a tradition over centuries. P. S. Alexander, who has examined Targum Canticles and its history of transmission in great detail, is of a very different view. For him the text of Targum Canticles is in fact very stable: it is not an evolving tradition. For him it is clear that the Western Text is original and the Yemenite text has arisen through a series of transcriptional accidents.<sup>19</sup> The vast majority of the differences between the Western and the Yemenite tradition are due to miscopying. Targum Canticles offers a remarkably coherent, tightly-argued reading of the Biblical text of Canticles. It applies its schema so systematically and skilfully that it left little room for "improvement." The indications are that we are dealing with a single-authored work that has been transmitted more or less unrevised in the manuscripts.

The Aramaic language of Targum Canticles has not yet been fully examined. It combines elements of Western Palestinian Aramaic (e.g. *hmy*, 'to see'; *rwmm*, 'for, because'), Eastern Aramaic and the Aramaic of Targum Onqelos and the Prophets (e.g. *hzy*, 'to see'; *ry*, 'for, because') and these are probably original, not due to scribal corruption. Its Aramaic language is probably literary (Late Jewish Literary Aramaic), not representing any spoken Aramaic dialect.

An analysis of the work's sources indicates that the Targumist almost certainly attended one of the great Talmudic schools of his day and was a learned scholar with a comprehensive knowledge of Rabbinic tradition. He probably lived in Palestine, was connected with the rabbinic school of

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reprinted from *Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series 10, 1917-1929, 377-410; 11, 1929-1921, 1-20; 12, 1921-1922, 57-117).

16. Carlos Alonso Fontela, *El Targum al Cantar de los Cantares (Edición Crítica)* (Colección Tesis Doctorales, no. 92/87; Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1987).

17. Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*. Vol. 4A. *The Hagiographa*.

18. Isaac Jerusalmi, *The Song of Songs in the Targumic Tradition: Vocalized Aramaic Text with Facing English Translation and Ladino Versions* (Cincinnati: Ladino Books, 1993).

19. Alexander, *The Targum of Canticles*, p. 6.

Tiberias (as the author of Targum Lamentations probably was some centuries earlier), and composed his work in the seventh or more probably the eighth century. Targum Canticles has constant and insistent references to the Exodus from Egypt, and has a particularly close connection with Passover (Pesach), and was probably intended to be read during that festival. The biblical Canticles seems to have become a special reading for Pesah only in the early Gaonic period (600 CE onwards), a further indication of the date of Targum Canticles.

The Targumist drew on a variety of Rabbinic sources, including apparently Targum Onqelos, the Palestinian Targums, pseudo-Jonathan and possibly a Palestinian Targum of Isaiah. The work is closely related to the Rabbinic Midrash Rabbah on Canticles, but this may be on the Rabbinic tradition underlying this midrash rather than on a written text. The Targum has many parallels with *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah*, a fact that could easily lead one to believe that the former depends on the latter. In a major examination of this issue in 1994 Philip S. Alexander has shown in almost every case the haggadic parallels to the Targum turn out on closer inspection to be inexact.<sup>20</sup> They usually display small but significant differences.

Alexander shows that 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. The targumist 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 from the exodus from Egypt and concluding with the messianic age. This is clear from the structure of the targum: (A) 1:1-2. The preamble; (B) 1:3-5:1. From the Exile of Egypt to King Solomon; (C) 5:2-7:11. From the Exile of Babylon to the Hasmoneans; (D) From the Exile of Edom (i.e. the destruction of the second temple by the Romans) to the coming of the King Messiah, with treatment of the exile of Edom (7:12-14), the Messianic Age (8:1-12), including the ingathering of the exiles (8:1-5), and the restoration of the ideal (Solomonic) polity under the King Messiah (8:6-12); (E) 8:13-14. The Peroration, ending with a concluding prayer. The targumist detected in Shir ha-Shirim a rhythm in the relationship between the beloved and the bride, a rhythm of fellowship, estrangement and rec-

20. Philip S. Alexander, "Tradition and Originality in the Targum of the Song of Songs," in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context*, ed. Derek R. G. Beattie and Martin McNamara (JSOT Supplements 166; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), pp. 319-339.

conciliation. He saw that rhythm replicated in Israel's history, which moves through a cyclic pattern of communion with God, terminated by sin and exile, leading ultimately to repentance and return.<sup>21</sup> The Targum of Shir ha-Shirim, Alexander writes,<sup>22</sup> is a *tour de force*, possibly unique within Jewish exegetical literature in a number of ways. It is one of the few truly systematic readings of any book which reads the book as a whole from a unified hermeneutical standpoint.

With regard to the theology of Targum Canticles: it treats of exile, idolatry, and the merits of the righteous, the house of study and the Sanhedrin. The work is also an intensely messianic document, in this probably representing a revival in Jewish apocalypticism. For there will be not one but two Messiahs, the messiah son of Ephraim and the Messiah son of David. The revelation of the Messiah, presumably in Jerusalem, will lead to the establishment of the Messianic kingdom. Only after the defeat of Gog and Magog will there be the ingathering of the exiles. The Temple will be rebuilt; at what point in the eschatological scenario is not made clear. The ingathered exiles will join in the Messianic banquet, the feast of Leviathan. While a fervent advocate of Messianism, the Targumist is a pacifist. While one may search in the Scroll to find whether the time of redemption has arrived, in the final analysis the redemption will come only at God's good pleasure, and thus the end is incalculable (Targum Cant. 7:14). It is the study of the Torah and the merits of the sages and of the Fathers that will bring it about, not rising in revolt against the enemies of Israel. He has King Messiah say as much in 8:4: "The King Messiah will say: 'I adjure you, O my people of the House of Israel, not to be stirred up against the nations of the world to escape from exile, nor to rebel against the hosts of Gog and Magog. Wait yet a little till the nations that have come up to wage war against Jerusalem are destroyed, and after that the Lord of the World will remember for your sake the love of the righteous, and it will be the Lord's good pleasure to redeem you.'"

Targum Canticles has been immensely influential in later Jewish and even Christian literature.<sup>23</sup> Rashi's detailed historical schema followed in his interpretation of the Song works out so close to that of the Targum that it must be dependent on the Targum. A thirteenth-century Christian Latin

21. For the structure of Targum Canticles as outlined above see Alexander, *The Targum of Canticles* (2003), p. 15. See also Alexander, "Tradition and Originality," p. 332.

22. Alexander, "Tradition and Originality," p. 334.

23. See Alexander, "Tradition and Originality," pp. 336-337; *The Targum of Canticles*, pp. 45-51.

commentary on the Song (*Expositio hystorica Cantici Canticorum secundum Salomonem*) is simply an adaptation and Christianization of Rashi. Likewise, according to Alexander<sup>24</sup> the *total* hermeneutical schema of Nicolas of Lyra's (1270-1349) reading of Canticles is based on Rashi — and thus ultimately depends on the Targum of the Song of Songs.

## 6. Targums of Ruth

The Book of Ruth is read during the Jewish Feast of Shavuot (Weeks) or Pentecost.<sup>25</sup> The earliest reference to a Targum of Ruth is in the *Aruk* of Rabbi Nathan (1035-ca. 1110). We now have many manuscripts of Targum Ruth, both Western and Yemenite. In this case there is little difference between the two. Most, if not all, of the Yemenite texts seem to come from the Western tradition, indeed to be copies of western printed texts. Together with the translation from the Hebrew, Targum Ruth has expansive material, making the work about twice the size of the biblical text. Much of its haggadah is also found in the Rabbinic *Ruth Rabbah*. Ruth has a text on death by hanging on a tree (crucifixion) which is regarded by some as anti-Halakhic and consequently early. It also has an item on ten famines, found in other texts, and may be an old midrash. The date of the Targum is not agreed on. For some it is early or has early traditions; for others more recent.

## 7. Targum Qohelet

We still await a critical edition of Targum Qohelet.<sup>26</sup> The Western and Yemenite manuscripts of the work seem to represent a single recension. Its paraphrase agrees closely with the Rabbinic *Midrash Qohelet*, and the

24. Philip S. Alexander, "The Song of Songs as Historical Allegory: Notes on the Development of an Exegetical Tradition," in Kevin J. Cathcart and Michael Maher (eds.), *Targumic and Cognate Studies. Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 230; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), p. 23.

25. On the Targum of Ruth see D. R. G. Beattie, *The Targum of Ruth* (The Aramaic Bible 19; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1994); see also Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 149\*-159\*; Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," at pp. 327-328.

26. On the Targum of Qohelet see Peter S. Knobel, *The Targum of Qohelet* (The Aramaic Bible 15; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991); also Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 177\*-190\*; Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," at p. 328.



compiler also seems to have known and used the Babylonian Talmud, possibly even the Palestinian Talmud. It seems to be of Palestinian origin. It is cited in the *Aruk* of Rabbi Nathan (completed 1101), which gives a *terminus ad quem* for its composition. It is difficult to determine a date of composition for the Targum, as it is for *Qohelet Rabbah*.

## 8. The Two Targums of Esther (Targum Rishon; Targum Sheni)

The Book of Esther ("The Scroll [*megillah*] of Esther" for the Jews) gave its name ("Megillah") to a tractate of the Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmuds.<sup>27</sup> Mention is actually made of a Targum of Esther in *t. Meg.* 4[3]: 20, 21 and *j. Meg.* 4:1. A Targum of Esther must, then, have existed as early as the third or fourth centuries. This cannot be identical with the Targums of Esther we have today. We actually have two Tgs. of Esther, Targum I (Targum Rishon) and Targum II (Targum Sheni). For a while a Third Targum was believed to exist (non-expansive and presumed early), but this is now regarded as a text of one of the others prepared for publication by removal of non-biblical midrash. Both our Targums of Esther originated in Palestine. The language in which they are written is Galilean Aramaic. Both are related to the Babylonian Talmud, tractate *Megillah*, and to Jewish midrash: to the better known *Esther Rabbah* and *Pirke de-Rabbi Eleazar*, but also to lesser known ones *Panim Aherim* and *Abba Gorion*. And, of course, the two Targums are related to one another. Opinion is divided as to the explanation, with one of the usual answers as solutions: The Two Targums depend on the Talmud and Midrash; these latter depend on the Targum; the Targums and Midrashim depend on earlier common sources. Another view (of J. Reiss) is that the haggadah in both Targums can be traced to a larger work, a larger Targum, *Targum Rabbati*, no longer extant. One view regarded Targum Sheni as a late, eleventh-century production, dependent on midrash, but for about one-fourth of its text having haggadic material which is present in the folklore of other nations. It is thus very hard to unravel the questions of the relations of these Targums to one another, to Jewish tradition and to international folk motifs. This in itself is informa-

27. On the Targums of Esther see Bernard Grossfeld, introduction and notes in *The Two Targums of Esther. Translated, with Apparatus and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 18; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991). See also Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," p. 328; Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 206\*-235\*.

tive. Targum Esther was read from an early date during the popular Jewish festival of Purim. It appears that the interpretative and folk traditions connected with it continued to grow and to be registered in the Aramaic translation, from earliest times right down to the Middle Ages, as some of the Western manuscripts contain traditions (e.g. on Solomon's throne) which are elsewhere attested only in such late sources as *Esther Rabbah*.

### 9. Targum of Chronicles

The Books of Chronicles were not used in the Jewish liturgy; hence no Targum of them was called for.<sup>28</sup> Nor can we say they were used in the Jewish schools. No Targum of Chronicles was known to medieval Jewish writers. Elias Levita (d. 1549) doubted the existence of any Targum of Chronicles. None was known for the polyglot Bibles, including that of Brian Walton (1654-1657). We now know of three manuscripts of Targum Chronicles (all of German origin), from the 13th and 14th centuries. There are slight differences between the manuscripts, but all belong to the same family. The Targum seems to be of Palestinian origin. As sources, Targum Chronicles was familiar with the Targum (Jonathan) of the Former Prophets, but in a form somewhat different from what we now have. It may have used an earlier version of this Targum, possibly a Palestinian version of it. In sections of Chronicles paralleled in the Pentateuch, Targum Chronicles is near the tradition of Pseudo-Jonathan. Generally Targum Chronicles is considered basically an early Palestinian work, possibly of the fourth century. It may, however, have developed by stages, down to the sixth or seventh century. It would thus enshrine the reflections of generations of interpreters in the Jewish schools. It most probably originated in the schools rather than in the synagogue. The exegetical and midrashic approach we find in this Targum is that found in the Targums in general: with the main intent of translating the Hebrew Text faithfully and giving the sense, its manner of speaking of God (not direct subject or object of human acts), avoiding anthropomorphisms, themes of angels, the Law, prophecy, reward, glorification of the great ones of Israel.<sup>29</sup>

28. On the Targum of Chronicles see J. Stanley McIvor, *The Targum of Chronicles. Translated, with Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible 19; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1994); also Le Déaut, "Targum," cols. 235\*-243\*; Alexander, "Targum, Targumim," at p. 328.

29. See further McIvor, *The Targum of Chronicles*, pp. 18-31.

## APPENDIX

### *The Aramaic Bible Project*

(M. J. McNamara, Project Director)

*Publishers: Nos. 6-14, Wilmington: Glazier/Edinburgh: Clark;  
the remainder, Collegeville: Liturgical/Edinburgh: Clark.*

- 1A. *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*. M. J. McNamara, 1992.
- 1B. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*. M. Maher, 1992.
2. *Targum Neofiti 1 and Pseudo-Jonathan: Exodus*. M. J. McNamara and M. Maher, 1994.
3. *Targums Neofiti 1 and Pseudo-Jonathan: Leviticus*. M. J. McNamara and M. Maher, 1994.
4. *Targums Neofiti 1 and Pseudo-Jonathan: Numbers*. M. J. McNamara and E. G. Clarke, 1994.
- 5A. *Targum Neofiti 1. Deuteronomy*. M. J. McNamara, 1994.
- 5B. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy*. E. G. Clarke, 1995.
6. *The Targum Onqelos to the Torah: Genesis*. B. Grossfeld, 1998.
7. *The Targum Onqelos to the Torah: Exodus*. B. Grossfeld, 1998.
8. *The Targum Onqelos to the Torah: Leviticus and Numbers*. B. Grossfeld, 1998.
9. *The Targum Onqelos to the Torah: Deuteronomy*. B. Grossfeld, 1998.
10. *The Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets*. D. J. Harrington and A. J. Saldarini, 1987.
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