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THE PSEUDO-JONATHAN TARGUM
AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO
TARGUM ONKELOS

BEING A THESIS PRESENTED BY
GERARD JOHANNES KUIPER

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS,
FIFESHIRE, SCOTLAND

IN APPLICATION FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

JANUARY, 1962



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that the thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The research was carried out at St. Mary's College, the University of St. Andrews, under the direction of the Very Reverend Principal Matthew Black, Dr phil., D. Litt., D. D., F. B. A.

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Gerard Johannes Kuiper has spent eight terms in research work at St. Mary's College, the University of St. Andrews, Fifeshire, Scotland, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance 16, and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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January, 1962.

Adrian, Oregon, U. S. A.

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ABBREVIATIONS

absol. st.	absolute state
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
Ak.	Akkadian
Am	Amos
Aph.	Aph'el theme
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
ATD	<u>Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk</u>
B.	followed by the name of a tractate: <u>The Babylonian Talmud</u>
Bab. Aram.	Babylonian Aramaic
BC OT	<u>Biblical Commentary on The Old Testament</u>
Berl.	Berliner's edition of Targum Onkelos, which is the text from the <u>Biblia Hebraica Sabbioneta</u> , 1557.
Ber. Rab.	<u>Bereshit Rabba</u>
BH	Biblical Hebrew
Bibl. Aram.	Biblical Aramaic
Bom	Fragment Targum as in the <u>Bomberg Bible</u>
CG	the <u>Cairo Geniza Fragments</u> as in PFT
Chron	Chronicles
cn	correction
col.	column; plural: cols

comm.	common
Complut.	<u>Biblia Sacra Complutensis</u>
Constant.	<u>Biblia Hebraica Constantinople</u> , 1522.
constr. st.	construct state
CP Aram.	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
c. suff.	with suffix
D	Deuteronomy
Dan	Daniel
denom.	denominative
E	Exodus
Eccles	Ecclesiastes
ed.	edition; plural: edd
Eg. Aram.	Egyptian Aramaic
eig.	eigentlich: really, properly
emph. st.	emphatic state
espec.	especially
Esth	Esther
Ethiop.	Ethiopic
Ethpe.	Ethpe'el theme
Ettaph.	Ettaph'al theme
Ez	Ezra
f.	folio; plural: ff
f.	following a page number: following; plural: ff
fem. plur.	feminine, plural
fem. sing.	feminine, singular
Freib.	<u>Biblia Hebraica</u> , Freiburg

FT	Fragment Targum
ftnt.	footnote; plural: ftnts
G	Genesis
genit.	genitive construction
gew.	gewöhnlich: usually
Ginsb.	Ginsburger
Hb AT	<u>Handbuch zum Alten Testament</u>
Hebr.	Hebrew
Hiph.	Hiph'il theme
Hk AT	<u>Handkommentar zum Alten Testament</u>
Imper.	Imperative mood
Impf.	Imperfect tense
Infin.	Infinitive mood
intrans.	intransitive
Isa	Isaiah
Ishtaph.	Ishtaph'al theme
Ithpe.	Ithpe'el theme
Ithpa.	Ithpa'al theme
Ix	Ixar (1490) edition of Onkelos
J.	followed by the name of a tractate: <u>The Jerusalem Talmud</u>
JA	Judaeo Aramaic
Jer	Jeremiah
Jer. Talm	<u>The Jerusalem Talmud</u>
Jer. Tg.	Jerusalem Targum
Jud. Aram.	Judaeo Aramaic

Judg	Judges
KAT	<u>Kommentar zum Alten Testament</u>
Ke Hb AT	<u>Kurtzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament</u>
K HC AT	<u>Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament</u>
Kön.	Codex Königsberg, 1313, Onkelos
L	Leviticus
Lam	Lamentations
Lect.	Lectionaries
lft mg	a marginal reading in the left margin
Lips	Codex Lipsiensis (Leipzig) of the Fragment Tg
Lis	Onkelos edition, Lissabon, 1491
Lk	Luke
ln	line, as in ab ln: a note above the line
M.	followed by the name of a tractate: <u>The Mishnah</u>
Maccab	Maccabees
Mand.	Mandaeen
masc. plur.	masculine, plural
masc. sing.	masculine, singular
mg	margin
MGWJ	<u>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums</u>
ms	manuscript; plural: mss
Mod. Syr.	modern Syriac
Mt	Matthew
MT	Masoretic text

Cagle 17

N	Ms. Neofiti 1
N	Numbers
Nabat.	Nabataean
Neh	Nehemiah
Niph.	Niph'al theme
Nor.	Codex Norimbergensis (Nürnberg) of the Fragment Targum
O	Targum Onkelos
om.	omitted
OS Arab.	Old South Arabic
Pa.	Pa'el theme
Palp.	Palpel theme
Pal. tg	Palestinian targum
Par.	the Paris 110 Ms of the Fragment Targum
Partic.	Participle mood
PBH	Post-Biblical Hebrew
Pe.	Pe'al theme
Pent.	Pentateuch
Perf.	Perfect tense
pers.	person
Pesh.	Peshitto version of the Bible
Phoen.	Phoenician
PJ	Targum Pseudo Jonathan
plur.	plural
PPT	<u>Das Palästinische Pentateuchtargum etc., op. cit.</u>
prepos.	preposition

Prov	Proverbs
P _s	Psalms
Pu.	Pu'al theme
Reg.	Regia edition of Onkelos, Antwerp, 1569
Rev	Revelation
RSV	Revised Standard Version of the Bible, 1946-1952
rt	root
rt mg	a marginal reading in the right margin
Sab.	<u>Biblia Hebraica Sabbioneta</u> , 1557
Sam	Samuel
Sam.	Samaritan Version
Shaph.	Shaph'el theme
sing.	singular
Sir	Sirach
Solg.	Codex Solger, Nürnberg, 1291, Onkelos
Song of Sol	Song of Solomon
Sperb.	Sperber's text of Onkelos
suff.	suffix
Syr.	Syriac
tg	targum; plural: tgg
TJ	Jerusalem Targum
trans.	transitive
tw	textword
Ug.	Ugaritic
Urb.	Codex Urbino, 1295, Onkelos

- Vat. the Vatican Ms. of the Fragment Targum
- Ven. the Biblia Rabbinica, printed in Venice: 1: 1517; 2: 1527; 3: 1567; 4: 1591; 5: 1597; 6: 1752.
- Walt. Londoner Polyglotten-Bibel, Ausgabe Walton
- ZDMG Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
- ZNWKAK Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche

Numbers

- 7 Codex 7, de Rossi, Onkelos
- 84 Ms. Socin 84, D. M. G. Library, Onkelos, cf. Sperber, Introduction
- 282 Ms 282, Sassoon Library, London, Onkelos
- 1285 Codex 1285, Seminar Breslau, Onkelos
- 1411 Codex 1411 of Onkelos, cf. Berliner, Introduction
- 2228-2230 Ms. Or. 2228, 2229, 2230 of the British Museum, 11th-12th century, Onkelos
- 9400 Ms. Or. 9400, British Museum, Onkelos

Hebrew Letters

- ב Levitas Methurgeman, ed. Basel, 1541
- י י"י"י, verfasst von Nathan b. Jechiel, ed. Landau, 1818 fg.
- ך Der Raschi zugeschriebene Commentar zu Midrasch rabba, ed. Berlin, 1866.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A targum is generally defined as a "translation or paraphrase of some portion of the Old Testament in ... Aramaic ..."¹ The Aramaic root is קִרְיָה, which means (1) to read, (2) to interpret, translate, explain.² The Hebrew קִרְיָה which occurs in late Biblical Hebrew, means to deliver, proclaim, and especially (a) to explain, interpret, and (b) to translate orally what has been read from the Scriptures in the original (at a public service).³ The Aram. noun קִרְיָה thus means (1) loud speech, and (2) translation, version; its Hebr. equivalent קִרְיָה is rendered interpretation, translation, version, and esp. Targum or the Aramaic versions of the Scriptures.³

The existence of targums, which in the stricter meaning of that word are Aram. translations of the Old Testament, we owe to the customary reading of the Law, the Prophets, and in

1. Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary. Based on Webster's New International Dictionary, second edition (Springfield, Mass., U.S.A.: G. & C. Merriam Co., Publishers, 1959), p. 869.

2. Marcus Jastrow, Ph.D., Litt.D., A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. With an Index of Scriptural Quotations. In two volumes (New York: Pardes Publishing House, Inc., 1950), pp. 1695f.

3. Ibid., p. 1695

some areas the Writings in the synagogue services.¹ Isaiah 1, 12-15 speaks of assemblies on new moons, sabbaths, and appointed feasts on which prayers are made. We also know of exhortations by the prophets in the temple courts.² When the prophets ceased to appear, a thorough study of the Law and the faith of the fathers was engaged in. Synagogues were established as gathering places of prayer and religious instruction. Religious instruction was based on the readings from the Law:

Wir lesen in den Propheten (Jes. 1, 12-15) von Versammlungen an den Sabbat- und Neumondstagen, in denen gebetet wurde, und von Ermahnungs-Vorträgen der Propheten in den Tempelhallen. Als im Verlaufe der Zeiten, nachdem das Prophetentum mit der alten Unabhängigkeit verschwunden, dafür aber ein eifriges Studium des überlieferten Gesetzes und eine grenzenlose Ergebenheit für den Glauben der Väter entstanden war, an den einzelnen Orten Synagogen, und in diesen ein regelmässiger Gottesdienst eingerichtet wurde, musste wohl nächst dem Gebet, die öffentliche Belehrung im Glauben und im Gesetz als vorzügliches Element desselben hervortreten. Diese gottesdienstlichen Belehrungen stellen sich zunächst als Vorlesungen aus der heiligen Schrift, und zwar insonderheit aus dem Pentateuch dar.²

The establishment of the synagogues was presumably influenced by the conditions of the exile. It is generally accepted that what came to be the liturgy of the synagogue had

1. The following historical survey depends upon Dr. Zunz, Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt. Ein Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde und biblischen Kritik, zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte. Zweite, nach dem Handexemplar des Verfassers berichtigte und mit einem Register vermehrte Auflage, im Auftrage der Zunz-Stiftung herausgegeben von Dr. H. Brüll, Rabbiner der israelitischen Gemeinde in Frankfurt a. M. (Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag von J. Kaufmann, 1892), pp. 1-6.

2. Ibid., p. 2.

its beginning in the worship of the exiled Jews. When Ezra, who returned to Palestine from exile in 397 B.C., read the Law shortly after the return from exile, he is following the liturgy of the synagogue with which he is familiar and which he wished to establish among the Jews in Palestine. The order of this liturgy, recorded in Nehemiah 8. 1-8, contained the following successive elements: the people ask Ezra to read from the Law (verse 1); standing on a pulpit, Ezra reads (verse 4) while the people stand (verse 5); the blessing before the reading is said (verse 6) as prescribed in *M. Megillah* 4.1, "He that begins the reading from the Law and he that completes it say a Benediction the one at the beginning and the other at the end"¹ to which the people respond with "Amen" (verse 6); and the interpretation or translation into Aram.² is given (verse 8):³

1 And all the people gathered as one man into the square before the Water Gate; and they told Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the law of Moses which the LORD had given to Israel. 2 And Ezra the priest brought the law before the assembly ... 3 And he read from it facing the square before the Water Gate from early morning until midday, in the presence of the men

1. The Mishnah. Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and brief explanatory Notes by Herbert Danby, D.D., Residentiary Canon of St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 206.

2. Cf. below, pp. 15 ff.

3. W. O. E. Oesterley, A History of Israel, Volume II, From the Fall of Jerusalem, 586 B. C. to the Bar-Kokhba Revolt, A. D. 135 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1932), pp. 137-138.

and the women and those who could understand; and the ears of all the people were attentive to the book of the law. 4 And Ezra the scribe stood on a wooden pulpit which they had made for the purpose ... 5 And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people, for he was above all the people; and when he opened it all the people stood. 6 And Ezra blessed the LORD, the great God; and all the people answered, "Amen, Amen," lifting up their hands; and they bowed their heads and worshiped the LORD with their faces to the ground. 7 Also ... the Levites, helped the people to understand the law, while the people remained in their places. 8 And they read from the book, from the law of God, clearly (ftnt.: Or with interpretation); and they gave the sense, so that the people understood the reading.¹

The custom of the reading of the Law is spoken of as a duty at the Feast of Booths during the year of release in Deuteronomy 31. 10-13:

10 And Moses commanded them, "At the end of every seven years, at the set time of the year of release, at the feast of booths, 11 when all Israel comes to appear before the LORD your God at the place which he will choose, you shall read this law before all Israel in their hearing. 12 Assemble the people, men, women, and little ones, and the sojourner within your towns, that they may hear and learn to fear the LORD your God, and be careful to do all the words of this law, 13 and that their children, who have not known it, may hear and learn to fear the LORD your God, as long as you live in the land which you are going over the Jordan to possess."

E. Baba Kamma chapter VII (folio 82a) reports that the institution of the reading of the Law on Sabbaths, Mondays, and

1. Unless otherwise noted, all biblical quotations in English are from: The Holy Bible: The Old Testament (and) the New Testament. Revised Standard Version: Translated from the original Tongues being the Version set forth A. D. 1611, Revised A. D. 1885 and A. D. 1901, compared with the most ancient Authorities and revised A. D. 1946 (the New Testament) and 1952 (the Old Testament) (Toronto, New York, and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1946-1952), Nehemiah 8. 1-8.

Thursdays had been instituted by the prophets and that Ezra renewed the institution:¹

The (following) ten enactments were ordained by Ezra: That the law be read (publicly) in the Minbah (ftnt.: afternoon) service on Sabbath; that the law be read (publicly) on Mondays and Thursdays ... 'That the law be read (publicly) in the Minbah service on Sabbath;' on account of shopkeepers (who during the weekdays have no time to hear the reading of the Law). 'That the law be read (publicly) on Mondays and Thursdays.' But was this ordained by Ezra? Was this not ordained even before him? For it was taught: 'And they went three days in the wilderness and found no water (ftnt.: Ex. XV, 22), upon which those who expound verses metaphorically said: Water means nothing but Torah, as it says: Ho, everyone that thirsteth come ye for water (ftnt.: Isa LV, 1). It thus means that as they went three days without Torah they immediately became exhausted. The prophets among them thereupon rose and enacted that they should publicly read the law on Sabbath, make a break on Sunday, read again on Monday, make a break again on Tuesday and Wednesday, read again on Thursday and then make a break on Friday so that they should not be kept for three days without Torah.' (ftnt.: Why then was it necessary for Ezra to enact this?) --Originally it was ordained that one man should read three verses or that three men should together read three verses, corresponding to Priests, Levites and Israelites (ftnt.: In which groups the people were classed.). Then Ezra came and ordained that three men should be called up to read, and that ten verses should be read, corresponding to ten batlanim (ftnt.: The ten persons released from all obligations and thus having leisure to attend to public duties, and to form the necessary quorum for synagogue services).²

1. Zunz, op. cit., p. 3, ftnt. b gives as sources besides B. Baba Kamma also J. Megilla c. 1, par. 1 and c. 4, par. 1; and Mechilta, #72a 18b.

2. The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Nezikin I, Baba Kamma Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices under the Editorship of Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein, B. A., Ph. D., D. Lit. Foreword by the Very Rev. the Chief Rabbi Dr. J. H. Hertz. Introduction by the Editor. Seder Nezikin I, Baba Kamma, Translated ... by E. W. Kirzner, M. A., Ph. D., M. Sc. (London: The Soncino Press, 1935), ch. VII, f. 82a, pp. 466f.

During the Maccabean period of the second century B. C. the customary reading of the Law and of the Prophets, which were read as Haftaras¹ or closing readings with which the congregation was dismissed, was well established. The reading of the Prophets as Haftaras may have had its inception during the persecutions under Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, who forbade for instance the ownership of Scriptures as well as all other acts of religious nature. Abudraham² is of the opinion that sections from the Prophets began to be read then, because Antiochus had forbidden the reading of the Law³ and had taken away the scrolls of the Torah. Others like Vitringa⁴ think that no reading from the Scriptures was permitted to take place at all during the persecutions, and that after the persecutions had ceased the lack of Torah scrolls made it necessary for some congregations to be satisfied with the reading from the Prophets. In either case, as Zunz concludes, it was customary during this second century B. C. to read from the Law and the Prophets: "Beide Meinungen stimmen darin überein, dass zum Andenken an jene Tage diese Vorträge alsdann im Gebrauch

1. Zunz, op. cit., p. 6, ftnt. a: פָּסַךְ from פָּסַךְ, which in the meaning of "to dismiss" is first found in 2 Chron. 23. 8.

2. Abudraham, f. 63b, as referred to in Zunz, op. cit., p. 6 and ftnt. b.

3. Cf. 1 Maccab. 45, 49, 56, 57 and לְהַטִּיחַ חוֹרְתָן in the Tefilla, as referred to in Zunz, op. cit., p. 6, ftnt. bb.

4. Zunz, op. cit., p. 6 and ftnt. c refers to Vitringa, l. l. p. 1006-1008.

erhalten worden."¹ The reading from the Law and Prophets was an established custom during the first century A. D. as seen from details in the lives of Jesus and Paul and as referred to by Josephus:²

16 And he (Jesus) came to Nazareth, where he had been brought up; and he went to the synagogue, as his custom was, on the sabbath day. And he stood up to read; 17 and there was given to him the book of the prophet Isaiah. He opened the book, and found the place where it is written ... 20 And he closed the book, and gave it back to the attendant, and sat down; and the eyes of all in the synagogue were fixed on him. 21 And he began to say to them, "Today this scripture has been fulfilled in your hearing."

14 ... And on the sabbath day they (Paul and his company) went into the synagogue and sat down. 15 After the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent to them, saying, "Brethren, if you have any word of exhortation for the people, say it." 16 So Paul stood up, and motioning with his hand said ...⁴

" ... 21 For from early generations Moses has had in every city those who preach him, for he is read every sabbath in the synagogues."⁵

οὐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροασαμένους οὐδὲ δις ἢ πολλάκις
ἀλλ' ἐκάστης ἑβδομάδος, τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀφεμένους, ἐπὶ
τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ νόμου ἐκέλευσε συλλέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦτον
ἀκριβῶς ἐκμανθάνειν .

1. Zunz, op. cit., p. 6.

2. Ibid., pp. 3 and 6.

3. Luke 4. 16-17 and 20-21.

4. Acts 13.14b-16a.

5. Acts 15.21.

6. Josephus, Contra Apion 2, 17 end, as quoted in Zunz, op. cit., p. 3, ftnt. d.

Both the Mishnah and the Jerusalem Talmud refer to the practice:¹

He that reads in the Law may not read less than three verses; he may not read to the interpreter (ftnt.: From the Hebrew into the Aramaic speech of the unlearned.) more than one verse, or, in (a reading from) the Prophets, three verses; but if these three are three separate paragraphs (ftnt.: As in Is. 52. 3-5 in the Hebrew text), he must read them out singly. They may leave out verses in the Prophets, but not in the Law. How much may they leave out? Only so much that he leaves no time for the interpreter to make a pause.²

Haftaras from the Writings are reported in B. Shabbath to have been read in parts of Babylonia in the afternoon service of the Sabbath:

...for Nehardea was Samuel's town, and in Nehardea they closed the prescribed lesson (of the Pentateuch) with (a reading from) the Hagiographa at minḥah on the Sabbath ...³

and in Persia and Media "kannte man noch zu Anfang des 11. Säculums bestimmte Haftara's auf das ganze Jahr für diesen Gottesdienst".⁴

Zunz reports that for the reading a number of adult persons were chosen from the congregation by the official of

1. J. Megillah, c. 1, par. 1 and M. Megillah, c. 4 as referred to in Zunz, op. cit., p. 5, ftnts. a and b.

2. The Mishnah, op. cit., Moed, Megillah, ch. IV, par. 4, p. 206.

3. The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Mo'ed II, Shabbath, Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices by Rabbi Dr. H. Freedman, B. A., Ph. D. In two volumes (London: The Soncino Press, 1938), Vol. II, ch. XVI, f. 116b, p. 572.

4. Zunz, op. cit., p. 7, with the evidence in ftnt. d: Hai Gaon in נבן לך par. 20 f. 11a. (ארחות חיים f. 25d.) Raschi zu Sabb. f. 24a. Vergl. R. Nissim zu Alfasi Megilla c. 4.

the synagogue. The number depended upon the particular day as reported in B. Megillah:

Look now at the preceding clause: 'ON MONDAYS AND THURSDAYS AND ON SABBATH AT MINḤAH THREE READ' ... (The Mishnah) is merely giving an indication that you should not say that the festivals and the intermediate days have the same rule, but you should take this as a general principle, that for every additional distinguishing mark an additional person reads. Hence on New Moon and the intermediate days, when there is an additional sacrifice, four read; on festivals, when (in addition) work is prohibited, five read; on the Day of Atonement when (in addition) there is a penalty of kareth, six read; on Sabbath when there is a penalty of stoning, seven read.¹

These men would read successively the parts of the Parasha, the division of the Torah, in audible manner, never from memory, and from a correct scroll. The synagogue official seems at times to have helped the reader:

Die Vorlesung des Gesetzes geschah durch die Mitglieder der Gemeinde; es wurde nämlich von einem Synagogen-Beamten eine gewisse Zahl -- 7 am Sabbath, 3 bis 6 an den übrigen Lesetagen -- aus den erwachsenen Anwesenden angerufen², um hintereinander die einzelnen Abschnitte der Parascha in gehöriger Weise vorzutragen³, und zwar niemals auswendig, sondern aus

1. The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Mo'ed VIII, Megillah, Mo'ed Katan and Hagigah. Megillah, Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices by Maurice Simon, M. A.; Mo'ed Katan, Translated ... by Rabbi Dayan H. M. Lazarus, M. A.; and Hagigah, Translated ... by Rabbi Prof. I Abrahams, M. A. (London: The Soncino Press, 1938), Megillah, ch. III, ff. 22a and 22b, pp. 135 and 137.

2. Zunz, op. cit., p. 5, ftnt. cc: "Rosch Haschana 31 a Mitte, Tr. Soferim c. 10 par. 5. 6. Megilla 22 b ff. j. Berachoth c. 4 f. 18 b. j. Megilla 3, 5. j. Taan. 4, 1 f. 11 a ..."

3. Ibid., p. 5, ftnt. d: 'Megilla f. 32 a: "Wer ohne Wohlklang liest und ohne Gesang lernt, von dem heisst es: Auch ich hatte ihnen nicht gute Gesetze gegeben".'

einer correcten Gesetzrolle. Ein Beamter scheint zuweilen den Lesenden behülflich gewesen zu sein¹, jedoch enthielt man sich, selbst noch im neunten und zu Anfang des zehnten Jahrhunderts, des Lesens Unkundige zur Thora zu rufen²....)

The targum, the Aram. translation of these Old Testament passages, was called forth by the waning of Hebrew as the language of the people in favor of the Aram. language.⁴ It is impossible to make reliable judgments covering the whole of the historical development of the different Aram. dialects, because the amount of material pertaining to some developments is too small. We know that Aram. was used in the eighth century B. C. in Assyria as an official language next to the language of the country. This dialect is an older form of the Aram. used subsequently as the official language of the Persian Empire (Reichsaramäisch) from Persia to Egypt after the fall of Babylon in 538 B. C. Although undoubtedly Assyrian Aram. spread out over a wide area, making its influence felt e.g. in Palestine, it is also true, as G. Garbini⁵ has pointed

1. Ibid., p. 5, ftnt. e: "s. Raschi zu Taanith f. 27 בריק מ'י'ם ((Schullehrer oder Vorleser?) vgl. jedoch Tos. Baba bathra 15 a, Raschi Sabb. 12 b unten, Tos. Menach. 30 a oben s. Tr. Soferim)."

2. Ibid., p. 5, ftnt. f: "Abudraham in הלכות פירוש ed. Vened. f. 48 d. 49 c."

3. Ibid., p. 5.

4. Ibid., p. 7, cf. also pp. 7-13.

5. G. Garbini, L'Aramaico Antico. Memorie della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie 8, Vol. 7, fasc. 5 (Roma, 1956) as referred to in J. Hoffijzer, "Kanttekeningen bij het Onderzoek van Westsemitische Epigraphie," Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux, XV (1957-1958), p. 119; cf. also p. 117, ftnt. 25.

out, that there were many indigenous Aram. dialects in the western parts of the empire, e.g. in Palestine:

Het is een nu wel algemeen erkend feit, dat Aramees in Assyrië, in de achtste eeuw reeds, een soort officiële taal was, naast de landstaal; waarschijnlijk deed het ook dienst in het diplomatieke verkeer ... Het hier gebruikte Aramees blijkt een -- wat oudere -- vorm te zijn van dat Aramees, dat onder de Perzen, als officiële rijkstaal in gebruik was, en algemeen met Rijksaramees wordt aangeduid en waarmee verschillende latere vormen van Aramees sterk verwant zijn... Daarom heeft GARBINI terecht -- in het spoor van DUPONT-SOMMER -- betoogd, dat er zich in het Westen op het moment van de Assyrische opmars reeds inheemse Arameese dialecten bevonden, waarvan wij nog enige sporen overhebben... Toch blijft de mogelijkheid zeer aannemelijk, dat het opdringen van de Assyrische macht, de verbreiding van het in Assyrië gangbare type Aramees heeft bevorderd, ten koste van plaatselijke idiomen.¹

As for Palestine, Aram. was not yet understood by the people in Judah during Isaiah's time. II Kings 18.26-28 and Isa. 36.11-36 record the conversations between the Rabshakeh from Lachish, sent by king Sennacherib of Assyria, and the Jewish officials of Jerusalem. The Jewish officials ask the Rabshakeh to speak אַרְמֵיִם: in Aramaic, which the Jewish people sitting on the wall do not understand, and not אֲרָמִי: in the

1. J. Hoftijzer, op. cit., pp. 118 f. For the development of the Aramaic in Palestine, cf. also: Lic. Arnold Meyer, Privatdocenten der Theologie in Bonn, Jesu Muttersprache. Das galiläische Aramäisch in seiner Bedeutung für die Erklärung der Reden Jesu und der Evangelien überhaupt. (Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1896), pp. 35-63; Harris Birkeland, The Language of Jesus. Avhandlingar Utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1954. No. I (Oslo: I Kommissjon Hos Jacob Dybwad, 1954), pp. 5-40; and E. Y. Kutscher, The Language of the Genesis Apocryphon, A Preliminary Study. Offprint from "Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls," Scripta Hierosolymitana, Volume IV, Publications of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Jerusalem, 1957), pp. 1-17.

language of Judah, which also the people understand. Then the Rabshakeh speaks loudly נ'יָן? so that all people may hear and understand:

2 And the king of Assyria sent the Rab'shakeh from Lachish to King Hezeki'ah at Jerusalem, with a great army ... 3 And there came out to him Eli'akim the son of Hilki'ah, who was over the household, and Shebna the secretary, and Jo'ah the son of Asaph, the recorder ... 11 Then Eli'akim, Shebna, and Jo'ah said to the Rab'shakeh, "Pray, speak to your servants in Aramaic, for we understand it; do not speak to us in the language of Judah within the hearing of the people on the wall." 12 But the Rab'shakeh said, "Has my master sent me to speak these words to your master and to you, and not to the men sitting on the wall, who are doomed with you to eat their own dung and drink their own urine?" 13 Then the Rab'shakeh stood and called out in a loud voice in the language of Judah ...¹

But before the Hasmonaean period of the second century B. C. it became the language of the people in Palestine. M. Eduyoth 8. 4 records the testimony of Rabbi Jose b. Joezer of Zereda, in the first of the five "Pairs", cir. 130 B. C., in Aramaic.² Again, E. Sotah f. 33a speaks of the use of Aram. in prayer at this time:³

THE 'PRAYER'. (It may be recited in any language because) it is only supplication, and one may pray in any language he wishes. But may the 'prayer' be recited in any language? Behold Rab Judah has said: A man should never pray for his needs in Aramaic. For R. Johanan declared: If anyone prays for his needs in Aramaic, the Ministering Angels do not pay attention to him, because they do not understand that language! -- There is no contradiction, one referring to (the prayer) of an individual and the other to that of a Congregation (ftnt.: With the latter, the help of the angels is not required.). And do not the Ministering

1. Isa. 36. 2a, 3, 11-13a.

2. The Mishnah, op. cit., Nezikin, Eduyoth 8. 4, p. 436. Cf. Zunz, op. cit., p. 7.

3. Zunz, op. cit., p. 7.

Angels understand Aramaic? Behold it has been taught: Johanan, the High Priest, heard a Bath Kol (ftnt.: This is evidently the incident related by Josephus (Ant. XIII, X, 3) of John Hyrcanus.) issue from within the Holy of Holies announcing, 'The young men who went to wage war against Antioch (ftnt.: Antiochus Cyzicenus, over whom the children of John Hyrcanus were victorious...) have been victorious.' (ftnt.: This and the following announcements were made in Aramaic, so the angels must have understood it.) It also happened with Simeon the Righteous (ftnt.: Possibly the High Priest Simon, son of Boethus, also called Cantheras, as Josephus describes him (Ant. XIX, VI, 2)...) that he heard a Bath Kol issue from within the Holy of Holies announcing, 'Annulled is the decree which the enemy intended to introduce into the Temple'. Then was Caius Caligula (ftnt.: The name is corrupted in the text. He ordered that his statue should be placed in the Temple and worshipped (Josephus, War II, X, 1.)) slain and his decrees annulled. They noted down the time (when the Bath Kol spoke) and it tallied. (ftnt.: With the time of Caligula's assassination.) Now it was in Aramaic that it spoke! -- If you wish I can say that it is different with a Bath Kol, since it occurs for the purpose of being generally understood (ftnt.: And Aramaic was the vernacular of the period.) ...¹

For many centuries Hebrew lingered on as the language of the teachers of the Law, as seen in such works of the second century as the Mishnah, until it died out in the fourth century.

Zunz says of this development:

Aber schon früh machten diese Vorträge aus dem Original der heiligen Bücher ein neues Bedürfniss fühlbar; die Sprache in der diese Bücher geschrieben sind, die hebräische, fing an auszusterben, sie ward den Juden nach und nach fremd, und das Aramäische, das zur Zeit des Jesaja den Einwohnern Judäa's unverstandlich war, schwang sich in Palästina schon vor der Hasmonäischen Periode zur Volkssprache empor, so dass alle

1. The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Nashim VI, Nazir and Sotah. Nazir, Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices by Rabbi B. D. Klien, B. A.; and Sotah, Translated ... by the Rev. Dr. A. Cohen, M. A., Ph. D. (London: The Soncino Press, 1936), Sotah, ch. VII, f. 33 a, pp. 162f.

Acte des bürgerlichen Lebens¹, Sprüchwörter², für das Volk (Ungelehrte, Weiber, Kinder) bestimmte Formulare³, selbst populäre Bücher⁴ und amtliche Sachen⁵ in dieser Sprache abgefasst wurden oder in Umlauf kamen... Und dennoch hat das hebräische, das zu Nehemia's Zeiten noch gesprochen und noch mehrere Jahrhunderte nachher von den Gelehrten geschrieben wurde, in Judäa vorzüglich⁶, lange dem Untergange widerstanden, es blieb Jahrhunderte lang das Kleinod der ihm mit Begeisterung anhängenden Weisen der Nation⁷; Werke des zweiten Säculums (die Mischna namentlich) tragen noch mächtige Lebenskeime dieser Sprache in sich, die erst im vierten Jahrhundert gänzlich ausstirbt.⁸

As causes for this shift in language are variously given: the return under Cyrus of the exiled Jews, who had lived

1. Zunz, *op. cit.*, p. 7, ftnt. g: "j. Moëd-Katon 3, 3. f. 6 a und ib. b oben. Mischna Kethuboth c. 4. par. 3 etc. Tosefta Sabbath c. 8. Berachoth f. 8 a. Philo de Decalogo p. 766 (πατριῶν γλώττη πάσχα d. i. κρηθ (aber πατριῶν φωνῆ II. Macc. 12, 37. 15, 29 ist hebräisch)). Vergl. R. Asaria de' Rossi in Meor enajim c. 9f. 52, c. 57f. 175, und de Rossi, della lingua propria degli ebrei etc. Parma 1772, namentlich p. 10 etc. und von p. 102 an."

2. *Ibid.*, p. 7, ftnt. h: "An unzähligen Stellen des Talmud..."

3. *Ibid.*, p. 7, ftnt. i: "z. B. Kadisch und die Introduction der Hagada des Pesach-Festes."

4. *Ibid.*, p. 7, ftnt. k: "z. B. Megillath Taanith. Vergl. Josephus vom jüdischen Kriege zu Anfang: ...τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν, Ἑλλάδος γλώσση μεταβαλλών, ἢ τοῖς ἄνω βαρβάροις τῆ πατρίω συντάξας ἀνέπεμψα κτλ ..."

5. *Ibid.*, p. 8, ftnt. a: "Mischna Joma 3, 1; Schekalim 5, 3. 6, 5. j. Maaser scheni c. 5 gegen Ende; j. Sanhedrin c. 1. par. 2."

6. *Ibid.*, p. 8, ftnt. b: "Erubin 53a. vergl. Midr. Ps. 105 Anf., de Rossi l. 1. p. 12-14; 83."

7. *Ibid.*, p. 8, ftnt. c: "j. Sabbath 1, 3 Ende. j. Schekalim 3 Ende. Sifri 13²13³ Col 233 unten, 277 Col. 145 unten."

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 7f.

uninterruptedly among Aramaic-speaking peoples; the presence in Palestine of Samaritans, who spoke Aramaic; the Syrian rule in Palestine and Jewish associations with Syria; and the Aramaic elements already present in the dialects of Galilee and Phoenicia.¹

We wish now to look in more detail at Ezra's reading of the Scriptures, after his return from exile in 397 B. C., in the assembly of the Jews in Palestine.² This concerns Neh. 8. 8: וַיִּקְרָא עֲזָרָה בְּסֵפֶר בְּתוֹרַת הָאֱלֹהִים מִסֵּפֶר וְשׂוּם שְׂכָל וַיְנַיֵּן

And they read from the book, from the law of God, clearly (ftnt.: Or with interpretation); and they gave the sense, so that the people understood the reading.

The text reads: וַיִּקְרָא עֲזָרָה בְּסֵפֶר בְּתוֹרַת הָאֱלֹהִים מִסֵּפֶר וְשׂוּם שְׂכָל וַיְנַיֵּן בְּסֵפֶר.³ The form מִסֵּפֶר is a Pu. Partic., the Pu. meaning, "1. auseinandergesetzt, entschieden werden", as in Num. 15. 34, where the man, who was found gathering sticks on the sabbath, was put in custody, "because it had not been made plain what should be done to him", and 2. "in Abschnitte zerlegt werden ... (im Gegensatz zu Schäder, Iran. Beitr. 6ff: extempore interpretiert)", only in our passage. The stem סֵפַר

1. Ibid., p. 8.

2. Cf. above p. 3.

3. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from the Hebrew Old Testament are from: Biblia Hebraica, Adjuvantibus: W. Baumgartner, G. Beer, J. Begrich, J. A. Beyer, F. Buhl, J. Hempel, F. Horst, M. Noth, O. Procksch, G. Quell, Th. D. Robinson, W. Rudolph, H. H. Schaefer; Edidit Rud. Kittle, Textum Masoreticum curavit P. Kahle. Editionem Tertiam Denuo Elaboratam ad Finem Perduxerunt Editionem Septimam Auxerunt et Emendaverunt A. Alt et O. Eissfeldt; Editio Nona Emendata Typis Editionis Septimae Expressa (Stuttgart: Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt; New York: For the American Bible Society, 1954).

is listed as PEH, occurring in Ak.: parāsu (parāšū), "klarstellen, (richterlich) entscheiden", Bibl. Aram. (trennen), Eg. Aram., Jud. Aram., CP Aram., Sam., Mand., and Mod. Syr. (Jud. Aram. and Syr.: Pa.: deutlich machen, erklären;

Mand.: verstehen, Aph.: lehren). The Qal of the BH occurs only in Lev. 24.12, "genau Bescheid geben": "...till the will of the LORD should be declared to them".¹ Also the Niph. "erteilt werden" (I Sam. 3. 1 and Ez. 34. 12) and the Hiph.: "absondern (Gift)" (Prov. 23.32) occur.²

What is the meaning of וְיָדַע in our verse? Does it refer to a translation, a targum? or does it merely refer to exegetical explanations given? Some commentators, like D. C. Siegfried, point out that וְיָדַע means to define something, to make something clear. It is thought that after each סֵפֶר, i.e. after each independent Scripture portion or paragraph, Ezra paused, and the Levites explained each commandment in fuller detail. It is noted that Ezra opened the book and read, but that the Levites helped the people understand it and that they read as well:³

1. Underlining is mine (in English quotations of this Para.).

2. Ludwig Koehler und Walter Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros: Wörterbuch zum Hebräischen Alten Testament in Deutscher und Englischer Sprache von Ludwig Koehler, und Wörterbuch zum Aramäischen Teil des Alten Testaments in Deutscher und Englischer Sprache von Walter Baumgartner (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1953), zusammen mit: Ludwig Koehler et W. Baumgartner, Supplementum ad Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958). Lexicon etc., pp. 782f, 1114.

3. D. C. Siegfried, Esra, Nehemia und Esther, übersetzt und erklärt, in: Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, in bindung mit anderen Fachgelehrten herausgegeben von D. W. Nowack; I. Abteilung, Die historischen Bücher, 6. Band, 2. Teil (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1901), pp. 101f.

3 And he (Ezra) read from it facing ... 5 And Ezra opened the book ... 7 Also ... the Levites, helped the people to understand the law, while the people remained in their places. 8 And they read from the book, from the law of God, clearly (or; with interpretation); and they gave the sense, so that the people understood the reading.¹

Siegfried says:

Es scheint also der modus procedendi gewesen zu sein, dass jedesmal nach einem zusammenhängenden Abschnitt Esra mit der Vorlesung des Gesetzes eine Pause machte, und dass dann die Leviten die einzelnen Gesetze nach einander genauer durchnahen und erläuterten vielleicht gleichzeitig mehrere in gesonderten Kreisen.²

The passage of Nehemiah 13. 23-24:

23 In those days also I saw the Jews who had married women of Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab; 24 and half of their children spoke the language of Ashdod, and they could not speak the language of Judah, but the language of each people.

is taken as proof that Hebrew was still spoken and generally understood in the days of Ezra.³ Contemporary commentators regard the "they read" in Neh. 8. 8 as a mistake for "he read", i. e. Ezra. The mention of the Levites in verse 7 is thought to be an addition. Wilhelm Rudolph says:

Damit die Zuhörer, auch die eben erst aus Babel Zurückgekehrten, das Gelesene richtig verstanden, trug es Esra (hinter den hebräischen Text oder ohne diesen?) in Aramäischer Übersetzung vor.⁴

1. Neh. 8, 3a, 5a, 7b-8; the underlining is mine.

2. Siegfried, (HkAT, I, 6, 2,) op. cit., p. 102

3. Ibid., p. 102.

4. Wilhelm Rudolph, Esra und Nehemia samt 3. Esra, in, Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Herausgegeben von Otto Eissfeldt, Erste Reihe, 20. Band (Tübingen: Verlag J. C. B. Mohr, (Paul Siebeck), 1949), pp. 148-149.

Schaeder¹ and Kahle² are followed in the opinion that וְרָעוּ referred to a written targum, the usage of which in the synagogue service goes back to the time of Ezra. Following this line of reasoning, Nehemiah 13. 23-24 is understood to mean the following: Hebrew was not understood in general. Half the children of Jewish fathers and foreign mothers spoke the languages of Ammon and Moab (which are very much like Hebrew, as we know them from the Mesa stone), and the other half spoke the language of Ashdod. Some think that the latter language refers to the non-Semitic Philistine language³ but it more probably refers to Aramaic.⁴ If this is so, Nehemiah surely does not *imply* that the children speak Aram., because he himself is bilingual; but he *implies* that the children were totally unaccustomed to Hebrew. That a written targum is meant is also the interpretation of B. Megillah, commenting upon Neh. 8.8:

What is meant by the text, And they read in the book, in the law of God, with an interpretation, and they gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading? 'And they read in the book, in the law

1. Ibid., p. 149 refers to H. H. Schaeder, Esra der Schreiber, 1930, p. 52f, and his Iranische Beiträge I, 1930, p. 6f.

2. Ibid., p. 149 refers to P. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, 1947, p. 124.

3. Ibid., p. 208 refers to Schaeder, Iranische Beiträge, I, p. 29; A. van Selms, Ezra en Nehemiah, 1935; Text en Uitleg.; and Driver, The People and the Book, 1925, p. 74.

4. Ibid., pp. 208f refer to Eissfeldt, Philister und Phönizier, 1936, p. 33, 36f.

5. Ibid., pp. 147f, 208f, and cf. also pp. 44f.

of God': this indicates the (Hebrew) text; 'with an interpretation': this indicates the targum (fñnt.: Which shows that the targum dates back to the time of Ezra.); 'and they gave the sense': this indicates the verse stops; 'and 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.¹

We can thus think of the situation in Ezra's time as follows: The exiles who returned, both those who came back following 538 B. C. and those who had newly returned at the time of Ezra around 397 B. C., spoke Aramaic. They understood some Hebrew. More Hebrew was understood by those who had not been exiled, but they also had begun to speak Aram. Ezra reads the Law in Hebrew and in Aram. so that all could understand it. The Aram. reading was especially necessary for those who had just returned with him.

In the synagogue we find the translator or meturgeman (מְתוּרְגָּמָן), who translated verse by verse, or paragraph by paragraph the words of the reader.² An extension of the translation of the text was next introduced including "Auslegungen, Unterweisungen, Reden, freie Vorträge,"³ because the right

1. The B. Talmud, Seder Mo'ed VIII, Megillah, op. cit., ch. I, f. 3a, p. 10.

2. Cf. above, pp. 7 f: Cf. also Zunz, op. cit., p. 9.

3. Zunz, op. cit., p. 13. Both meanings, translation and explanation, occur for the word "targum" in the OT and the Jerusalem Targum (Gen. 42.43; Ex. 4. 16; 7. 1). In the talmuds the meaning explanation occurs frequently. Cf. S. Seligsohn und J. Traub, "Ueber den Geist der Uebersetzung des Jonathan ben Usiel zum Pentateuch und die Abfassung des in den Editionen dieser Uebersetzung beigedruckten Targum jeruschalmi",

understanding of the Law was of eternal significance. In these additions

... drang (man) ... in dem Geist des Wortes ein, suchte die Zwecke des Gebotenen und Gelehrten zu ergründen und durch fruchtbare Anwendung gleichsam das Ueberlieferte zu verjüngen.¹

These midrashic additions were either halacha, legal commentary, but more often haggada, a form of exegesis employing application of the truths to present life. Usually employed as the methods of haggada are similarity of words, peculiarity of letters, numerical values of letters, alphabetical changing and the like.² The Chief Rabbi, Dr. J. H. Hertz says of halacha and haggada, with reference to Emanuel Deutsch and Heine:

Emanuel Deutsch describes the one (halacha) as emanating from the brain, the other (haggada) from the heart; the one prose, the other poetry; the one carrying with it all those mental faculties that manifest themselves in arguing, investigating, comparing, developing; the other springing from the realms of fancy, of imagination, feeling, humour:

Beautiful old stories,
Tales of angels, fairy legends,
Stilly histories of martyrs,
Festal songs and words of wisdom;
Hyperboles, most quaint it may be,
Yet replete with strength and fire
And faith -- how they gleam,
And glow and glitter!

in Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums. Unter Mitwirkung mehrerer Gelehrten herausgegeben vom Oberrabbiner Dr. Z. Frankel, Director des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars zu Breslau, als verantwortlichem Redacteur, VI. Jahrgang (Leipzig: Verlag von Heinrich Hunger, 1857), p. 97, ftnt. 3.

1. Zunz, op. cit., p. 181
2. Ibid., p. 339.

as Heine has it.¹

When a reader was not available in certain synagogues, the targum, in its wider sense of Aram. translation of the text and midrashic exposition, was written down, and read by one adult, so that the reader of the Law and the translator of it had become one person.² The fact that targums came to be written may also be attributed to the ceasing popular understanding of Aram., probably already under the lordship of Greek, but certainly under the arabicizing of Palestine.³

Directing our attention to the targums of the Pentateuch, we find extant the following targums: Targum Onkelos (O)⁴; Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (PJ) in the editio princeps⁵

1. The B. Talmud, Seder Nezikin I, Baba Kamma, op. cit., p. xviii.

2. Zunz, op. cit., pp. 357f.

3. Ibid., pp. 7-13.

4. In the main, we have used the following edition: The Bible in Aramaic, Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts. Volume I, The Pentateuch According to Targum Onkelos, edited by Alexander Sperber, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959). For comparison, the texts of the Sabbioneta edition of 1557 and of the Rabbinical Bible of 1590(1) have been used: Targum Onkelos, Erster Theil, Text, nach Editio Sabbioneta V. J. 1557, Zweiter Theil, Noten, Einleitung und Register. Herausgegeben und erläutert von Dr. A. Berliner. Mit Unterstützung der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin (Berlin: Gorzelanczyk & Co., 1884), and Biblia Rabbinica: The Five Books of the Pentateuch, with Rashi's Commentary, Targum Onkelos, Targum Jerushalmi, with Tosephta, and the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel. At the command of the honorable Zuan Bragadin, son of the Lord Aloysio Bragadin, by the hand of his steward Asher Parentio. 2 volumes (Venice: at the house of Zuan di Gara, 1590 (1)).

5. The editio princeps of PJ is found in the Biblia

and in a codex ms in the British Museum;¹ the Fragment Targum (FT) present in the editio princeps² and in several mss;³ the Cairo Geniza Targum Fragments;⁴ and the newly discovered Codex Neofiti 1 (N).⁵ Targum Onkelos, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Codex Neofiti are targums covering the whole of the Pentateuch; the Fragment Targum and the Cairo Geniza Targum Fragments are fragmentary targums, dealing only with parts of the Pentateuch. Targum Onkelos generally gives only a translation of the Biblical verse, whereas the other Pentateuchal targums include both the translation of the Biblical verse and generally the

Rabbinica ab Bragadino, op. cit., of 1590(1). Cf. S. Seligsohn und J. Traub, op. cit., p. 112; and Mannass Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen zur Sprache der jerusalemischen Pentateuch-Targume. Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der philosophischen Fakultät der Grossherzogl. Hessischen Ludwigsuniversität zu Giessen, vorgelegt von Mannass Neumark aus Posen (Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1905).

1. Pseudo-Jonathan (Thargum Jonathan ben Usiël zum Pentateuch). Nach der Londoner Handschrift (Brit. Mus. add. 27031), herausgegeben von Dr. M. Ginsburger (Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1903).

2. The editio princeps of FT is found in any of the Rabbinical Bibles, beginning with the First Biblia Rabbinica (Venice: Bomberg, 1515/17); cf. Biblia Rabbinica ab Bragadino, op. cit., of 1590(1).

3. Edited in: Das Fragmententhargum (Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch). Herausgegeben von Dr. Moses Ginsburger (Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1899).

4. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Vormasoretischen Grammatik des Hebräischen, IV. Heft: Masoreten des Westens, II. Band: Das Palästinische Pentateuchtargum, Die Palästinische Punktation, Der Bibeltext des Ben Naftali, von Paul Kahle, Mit einem Beitrag von Dr. R. Kdelmann und 16 Lichtdrucktafeln (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1930).

5. Ms. Neofiti 1 of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana of Rome.

midrashic explanation of it. We now turn to the views concerning the date, origin, and relationships between these Pentateuchal targums, which have been a matter of intense discussion.

In 1832 Dr. Zunz published his outstanding work Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt. (Ein Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde und biblischen Kritik, zur Literatur- und Religionsgeschichte).¹

Zunz feels that written targums of most books of the Old Testament existed already in the Hasmonaean era. The following reasons are given: (1) Aramaic was the people's language. The folk of Palestine and Babylonia would translate their scripture into Aramaic, as Hellenists translated theirs into Greek. (2) A written targum of Job was found during the first century. Because the exposition of the law was more important than that of the other books, one would assume a higher age for pentateuchal targums. (3) It is admitted that targum as halacha belonged to those things which were not to be written down for fear that written matter would become canonical authority, for political reasons or for fear of the interpretation of the targum addition to the text. But the latter reason was broken down in the translation of the Law by Onkelos the Proselyte and of the Prophets by Jonathan ben Usiël, the pupil of Hillel. These translations were finished in the first half of the first century. O is an intelligent

1. Zunz, op. cit., the second edition, 1892, is here everywhere referred to.

and exact translation, which only in a few places, namely those with poetry, uses pictorial language employing haggada. Targum Jonathan to the Prophets is different in dialect and style. The latter's dialect is more akin to the Palestinian Aramaic of the J. Talmud. The style is freer, because there was no aspect of the much-guarded law in them, and the prophecies of Israel's future called for more explication. Targum Jonathan to the Prophets knew O. Both Talmud and haggadic works quote from these targums.¹

In the Babylonian Talmud there is a reference to O as "das unsrige".² Zunz takes this to refer to the existence of the other targum of the Pentateuch which we have in two forms: PJ and FT. The most ancient authors neither knew the former, nor the Jerusalem Targum (TJ). They speak of the "Palestine Targum". Authors toward the end of the fourteenth century mention the "Jerusalem Targum."³ On analysis of the quotations marked with the name Palestine or Jerusalem Targum we find some quotations to be in both PJ and FT, some in one or the other and some in neither. At times different quotations of the same passage exist one from PJ and the other from FT. Zunz then concludes that our PJ and FT are two recensions of a complete Jerusalem targum to the Pentateuch:

Offenbar hat es also von dem jerusalemischen Targum des Pentateuch eine doppelte Recension existirt,

1. Ibid., pp. 65-76.

2. Ibid., p. 69.

3. Ibid., p. 70.

von welcher die eine -- unser Pseudojonathan -- ganz,
die andere aber nur in Fragmenten zu uns gelangt ist.¹

It is called to mind that R. Assaria de' Rossi tells us of two identical mss of this targum one called "'Targum des Jonathan ben Usiel"' and the other "'Targum jeruschalmi"'.² It was R. Benjamin Musaphia's opinion that our PJ was identical with the TJ quoted by Aruch, and that the TJ in our FT were variants to Aruch's TJ. With this Zunz agrees, seeing the origin of these variants in the unique character of TJ. Because of its haggadic character, it was easily open to enriching or changing. Different recensions and copies of the TJ would have existed. An owner of a copy would have variants lifted out of another copy or recension, and put in the margin of his copy. That some of our FT parts are no different from PJ could be caused by a careless taking out of variants, or by later hands smoothing out the differences. What then of the name Jonathan ben Usiel? It is thought to be false, which fact even early authors know, calling it hence Pseudo-Jonathan. Its abbreviation 'T of Targum Jerushalmi was mistaken by scribes for Targum Jonathan to the Prophets. Thus this error crept into the terminology. Zunz prefers then to go back to the original terminology, calling PJ "jerusalemisches Targum" and FT "zweite Recension des jerusalemischen Targum."^{3,4}

1. Ibid., p. 73.

2. Ibid., p. 23, quoting Musaphia's comment at Aruch,

3. Ibid., p. 75.

4. Ibid., pp. 69-75.

(?)
TJ

The differences between O and TJ are sketched, to see their relationships to each other. O occasionally explains, TJ occasionally translates. O has as basis WVB, i.e. "Erläuterung des Schrifttextes nach dem Wortverstande,"¹ TJ W177, i.e. "Entwicklung des freien Gedankens in beliebiger Einkleidung und bei freiem Gebrauche des Textes,"¹ dealing with the "Gegenwart, deren Interessen und Empfindungen sie selbst in das überlieferte Wort hineinträgt."¹ The aim of the composer-writer of TJ is not to write a haggada or commentary, but to give people an exposition of scripture in terms of prevalent ideas, using halachic accomodation as well as haggadic amplification, making for a product of free rendering, with partially predominating Midrash. The language is Palestinian Aramaic akin to that of the J. Talmud, and much different from that of O. TJ as we have it is made up of the free haggadic translations which were "uraltes Gebrauch" in Palestine.^{2,3}

The date of TJ, which used these older freer targums is the second half of the seventh century. It cannot be younger than (1) the name Constantinople (Num 24.19, 24); (2) the fixing of the Jewish calender (Gen 1.14, 16; 7.11); (3) the fall of the West Roman Empire (Num 24.19-24); and (4) the Babylonian Gemara, whose style, content and study come out markedly in TJ. The Targum however is older than (1) the

1. Ibid., p. 62.

2. Ibid., p. 78.

3. Ibid., pp. 75-78.

Masoretic Text; (2) the arabization of West Asia; cf. the existence of Greek city names, the use of Aramaic, and the hate of the Greek Empire; and (3) the dying out of Aramaic.¹

Zunz supposes a TJ of the law, prophets and writings to have existed, which we have only in fragments in some mss and complete in others for certain parts of the Old Testament. The TJ of the Pentateuch, though incorporating early material, depends upon and is later than O. PJ and FT are different recensions of this targum.²

Dr. Zunz is closely followed in our time by Professor Dr. T. Jansma of Leiden who analyzed closely two haggadas of the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch in his inaugural address at the University of Leiden in 1950.³ The historical development as Zunz pictures it, is followed here without discussion.⁴ The conclusions are based on the analyses of the two passages of Gen. 44. 18-19 (where Jacob's sons appear for the third time before Joseph), and Gen. 35. 9 (in which God appears to Jacob); and are therefore tentative. The earliest form of the haggadic material is thought to have been oral. It comes first to be recorded in Bereshit Rabba and in the Cairo Geniza Fragments. CG is the earliest extant

1. Ibid., pp. 78-80.

2. Ibid., pp. 85-86.

3. T. Jansma, Twee Haggada's uit de Palestijnse Targum van de Pentateuch. Uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van Hoogleraar aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden op 20 October 1950 (Leiden: Universitaire Pers te Leiden, 1950).

4. Ibid., p. 3.

form of the Palestinian Targum. Bereshit Rabba is richer in haggadic material than CG. CG adheres more closely to the text in the Biblical verse, which may be influence from O.¹ Next in development comes the Fragment Targum,² which combines elements of both Bereshit Rabba and CG. There is duplication here of the material. There is moreover a union in FT of O and the Palestinian Targum.³ This union of O and the old Palestinian Targum reaches its climax in PJ. There the haggadic material of the Palestinian Targum is truthfully represented, though much simplified and in an abridged form. Where necessary O has been changed.

Wat in de Fragmententargum slechts ten dele is doorgevoerd -- de vereniging van Onkelos met toevoegingen uit de Palestijnse Targum -- is in Pseudo-Jonathan tot voltooiing gebracht in een meesterwerk in de kunst der compilatie.⁴

Besides PJ as the last stage of development of the Palestinian Targum, there is another avenue in which the latter ultimately developed itself: the Tosefta. In it O is always truthfully given, and the haggada of the Palestinian Targum has been changed, modified, and expanded, to suit the compiler's purposes.⁵

1. Ibid., pp. 4-5, and ftnts. 6 and 7 on p. 5.

2. Dr. Jansma refers to ms hébreu 110 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, edited in Das Fragmententargum, von Ginsburger, op. cit. We refer to this codex ms as Par.

3. Jansma, op. cit., pp. 6f.

4. Ibid., p. 7.

5. Ibid., pp. 7f.

Waar Pseudo-Jonathan echter de Palestijnse traditie getrouw bewaart en, indien nodig, Onkelos verandert, is de Tosefta slaafs getrouw aan Onkelos, doch veroorlooft zich tegenover de Palestijnse Targum grote vrijheden zowel ten aanzien van de taal als van de inhoud. Daardoor draagt de Tosefta het stem-pel van een laat stadium in de geschiedenis van de Haggada.¹

In 1846 Dr. Z. Frankel published his article "Einiges zu den Targumim" in the Zeitschrift für die religiösen Interessen des Judenthums.² Frankel proved once for all that it is untenable to think of the PT as variants of one recension of TJ to another (PJ), and so disproved what Zunz³, Mussaphia⁴, and Mendelssohn⁵ had held before him. He pointed out that there are too many passages of agreement between PT and PJ. These cannot be explained by saying that the variants were not lifted out with exactness or that the differences were smoothed over by later hands:

Zunz (S. 71) meint, "dass verschiedene Recensionen von dem Targ. Jerusch. vorhanden gewesen, und schrieb Mancher aus der zweiten Recension die abweichenden Stellen aus. Hinsichtlich der übereinstimmenden Stellen darf bloss geschlossen werden, dass die Aushebung nicht mit gehöriger Genauigkeit geschehen oder dass hier und da spätere Hände gleichgemacht haben." Allein diese Uebereinstimmungen sind so häufig und beziehen sich oft nur auf ein einzelner Wort oder

1. Ibid., p. 7.

2. Dr. Z. Frankel, "Einiges zu den Targumim," Zeitschrift für die religiösen Interessen des Judenthums. Unter Mitwirkung mehrerer Gelehrten herausgegeben von Dr. Z. Frankel, Oberrabbiner in Dresden (Leipzig: Verlag von B. G. Teubner), III, 4 (1846, April), pp. 110-120.

3. Zunz, first edition, op. cit., p. 71.

4. Mussaphia, Commentary to Aruch, Art. ןאח 2.

5. Mendelssohn, אור זרוע לנתיבות.

auf einen an sich nicht bedeutenden Umstand, dass wohl weder das Eine noch das Andere jener Vermuthung sich als gegründet zeigt.¹

In comparing PJ and FT, Frankel makes the following observations: (1) PJ knows a later angelology, not found in FT; (2) PJ uses halacha and haggada richly, FT uses only haggada, and that sparingly; in PJ the text is sometimes lost in the haggada, whereas in FT the haggada is carefully used as addition to the text; (3) PJ depends upon O; FT is independent of O; (4) internal evidence for the late date of PJ are late midrashim such as the midrash about Moses (N 12.1; 24. 24) and the mention of the Jewish calender (G 1.14); and (5) in the mention of the name of God PJ holds a place between O and FT:

A. Jonathan kennt schon die spätere Angelologie. Targ. Jerusch, hat sie nicht.²

B. Jonathan ist Paraphrast im vollständigsten Sinne, nimmt Hagada und Halacha im reichem Masse (und zuweilen auch unsinnig) auf: Jerusch. hat sehr selten Halacha, und Hagada da nur, wo sie sich leicht dem Text anschmieget. Jonathan siehet den Text nur durch die Farbe der Hagada und gehet ihm sogar ersterer nicht selten über letzterer verloren; Jerusch. hat da, wo er eine grosse Hagada anführt, diesselbe nur als Digression, ist sich bewusst, dass er eine Hagada anführt.³

C. Jonathan ist sehr abhängig von Onkelos; Jeruschalmi zeigt sich viel freier und selbstständiger.⁴

1. Frankel, op. cit., p. 112.

2. Ibid., p. 113.

3. Ibid., p. 114.

4. Ibid., p. 117.

D. Liegt schon in dem bisher gedachten eine Andeutung, dass die Zeit des Jonathan eine spätere sei, als die des Jeruschalmi, so sprechen andere Data noch mehr dafür ... (einige Midraschim und die jüd. Jahrrechnung und Feststellung des Kalenders).¹

E. Noch dürfte zu bemerken sein, dass die ehrfurchtsvolle Sprachweise von Gott, die Onkelos durch אֱלֹהִים mitunter vermittelt, in Targ. Jerusch. sehr gesteigert ist ... Jonathan hält (hier) die Mitte zwischen Onkelos und Jeruschalmi.²

Dr. Frankel thus holds FT as the true remains of a complete TJ.³ This complete TJ was pushed out of use by a thorough recasting of it, of which the result is PJ.⁴ Thus, whereas Zunz has seen FT and PJ equally as two recensions of the TJ -- though FT only in fragmentary form -- Frankel sees FT as the real remains of the TJ, and PJ as a complete recasting of TJ according to new ideas. PJ (the revised version of TJ) is then the cause for the existence of FT (a collection of true quotations from the original TJ):⁵

1. Ibid., p. 119. The material in the parentheses is paraphrased from the quotation.

2. Ibid., pp. 119f. The material in parentheses is mine.

3. Cf. Dr. Jacob Bassfreund, "Das Fragmenten-Targum zum Pentateuch, sein Ursprung und Charakter und sein Verhältniss zu den anderen pentateuchischen Targumim," Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums, Begründet von Dr. Z. Frankel, fortgesetzt von Professor Dr. H. Graetz. Neue Folge herausgegeben von Dr. M. Brann in Breslau und Dr. D. Kaufmann in Budapest. 40. Jahrgang; Neue Folge 4. Jahrgang (Breslau: Schlesische Buchdruckerei, Kunst- und Vorlags-Anstalt v. S. Schottlaender), XL (1896), pp. 1f.

4. Cf. Dr. Wilhelm Bacher, "Kritische Untersuchungen zum Prophetentargum. Nebst einem Anhang über das gegenseitige Verhältniss der pentateuchischen Targumim," Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Herausgegeben

...dass Jerusch. und Jonath. nicht identisch seien. Jerusch. ist eine frühere Uebersetzung, die ein Späterer umarbeitete und viele Zusätze anfügte. Vor dieser umfassendern Paraphrase, die die frühere paraphrastische Version (Jerusch. bildete beide zugleich, nur war die Version ... mehr überwiegend) in sich schloss, ging diese verloren und blieben nur Bruchstücke, von denen uns auch schon ein grosse Theil fehlt ..., zurück.¹

PT is thus seen by Frankel to be fragments of the TJ. PJ though it is a reworking of TJ, has much later material in it and is in effect so much a revision of TJ that it contains O and midrashic material which come from times after the original PT.²

The year 1857 saw the publication of Dr. Abraham Geiger's Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judenthums.³ Geiger opposes the view prevalent in his time that O as a targum is "...ein authentisches altes..., das mündlich fortgeleitet worden, also zwar erst später in Babylonien niedergeschrieben, aber seinen Grundbestandtheilen nach von ältester Zeit festgehalten worden," which view assumes PJ and PT to be dependent

von den Geschäftsführern unter der verantwortlichen Redaction des Prof. Dr. Otto Loth (Leipzig: in Commission bei F. A. Brockhaus). XXVIII (1874), p. 59.

5. Cf. Seligsohn und Fraub, op. cit., p. 114.

1. Frankel, op. cit., p. 120.

2. Ibid., pp. 112-120.

3. Dr. Abraham Geiger, Rabbiner der Synagogen-Gemeinde Breslau, Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judenthums (Breslau: Verlag von Julius Hainauer, 1857), pp. 451-480.

upon O and late in date because of the mention of Mohammed's wives (Gen. 21.21) and of the plundering (Num 24.24) in PJ. Geiger sets out to review the targums within the whole history of the text and translations of the Old Testament in relation to the inner development of Judaism. He deals with this history in a scholarly manner in his book.¹

What took place to lead to targum development? The custom of translating the readings into the people's language, Aramaic, was an old one, practised during the whole time of the second temple. In Palestine, then the center of Jewish religious thought and of halachic and haggadic development, these targums (Aramaic translations) were not just translations but also expositions, additions to the translations. They were:

Erklärung, Erweiterung, direkte der Gegenwart angepasste Ausdeutung und Ermahnung, daher nicht selten auch Umgestaltung und so repräsentirt sich in ihr vollkommen der Standpunkt der älteren Halachah und Haggadah.²

The translation became fixed and was held in high esteem. In Palestine the seat of the study of the Law, it neither pushed aside the text nor did it put limits to the further study of the Law. The targum as given fact of the general instruction, and as such in the hand of the translator-expositor, the Methargemin, was well loved. The fact is that a complete swinging over of Jewish religious thought occurred

1. Ibid., pp. 451-452.

2. Ibid., p. 452.

from the Greek period and on. Older religious tradition had to make way for younger and newer thought. The translators-expositors did not readily accept this immense reform of the religious leaders, partly because of their and the people's pride and love of the old traditions and stories of the targum, and partly because in the battle between the protagonists of the old tradition and those of the new, there were not always clear, positive results which could be given to the people as norms for living. The kind of reasons given by the teachers of the Law against the old tradition are strange indeed. In the case of Lev 22.28, where the addition of the targum bids people to be merciful because God is merciful, the lawyers call the interpretation bad inasmuch as God's demands are portrayed as mere mercy: אילין דמתרגמין ... לא ענדין טבאות (מפני) שהן עושין (גזרותיו) של הקב' הרחמים.¹ The translators-expositors are then represented as "...geschwätzige Schönredner, die durch laute Erhebung der Stimme ihre Irrthümer und Thorheiten dem Volke aufdringen."² In Babylonia the uprooting of the older traditions was, comparative to Palestine, easily accomplished. Thus Babylonia gradually became the new seat of the study of Jewish law. With the new translator-expositors here, and no firmly rooted tradition, the targum was com-

1. Ibid., p. 453, footnote *, quoting j. Berachoth 5.1, cf. Megilla 4.10. "Diejenigen, welche Übersetzen... (then follows the addition of PJ to Lev. 22.28)...die thun nicht gut, weil sie die Vorschriften Gottes als blosses Erbarmen hinstellen."

2. Ibid., p. 453.

pletely revised according to the new ideas; or rather, a whole new targum (O) was composed. In the poetical parts of the Pentateuch, some old material was kept, though even here the new thought overshadows it. The letter of the text was closely adhered to, and interpretation was left to the schools. Such a radical wiping out of the old targum was impossible in Palestine, where it was so firmly rooted. The historical compromise was that the new was placed next to the old, in places modifying the old, but leaving a good deal of the old in fact. Such patchwork is PJ. Here we find the old interpretations, rejected in the Mishna, and the new thought, made official in the Mishna. PJ is such a complete, reworked TJ, patchwork of old and new. The FT is the same, limited to certain passages only. It is fragmentary inasmuch as the changes originally made to the TJ would be put in the margins of the latter. A great many examples are listed showing the old TJ in FT and PJ, agreeing with the Samaritan version and other old versions. FT and PJ thus are "...zwei aus dem alten paläst. Th. fliessende berichtigte Recensionen."^{1,2}

S. Seligsohn and J. Traub wrote a common essay about the pentateuchal targums in 1857³, followed in 1858 by the inaugural dissertation of Hermann Seligsohn.⁴

1. Ibid., p. 455.

2. Ibid., pp. 451-480.

3. S. Seligsohn und J. Traub, op. cit.

4. Hermannus (sic) Seligsohn, De Duabus Hierosoly-

Their views are the followings: After the exile Hebrew ceased to be understood fully and Aramaic translations or targums of the Scriptures became necessary.¹ Targums of the Pentateuch are thought to have existed in this pre-Christian era on the basis of references in B. Megillah 3a and Kiddushin 49a Tosephoth. B. Megillah 3a speaks of the Aramaic translation of the Prophets as a bold and daring enterprise, resulting in an earthquake, whereas the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch is permitted.² In Kiddushin 49a Tosephoth "wird mit Bezug auf diese Stelle das Targ. z. Pentat. als Tradition vom Sinai erklärt."³

Doch ist es wahrscheinlich, dass chaldäischen Versionen des Pentateuch das höchste Alter zuerkannt werden muss. Denn während die Uebersetzung der Propheten als ein kühnes Unterfangen bezeichnet wird, "darob weithin die Erde erbebe", wird die Uebersetzung des Pentateuch für berechtigt erklärt.⁴

mitanis Pentateuchi Paraphrasibus. Particula I. De Origine Hierosolymitanae Utriusque Paraphrasis Ex Onkelosiana Pentateuchi Versione Ducenda. Dissertatio Inauguralis Quam Consensu et Auctoritate Amplissimi Philosophorum Ordinis in Alma Literarum Universitate Viadrina, Ad Summos in Philosophia Honores, Rite Capessendos Die III. Mensis Novembris MCCCCLVIII. H. L. G. C. Palam Defendet Auctor Hermannus (sic) Seligsohn, Posnaniensis. Opponentibus: S. Michaelis, Philos (sic) Stud., J. Perles, Philos. Cand., M. Rahmer, Philos. Stud. Vratislaviae, Typis Sulzbach, 1858, 40 pp. From this writing it appears that this author is the same person as S. Seligsohn, who with J. Traub wrote the essay on the pentateuchal targums in MGWJ, VI, 1857.

1. Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 97.

2. Ibid., p. 98.

3. Ibid., p. 98, ftnt 6.

4. Ibid., p. 98.

It is still felt that some Hebrew would be understood by all, and that it would not have been necessary from the first, after the exile, to have targums covering the whole of the Pentateuch.¹ Seligsohn and Traub assume that at first the more difficult, i. e. the poetical passages, were translated;²

Es ist jedoch, wenigstens für Palästina nicht anzunehmen, dass ein vollständiges Targum des Pentateuch bestanden habe; so sehr konnte das Verständniss der Muttersprache nicht entschwunden sein, dass nicht wenigstens leichtere Stellen des Originals in dem der aramäischen Sprache so nahe verwandten Hebräisch hätten vorgetragen werden können. Wahrscheinlich haben die schwierigeren, namentlich die poetischen Theile des Pentateuch zuerst eine Uebersetzung erhalten.³

Yet none of these Aramaic translations of the poetical passages of the Pentateuch have come down to us. The earliest targum on the Pentateuch is Targum Onkelos, which finds its origin in the first century A. D., and whose redaction lies in the third to fourth centuries of our era. It is admitted that some of these old Aramaic translations of poetical parts of the Pentateuch may have been used in the composition of O;³

Aeltere Versionen der 5 Bücher Mosis haben sich nicht erhalten, und wenn solche existirt, so sind sie wohl in dem wenigstens seiner Anlage nach aus dem ersten Jahrhundert sich herschreibenden Targum des Onkelos zur Thora aufgegangen. Dieser vortrefflichen Uebersetzung, deren Redaction in das 3-4. Jahrh. d. übl. Zeitr. zu setzen ist, ist an Alter gleich die Version der Propheten von Jonathan ben Usiel.³

Hence, Seligsohn and Traub quite logically assume the exist-

1. Ibid., pp. 93, 140.

2. Ibid., p. 98.

3. Ibid., p. 98.

ence of Aramaic translations of some portions of the Pentateuch, before the translation of Onkelos was made. But these are not our present FT. Our present FT is later than O. These old Aramaic translations of portions of the Pentateuch have either been lost, or have been incorporated in O. No targum on the Pentateuch, or fragment of such, is older than O, which latter is the authoritative targum of the Pentateuch for the Jews. But at least one admission has been made: that bits of Palestinian Aramaic Targum on the Pentateuch, older than O, existed, and that these portions may well have been incorporated into O. It is also admitted that O in certain passages does not agree with the Hebrew text:¹

Onkelos war bei der möglichsten Worttreue dennoch frei zu Werke gegangen, und hatte sich vorzüglich an Stellen, wo der Sinn der Textworte schwierig ist und eine wörtliche Uebertragung denselben nur noch dunkler hätte machen müssen, manche Abweichungen erlaubt.¹

Our Fragment Targum, or Targum Jerushalmi, as Seligsohn and Traub refer to it, came about after O was already in existence. The editor of TJ had in front of him a copy of O², which he corrected according to certain principles on the one hand, and to which he added a number of haggadic additions which were known by the people, in order to enliven the whole:¹

...dass Jerusch. ebensowohl das Targ. Onkelos vor sich gehabt, wie Jonathan; noch mehr, dass Jerusch. sich geradezu auf Onk. bezieht. So betrach-

1. Ibid., p. 100.

2. Ibid., pp. 144-145.

tet ergeben sich die Midraschim des Jerusch. als nichts Anderes, als für eine geschmackvolle Zuthat zum T. Onkelos, um durch dieselben den Vortrag dieses Targums zu beleben und erhebend auf Herz und Gemüth des Hörers oder Lesers zu wirken.¹

Dieses Targum (O), welches im Laufe der Jahrhunderte sicherlich auch bei den palästinensischen Juden Verbreitung gefunden, bearbeitete...der Verfasser des Jeruschalmi nach einer doppelten Richtung. Er corrigirte das Targum Onkelos nach bestimmten Principien und fügte, um den Vortrag zu beleben, eine Auswahl dem Volke geläufiger Hagada's ein.²

The editor of PJ knew both this TJ and O. What the editor of TJ had done for only some passages of the Pentateuch-- the fragmentary nature of TJ is its original nature--PJ completed for the whole Pentateuch, following TJ's correcting of O--although the editor of PJ does not always accept the principles of the editor of TJ--and extending the haggadic additions to the whole Pentateuch, adding some shorter and longer ones which are not found in TJ. That the work of PJ, as that of TJ, is based on Onkelos's Targum is proved by the fact that PJ shows itself familiar with O in many passages:³

Ein späterer Paraphrast, unser Pseudojonathan, nahm diesen Gedanken auf und vollendete zu einem abgeschlossenen Ganzen, was sein Vorgänger in der Anlage begonnen hatte. Auch Jonathan nahm eine Kritik des Onkelos-Textes vor, berichtigte oder änderte diesen mehr oder minder glücklich, indem er dabei den jerusalemischen Glossen die gebührende Berücksichtigung zu Theil werden liess. Jonathan's ganze Arbeit ruht auf der Basis des Targum Onkelos. Bei einfacher Uebersetzung oder Erklärung folgt er meist dessen Auf-

1. Ibid., pp. 144-145.

2. Ibid., p. 100.

3. Ibid., pp. 100-101, 149.

fassung, und wo er abweicht ist zu erkennen, dass ihm die betreffende Stelle des Onkelos wohl bekannt war. Häufig citirt er Onkelos vollständig oder ändert dessen Ausdruck nur insoweit, als es die dialektische Verschiedenheit erfordert. Wo Onkelos selbst zuweilen Gelegenheit zum Paraphrasiren nimmt, finden wir diese Paraphrase bei Jonathan amplificirt. Dasselbe Anschliessen an Onkelos zeigt sich bei dessen halachischer und hagadischer Schriftauslegung, so wie auch in der Vermeidung von Anthropomorphieen und Anthropopathieen.¹

These same views concerning the relations of the three pentateuchal Targums, O, TJ and PJ are still adhered to in the inaugural dissertation by Seligsohn. TJ was made as additions to O, to accommodate the Palestinian dialect and to enliven the reading by haggadic additions known to tradition. TJ was not made as additions to PJ, because PJ is later in composition than TJ;²

Onkelosi versio Palaestinensibus jam dudum nota erat; Thargum Hierosolymitanum non fragmentum est Thargum alicujus quondam completi, sed variarum lectionum compendium, quod tamen non ad Jonath. paraphrasin, neque ad aliud quoddam amissum Th. Palaestinense, sed ad Onkelosi versionem pertinet et nihil aliud est, nisi conatus hanc, Onkelosianam dico, corrigendi, amplificandi, cum veteri interpretandi ratione conciliandi, quo facilius vulgari Palaestinsium usui accomodaretur.²

PJ was made later than TJ. The editor of PJ had before him both O and TJ using the latter's paraphrases, changing them if he wished and extending them over the whole Pentateuch:³

Auctor Ps. Jon. qui sine dubio multis annis

1. Ibid., pp. 100-101.

2. Hermannus Seligsohn, op. cit., p. 32.

3. Ibid., p. 32.

Hierosolymitano posterior est, ex Onkelosi versione, ex Hierosolymitanae ad eandem notis, interpretationibus, additamentis, aliisque ore propagatis narrationibus et interpretationibus, integrum illud Targum composuit, quod Jonathanis nomen prae se fert.¹

The date of PJ is thought to be not earlier than the middle of the seventh century because PJ seems to have accepted the views of talmudic scholarship, because of the mention of Constantinople and the Lombardei (Num. 24.24, 19), because of the wish for the destruction of the West-Roman Empire (Num. 24.19-24) and because of the presence of the names Chadidja and Fatime (wives of Mohammed) (Gen. 21.21): "ist deshalb sein Targ. jedenfalls nicht früher als in die Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts zu setzen."² The date of composition of TJ is then seen to lie somewhere between the fourth century--final redaction of O--and the seventh--when PJ was composed.

Seligsohn and Traub discuss certain characteristics of TJ and PJ which have led them to see their relationships to O in the manner described above.

That the original nature of TJ is that of a reworking of, and adding to O is shown by the facts that in the old editions of the rabbinical Bibles printed in Venice and Basel, TJ as a whole is printed following O, that in the old mss of TJ, such as Codex Vaticanus 440, TJ is printed as a whole, and that TJ is never printed with PJ. This is taken as good

1. Ibid., p. 32.

2. Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 110; Zunz, op. cit., pp. 78-80, is followed at this point; cf. above pp. 26f

evidence that TJ is not to be seen as variants to PJ, but as a kind of variants made on the basis of O:¹

Wir können den Umstand, dass das Targum Jerusch. dem mit Targum Onk. versehenen Pentateuchausgaben beigegeben ist, gewissermassen als diplomatischen Beweis...anführen, dass Jerusch. ... den Glossator zu Onkelos bilde. Dass das Targum Jerusch. auch in Handschriften dem Jonath. wie in unseren Ausgaben beigelegt gewesen, kann man nicht berichten.¹

The dialect of TJ and PJ is approximately the same as that of the J. Talmud, and different from O, yet it also has something in common with O. Because many passages from O have been included in TJ and PJ, the language of TJ and PJ is a mixture of East-Aramaic and West-Aramaic.²

Der Dialekt dieser Targumim ist der hierosolymitanische oder judäische-aramäische, ähnlich dem des jerusalemischen Talmud, doch mit vielen ihnen allein zukommenden sprachlichen Eigenthümlichkeiten, und verschieden von dem Chaldäische des Onkelos, welches der Sprache der biblisch-chaldäischen Schriften wenig nachsteht, und doch wieder vielfach diesem ähnlich. ...Sie (TJ and PJ) bilden so eine Zwittergattung des Ost- und Westaramäischen.²

The language of TJ and PJ is like the Syriac, except that the latter is a Christian tongue, whereas the language of TJ and PJ is that of the Jewish religious conceptions. The Aramaic of TJ and PJ does not have the harshness characteristic of Aramaic because ^{of} the influences in TJ and PJ of foreign languages. From the Syriac TJ and PJ have the forms which are milder than Aramaic forms, whereas the Greek brought euphonic

1. Ibid., p. 112.

2. Ibid., p. 99.

constructions. Though the language of TJ and PJ lost individuality through much foreign influence, it gained a softness of consonants and a greater richness of sonorous vowels:¹

Ihre (TJ and PJ) Sprache nähert sich dem Syrischen, doch ist sie durch den Geist, welcher sie durchweht, weit von diesem verschieden. Der Geist des Syrischen ist ein christlicher; die Sprache der Paraphrasen von dem Geiste des jüdischen Glaubens und jüdisch-religiöser Anschauungen durchdrungen. Andererseits macht sich hier das aram. Element geltend, das aber durch den bei unserem Paraphrasen stark hervortretenden Einfluss fremder Sprachen viel von der den aram. Dialekt charakterisirenden Rauheit und Härte abgestreift hat. Die syrischen Formen, milder als die chaldäischen, sind in ihnen vorherrschend, und diesen zunächst wirkte die griechische Sprache auf euphonische Bildungen. Die Sprache des Jonathan und Jeruschalmi ist also durchaus keine reine. Sie ist mit fremden Elementen in Ausdruck und Form so stark versetzt, dass sie fast alle Individualität verloren hat. Aber dafür hat sie diesem Einflusse eine gefälligere Weichheit der Consonanten und einen grösseren Reichthum klangvoller Vocale zu danken.¹

There are however differences between the dialects of TJ and PJ. The Aramaic of TJ ^{is reminiscent of} ~~reminds~~ of the Hebrew of the Mishna, that of Aramaic PJ is more like that of the later talmuds. The Mishna is proof--and to an extent TJ--that Hebrew did not go out of popular use completely, all at once after the exile, but that it was used for yet quite some time in newer forms. TJ uses many Hebrew expressions, differing from O. PJ usually has the Aramaic words here, differing however from O:²

Das Mischnawerk ist ein bleibendes Document dafür, dass in Palästina der Verschmelzungsprocess des Hebräischen und Aramäischen nicht so rasch vor sich

1. Ibid., pp. 99-100.

2. Ibid., p. 140.

gegangen, und dass hier vorzüglich die Muttersprache noch lange Zeit hindurch aus ihrem eigenen Stamme sich in neuen Bildungen und Formen verjüngte; dieselbe Erscheinung zeigt sich in frappanter Weise in den vielen rein hebräischen Ausdrücken, die Jeruschalmi gebraucht und die öfter, sogar verschieden von Onkelos, die biblische Sprechweise selbst anstreifen. Jon. hat dafür meist aramäische Wörter, selbst da, wo er sich nicht Onkelos anschliesst.¹

PJ, in the many additions not found in TJ, is the interpreter of the ideas of his time and the narrator of the old religious and national stories. Most of these are found in Jewish works such as the Mishna, the Talmuds, Mechilta, Sifra, Sifri and midrashic works. Some additions however are not found in any Jewish works, yet even in these (Deut. 21.8; Lev. 14.53), PJ is not using his own imagination, but is putting in writing stories of popular faith of the day. His additions divide themselves into myths, national-historical legends, ethical teaching and metaphysical ideas.² The high point of the ethical teaching of the time is shown in the beautiful words introducing the commandment at Lev. 22.28: "Mein Volk Israel! wie barmherzig ist unser Vater im Himmel, so seid auch ihr barmherzig auf Erden."³ In PJ we find an unconstrained relation of the haggada to the text, giving rise to free interpretation of the text, following the religious and metaphysical ideas of the time. Yet even though PJ engages in describing supernatural themes, though he suf-

1. Ibid., p. 140.

2. Ibid., pp. 103-104.

3. Ibid., p. 105; cf. ftnt. 5 on p. 105: in J. Megillah 4.9 this saying is disapproved of.

fers in this from hyperbolic exaggeration, PJ is entirely free from mysticism and gnosticism.¹

PJ is thus not a new creation, or one directing the Jews into new paths, but gives a picture of the time:²

in welcher der kräftige Pulsschlag des national-religiösen Lebens das Judentum ausschliesslich beherrschte und alle Adern des Wissens durchdrang, jener Zeit, wo neben der Forschung des Gesetzes die fromme Intuition, freilich auch mitunter die mystischen Extravaganzen der damaligen philosophischen Ansichten in der Anschauung des Volkes Platz gegriffen hatten.³

PJ has an angelology, mentioning many of the angels which are named in the talmudic haggada, while this is almost entirely lacking in TJ.⁴

PJ continues the aim of O in shunning anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms for God, in speaking in good terms of the biblical heroes, and in not ascribing to heathen gods attributes due to the God of Israel.⁵ In the halachic additions, PJ observes strictly the limits of traditional authority, and uses no imaginative poetry.⁶

The view which Seligsohn and Traub have concerning the pentateuchal targums, they contrast with earlier views held by

1. Ibid., pp. 105f.

2. Ibid., pp. 109f.

3. Ibid., p. 110.

4. Ibid., p. 106.

5. Ibid., p. 107.

6. Ibid., p. 108.

others. Schikard¹ before Seligsohn and Traub held that TJ was never a complete targum, but that its fragmentary nature was its original state. Schikard however also thought that TJ was a collection of different targumists' additions. With the latter opinion Seligsohn and Traub disagree, feeling that Schikard based this opinion on isolated passages, while the former feel that though there are glosses in TJ, it can still be taken as a whole.²

Er (Schikard) hält dies Targum (TJ) seiner unzusammenhängenden, bald grösseren, bald kleineren Partien wegen, in denen er überdies keine Einheit findet, für ein Sammelwerk von Notizen verschiedener Targumisten, die allenfalls einer und derselben Redaction angehören. Aber dergleichen Inconsequenzen, wie sie Schikard meint, sind eben nur Einzelheiten. Man wird zugeben müssen, dass manches falsche Glossem sich in den Text des Jerusch. eingeschlichen haben kann; aber diese Einzelheiten berechtigen nicht, dem Ganzen den einheitlichen Charakter abzusprechen.²

Seligsohn and Traub do agree with Schikard however that the present fragmentary character of TJ is its original character.² Seligsohn and Traub base this view on the inner nature of TJ and on its original form as marginal notes to O.³

The opinion of Drusius⁴ that the targums PJ and TJ are identical, is rejected fully, as any superficial comparison of

1. Schikard, Bechinath ha-Peruschim, p. 37, referred to in Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 111.

2. Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., pp. 111.

3. Bacher, op. cit., p. 59 and Bassfreund, op. cit., pp. 2, 14, 49, find this the most important conclusion of Seligsohn's study. Cf. above pp. 41f.

4. Cf. Walton, Prolegomena, p. 579, as referred to in Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 111.

the targums points out the differences between them (cf. only G 1.1).

R. Benjamin Musaphia¹ held the opinion that our PJ was identical with the TJ of Aruch, and that our TJ consisted of variants to our PJ.² With this opinion agreed Mendelssohn³ and Zunz,⁴ holding that two recensions of a complete TJ have come down to us, the complete PJ, and the fragmentary TJ as variants to our PJ. But too many of these so-called variants (TJ) to PJ are no variants to PJ at all, but are the same as PJ. Surely the collector of the variants would not copy all these passages, where TJ and PJ agree, as variants, nor could later editors have brought about so much similarity between TJ and PJ.⁵ The argument of Zunz at this point is:

Aus der Uebereinstimmung einzelner Stellen kann nur gefolgert werden, dass die Aushebung der Varianten nicht genau geschehen sei, oder spätere Hände sie gleich gemacht haben.⁶

1. תרגומי תורה 2, referred to in Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 111.

2. Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 110. Zunz, op. cit., p. 73.

3. Mendelssohn, Einleitung in den Pentat., referred to in Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 111

4. Zunz, op. cit., second edition, pp. 69ff; Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 111, refer to Zunz, op. cit., first edition, pp. 66ff.

5. Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., pp. 111f.

6. Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 111, the quotation from Zunz, op. cit., first edition, pp. 66ff. The reference in Zunz, first edition, p. 71, unchanged in the second edition, p. 74, reads: "Aus der gegenwärtigen Ueber-

Seligsohn and Traub reject this opinion. It is pointed out that Frankel first shattered the theme that TJ was composed of variants to PJ.¹ However, Frankel's accompanying conclusions that our present PJ is a reworking of, and adding to a former complete TJ and that our PJ subsequently pushed this complete TJ out of use, leaving us only with fragments of the latter in our present PT, are rejected by Seligsohn and Traub. In support of their view that TJ was originally the same as our present PT, and not a targum on the whole Pentateuch, Seligsohn and Traub point out that TJ includes additions mainly to the historical parts of the Pentateuch. Zunz² is referred to in an analysis of the fragments: one-third of the fragments (of PT) are in Genesis, one-fourth in Deuteronomy, one-fifth in Numbers, with only three-twentieths in Exodus and approximately one-fourteenth in Leviticus. It is not accidental that only in the historical places the additions occur. Among the historical and poetic passages of the Pentateuch are those which are most difficult to understand. These are the only passages which needed the explanatory addition. The fragmentary character of TJ is furthermore its

einstimmung einzelner Stellen in beiden Recensionen darf blos geschlossen werden, dass die Aushebung entweder nicht mit gehöriger Genauigkeit geschehen, oder dass hier und da spätere Hände gleich gemacht haben."

1. Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 114; cf. Frankel, op. cit., pp. 110ff; cf. above pp. 29f.

2. Zunz, op. cit., first edition, p. 77; ftnt. a, second edition, p. 80, ftnt. d, referred to in Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 138.

original state because large midrashic parts in TJ are everywhere well rounded off into complete paragraphs. In these the continuation is nowhere broken:¹

Dass nun gerade von jenen poetischen Stellen der Schrift aus dem vollständigen Jeruschalmi Nichts verloren gegangen und von den minder gewichtigen sich gar Nichts erhalten--das könnte man in der That nur durch ein merkwürdiges Spiel, durch eine seltsame Laune des Zufalls erklären. Vielmehr ist hierin eine bewusste Absichtlichkeit nicht zu verkennen, und es geht daraus mit Gewissheit hervor, dass Jeruschalmi nicht im Laufe der Zeit zum Fragmente geworden, sondern schon in der ursprünglichen Anordnung den fragmentarischen Character hatte.¹

Seligsohn's view of the outward form of TJ as margins to O is accepted by Dr. Wilhelm Bacher in his article appearing in 1874, "Kritische Untersuchungen zum Prophetentargum. Nebst einem Anhang über das gegenseitige Verhältniss der Pentateuchischen Targumim". Bacher further accepts Frankel's thesis of the origin of PT: that in PT we have true remains of a complete TJ. As for O, Bacher finds his view closest to Geiger's. The latter holds that O is a complete refashioning of TJ according to new religious thought, with close adherence to the text, and with only in a few poetical passages the added picturesque exposition of the TJ remaining. Bacher gives the synopsis of his own view:

... zu welcher (Ansicht, i. e. his own) wir für die äussere Stellung des Fragmententargum die Meinung Seligsohn's, für seinen Ursprung aus einer ältern Version die Frankel's adoptiren. Die Ansicht

1. Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., pp. 138f.

2. Bacher, op. cit., p. 59.

über Onkelos kommt der Geiger's am nächsten.¹

O is a complete refashioning of the earlier TJ from Palestine. (Geiger is followed here). When O became the authoritative targum, the scribes added in the marginal spaces of O the parts of the complete TJ which they did not want to lose. As such Bacher sees the 850 verses of the FT which appeared in the editio princeps of the Bomberg Bible. PJ is the last stage of development of the pentateuchal targums. PJ builds upon TJ, but O comes to the foreground in an increasing degree. The later haggadah forms a source, leaving those passages where we find an interpretation different from either TJ or from O. The four targums come from three different historical periods: TJ from the Palestinian period; O and the margins of TJ to O from the Babylonian period (FT); and PJ is a product of the new-Palestinian time of Islam.² In Bacher's own words he holds that PJ

...ist nichts Anderes als das letzte Entwicklungsstadium des jerusalemischen Thargum. Dieses bildet den Grundstock, während Onkelos in sehr hervorragendem Masse, und in noch grösserem die spätere Haggadah die Aenderungen und Erweiterungen in ihm hervorgerufen haben. Eine nicht geringe Zahl von Abweichungen endlich beruht auf eine besonderen, sowohl von jerusalemischen Thargum als von Onkelos abweichenden exegetischen Auffassung.³

In 1896 Dr. Jacob Bassfreund writes in the Monats-
schrift his article, "Das Fragmenten-Targum zum Pentateuch, sein

1. Ibid., p. 59.

2. Ibid., pp. 59-72.

3. Ibid., p. 60.

Ursprung und Charakter und sein Verhältniss zu den anderen pentateuchischen Targumim".¹

Bassfreund holds that there has been a complete Targum Jerushalmi (thus opposing Seligsohn). This is so, because there are too many quotations from TJ by the ancients, many of which are no longer extant in FT. PJ cannot have been this TJ as too many quotations from TJ by the ancients are lacking in PJ. Of the two, FT and PJ, judging again by quotations in the ancients from TJ, the former, FT is closer to TJ than the latter, PJ.² He concludes:

...dass nicht unser fragmentarisches Targum die Quelle sein könne, aus der die Alten ihre Citaten entnommen haben, sondern nur ein ungleich umfassenderes und offenbar auch vollständiges Targum-Jerushalmi, auf welches unsere Fragmente selbst erst zurückzuführen sind ...³ (und) ...dass aber ebensowenig mit Jonathan identisch ist, vielmehr beiden Targumim zugrunde liegt.⁴

From a study of the targum to the Song of Moses and the Decalogue, Bassfreund reasons that the interpolating of the material of the old TJ into O was a cherished practice.⁵ So the haggadic parts would come to be added to O. Our FT is seen as made up of such parts of the old TJ added as partial and marginal notes to O. This was done with a view to

1. Bassfreund, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-14; 49-67; 97-109; 145-163; 241-252; 352-365; 396-405.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-67.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

5. Cf. *Machsor mss*, published by Machsor-Vitry.

saving the cherished haggadic additions, and not to saving TJ. PJ is a further development: O was taken as basis; to this were added the familiar haggadic additions of TJ; and the whole was united into PJ:

Denkt man sich die Zusätze, welche beim Frgm.-Targ. sich nur auf eine Auswahl von Stellen beschränken, auf das ganze Pentateuch ausgedehnt und mit dem Onkelos-Text vereinigt und zu einem ganzen verschmolzen, so erhalten wir das, was uns im Pseudo-Jonathan vorliegt.¹

PJ is not as Seligsohn supposed a reworking of the FT, or as Frankel supposed a reworking of the lost TJ, "...so dass genau genommen bei Jonathan nur von einer Umarbeitung des Onkelos die Rede sein kann."^{2,3} Bassfreund finds both FT and PJ influenced by O, and holds TJ itself already to have known and have been influenced by O,⁴ concluding,

...dass nämlich die Fragmente keineswegs überall als Wortgetreue Aufzüge aus Jeruschalmi anzusehen seien, ...dass auch sie mancherlei Abweichungen von ihrer Quelle darbieten und hie und da auch von Inconsequenzen nicht ganz frei sind...dass nicht nur das Frgm.-Targ., sondern ebenso auch Jeruschalmi die Version des Onkelos bereits gekannt und benutzt hat.⁵

Lastly, TJ is held to be a post-talmudic targum, as traces seem to point to the improbability and lack of knowledge of early written targums on the Pentateuch. Thus he denies

1. Bassfreund, op. cit., p. 145.

2. Ibid., p. 146.

3. Ibid., pp. 97-106; 145-156.

4. Ibid., pp. 156-163.

5. Ibid., p. 163.

Geiger's thesis that TJ was an old Targum, greatly esteemed. TJ itself is seen to depend upon the Talmuds and the younger Midrashim. It is then concluded that TJ is not older than the seventh century with PJ and FT not having taken form until the eighth century.¹

Von einem "hohen Alter" unserer palästinensischen Targumim--das darf wohl als sicheres Ergebnis dieses ausführlichen Quellennachweises angesehen werden --kann somit füglich nicht mehr die Rede sein. Schon das ihnen zu Grunde liegende Targum Jeruschalmi, aus dem sie beide hervorgegangen war, wie die weitreichende Abhängigkeit von den Talmuden und jüngeren Midraschim beweist, eine verhältnissmässig sehr junge Arbeit, die frühestens in die zweite Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts zurückreicht, wahrscheinlich aber noch jünger ist. Um wie viel später die Compilationen aus diesem Targum, unser Fragmenten-Targum und Jonathan, angelegt worden sind, lässt sich mit Sicherheit nicht feststellen. Da immerhin eine geraume Zeit bis zu ihrem Zustandekommen verflossen sein dürfte, so wird man ihre Entstehung jedenfalls nicht früher als in das 8. Jahrhundert zurückverlegen dürfen. Bei Jonathan, welcher vielfach auffällige Berührungspunkte auch mit sehr jungen Haggada-Werken wie P. d. R. E. und Dibre Hajanim Demosheh aufweist, wird man sogar noch weit tiefer hinabsteigen müssen.²

Bassfreund devotes some time to criticizing Geiger and Bacher's theses. Geiger's research on the pentateuchal targums is said to be biased by his hypothesis of the great revolution of new religious thought in Judaism. Geiger assumes that in PJ we have both the old and the new, to make this fact fit his hypothesis. Bacher is taken to task for his agreement with Geiger in the high age of TJ, that TJ was the basis for O,

1. Ibid., pp. 241-253; 353-365; 396-405.

2. Ibid., p. 405.

and that FT is the remains of the old TJ.¹

A number of works come from the pen of Dr. Moses Ginsburger which bear examination. Besides his dissertation in 1891;² there were in 1897 his article, "Zum Fragmententhargum";³ in 1899 his edition of the Fragment Targum;⁴ and in 1903 the edition of the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.⁵

In Ginsburger's early work he followed Bacher's thesis as to the relationship between the pentateuchal targums.⁶ FT was seen as marginal fragment from the TJ to O. He said in 1897, "...dass die in Rede stehenden Fragmente für gewöhnlich

1. Ibid., pp. 3-14.

2. Moses Ginsburger, Die Anthropomorphismen in den Thargumin. Inaugural-Dissertation der Philosophischen Facultät der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität Strassburg zur Erlangung der Doctorwürde vorgelegt von Moses Ginsburger, Cand. Phil. aus Hattstatt (Ob. Elsass). Von der Facultät (sic) genehmigt am 26. Juli 1890 (Braunschweig: Druck von Appelhaus & Pfennigstorff, 1891).

3. Dr. M. Ginsburger, "Zum Fragmententhargum". Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums, Begründet von Dr. Z. Frankel, fortgesetzt von Professor Dr. H. Graetz. Neue Folge herausgegeben von Dr. M. Brann in Breslau und Prof. Dr. D. Kaufmann in Budapest. 41. Jahrgang; Neue Folge 5. Jahrgang (Berlin: S. Calvary und Co., N. W. 6), XLI (1897), pp. 289-296; 340-349.

4. Das Fragmententhargum von Ginsburger, op. cit.

5. Pseudo-Jonathan von Ginsburger, op. cit.

6. "Besprechungen", in Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums, Review by M. Neumark of Dr. M. Ginsburger's "Pseudo-Jonathan, etc." MGWJ, begründet von Dr. Z. Frankel, fortgesetzt von Professor Dr. H. Graetz. Neue Folge, im Verein mit Prof. Dr. David Kaufmann s. A. ins Leben gerufen und herausgegeben von Dr. M. Brann. 48. Jahrgang; Neue Folge 12. Jahrgang (Breslau: Verlag von Wilhelm Koebner (Inh. Barasch und Riesenfeld), XLVIII (1904), pp. 111-121.

dem vollständigen Th. Jer. entnommene Varianten zu Onkelos sind".¹ This view he had modified in 1903. It was noticed that not all places where Aruch's TJ was different from O, are recorded in FT. It is suggested that the scribes had a ms. of TJ which had already been influenced by O. To this ms. of TJ, variants were added from a pure (uninfluenced by O) TJ ms, so that the variants are as much to TJ as to O:

Wir sagen daher: Die Fragmententhargumim sind nicht im Hinblick auf Onkelos zusammengestellt worden, vielmehr hatten die Schreiber derselben ein Tharg. jer. vor sich, welches schon stark durch Onkelos resp. durch andere Versionen beeinflusst war, sie schrieben daher die aus anderen Recensionen ihnen bekannten Uebersetzungen an den Rand desselben oder auch, wenn es sich um längere Paraphrasen handelte, auf besondere Blätter; So entstanden die Varianten (י'ב'ל'ט') und die Zusätze (ג'ב'ט'ט'), die in einer Sammlung vereinigt natürlich ebenfalls Thargum jer. genannt wurden. Selbstverständlich konnten die Varianten auch dem Thargum Onkelos beigeschrieben werden, da sie ja auch dieses passten.²

In this Ginsburger revoked his earlier thinking that FT was made up of two parts, "aus Varianten, die dem Thargum Jeruschalmi im Hinblick auf Onkelos entnommen sind", and "aus Zusätzen, welche mit dem Thargum Jeruschalmi ursprünglich nichts zu thun haben, sondern erst viel später abgefasst worden sind".³

PJ he at first took as a compilation of O, TJ, with the addition of haggadic materials, though the conclusion was admittedly not final:

1. Ginsburger, MWJ, XLI (1897), op. cit., p. 289.

2. Pseudo-Jonathan von Ginsburger, op. cit., pp. XIV-XV.

3. Ginsburger, MGWJ, XLI (1897), op. cit., p. 291.

...bis jetzt können wir nur im Allgemeinen sagen, dass es (PJ) eine Compilation zu sein scheint aus Onkelos und Jeruschalmi mit Hinzufügung von jüngeren Hagg.¹

In Die Anthropomorphismen in den Thargumim the same opinion is given concerning PJ:

Von ihnen (den jerusalemischen Pentateuch Thargumim) enthält nun verhältnissmässig die meisten alten Bestandtheile das sog. Fragmententhargum ... Doch muss ein grosser Theil dieses Thargum schon früh verloren gegangen sein. Aus den erhaltenen Stücken aber und aus mannigfachen Ergänzungen aus Onkelos sowie aggadischen Erweiterungen, ist dasjenige Thargum entstanden, welches wir Pseudo-Jonathan nennen.²

Ginsburger later still follows Bacher in that PJ is the last stage of development of the Pent. Targums. But whereas Bacher sees PJ dependent upon O, FT, and TJ, as well as upon haggadic material, Ginsburger does not feel that PJ can be dependent upon FT. The dissimilarity between FT and PJ is too great; so that, with a certain similarity between FT and PJ as well, Ginsburger thinks that both PJ and FT were independent recensions of TJ. He says:

Diese Ausführungen bestätigen also die von Bacher (ZDMG, l.c.) ausgesprochene Ansicht, nach welcher Ps. Jon. nichts anderes ist als das letzte Entwicklungsstadium des jerusalemischen Thargum. Dieses bildet den Grundstock während Onkelos in sehr hervorragendem Masse und in noch grösserem die spätere Haggadah die Aenderungen und Erweiterungen hervorgerufen haben. Eine nicht geringe Zahl von Abweichungen endlich beruht auf einer besonderen, sowohl von jerusalemischen Thargum als von Onkelos abweichenden exegetischen Auffassung.³

1. Ibid., p. 293.

2. Ginsburger, Die Anthropomorphismen etc., op. cit., p. 46.

As a matter of fact, we find Ginsburger here to be quoting Bacher, almost verbatim.¹ But Ginsburger is taking this one important exception to Bacher:

...dass Ps. Jon. die Fragmententhargumim nicht benutzt hat; vielmehr sind diese wie jenes aus ältern Versionen des Thargum jeruschalmi geflossen und im Laufe der Zeit durch die Abschreiber umgeändert und durch Zusätze vermehrt worden.²

Ginsburger disagrees with Bassfreund that we can separate JT, O and the other materials from each other in FT and PJ, by means of Aruch's quotations of the TJ and by the passages of agreement between FT and PJ, thinking that here we have TJ. Rather, says Ginsburger, a thorough study of grammar and vocabulary as well as of content of each document is necessary.³

Two important publications have come from the lexical research of Rabbi Dr. Mannass Neumark: in 1902 his Lexikalische Untersuchungen zur Sprache der jerusalemi-Pentateuch-Targume,⁴ a doctoral dissertation, and in 1905 a pamphlet under the same title, containing an introduction and chapter one of the first named dissertation.⁵

3. Pseudo-Jonathan von Ginsburger, op. cit., p. XXI.

1. Cf. the quotation from Bacher above on p. 50.

2. Pseudo-Jonathan von Ginsburger, op. cit., p. XVII.

3. Ginsburger, MGWJ, XLI (1897), op. cit., pp. 344ff.

4. This work is quoted on p. 5 in the pamphlet of 1905 of the same title (cf. following ftnt.) as Dissertations-schrift der philos. Fakultät der Universität Giessen. It has evidently not been published (cf. ftnt. 3, p. 58) and has not been available in unpublished form.

These lexical studies of the Jer. Tgg., intended as a contribution toward "einem vergleichenden Spezial-Lexikon für die jer. Pentateuch-Targume"¹ are divided into the following chapters:

- Chapter I Hebraisms--Bibl. Hebrew, "Neuhebräisches"
- Chapter II Palest. Aram.--Judæan, Galil. Aramaic
- Chapter III Eastern Aramaic
- Chapter IV Common Aramaic ("Gemeinaramaisches")
- Chapter V Words only in the Jer. Tgg.
- Chapter VI Loanwords from Greek and Latin²

The present pamphlet from 1905 includes only the first chapter of this series and an appendix studying the "gemeinaramaischen" words of the Jer. Tgg. in relation to the words used by O at the corresponding places. The other chapters, announced as above, were never published,³ though their work is presumably included in the dissertation of 1902.⁴ These lexical studies have been used in our analyses of the particular passages in the Jer. Tgg. Here we deal with the introduction.

In the Palestinian Pentateuch Tgg themselves, PJ (used in the editio princeps of Venice, 1590/91, and in Ginsburger's

5. Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen etc. (1905), op. cit.

1. Ibid., p. 19.

2. Ibid., p. 16.

3. A communication from the Kölner Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek, received on the 12th December 1959 through the good offices of Miss C. L. G. Baird, Assistant Librarian at the University Library, St. Andrews, Scotland states, "Only chapter one was printed (as doctoral dissertation), the other chapters were announced but never published".

4. Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen etc., op. cit., p. 5.

edition of 1903),¹ and FT (used in Ginsburger's edition of 1899),¹ we have no references of authorship. It is agreed with Zunz that the title תרגום יונתן is a misreading of the abbreviation ת' of תרגום ירושלמי:²

Keine von all den vorhandenen Rezensionen erweist sich als ein einheitliches Werk irgend eines zu ermittelnden Autors. Für die mit der Ueberschrift תרגום יונתן versehenen vollständigen Rezensionen hat Zunz den Nachweis geführt, dass sie diesen Autornamen nur der falschen Auflösung der Abkürzung ת' verdankt, also in Wahrheit auch תרגום ירושלמי heisst, mithin anonym ist. (An dieser Anonymität würde es nichts ändern, wenn man auch wirklich, wie Ginsburger vermutet, im 13. Jhrhdt. unser Tg. dem Jonathan ben Usiel zugeschrieben hätte. vgl. Ginsb.: Pseudo-jonathan S. VIII).²

It is therefore supposed that each of these tgg does not stem from one time, place, and author; but rather that each is the product of a process of editing over centuries, through many countries, and via many minds:³

Das hat sich jedoch durch die Forschungen auf diesem Gebiete als sicher ergeben, dass wir in diesen Targumen nicht die Arbeit bestimmter, nach Zeit und Ort fixierbarer Uebersetzer zu erblicken haben; vielmehr haben viele Jahrhunderte, weit von einander liegende Länder an ihnen mitgearbeitet. Mehr noch als die talmudische, ja auch als die midraschische Literatur ist die targumische ein Produkt des anonym schaffenden jüdischen Volksgeistes.³

The targum or Aramaic translation of the Scripture reading began to be employed when the Aramaic language was more and more coming into use and Hebrew was less and less spoken

1. Ibid., p. 19.

2. Ibid., p. 8.

3. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

as daily language. This process began after the exile. An officer in the synagogue, the Methurgeman, who translated and explained the reading from the Scriptures, came into being. This officer and this way of reading and translating the Scriptures in the synagogues has been with the Jewish people from its beginnings shortly after the exile, following the shifts of the main seats of study of Scripture from Judaea to Galilee, from Palestine to Babylonia and from there back into the West, to the lands of Islam and of the Byzantine Empire. On its way, the simple translation became luxuriously overgrown with paraphrastic extensions and haggadic additions of different origin. The Jer. Tg is first referred to by the Gaons in the ninth century, though no one recension of the TJ can be identified from their quotations. PJ seems to be the latest stage of Pent. Tg. development, occurring well beyond the year 1000:¹

Mit ihren ersten Anfängen reicht sie in die Zeiten der nachexilischen Gemeinde hinauf, in denen trotz aller Abschliessungsbestrebungen gegen fremde Nationalitäten die aramäische Sprache immer siegreicher vordringt und den Gebrauch nicht nur, sondern auch das Verständnis des Hebräischen aus der jüdischen Gemeinde verdrängt. Da mussten Methurgemanim durch einen übersetzenden und erklärenden mündlichen Vortrag die Schriftvorlesung dem Volke verständlich machen. Von jenen Zeiten an hat diese Uebersetzungskunst die jüdischen Gemeinden auf allen ihren Wanderungen ununterbrochen begleitet. Sie folgte den Verschiebungen der Hauptsitze der Schriftgelehrsamkeit von Juda nach Galiläa, von Palästina nach Babylon, und von dort wieder zurück nach Westen in die Länder des Islam und das Reich von Byzanz. Immer üppiger wird auf diesem

1. Ibid., p. 9.

langen Wege die einfache Uebersetzung von paraphras-tischen Erweiterungen und aggadischen Zusätzen verschiedenster Herkunft überwuchert. Ein redaktion-eller Abschluss dieses Wachstums ist nicht nachweis-bar. Erst im 9. Jahrhundert beginnen die Gaonen von einem jerus. Tg. Notiz zu nehmen, ohne dass es uns durch ihre Angaben ermöglicht würde, dasselbe mit einer der uns bekannten Rezensionen zu identifizieren. Und mit dem Abschluss des vollständigen T.J., der das späteste Stadium der Entwicklung darstellt, muss man sicher weit über das Jahr 1000 hinausgehen.¹

Tg. O is a unified piece of work, composed in Babylonia in the fifth century A. D., using the old Pal. tg. material, either in written or oral form. Because of its purpose of being a strict translation, O was protected against younger haggadic goods, which found their way into the Pal. tgg. But over against this stands that in O's rendering much of the old material was abandoned and the language took on an artificial unity imposed by the composer. Hence O is less than the Jer. Tgg, a source for spoken Aramaic;²

Das einzige Pentateuch-Targum, das eine ein-heitliche Redaktionstätigkeit erfahren hat, ist das Tg. Onk. Dieses ist wahrscheinlich im 5. nachchrist. Jhrhdt. in Babylon aus altem paläst. Material--mag dieses nun schriftlich oder mündlich vorgelegen haben --hergestellt worden. Damit ist allerdings dieses Tg. gegen die weitere Durchsetzung mit jüngeren haggad. Gute geschützt geblieben. Aber durch eben diese Re-daktion hat es auch an Naturwüchsigkeit verloren, in-dem zu Gunsten der Einfachheit vieles von den bereits vorhandenen Zusätzen ausgemerzt, und ferner sowohl in der Uebersetzungsmethode als auch im Sprachcharakter künstlich eine Einheitlichkeit hergestellt wurde. Es darf darum in ihm trotz seiner scheinbar grösseren Korrektheit, noch weniger als in den jerus. Tgg. ein Repräsentat (sic) für wirklich gesprochenes Aram. er-blickt werden.²

1. Ibid., p. 9.

2. Ibid., pp. 9f.

In order to determine the dialects of Aramaic used in the Jer. Tg., it is necessary to separate the older material in these from the younger, the Palestinian from the Babylonian, because the character of the Jer. Tgg is a mixed one:¹

Demgegenüber hat sich in den Jerus. Tgg. manches ältere Gut erhalten, ist aber späterhin mit weit jüngeren Elementen durch einander gemischt worden...

Will man daher wirklich den in ihnen dargebotenen Sprachschatz wissenschaftlich verwerten, so muss man zunächst eine Scheidung des so verschiedenartigen Gutes vornehmen, Altes und Junges, Palästinensisches und Babylonisches nach Möglichkeit von einander trennen.¹

But essentially there are in these tgg Aramaic dialects spoken by the people, though other Aramaic dialects, even Hebrew, have accrued to these:¹

Ebenso steht die Sprache vielfach den echten aram. Volksdialekten sehr nahe, aber es sind die verschiedenartigsten Dialekte des Aram., ja auch des Hebräischen, die uns entgentreten.¹

The basic core of the Jer. Tgg is the Palestinian dialect, which is divided into Judaean and Galilaeen, along approximately the same lines as in Dalman's analysis. The Judaean however is not only in O, but is also represented by the Jer. tgg, whereas the Galilaeen is the basic dialect of the Jer. tgg. Added to this in the Pal. tgg, there is influence of the Eastern Aramaic of the Babylonian dialect. Between these there is the Aramaic in common to both Eastern--and Western--Aramaic: "gemeinaramaeisches". Finally there are in the Jer. tgg, those words, only found there, in formation, meaning or

1. Ibid., p. 10.

root, some of which have parallels in Arabic:¹

Die traditionelle Bezeichnung der behandelten Tgg. als der "jerus." d.h. palästinensischen erweist sich insofern als zu Recht bestehend, als in der Tat der paläst. Bestandteil des Sprachschatzes als ihre eigentliche Grundlage anzusehen ist, der gegenüber das ostaramäische Sprachgut nur den Namen eines "babylonischen Einschlags" beanspruchen kann. Doch zwischen diesen beiden sich scharf von einander abhebenden Gruppen liegt naturgemäss eine beträchtliche Masse gemeinaramäischen Sprachgutes, das sich sowohl in westlichen als auch in östlichen Dialekten belegen lässt, wenn auch teilweise in den einen etwas häufiger als in den anderen. Schliesslich ergibt sich, nach Abzug all dieser Parallelen mit anderen aramäischen Dialekten, noch eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Wörtern, die teils in ihrer Bildung, teils in ihrer Bedeutung, ja in einzelnen Fällen sogar als Wortstamm überhaupt auf aram. Gebiete nur aus unserem Tg. sich belegen lassen. Besonders beachtenswert für die Geschichte der Tg. erscheinen, darunter diejenigen, die ihre Analogie nur noch im Arabischen haben. ...hier (für die aram. Teile des paläst. Sprachgutes des T.J.) lassen sich 2 Dialekte erkennen. Es sind dies die beiden Dialekte, die zuerst Dalman in seiner Grammatik eingehender charakterisiert und als "Judäisch" und "Galiläisch" einander gegenüber gestellt hat. Der erstere ist allerdings eigentlich gerade dem Tg. Onkelos eigentümlich; dennoch finden sich einige ihm angehörige Eigentümlichkeiten jetzt nur noch in T.J., nicht in T.O. Der galiläische Dialekt hingegen ist es, den wir oben als den eigentlichen Kern des jer.-tg. Sprachschatzes bezeichnet haben, und den ihm auch die traditionelle Bezeichnung in Wahrheit zuschreiben will, indem sie ihn als "jerusalemisch" neben den gleichfalls "jerus." Talmud stellt, den Hauptvertreter dieses Dialekts.²

However, though using the terms "Judaean" and "Galilaeen" which Dalman uses, Neumark does not follow in all cases Dalman's classification of a word in Judaean or Galilaeen, but points out that these dialects have not only a geographical difference,

1. Ibid., pp. 13ff.

2. Ibid., pp. 13ff.

but also a difference in time, i.e. the move of the seat of scholarship from Judaea to Galilee:¹

Wenn wir nun in diesen Untersuchungen die Bezeichnungen "Judäisch" und "Galiläisch" für die betreffenden Dialektgruppen beibehalten (ftnt.: Gegen die vergleichende Liste, die Daln. S. 34ff. gibt, lässt sich indessen noch mancher Einwand erheben. Dies ist besonders in den Anmerkungen zu Cap. IV "Gemeinaram. Sprachgut" wiederholt geschehen.), so sei jedoch betont, dass diese Unterscheidung für die Tgg. neben dem geographischen Unterschied auch einen zeitlichen anzeigt, indem sich die Hauptsitze der Schriftgelehrsamkeit und damit wohl auch der Uebersetzertätigkeit in älterer Zeit in Judaea, in jüngerer in Galilaea befinden.¹

We think that Neumark has conformed the results of his excellent lexical research too much to the outline which he found in Dalman, namely the distinction between Judaeen and Galilaeen Aramaic. O was composed in Babylonia, yet has Judaeen Aramaic as main stock: here Neumark follows Dalman, but from Neumark's own research he knows that the language of O is an artistic one, based on what is found in the old Pal. tgg. The old Pal. tgg are composed mainly of Galilaeen Aramaic, with some Judaeen. If O is based on these, whence O's Judaeen Aramaic as O's main stock? However, the lexical work of Neumark is of good scholarly character, and as will be seen in our analyses has been well used.

We now turn to the views of Professor Paul E. Kahle, and refer to the following of his writings: Masoreten des Westens IV: II: Das Palästininische Pentateuchtargum, Die Pa-

1. Ibid., pp. 15f.

lästische Punktation, Der Bibeltext des Ben Naftali (1930);¹ and The Cairo Geniza (1947, 1959).^{2,3} In the historical development Prof. Kahle agrees at certain points with Bacher. O originated in Babylonia perhaps earlier than the ninth century, because different readings in it refer to the talmudic academies of Sura and Nehardea, which latter was destroyed in the third century. O received its subsequent development as well in Babylonia with reference to the correct Jewish interpretation of the Torah, as this has come down in the Mishna and Talmud.⁴ O was not accepted in Palestine before the tenth century, because beautiful parchment mss (dated as ninth century mss) of the old Jerusalem Targum have come down to us in mss B, C and D of the Cairo Geniza Fragments.⁵

1. Masoreten des Westens IV: II ... von Paul Kahle, op. cit.

2. Paul E. Kahle, D., D. Litt., D. D., D. H. L., F. B. A., The Cairo Geniza. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1941. First edition (London: Published for the British Academy by Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1947), second edition (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959). Unless otherwise mentioned, the second edition is referred to. Ibid., ch. III, pp. 191ff.

3. Cf. also Paul Kahle, "Das zur Zeit Jesu in Palästina gesprochene Aramäisch," Theologische Rundschau, Neue Folge, Unter Mitwirkung von Walter Baumgartner, herausgegeben von Rudolf Bultmann (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck)), XVII: 1 (1948), pp. 201-217; and Paul Kahle, "Das palästinische Pentateuchtargum und das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, Begründet von Erwin Preuschen, fortgeführt von Hans Lietzmann, In Verbindung mit Walter Bauer und Joachim Jeremias, herausgegeben von Walther Eltester (Berlin, W. 35; Verlag Alfred Töpelmann), II: 1-2 (1958), pp. 100-116.

4. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, op. cit., pp. 194f.

... and that the Targum Onkelos originated in Babylonia. It is certain that it early came into circulation there. We know from the Masora to Targum Onkelos that manuscripts were in circulation with different readings named after the two Talmudic Academies of Sura and Nehardea. Since the Academy of Nehardea was destroyed in the course of the third century, we must conclude that the Targum Onkelos was known and was in circulation in the two Academies before that time.

The Targum Onkelos was further developed in Babylonia during the following centuries on the basis of Mishna and Talmud, until it finally became the authoritative text that, in the official literary Aramaic, established the correct Jewish understanding of every passage of the Torah, and was regarded as of the highest authority among the Jews. As such the Targum was brought to Palestine. It was brought there together with the other authoritative products of Babylonian Judaism, especially the Babylonian Talmud, and the yearly Parasha-division of the Torah--in Palestine the Palestinian Talmud, the Palestinian Targum, and the three yearly Seder-division had hitherto been used. We learn of various efforts to persuade Palestinian Judaism to take over the Babylonian Talmud and the whole Gaonic tradition, after Babylonia and Palestine, the chief centres of Judaism at that time, had been united under Arab suzerainty. We are told that already at the middle and end of the eighth century such attempts had been made. But far reaching changes of this kind could not be carried through so quickly. In the Cairo Geniza quite a number of fragments of the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch were contained that had been used in Palestine before the Targum Onkelos had been brought there, among them remains of splendid manuscripts in which, after the Hebrew verse of the Torah, the corresponding verse of the Palestinian Targum follows. They show that the demand for Torah manuscripts with the Palestinian Targum was still at that time very strong. One forms the impression that the Targum Onkelos was scarcely introduced into Palestine before 1000 A. D. But subsequently it became so firmly established that it completely replaced the Palestinian Targum of which fragments only were found in the Cairo Geniza.¹

Gradually O replaced the old targum of the Pentateuch used in

5. Cf. Masoretten des Westens IV: II ... von Paul Kahle, op. cit.

1. Kahle, The Cairo Genizah, op. cit., pp. 194f.

Palestine. O translates closely the Hebrew text, and generally does not contain the additions found in the Palestinian targum. This old targum we thus have in fragmentary form in the Cairo Geniza Fragments. We have this complete targum however in a codex ms written at the beginning of the sixteenth century and recently discovered at the Vatican Library by Professor A. Diez Macho of Barcelona University. Of this Ms Neofiti 1, Professor Kahle says:

It was therefore an exceptional event when Professor A. Diez Macho of Barcelona University discovered a complete copy of the text of the Palestinian Targum in MS Neofiti I of the Vatican Library (450 parchment folios) which was written in Rome at the beginning of the 16th century, making now available to us this long lost Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch in a way we had not at all expected.¹

However, we have to do with a different recension of text in N², although its Aram. is the same as that of CG, as Prof. Macho pointed out in a letter to Prof. Matthew Black:

Das Aramäisch von Neof. I ist von derselben Art wie das Palästinische Targum in den "Masoreten des Westens", aber die Textrezension stimmt nicht ganz überein.)

This however need not surprise us, because, as Prof. Kahle wrote in a letter to Prof. Black, the Palestinian Targum did not have a fixed text as did Onkelos, but occurred in different text forms:

1. Ibid., p. 195.

2. Abbreviation for Neofiti.

3. The letter dated 18.3.1957 is quoted in: Matthew Black, "Die Erforschung der Muttersprache Jesu", Otto Eiss-

Es bestätigt sich, dass das Palästinische Targum in verschiedener Form im Umlauf gewesen ist, wie das ja auch bei dem samaritanischen Targum der Fall ist.¹

We also have the FT in the Rabbinical Bibles and in several mss. This is considered as midrashic material from the old Palestinian Targum. A new edition of this important material is being prepared by the Reverend M. C. Doubles;²

We now know the Fragmenten-Targum to be a collection of Midrashic material from the Palestinian Targum which people did not want to lose after the Targum Onkelos had become the authoritative Targum in Palestine. I have discussed with Professor M. Black the importance of a new edition of this Fragmenten-Targum on the basis of the material now available, and such an edition is now being prepared.³

Of the complete ms add. 27031 (British Museum) of a targum on the Pentateuch, referred to as Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, it had been supposed that it was a compilation, made up of O for each Biblical verse and TJ (as preserved in FT, CG, and now also N) for the midrashic addition. In 1930 Prof. Kahle wrote:

Auch nachher (das Targum Onkelos in Palästina massgebend wurde) hat man auf das alte palästinische Pentateuchtargum nicht verzichten wollen und in dem sogenannten Pseudojonathan haben wir eine Targumgestalt vor uns, in der wir eine Kompilation aus Targum Onkelos und dem alten palästinischen Pentateuchtargum zu sehen haben.⁴

Feldt zum 70. Geburtstag; Theologische Literaturzeitung, IX (1957), p. 663.

1. Ibid., p. 663, where the letter dated 20.3.1957 is quoted. Cf. also Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, op. cit., p. 202.

2. St. Andrews University Doctoral Dissertation, in preparation.

3. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, op. cit., p. 202.

This conclusion was only tentative however, and calls for the thorough comparison of PJ with the other tg fragments, and especially with the new ms Neofiti 1:

Hitherto it has been supposed that this Targum (Pseudo-Jonathan) was made up of the Targum Onkelos in which material from the Palestinian Targum had been inserted. As we now have complete copies of both these Targums, we are interested to see how far the Palestinian Targum may have been modified in this process. We must not forget, however, that the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch never had an official, uniform text; there were always different texts in existence. We must not think that the single preserved manuscript, (Add 27 031 of the British Museum) which was published by M. Ginsburger, Berlin 1903, contains all that ever existed in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.¹

The ancient character of parts of PJ is pointed out. In the Palestinian Targum and in PJ there are interpretations which are rejected by official Jewish interpretation such as found in the Mishna.

We still find in this Targum (PJ) all sorts of interpretations rejected in the normative writings of the Jews such as the Mishna; they go back therefore to an earlier time.²

An example of this is the mention of "the highpriest Johanan":
 אַבְנֵי חַטָּאת בְּיַד יְהוֹנָתָן at D 33.11. In Jewish writings this is the

4. Masoreten des Westens IV: II ... von Paul Kahle, op. cit., p. 12. Cf. Kahle, "Das palästinische Pentateuch-targum und das zur Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch," ZNWKA, II, 1-2 (1958), op. cit., p. 110: "...da es sich hier (bei PJ) um die Einarbeitung des palästinischen Pentateuch-targums in das Targum Onkelos handelt". The words in the parentheses are mine.

1. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, op. cit., p. 202; the material in parentheses is mine.

2. Ibid., p. 203; the material in parentheses is mine.

usual designation of John Hyrcanus (135-105 B. C.), to whom no reference was made after his death.¹ Of this passage, A. T. Olmstead, who is quoted by Prof. Kahle says:

That this is the prayer of a contemporary for John Hyrcanus immediately after the conquest of the Samaritans, is specifically indicated. That this is not a part of the original text should be equally clear from the context; the original must be earlier than the interpolation and, as found in the fragments (i.e. the Fragmenten-Targum), must therefore be not later than the beginning of the second pre-Christian century.²

It is clear that parts of PJ are very old, and form a portion of the old Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch.

In an article entitled, "Note sur l'utilisation des fragments de la Geniza du Caire pour l'étude du Targum Palestinien", Dr. Renée Bloch compares the targum texts at Gen. 38. 17-30.³ Besides PJ (named ITgJ), FT (named 2TgJ), and O (named TO), two main mss are used: Oxford Ms Heb. e. 43, fol. 66-67 (named OTgJ: "fragment d'Oxford du Targum de Jérusalem")⁴ and Cambridge, Taylor-Schechter, B8, fol. 3a-3b (named

1. Ibid., pp. 202f.

2. I have copied Prof. Kahle's quotation of Olmstead as on p. 203 of The Cairo Geniza. Reference is made there to A. T. Olmstead, "Could an Aramaic Gospel be written?" Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago, I (1942), p. 62.

3. Renée Bloch, "Note sur l'utilisation des fragments de la Geniza du Caire pour l'étude du Targum Palestinien," Revue des Etudes Juives, Publication Périodique de la Société des Etudes Juives. Nouvelle Série (Paris; A la Librairie Duracher, 142, Rue du Faubourg-Saint-Denis), XIV (CXIV) (Janvier-Décembre 1955), pp. 5-35.

4. Ibid., p. 8.

CTgJ: "fragment de Cambridge du Targum de Jérusalem").¹

These latter two mss are those published as mss E and D of the Cairo Geniza Fragments, resp.²

At the conclusion of the study Dr. Bloch makes certain tentative remarks, which she wishes not to be taken as conclusions:

Il ne s'agit pas ici d'une conclusion, mais seulement de quelques remarques finales, essentiellement provisoires.³

The two CG mss and FT are seen to be fragments of the Palestinian Targum. Prof. Kahle is followed in that this Targum is seen as a tradition within which many forms existed, and which had no official text, such as O had:

Ces quatre textes diffèrent beaucoup entre eux (2 CG mss, FT and PJ). Les deux fragments de la Geniza du Caire sont assez proches l'un de l'autre, tant pour la langue que pour les traditions qu'ils reflètent. ... (En) 2TgJ ... le texte correspond parfaitement, pour forme et pour le fond, à celui des fragments de la Geniza du Caire, surtout, semble-t-il, à celui de Cambridge... Une des constatations les plus importantes que suggère ce "coup de sonde" se rapporte enfin à la notion même du "Targum palestinien". Nous sommes, sans aucun doute, en face, non pas d'un texte constitué, établi à la manière d'un Targum officiel comme celui d'Onqelos, mais, sur un fond de tradition commune, d'un ensemble de recensions dont la forme et le détail sont très variables. Il ne faudrait donc pas chercher là les variantes d'un texte unique, mais diverses formes d'expression "flottantes" d'une tradition commune transmise surtout sous forme de prédication orale dans les synagogues, et qui, déjà en raison de son caractère aggadique, était sus-

1. Ibid., p. 9.

2. Masoreten des Westens IV: II ... von Paul Kahle, op. cit., resp. pp. 42ff. and 18f.

3. Bloch, op. cit., p. 29.

ceptible de recevoir des développements et des enrichissements variés.¹

PJ is seen as a later stage of the development of the Palestinian Targum. There is influence of O in PJ. However, apart from the Babylonian Aramaic influence upon PJ (from O), the basis of PJ represents the haggadic tradition of the Palestinian Targum:

L'aggada contenue dans ces deux fragments (de la Geniza du Caire) est nettement moins développée que celle de lTgJ, ce qui semble indiquer que ce dernier représente un état plus tardif de la tradition palestinienne et un texte déjà remanié ... Ce que les variantes de lTgJ par rapport aux fragments d'Oxford et de la Cambridge attestent en tout cas clairement, c'est l'influence exercée sur le texte actuel de lTgJ par TO. Mais il importe, pour clarifier le problème du Targum palestinien, de distinguer nettement cette influence linguistique babylonienne et le fond aggadique palestinien fidèlement conservé par lTgJ. Les fragments étudiés attestent clairement le caractère palestinien des traditions que charrie lTgJ.²

Recently P. Grelot accepted Professor Kahle's views of the relationships of the Pent. tgg, as a working hypothesis, in his study "Les Targums de Pentateuque. Étude comparative d'après Genèse, IV, 3-16".³ On the basis of this passage, he finds these views agreeable as a working hypothesis, and expands them somewhat.

This working hypothesis is as follows: Par and CG are remains of the Pal. tg. The Par recension was made when Aramaic was still spoken in Palestine, well before the seventh

1. Ibid., pp. 30f: the material in parentheses is mine.

2. Ibid., pp. 30f.

3. Semitica IX (1959), pp. 59-88.

century. O, later than these in origin, was made and first received as a canonical tg in Babylonia. PJ is the latest recension, depending upon both the Pal. tg and upon O:

L'influence de TO sur Tj1 (i.e. PJ, cf. p. 59), reconnaissable en maints endroits, montrerait dans ce dernier l'oeuvre la plus récente, reposant à la fois sur TO et sur TP ("le Targum palestien" i.e. CG, cf. p. 60)-TJ ("le Targum Jerushalmi, i.e. Par, and now also N, cf. p. 60).¹

Grelot feels that CG is the oldest available source because it represents the most ancient ms we have in this tradition. All other sources Tj1 (i.e. PJ), Tj2 (i.e. Par) and TjN (i.e. N) have been copied and recopied through the ages by scribes who knew O, and perhaps also other recensions of TJ than those they were copying. Therefore any conclusions about Par and N must be made with much caution:

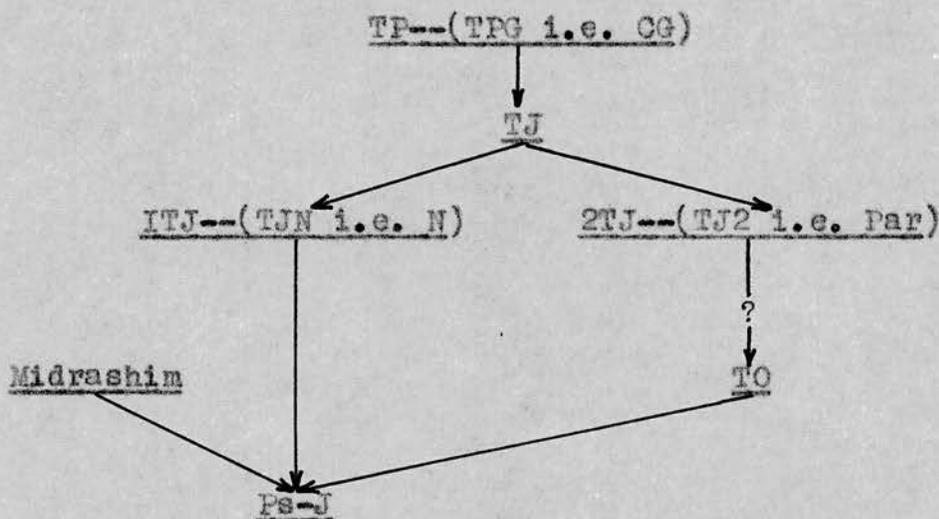
Il a donc pu y avoir contamination latérale des textes, non seulement par alignement intentionnel, mais surtout par reminiscences involontaires aboutissant à modifier telle expression ou telle orthographe. Bref, ce qui n'est qu'un aspect de la tradition orale (la mémoire vivante) a pu influencer sur la tradition manuscrite. De ce fait, il ne faudra pas s'aventurer dans des solutions trop rigides ou trop tranchées quand on s'efforcera d'établir la généalogie des textes.²

On the basis of a study of the Cain and Abel story only, the following conclusions are reached as a working hypothesis: CG is the oldest evidence of a Pal. Pent. tg. Of this tradition of TJ, two further streams have come down: LTJ

1. Ibid., p. 60; the material in parentheses is mine.

2. Ibid., p. 63.

or TJN (i.e. N) and 2 TJ or TJ2 (i.e. Par). The "Additions communes à TJN et TJ2"¹ are due to a common stock such as TJ. When O borrows from this tradition he borrows from the Par branch, whereas PJ seems to depend upon the N branch. Thus there are agreements between O and Par against agreements between the Hebrew, N and PJ: "Accords TO-TJ2 contre Heb-TJN et Ps-J".² PJ rests as well on O and on certain Midrashim. Diagrammatically Grelot represents this working hypothesis as follows:²



The limitation of this working hypothesis is that it is based on a study of only one passage. However, quite apart from this, one criticism must be made of Grelot's study. His analysis of the passage in Genesis 4.3-16 is too much influenced by the starting hypothesis. For instance, agreements of Par or N with O are thought to be due to the copying

1. Ibid., p. 85.

2. Ibid., p. 85.

and recopying of Par or N by scribes who were very familiar with O. When however, it comes to finding similarities between O and PJ, then this is not ascribed to a similar copying of PJ, but is thought due to PJ's borrowing from O. This would seem due to an overdependence upon the starting hypothesis.

We now turn to the close analysis of the language and traditions of the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum in its relationship to Targum Onkelos with reference to the other Pentateuchal targums, such as the ms and editio princeps of the Fragment Targum, the Cairo Geniza Fragments, Ms Neofiti I and the important margins of Ms Neofiti I.

CHAPTER II

THE VERSES PROPER

The analysis of the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum and its relationship to Targum Onkelos with reference to the other Pentateuchal targums has been divided into the treatment of the verses proper (chapter II) and the targumic additions (chapter III). Following the conclusion (chapter IV), the text of the extant targums is given in parallel columns (chapter V) relating to the passages discussed.

Of the Pentateuchal targums considered, Targum Onkelos (O), Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (PJ), and Ms Neofiti 1 (N) cover the whole of the Pentateuch; and Ms Paris 110 of the Fragment Targum (Par)¹ and the Cairo Geniza Fragments (CG) only refer to portions of the Pentateuch. Of most importance for this study are the passages where we have the text of these five targums for comparison. This is the case where both fragmentary targums (Par and CG) are present. A description of the analyses of all these passages would not only lead to cumber-

1. Variants from the other mss of the Fragment Targum, as given in Ginsburger's edition (Das Fragmententargum ... von Ginsburger, op. cit.) are taken into account as well. These mss are: Codex Vaticanus 440 (Vat; for a description cf. ibid., pp. VII f.), Codex Norimbergensis or Nürnberg (Nor; cf. ibid., pp. VIII f.), Codex Lipsiensis or Leipzig (Lips; cf. ibid., pp. IX f.); and the mss containing only a few fragments, e.g.: Codex Paris 75 (cf. ibid., p. XI), Codex Vind. (Wien; cf. ibid., p. XI), and Codices Oxford sub No. 2305 and 318 (cf. ibid., p. XII). The editio princeps of the Biblia Rabbinica (Venice: Bomberg), 1515/17 has also been used. The abbreviation employed for this work is Bom.

some repetition of the evidence, but would also extend beyond the physical magnitude of the present writing. To avoid these, we include in this work the analyses of all passages which have significant evidence, and the study of only a limited number of passages which show identical results. Thus we include the following passages: Genesis¹ 4.7-10, 16; 7.10; 8.1; 9.20; 28.17; 29.15, 17; 43.14; 44.15, 18-19; Exodus² 19.1-25; 20.1-8, 11-18, 25-26; 21.18, 20, 25; 22.12, 14-15; Leviticus³ 22.27; 23.29, 32;⁴ Deuteronomy⁵ 27.8; 34.10.⁶

We now turn to the verses proper of these passages. G 4.7-10, 16 relates the story of Cain and Abel. In G 4.7, "der dunkelste Vers ... der Genesis",⁷ there is good evidence that G is different from PJ on the one hand, and yet is influenced by the targums PJ, Par, Bom, CG and N. In the first

1. Genesis is hereafter abbreviated as G.

2. Exodus is hereafter abbreviated as E.

3. Leviticus is hereafter abbreviated as L.

4. Numbers is abbreviated as N.

5. Deuteronomy is hereafter abbreviated as D.

6. This limitation has excluded the analyses of the following passages from being recorded in this writing: G 29, 22; 30.11, 22, 27; 31.7, 9, 15, 22, 39; 32.16, 26-27; 34.12; 35.9; 37.25, 33; 38.25-26; 39.10; E 6.3, 9; 7.15, 19; 15.1-26.

7. D. Otto Procksch, Die Genesis, übersetzt und erklärt, zweite und dritte Auflage. (Band I: Kommentar zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von Geh. Kons.-Rat D. Dr. Ernst Sellin) (Leipzig, Erlangen: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Dr. Werner Scholl, 1924), p. 47.

three phrases, which read in MF, RSV: "If you do well, will you not be accepted? And if you do not well, ... ", for "you do well" O has twice כוּנַח, while all other five tgg have כוּנַחִי (with minor variations in spelling), O has the Aph. Impf. formed from the root כוּנַח,¹ but the others have the Aph. Impf. formed from the root כוּנַחִי.² In this form O stands alone and PJ stands with our four remaining Pal. tgg.³ P. Grelot, in his analysis of this verse in the article "Les Targums de Pentateuque. Étude comparative d'après Genèse, IV, 3-16",⁴ overlooks this important evidence of difference in spelling. As a matter of fact, he lists O at this point as כוּנַחִי,⁵ which can be nothing but an error. Neither Berliner's edition, nor that of Sperber lists this reading at this point.⁶

1. Hugo Odeberg, The Aramaic Portions of Bereshit Rabba With Grammar of Galilaean Aramaic, Volume II: Short Grammar of Galilaean Aramaic (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1939), pp. 27ff.

2. Ibid., pp. 24ff.

3. Rabb. Dr. J. Levy, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen Grossen Theil des Rabbinischen Schriftthums, in zwei Bände (Leipzig: Verlag von Baumgartner's Buchhandlung, I: 1867, II: 1868), I, pp. 292, 296, 333. Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 521, 576.

4. P. Grelot, "Les Targums de Pentateuque. Étude comparative d'après Genèse, IV, 3-16", Semitica IX (1959), pp. 59-88.

5. Ibid., p. 68.

6. Targum Onkelos ... von Berliner, op. cit., and The Pentateuch According to Targum Onkelos ... by Sperber, op. cit.

For "if" O twice used the Hebr. $\square x$;¹ Par 110, Bom, CG and N have $\int'x$ or $\int x$; PJ has $\square x$ in the first instance and $\int'x$ in the second. This first instance in PJ seems at first sight to be an influence from O. But when we remember that this is the beginning of the verse (the second word), it is clear that this may easily be the Hebr. beginning of the verse, whereas the editor did not repeat the Aram. after it, because of the similarity between the Hebr. and the Aram. Grelot takes the $\int'x$... $\square x$ of PJ as evidence that PJ is a compilation, now following O, then following the other tgg.² However, in view of what we have said above, this need not be the case at all.

For "will you not be accepted", representing the MT: NKV,³ all six tgg read, "it will be forgiven you". To this

1. Emil Brederek, Konkordanz zum Targum Onkelos. (Beiheft IX zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft) (Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, vormalig J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1906), pp. 7, 138f: O only uses $\square x$ for BH^x . The Aramaic $\int'x$ or $\int x$ for "if" does not occur in O. Cf. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 52; Levy, op. cit., I, p. 39; and D. Dr. D. Gustaf H. Dalman, Aramäisch-Neuhebraisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch, dritte unveränderte Auflage mit Lexikon der Abkürzungen von G. H. Händler und einem Verzeichnis der Mischna-Abschnitte (Göttingen, Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1938; Anhang: Frankfurt a. Main: J. Kauffmann Verlag, 1922), p. 16: $\square x$ for "if" is a Hebr. word, not attested in Aramaic, except once in Ven 3 at Ps 81.9. The ms evidence here is $\int'x$.

2. Grelot, op. cit., p. 69

3. Koehler und Baumgartner, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 953 lists the noun as: 1. Erhebung, Auffahren; 2. Trotz, from $\int'x$: "heben, hochheben, usw." (Ibid., pp. 635ff.). Gerhard von Rad, Das Erste Buch Mose, Genesis, 4., durchgesehene Auflage. Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk, herausgegeben von Volkmar Hertrich und Artur Weiser (Göttingen-

PJ adds the subject "your guilt". Clearly, O is not a true rendering of the text here, but has been influenced by the Pal. tg tradition, of which PJ is a part. Also Grelot says that O refashioned the Hebr. here, because the Hebr. is incomprehensible, on the base of the Jer. tg tradition. Of PJ Grelot says that it follows O, in turn. Surely this is a circular argument. The evidence can also mean that PJ stands with the Pal. tg tradition and that O draws upon this whole tradition. This interpretation of the evidence seems more probable when we realize the difference between O and PJ in the use of the verb "to do well" and when we note the evidence relating to "if" explained above. About the phrase "...if you do not do your work well in this world, until the day of the great judgment your sin is reserved, and at the door of your heart sin lies" in PJ, Grelot says, "Ps-J abandonne cette fois TO pour suivre pas à pas TJ (noter le maintien de j'k)".¹ But we have seen that PJ stands with the Pal. tg tradition, and in case of the verb "to do well" is different from O, as is also the case with "if". It is necessary to see the evidence clearly, and not on the basis of a hypothesis that PJ is a compilation made up of O and of the Pal. tgs.²

The last three phrases of this verse, MT, RSV, "sin is

gen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), p. 83 translates, "'kannst du es frei erheben'".

1. Grelot, op. cit., p. 69.

2. Ibid., p. 70.

couching at the door; its desire is for you, but you must master it"¹ are translated by PJ, Par, Bom, CG and N. O does not translate them, but has the addition which the five Pal. tgg insert before the verse's translation. In so doing O adds a phrase not found in the other tgg, as well.²

In G 4.8 there is no real evidence that PJ has been influenced by O. It is quite clear that PJ here stands with the other Pal. tgg, and differs from O.

Twice we find that PJ uses the same forms as O, against the other targums: "his brother" (2x) in O and PJ אָחֵי, and in the others אָחֵי; and "and he killed him" O and PJ וְקָטְלָהּ, and in the others וְקָטְלָהּ תִּיהֵא. Grelot takes this as evidence that PJ borrowed from O, but admits that there is no other indication in this verse that O influenced PJ. In the remainder of this verse PJ either follows the Pal. tgg or gives his own renderings:

Quant à Ps-J, il présente une caractere mixte. En gros, il suit TP-TJ, comme au v. 7. Cependant, d'une part, TO n'est pas ignoré: אָחֵי au lieu de אָחֵי. D'autre part, le rédacteur fait plusieurs fois cavalier seul.³

1. Hermann Gunkel, Genesis, übersetzt und erklärt. Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, I, 1, herausgegeben von D. W. Nowack (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901), p. 39, reads for אָחֵי, "at the door"; אָחֵי, for אָחֵי, "you must be master"; אָחֵי, holding that "das übrige ist wol unheilbar", and translating: "'lässt du es hängen'! --- --- --- du solltest aber 'Frieden mit ihm halten'!" This emendation of the last phrase must be rejected, inasmuch the Hebr. phrase as it stands resembles that of G 3.16.

2. Cf. below, pp. 250ff.

3. Grelot, op. cit., p. 71.

It is however not necessary to take the evidence of "his brother" and "and he killed" in this way, as is clear from the following.

First, the third masc. sing. suffix for the noun "brother" is in the dialect of Targum Onkelos ׳ה, whereas in the language of the Palestinian tgg it can be either ׳ה or ׳. In the latter dialect which is that of Bereshit Rabba both endings are used.¹ The form אחרה׳ is also used in the Tosephta of this verse, in cod. Ox. 2305, which carries the title תרגום ירושלמי על פסוק ויאמר קין אל הבל אחיו.² We thus see that ׳ה is the only form used by O for this suffix. The suffix ׳ה used by PJ here is one of the two possible suffixes used in the Aram. of the Pal. tgg and Bereshit Rabba, the other suffix being ׳.

Second, whether "and he killed him" is expressed by the verb and the attached suffix, or by the verb plus an independent ה׳ and suffix, can be no proof of anything. Both ways of expression are used in all our targums. The above mentioned "Targum Jerushalmi" in cod. Ox. 2305 agrees with PJ at this point, and has וקטליה.² Grelot overlooks this possi-

1. Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 4 and Gustaf Dalman, Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palastinischen Aramäisch, Nach den Idiomen des Palastinischen Talmud, des Onkelostargum und Prophetentargum und der Jerusalemischen Targume. Ein unveränderter photomechanischer Nachdruck der 2., vermehrten und vielfach umgearbeiteten Auflage (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1960), p. 395. Cf. G 8.1: ורחמיה ט׳יה, in his good mercies.

2. Das Fragmententargum ... von Ginsburger, op. cit., p. 72.

bility.

Third, that minor agreements in forms like these are no more than a coincidence is shown by the fact that also one or more of our other targums have minor agreements with O, where PJ does not agree with O. For instance in "...Cain said to Abel" BH: אֵלֶּיךָ ; O, Par, Bom, CG and N have לְךָ ; PJ only and uniquely has לְךָ . Grelot admits that this is unique evidence in PJ, but thinks that it may be a mechanical remembering on the part of the scribe of the same unique rendering of PJ in verse seven ("and unto thee will be its desire"):

...le rédacteur fait plusieurs fois cavalier seul. En 8a, לְךָ לֹא peut être une reminiscence machinale de 7d לְךָ, spécial à Ps-J).¹

But we need not explain the evidence in this way. PJ has a unique reading here, and may well represent one stream of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, whereas the other Pal. tgg represent another branch of that tradition. This is very likely in view of the fact that the Pal. tradition of the Pent. tgg was not a codified or authorized one, but existed in many different forms. The agreement between Par, Bom, CG and N on the one hand and O on the other need be no more than a coincidence, of the same kind as that occurring between PJ and O at certain points. In RSV: "and when they were in the field" (MT lit: "And it came to pass in their being in the field"),

1. Grelot, op. cit., p. 71.

MT, O and N have ל; PJ, Par, Bom and CG: ל. The ל in N is very awkward here because our five Pal. Pent. tgg read: "when the two of them had gone out to (the face of) the field". Toward the end of the verse, after the additions, this phrase is repeated in our five Pal. Pent. tgg: "...they were quarreling upon the face of the field". Here Par, Bom, CG and N have ל: "in the face of the field", and only PJ has לָּ. Grelot thinks that the ל in N in the first mention of Cain and Abel going out to the field may be due to the second rendering of this phrase, later in the verse: "in the face of the field": "...mais c'est probablement une contamination due à 8p."¹ This explanation is quite possible, in which case there is no relationship of dependence between O and N. It can also be explained by the possible attempt of N to remain close to the Hebr. This is characteristic of the Pal. tgg, as we shall see in the following pages. Even in this verse, N uses a Hebrew word, agreeing with the MT: in "Cain rose up against his brother Abel", MT, N: לָּ; O: ל (some mss ל, others לָּ); PJ, Par, Bom and CG: לָּ. (Grelot does not mention this evidence).² In either case, PJ agrees with Par, Bom, and CG, and is different from O.

Fourth, there is good evidence in this verse proper that PJ stands with the Pal. Pent. tgg, in agreeing with its tradition or in offering unique particulars in that tradition:

1. Ibid., p. 71.

2. Ibid., p. 77, under verse 8q.

Where MT reads literally, "And it came to pass in their being in the field", O translates this literally, but PJ agrees with the four Pal. Pent. tgg: "And it came to pass when the two of them went out ..." Grelot says that in these main parts PJ "follows" the Pal. tradition: "En gros il suit TP-TJ, comme au v. 7."¹ We must however simply admit here that the rendering of PJ is equal to those of Par, Bom, CG, and N. After the additions in the five tgg: PJ, Par, Bom, CG and N, a similar phrase is repeated. But here again there is no trace of O in PJ. PJ reads there with the other four tgg, "And they were quarreling". Again, O uses for "the field": אֶלְמָהּ for the MT: שָׂדֵה . PJ however uses twice אֶלְמָהּ and once אֶלְמָהּ , agreeing with the other four tgg, which have three times אֶלְמָהּ . Grelot does not discuss this as a case where PJ stands with the Pal. tgg, but points out that PJ twice corrects the אֶלְמָהּ of Par, Bom, CG and N to לְמָהּ . The correction is said to remind of the insertions of readings of the Sam. Pent. (וּלְמָהּ הַשָּׂדֵה), followed by the LXX, Syriac, Old Latin and the Vulgate (egrediamur foras), which would suppose an emended Hebr. of לְמָהּ :

Puis à deux reprises on a לְמָהּ au lieu de אֶלְמָהּ (TPG, TJN, TJ2), correction qui rappelle de très près la Vulgate "egrediamur (sic) foras" et l'héb. suppose לְמָהּ .²

Grelot seems to overlook the third instance of this expression

1. Ibid., p. 71.

2. Ibid., pp. 70f; TPG refers to CG, TJN to N, and TJ2 to Par.

where PJ is equal to Par, Bom, CG, and N, and has the full phrase. The evidence in question, we hold, is that PJ is a part of the same tradition as Par, Bom, CG, and N, in general here, though not literally adhering to it in all three cases. At any rate, PJ is different from O. To the preposition in "And Cain rose up against his brother Abel" we have already referred above, under point three. The evidence is the same.

There are also evidences in this verse where PJ has a unique tradition, differing from O and also from the Pal. Pent. tgg. It would still belong to the Pal. Pent tg tradition, because this tradition is not a unified whole but has differences within it. We referred above to the prepositions in RSV: "And Cain said to Abel", and again in PJ: "upon the face of the field" (point three). We conclude once more that it is not necessary to say that PJ is influenced by O in this verse, as we similarly need not assume that there is influence of O upon Par, Bom, CG, and N here. Any slight similarity between any of the five Pal. tgg and O can be due either to a close adherence to the Hebr. text by both the five Pal. tgg and O, or to mere coincidence. PJ stands with the other four tgg: Par, Bom, CG, and N in the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, which largely agrees among its members, but also displays individual differences. Grelot, as we have seen, underlines in this verse the suffixes of "his brother" and "he killed him", where PJ and O are the same; and minimizes all the evidence where PJ stands with Par, Bom, CG, and N. The most that is

said of the latter is that there PJ "follows" the Pal. tradition. We must reject these judgments, because they depend too heavily upon the working hypothesis that PJ is made up of both the Pal. tgg and of O.

In G 4.9 there are a number of agreements between O and PJ, and also between O and the other targums. In RSV the verse reads: 'Then the Lord said to Cain, "Where is Abel your brother?" He said, "I do not know; am I my brother's keeper?"' "Where is" is in MT: 'K; O, PJ and Par:]K; CG, N: K77]K (N: K77]7). Par and PJ both are like O. The omission of K77 by Par, is taken by Grelot as a variant of Par to the basic CG text, which latter does have K77. It is thought that O corrects this basic CG text, leaves out K77, and comes in closer conformity with the Hebr.: "Ce fond est corrigé par TO, qui le rapproche de l'hébreu: omission de K77."¹ It is thus easy to assume that PJ follows the corrected text of O. Is this not a complicated argument, made on the basis of the hypothesis that PJ follows O? The easier interpretation of the facts, which we put forward, is the more probable: PJ and Par form one stream of Pal. tradition on this point. O has followed this form rather than that of CG or N. "I do not know" in MT: 'לֹא יָדָעְתִּי is translated in our targums with a participle: O, PJ: K197' K7; Par, CG and N: לֹא יָדָעְתִּי אֲנִי . Here O and PJ are in agreement against the other targums. The difference of construction

1. Ibid., p. 79.

is slight however. Again here, Grelot thinks that O changed the basic CG text here to conform more closely to the Hebrew:

Ce fond est corrigé par TO, qui le rapproche de l'hébreu: ... כִּי־יָבִיחַ אֵלָּהּ au lieu de la périphrase נִי־לָּהּ;¹

Presumably, PJ would follow the correction of O. But we note that the difference between O-PJ and Par-CG-N is not great. On the other hand, all five of these tgg (O, PJ, Par, CG, and N) use the Part. and are thus equally removed from the MT which uses the Perf. tense. The evidence dictates us not to think that PJ followed the correction of O, but rather that PJ on the one hand (כִּי־יָבִיחַ אֵלָּהּ) and Par, CG, and N on the other (נִי־לָּהּ אֵלָּהּ) are in the Pal. tradition, which is different from the MT (Perf.) here. O is equally different from the MT, and follows the reading of the PJ form of the Pal. tradition, rather than that of the Par-CG-N branch of that tradition. Cain's question is expressed in MT, O, Par, CG and N by the prefixed ^ו or ^{כִּי}, but PJ only uses ^{כִּי}—which introduces a question to which a negative answer is presupposed. All targums agree with O, except PJ. Grelot notes that PJ stops from following the new translation O at this point, giving its own form in one case, and modifying the spelling of O in the other:

Tout en suivant cette nouvelle recension, Ps-J en modifie une tournure (כִּי־יָבִיחַ) et une forme grammaticale (נִי־לָּהּ).²

1. Ibid., p. 79.

2. Ibid., p. 79.

We hold that PJ presents a unique reading of the Pal. tradition at this point. The phrase, "my brother's keeper" is rendered by nouns in Par: בְּטוֹרָא דְאַחֵי , CG: $\text{בְּטוֹרִיָּה דְאַחֵי}$ and N: בְּטוֹרָא דְאַחֵי . O and PJ like MT have the participle: MT: הַשֹּׁמֵר אֶחָיו , O: הַשֹּׁמֵר אֶחָיו , PJ: בְּטוֹרֵי אֶחָיו . As was indicated above, Grelot noted that PJ had modified the grammatical form of O. Moreover, the similarity between O and PJ, as opposed to Par, CG, and N, is very small, and is of the same kind as similarities occurring in other passages between O and one or more of the tgg: Par, Bom, CG, and N.

In G 4.10 this same kind of mixed evidence appears. RSV reads: 'And the Lord said, "What have you done? The voice of your brother's blood is crying to me from the ground"'. The spelling for "what" is the same in O and Par: מָה differing from MT, PJ, CG and N: מַה . This difference of spelling is not mentioned by Grelot, and is probably taken as "Mises a part les variantes purement orthographiques..."¹ For "blood" Par, Bom, CG and N use כַּדְמָא , used only in the Jerusalem tgg², O and PJ use דָּם . But the latter two are not the same. O uses the singular and PJ and MT use the plural noun. In Biblical Hebrew either the singular or the plural of the noun "blood" can be used in the meaning of human blood shed by violence. In Aramaic the singular is generally used,

1. Ibid., p. 79.

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 10.

3. Kochler und Baumgartner, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 212.

and only here and in the following verse in PJ do we find the plural used in this meaning,¹ probably as an imitation on the part of PJ of the MT. PJ is thus different from O, in that PJ follows more closely the MT, a characteristic of the Pal. tradition, which we shall note from time to time. Grelot does not mention the difference of number between O and PJ, and simply takes this as an instance where PJ follows O: "Ps-J suit partiellement TO (cf. les cinq premiers mots)..."² For "you have done" PJ, Par, Bom, CG and N use the הַעֲשִׂיתָ form and O the הַעֲשִׂיתָ form of the second person masc. sing. of the Perfect verb. Grelot overlooks this important difference between PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N on the one hand and O on the other.³ PJ also agrees with Par, CG and N in the choice of הִשָּׁמַע for "to cry". O uses here הִשָּׁמַע , MT הִשָּׁמַע . Grelot holds here that O knew the Pal. tradition, but changed הִשָּׁמַע to הִשָּׁמַע , which is a change to juridical language.⁴ It is important to note that in this significant word choice (הִשָּׁמַע) PJ stands with the Pal. tgg, whereas O uses הִשָּׁמַע . הִשָּׁמַע in the meaning "to cry out, complain" is not used in the Pal. tgg, with the exception of E 22.26, where PJ uses it. O however uses both הִשָּׁמַע and הִשָּׁמַע for the MT הִשָּׁמַע , "to cry out";⁵ N uses

1. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 312 and Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 178f.

2. Grelot, op. cit., p. 79.

3. Ibid., p. 79.

4. Ibid., p. 79.

נרז only;¹ CG uses נרז only;² and PJ uses נרז generally, and once קבל (E 22.26), and twice נרז (D 22.24, 27). The latter word only occurs in the Jer. tgg.³ Hence PJ and the other Pal. tgg stand firmly in the Pal. Pent. tg tradition here.

In summary of the evidence of this verse (G 4.10), we refer once more to Grelot. The latter says that PJ follows O in the first five words of the verse, without ignoring completely the Pal. tradition, though in PJ the central emphasis of the verse is changed:⁴

Ps-J suit partiellement TO (cf. les cinq premiers mots), sans ignorer complètement la tradition de TJ (emploi de נרז) mais il accomode à sa façon le centre du verset...⁵

Our objective analysis has shown that there can only be two points of evidence in this verse which may be taken that PJ borrowed from O. The first evidence is that of the word for blood, but as we have seen, even here there is a difference between O and PJ.⁶ The second evidence is indirect, and appears where Par, CG and N insert two or three words in the

5. Brederek, op. cit., p. 100.

1. At the following passages: G 27.34; 41.55; E 5.8, 15; 22.22, 26; N 11.2; D 22.24, 27.

2. At the two passages, out of those mentioned in ibid. one, where CG is present: E 22.22, 26.

3. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 253. PJ at G 22.20; E 32.10; D 22.24, 27; of the other Pal. tgg, only N has the addition at D 22.27, and there uses נרז.

4. This refers to the addition in this verse, for which cf. below, chapter III, p. 257f.

5. Grelot, op. cit., p. 79.

reading, as compared with O-PJ. Where O and PJ read, "what have you done", Par has, "what is it that you have done" and CG and N have, "what is this that you have done". We do not consider this indirect evidence by itself very convincing. It is here equally possible that PJ in its stream of Pal. Pent. tg tradition had a shorter version, closer to the Hebr., which is preferred by O. Hence, these two points cannot be taken as evidence that PJ is influenced by O. We must look at other evidence to determine the nature of PJ in this verse. Such evidence is found in other parts of this verse. The first point is the use of]'D]N] by PJ and the Pal. tgg, where O has]'D]P. Clearly here PJ stands with the Pal. tgg. Around this use we find certain additions in all the tgg, including O.¹ O does not translate the Hebr. text literally here, as is its usual custom, but has borrowed additions from the Pal. tradition. But O has borrowed additions in common between Par, Bom, CG and N. At this point PJ has unique additions. Assuming that PJ depends upon O as well as upon the Pal. tgg, we would expect PJ to have the additions which here are in common between O and the Pal. tgg. But this is not the case. PJ has unique additions here. The evidence in this verse leads us to the conclusion that PJ belongs to the Pal. tradition, having the same readings as that

6. Cf. above, pp. 89f.

1. Cf. below, Ch. II, pp. 257f.

tradition (TJX); but that this tradition had various forms, of which PJ represents one form (unique addition), and Par, Bom, CG, and N another (their common addition). O at this verse is influenced by the latter form of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition.

In G 4.16, the following points are noteworthy. The RSV reads: "Then Cain went away from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, east of Eden". For "dwell" O, PJ and Bom use ל'נ' and Par, CG and N have נ'ר'. Of the relationship between the tgg here Grelot says the following: It is thought that O has changed the reading of the Pal. tgg: "Mais TO corrige le vocabulaire: ל'נ' au lieu de נ'ר'."¹ Next Par is explained as the particular recension of the Pal. tg, or as caused by the copyist remembering O without realizing it:

...ce qui peut s'expliquer soit comme la recension particulière de 2TJ (i.e. Par), soit comme une reminiscence de TO chez le copiste du manuscrit.²

Though for PJ the same could be said, it is taken to depend upon O: "En effet, en 16a, Ps-J travaille sûrement sur la base de TO, dont il reproduit les éléments particuliers".³

Such a complicated argument does not commend itself. What we simply have is two readings: one in common between O, PJ,

1. Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

and Bom, and the other between Par, CG, and N. It is not impossible that we have represented two streams of Pal. Pent. tg traditions, viz. PJ-Bom and Par-CG-N. O chooses the rendering of the former of these two forms of the Pal. reading. Thus it would be PJ which has influenced O.

Secondly, the phrase "in the land of Nod" is rendered by O, Bom, CG, and N: "in the land a wanderer and exile"; by Par: "in the land of Nod a wanderer and exile";¹ and by PJ: "in the land of (no constr. st. or 7) the wandering of his exile".² The Samaritan Version has, "in the land of Keli".³ Grelot says that the whole verse in PJ is based on O: "En effet, en 16a, Ps-J travaille sûrement sur la base de TO, dont il reproduit les éléments particuliers".⁴ Clearly this is not correctly representing the evidence. We have three renderings: O-Bom-CG-N, Par, and PJ. Though these three readings are related and are different from the Hebr., there are individual differences between each and the other two. If

1. Grelot (*Ibid.*, p. 84) takes this phrase of Par, which is a doublet, as late, because it was not in the London Polyglotte: "...mais ce doublet ne doit pas être primitif car la polyglotte de Londres l'ignore".

2. Grelot similarly translates and justifies the translation (*Ibid.*, p. 84): "...et il demeura dans la terre, émigration de son exil (ou, en corrigeant; dans la terre d'émigration de son exil)...", saying in a fnt.: "Cette correction n'est appuyée ni par les manuscrits, ni par les éditions imprimées, mais elle reste vraisemblable".

3. The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch; with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum: from the Chaldee. By J. W. Etheridge, Volume I: Genesis and Exodus, Volume II: Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862 (volume I), 1865 (volume II)), I, p. 43.

we keep Par aside, because it may form a doublet, we could say of the other two readings that these form two branches of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition: Bom, CG, and N on the one hand, and PJ on the other. O has adopted the reading of the former of these two branches of the Pal. tgg (Bom-CG-N), and does not translate the Hebr. literally. Whereas we have seen before that O sometimes chooses that branch of the Pal. tradition in which PJ stands, we see now that O at other times chooses the other form of the Pal. tradition, in which PJ does not stand. There is no doubt in this case: PJ is not influenced by O. Moreover, there is every reason to believe that PJ is a form of the Pal. targum tradition.

Thirdly, for MT, RSV: "...in the land of Nod, east of Eden", Par, Bom, CG, and N have a normal translation: Par: "...in the land of Nod", Bom, CG: "...in the land ... East of the Garden of Eden", and N: "...in the land ... East of Eden". But O and PJ have unique renderings: PJ has: "... in the land ... which had been made for him from the beginnings¹ like the (small) garden of Eden", and O: "... in the land ... which had been made for him from the beginnings¹ in the garden of Eden". "From the beginnings"²

4. Grelot, op. cit., p. 84.

1. Etheridge, op. cit., I, p. 173 translates PJ: "from before", and ibid., I, p. 43 translates O: "in the beginnings".

2. The word used by O and PJ: לְרֵוֹתֶיךָ , can also mean, "in the East" or "at the East side". Cf. Levy, op. cit., II,

refers to the existence of the Garden of Eden before the creation of the world. The fact that the idea of the existence of the Garden of Eden before the creation of the world is present here, does not necessarily mean late authorship for O and PJ.¹ This idea is denied by R. Samuel b. Nahmani (about 260)², although it is accepted in the Talmud.³ The idea is

p. 345. But when B. Pesahim 54a refers to the Garden of Eden as one of the seven items which God made before the creation of the world, it uses מֵרֵאשִׁית. Pirke R. Eliezer 3 (ninth century; cf. Hermann L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (New York: Meridian Books, Inc., and Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), pp. 225ff; for the editions, cf. ibid., p. 343, ftnt. 7) affirms this to mean "before the creation of the world". Hence it is not probable that "at the East side of Eden" is meant by מֵרֵאשִׁית but rather "from the beginnings", moreover because "at the East side of Eden" having מֵרֵאשִׁית is rendered as מֵרֵאשִׁית מֵרֵאשִׁית (G 3.24 in O and PJ), and our preposition בְּ is lacking in G 4.16. Cf. Hermann L. Strack und Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, Viertes Band: Exkurse zu einzelnen Stellen des Neuen Testaments, Abhandlungen zur Neutestamentlichen Theologie und Archäologie, in zwei Teile (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Oskar Beck, 1928), p. 1122, ftnt. a. Grelot, op. cit., p. 84, translates similarly: "Dans le texte retenu par Merx après les éditions de Lisbonne et de Sabionetta, מֵרֵאשִׁית (qui a pris la place de מֵרֵאשִׁית [B, TP-U]) n'a visiblement plus le sens de 'à l'orient' l'expression n'est plus suivie du בְּ, mais de 'à l'origine' ... mais on s'étonne cette fois que l'expression n'emploie plus la même tournure qu'en Gen. III, 24 (T0): מֵרֵאשִׁית מֵרֵאשִׁית".

1. That Paradise was called into being by God before the creation of the world is found in the following: 4 Esdras 4.5f; B. Pesahim 54a (cf. below, p. 97, ftnt. 3; and also PJ and N at G 2.8. Cf. Strack und Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, 1122, ftnt. a.

2. Genesis Rabba XV, 3 (Midrash Rabba, Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices under the Editorship of Rabbi Dr. H. Freedman, and Maurice Simon, with a Foreword by Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein, Volume I: Genesis, in two Volumes, translated by Rabbi Dr. H. Freedman, B.A., Ph.D. (London: Soncino Press, 5 Gower Street, 1939), pp. 120f.),

explicitely stated in PJ and N at G 2.8.¹ It can easily have been a popular idea in circulation at an early time. In that case, the fact that it occurs in O and PJ at G 4.16 would mean that O has been influenced by PJ. This is not discussed by Grelot.

More unique is the "like the (small) garden of Eden" of PJ, and O's "in the garden of Eden". O is difficult to understand in the context: the land to which Cain was exiled had been prepared for him from the beginning in the Garden of Eden. The Ms evidence for this "in" is almost unanimous however.² PJ is at least understandable: this land of exile had been prepared like the Garden of Eden from the beginning.³

which comments on G 2.8, RSV, "And the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, in the east"; MF: מִקְּדֵם יָרָבָה יָרָבָה יָרָבָה : "Mikkedem (E. V. 'Eastward'). R. Samuel b. Nahmani said: you may think that it means before (kodem) the creation of the world, but that is not so; rather it is, before Adam, for Adam was created on the sixth day, whereas the garden was created on the third. Hence it is written, Yet God is my King, working salvation beforehand (אֶתְּפֹד) in the midst of the earth (Ps LXXIV, 12); it was a gracious act on the part of the Holy One, blessed be He, that He prepared my reward for me before ever I arose to labour. (ftnt.: The fruits of the garden are man's reward for his toil and they were created even before him)". Cf. also Strack und Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, p. 1122, ftnt. a.

3. B. Pes. 54a; Strack und Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, p. 1122, ftnt. a.

1. Cf. below, p. 106, ftnt. 1.

2. The only variants are in Biblia Hebraica (Ixar: 1490): יָרָבָה אֶתְּפֹד יָרָבָה יָרָבָה : "to the East of the Garden of Eden", and in Biblia Sacra Complutensis (1516/17): אֶתְּפֹד יָרָבָה : "East of Eden".

3. This idea is not found in rabbinic literature, as far as we know. B. Pes. 54a does not list the land of Nod

One might suggest that this is a 3-3 confusion, not uncommon in mss, 3-- "in" (O), and 3-- "like" (PJ). In that case O is the same as PJ. Since the idea that the land of Cain's exile was created by God before the creation of the world is not found in Jewish literature, and hence did not become "official" Jewish interpretation, it seems logical to assume that we have an old popular idea in PJ, which from there influenced the later O. It is improbable that an item of unofficial interpretation found its way into the official pentateuchal targum O, and from there came into PJ. Grelot also takes this 3 "comme le jardin" etc. in PJ as Pal. tradition:

Cette notation s'explique comme la reprise abrégée de 16b (i.e. the long addition at the end of this verse, not found in PJ), développement propre à TP-TJ. Telle paraît être aussi la source de TO, qui compléterait ainsi l'hébreu sur la base de l'ancien tradition targumique paléstinienne.¹

It remains to note in G 4.16, the rendering of PJ for "garden": קנ'ן'ן'ן'ן . The other targums use קנ'ן'ן , except N, which simply has גן , Eden. קנ'ן'ן'ן'ן means "garden at the house, pleasure garden",² but is in form a diminutive of the

among the seven items which God made before the creation of the world. Cf. *The Babylonian Talmud, op. cit., Seder Mo'ed IV, Pesahin, Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices* by Rabbi Dr. H. Freedman (London: The Soncino Press, 1938), p. 268: "Surely it was taught: Seven things were created before the world was created, and these are they: The Torah, repentance, the Garden of Eden, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple, and the name of the Messiah ... The Garden of Eden Eden, as it is written, And the Lord planted a garden in Eden from aforetime".

1. Grelot, op. cit., p. 85.

noun גֶּן , "garden",¹ used for "Paradise" in the Jerus. Targum² and in the targums on Song of Sol. 2.1 and Job 38.18.³ The word is also the proper noun G^enunitha, the name of Esther's attendant for the third day of the week, originating (as did the names of her attendants for the other days of the week) from God's action on the corresponding day of creation, which on the third day was the creation of the garden.⁴

2. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 258.

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 149.

2. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 258: As will be shown below, of the Pent. tgg this word occurs only in PJ.

3. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 149. According to talmudic scholarship (esp. E. Pes. 94a) the Garden of Eden is only a part of Paradise proper. Our word גֶּן is not listed as used here in the talmuds. The word does seem to be listed as used in the targums at Song of Sol. 2.1 and Job 38.18.

4. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 83; Levy, op. cit., I, p. 149; Jastrow, op. cit., p. 258. That the Garden of Eden was created on the third day of creation is attested in the following (Cf. Strack und Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, pp. 1121-1122, ftnt. a): Jubilees 2.7, Enoch 30.1, 4 Esdras 6.42, and the following places in Gen. Rab.: Gen. Rab. XI, 9 (Midrash Rabbah I: Genesis, op. cit., p. 86), where R. Levi (about 300) says in the name of R. Hama b. R. Hanina (about 260) about G 2.3: "R. Levi said in the name of R. Hama b. R. Hanina: The Holy One, blessed be He, created three objects on each day: ...on the third, trees, herbs, and the Garden of Eden"; Gen. Rab. XII, 5 (Ibid., p. 90), where R. Nehemiah of Siknin (third generation of Tannaim, 130-160) is reported to say: "R. Nehemiah of Siknin said: For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is (Ex. XX, 11), these three things constitute the fundamental elements of the creation; they each waited three days and then produced three things. The earth was created on the first day, according to Beth Hillel, waited three days, viz., the first, the second, and the third, and brought forth three generations: trees, herbs and the Garden of Eden". Gen. Rab. XV, 3 (Ibid., p. 121, quoted above on p. 96, ftnt. 2); and Gen. Rab. XXI, 9 (Ibid., p. 178), about G 3.22: "Another interpretation: Mi-ke-dem: before (kodem)

In order to assess the significance of the use of עֵדֶן by PJ, we must review Jewish teaching concerning the Garden of Eden. In Strack und Billerbeck's work it is noted that Jewish scholarship knows a triple Paradise: the Paradise in which Adam lived, that which is the abiding place of the souls of the righteous until the final judgment and the Paradise which in the end of time, after the resurrection and judgment will be given to the saints.¹ Louis Ginzberg also notes a distinction between Paradise and Eden.² However, a review of the analysis in Strack und Billerbeck of the vocabulary used for these three types of Paradises³

the Garden of Eden the Gehenna was created, the Gehenna having been created on the second day, and the Garden of Eden not till the third. For the dates cf. Strack und Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, pp. 1121-1122, and Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, op. cit., pp. 114-115, 121-124.

1. Strack und Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, p. 1118, "Die alte Synagoge kennt ein dreifaches Paradies: das Paradies Adams Gn 2, 8ff., das Paradies der Seelen, das den entschlafenen Gerechten während des Zwischenzustandes als Aufenthaltsort dient, u. das endzeitliche Paradies, das den Seligen nach der Auferstehung u. dem Endgericht übergeben wird".

2. Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, Translated from the German Manuscript by Henrietta Szold (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 5707-1947). Volume I: Bible Times and Characters from the Creation to Jacob, p. 21: "Beyond Paradise begins Eden..." referring to Zohar, עין חן, Leghorn, 1866, I, 125a (thirteenth century. Cf. Zunz, op. cit., pp. 419-420) Cf. also Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, op. cit., Volume V: Notes to Volumes I and II, from the Creation to the Exodus, p. 30, ibid. 34, p. 446.

3. Strack und Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, pp. 1118-1120, also 1120-1165. Pseudepigraphical literature calls (1) Adam's Paradise: Garden (παράδεισος), Garden Eden, Garden of Eden, Garden in Eden in the East; (2) the Paradise between the fall and the judgment: Paradise (παράδεισος), Paradise

shows the idea of Paradise to be one unified concept, with three stages, as J. Jeremias has pointed out.¹

Rabbinical scholarship does sometimes make a distinction between the ׀א or Garden, where Adam lived, and ׀טו, or Eden, Paradise proper. Usually Adam's garden is taken as a part of the larger Eden or Paradise.² In this manner PJ is

of Eden, the Garden of the Righteous, Garden where the Chosen and Righteous ones dwell, Garden of Righteousness, Garden of life, the bright and incorruptable Paradise, the large Paradise; (3) the final Paradise after the resurrection and judgment: Paradise, the bright and incorruptable Paradise and paradisus iucunditatis, after LXX, G 21.15: παράδεισος τρυφῆς, "Garden of Luxury". Rabbinic scholarship calls all three stages of Paradise: ׀טו ׀א in Hebrew and: ׀טו׀ט א׀א in Aramaic. ׀טו, often used in rabbinical works for "garden" is not used for Paradise, except in B. Hag. 14b (The Babylonian Talmud, op. cit.,: Seder Mo'ed VIII: Megillah... by Maurice Simon, Mo'ed Katan ... by Rabbi Doyan H. W. Lazarus and Hagigah ... by Rabbi Prof. I. Abrahams (London: The Soncino Press, 1938), Hagigah, pp. 90f; cf. discussion ftnt. 10 there), which is a passage of mystical speculation. The LXX uses at G 2.8: παράδεισος ἐν Ἐδέμ κατ' ἀνατολᾶς, and finally following the NT: ׀טו ׀א: παράδεισος τρυφῆς (G 2.15 e.a.).

1. Prof. D. Dr. Joachim Jeremias, "παράδεισος" in Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Begründet von Gerhard Kittel. In Verbindung mit zahlreichen Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Gerhard Friedrich (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, V, 1954), pp. 763-771. Cf. p. 766, ftnt. 34, 'Str-B IV 1118-1120.1130f gibt eine ausgezeichnete Übersicht über die Terminologie, nur ist es missverständlich, wenn es 1118 heisst: "Die alte Synagoge kennt ein dreifaches Paradies"; genauer müsste von drei Stadien bzw Erscheinungsformen des e i n e n Paradieses gesprochen werden.'

2. Strack und Billerbeck, op. cit., IV, p. 1119, 'Einigemal unterscheiden sie (die rabbinischen Gelehrten) auch zwischen ׀א (Garten) u. ׀טו. Dann verstehen sie unter ׀א den kleineren Teil des Paradieses, der speziell dem ersten Menschen überwiesen worden sei, u. unter ׀טו den übrigen grösseren Teil, das eigentliche Paradies, weil darin die Sch׀kina gewellt habe.^b Auch in der Vita Adae liegt diese Unterscheidung vor: die Stätte Gottes wird hier "Paradies der Gerechtigkeit" (Kap.

said to distinguish between Adam's garden, calling it קִנְיָן, and Paradise proper, calling it Eden, whereas the

25) u. der Bezirk Adams "Paradies der Heimsuchung u des Befehles Gottes" (Kap. 23) genannt." Cf. also Levy, op. cit., I, p. 149 under קִנְיָן, 'bes. nach talm. Auffassung des [173]Paradies...wonach der "Garten" blos einen kleinen...Theil des eigentl. Paradieses bildet'. Strack und Billerbeck give the following references: B. Sanh. 99a (The Babylonian Talmud, op. cit.; Seder Nezikin VI: Sanhedrin, in two volumes: Volume I: chapters I-VI ... by Jacob Shachter and chapter VII ... by H. Freedman, Volume II: chapters VIII-XI ... by H. Freedman (London: The Soncino Press, 1935), Freedman, Ibid., Vol. II, p. 671): "what does 'the eye hath not seen' refer to?--R. Joshua b. Levi (about 250) said: To the wine that has been kept (maturing) with its grapes since the six days of Creation. Resh Lakish (about 250) said: To Eden, which no eye has ever seen; and should you demur, Where then did Adam live? In the Garden. And should you object, The Garden and Eden are one: therefore Scripture teaches, And a river issued from Eden to water the garden". B. Ber. 34b is its parallel. B. Pes. 94a (Seder Mo'ed IV: Pesahim, op. cit., p. 503): "Come and hear: Egypt was four hundred parasange square. Now Egypt is one sixtieth of Ethiopia (Cush), Ethiopia one sixtieth of the world, the world one sixtieth of the Garden, the Garden one sixtieth of Eden, Eden one sixtieth of the Gehenna: thus the whole world is like a pot lid (in relation) to Gehenna". In Gen. Rab. XV, 2 (Midrash Rabbah, I, Genesis, op. cit., I, p. 120), R. Jose takes the Garden to be one sixtieth part of Eden while R. Judah holds that the Garden is larger than Eden: "A Garden in Eden. R. Judah said: The Garden is larger than Eden, for it is written, So that all the trees of Eden, that is in the garden of God, envied it (Ezek. XXXI, 9); and it is also said, Thou was in Eden of the garden of God (ib. XXVIII, 13). R. Jose said: Eden is larger than the garden, for it says, Then the Lord God planted a garden in Eden, etc. But surely it is written, And a river went out of Eden to water the garden (Gen. II, 10)? On R. Jose's view, the drippings from a beth kor will water a tarkab; while on R. Judah's view, it is like a spring in the garden which waters the whole garden. But R. Judah has two verses (to support his contention), whereas R. Jose has but one verse? Said R. Hanan of Sepphoris: The Holy One, blessed be He, illumined R. Jose's eyes and he found a verse supporting his view, viz. And He hath made her wilderness (midbar) like Eden, and her desert ('arabah) like the garden of the Lord (Isa. LI, 5). (Midbar is larger than 'arabah'). A distinction between the garden and Eden is also made in Lekah Tob by Tobiah ben

other targums generally use]TPT KJJA for Adam's garden.¹

A careful study of PJ's use of KJJA causes us to disagree with Strack und Billerbeck's thesis that PJ follows rabbinical scholarship in distinguishing between Adam's garden and Paradise proper, and also with their thesis that PJ goes beyond the rabbis in doing this in the word choice for "garden". Twenty-three times does PJ use "garden": sixteen times KJJA² and six times K (J) JA³. KJJA is eleven

Eliozov (written in 1079-1108, cf. Strack, *op. cit.*, pp. 232, 349). Strack und Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 1129, ftnt. f, quotes from S. Buber, *Lebach tob (Pesikta sutarfa)*, ein agadischer Comm. zum ersten und zweiten Buche Mosis von R. Tobias ben Elieser (Wilna, 1880), I, 10b, 10: "Der Garten; ist eine Baumstätte u. 'Eden ist eine Stätte von Wasserquellen u. eine Stätte von Honig- u. Sahnen- u. Milchbächen u. das Ergötzen' der Seele. Denn es heisst Gn 2,10: Und ein Fluss ging von 'Eden aus, den Gan zu bewässern. Ferner heisst es Hi 20, 17: "Nicht darf er (der Gottlose) seine Lust sehen an Bächen, Strömen, Flüssen von Honig u. Sahne" (nämlich in der jenseitigen Welt). Und dieses ('Eden) ist eine Stätten, in die der erste Mensch nicht gekommen ist, u. kein Auge hat darüber Gewalt gehabt, sondern es wurde verborgen für die Gerechten (Um ihnen im Himmel als Wohnstätte während des Zwischensustandes zu dienen), wie es heisst Jes 64, 3: "Kein Auge hat gesehen, o Gott, ausser dir, was bereitet ist dem, der harret". This distinction occurs once in PJ at G 2,8, cf. below p. 106, ftnt. 1.

1. Strack und Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 1119: 'Unter den Targumim ist es der Jeruschalmi I, der in gleicher Weise u.]TPT auseinanderhält. Um deutlich zu machen, dass der Garten Adams nur der kleinere Teil des Paradieses gewesen sei, nennt er ihn mit Vorliebe "Gärtchen" KJJA, zB Gn 2,8. 9.10.15; 9,20; 13,10; 46, 17; Ex 14, 9, während er dem eigentlichen Paradies den Namen "Eden" gibt, zB Gn 2,8.10. -- Sonst ist in den Targumim die gebräuchlichste Bezeichnung für das Paradies Adams]TPT KJJA; ftnt. c, p. 1120: "Targ. Jerusch I Gn 2,8: Ein Strom ging aus von 'Eden, um das Gärtchen KJJA zu bewässern". (This should be G 2.10).

2. Eleven times in the verses proper: G 2,8, 9, 10, 15; 3,1, 2, 3, 8(2x), 10; 4,16; (In two occurrences of in the MT is a translation omitted in PJ: G 2,16; 3,24) and

times used specifically for Adam's garden,¹ once in a general sense of "the garden of the Lord",² three times of the Garden of Eden from where excellent things come,³ and once of the abode of the righteous;⁴ גַּן is used three times as ordinary word for garden,⁵ once for Adam's garden,⁶ once for the

five times in additions: G 9.20; 13.10; 46.17; E 2.21; 14.9.

3. Three times in the verses proper: G 3.23; N 24.6; D 11.10; and three times in additions: G 49.3/4; E 35.28; N 26.46.

1. G 2.8, 9, 10, 15; 3.1, 2, 3, 8(2x), 10; 4.16.

2. G 13.10: When Abraham and Lot separated, Lot saw that the Jordan Valley was well watered, admirable for trees, "as the Garden of the Lord".

3. G 9.20, where Noah after the flood is supplied by a vine, which the river had carried from the Garden of Eden; E 2.21, Moses is shown the rod, which was in the midst of the גַּן . Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 149 takes this as Paradise: "der Stab...war eingesetzt in Paradies". Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 448 takes this as "chamber": the staff "...was infixed in the midst of the chamber", probably because the word גַּן is used earlier in this verse in that manner: $\text{וַיֵּלֶךְ מֹשֶׁה וַיֵּיכֵל דְּרוֹמָאֵל בְּגִבְעוֹת בְּנֵי רְעוּל$: "And Mosheh went into the bedchamber of Reuel" (*Ibid.*, I, p. 448). Our word does not occur in the meaning "bedchamber" (cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 258: גַּן , גַּן , גַּן , גַּן , גַּן , גַּן , גַּן -- cover, shade, baldachin; esp. bridal chamber, state room; couch, breeding place. This word is different from our גַּן), and Etheridge's translation is rejected in both cases. What is thought of most naturally in both cases is a garden adjoining Reuel's house. In the second instance this was extended to refer to the Garden of Eden, so that Moses' supernatural rod could be thought of as coming from Paradise. E 14.9, where the children of Israel gathered pearls and goodly stones on the banks of the Red Sea, which had been carried via Rivers Pishon and Gihon to there.

4. G 46.17. Serach, the daughter of Asher, was carried alive into the Garden, inasmuch as she had announced to Jacob that Joseph still lived.

5. G 49.3/4. Reuben who sinned and lost the birth-

Garden of Eden from where luxurious and good things come,¹ and once as abode for the righteous.² But these last three instances must be criticized. To use]T77 K713 in G 3.23 for the Garden of Eden in which Adam lived seems like an exception to the general rule of eleven instances of K7'111'1]T77 for this use.³ The use of]T7]1 in E 35.28 for the garden from which good things come for use in the Tabernacle, is an exception to the three instances of K7'111'1]T77 for the Garden of Luxury.⁴ Moreover, this form]1]T7 looks suspiciously like a Hebraism.⁵ Again, in N 26.46

right is likened to a little garden. Not the diminutive of the noun "garden" is used but an adjective "little": K3'1 x7'7P; N 24.6, Israel is compared with "gardens planted by the flowing streams"; and D 11.10, where Egypt is compared to a "garden of herbs" which had to be watered by man.

6. G 3.23, God sent Adam forth from the Garden of Eden.

1. E 35.28, in preparing for the building of the Tabernacle and for its use, clouds of heaven brought from the Garden of Eden "choice aromatics, and oil of olives for the light, and pure balsam for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense".

2. N 26.46, same as G 46.17, cf. above p.104, ftnt. 4.

3. Cf. above, p. 104, ftnt. 1.

4. Cf. above, p. 104, ftnt. 3.

5.]1 could be a sing. noun, masc., constr. st. in Aramaic. One other instance in PJ of the masc. noun for "garden" is known, and there in the pl. absol. st.: N 24.6. In the other Pent. targums the masc. noun is only used in N at G 2.8; 49.3/4 as sing, emph. st., and in N and Par 110 at N 24.6 as plur. absol. st.

we do not have a good example. Serach is carried alive into גן עדן . But in another passage (G 46.17), recounting the same, she is carried into גן עדן . If we then disregard these last three instances, we see that for "garden" PJ uses גן when speaking of an ordinary garden and גן עדן when he speaks of the "Garden of Eden" whether the latter is specifically referred to as Adam's or whether it is the Paradise of good things and righteous people. PJ does not distinguish Adam's garden from Paradise in choice of words. There is no indication that PJ follows rabbinical scholarship in making a real distinction between Adam's garden and Paradise.¹ It is of vital importance that the distinction between Adam's

1. There is one exception to this in PJ at G 2.8: $\text{וַאֲחַזְכִּיתָּ בְּמִקְרָא דְהוּא אֱלֹקִים בְּיַמֵּינֶיךָ מִעוֹן לְצִדִּיקִיא קָדָם בְּרִייתָ עוֹלָם וְאֲחַזְכִּיתָּ בְּמִקְרָא דְהוּא אֱלֹקִים בְּיַמֵּינֶיךָ מִעוֹן לְצִדִּיקִיא קָדָם בְּרִייתָ עוֹלָם$: The Garden from Eden of the just was planted by the word of the Lord God before the creation of the world, where he caused to dwell the man when he had made him. We note also verse 10, PJ: $\text{וַיִּזְרַק מִמֶּנּוּ נָחַל לְאַשְׁמֹרֶת הַיּוֹם וַיִּזְרַק מִמֶּנּוּ נָחַל לְאַשְׁמֹרֶת הַיּוֹם$: "and a river went forth from Eden to water the garden", a good rendering of the MT: $\text{וַיִּזְרַק מִמֶּנּוּ נָחַל לְאַשְׁמֹרֶת הַיּוֹם$. It is noted that the fundamental idea of an Eden distinct from the garden is already present in the MT. But G 2.8 is the only reference in PJ, where this thought is expounded as it is in numerous places and in great detail in the talmuds. This passage in PJ, G 2.8 leaves us with two possibilities, that we have talmudic influence in PJ, or that this passage is a later addition. In the latter case, this passage is not the basic PJ; such a later insertion with talmudic interpretation into PJ, makes it logical that the basic PJ comes from before the talmudic era. In the former case, viz. that this is talmudic influence in PJ, we would say the following. If this idea were present in more than one passage in PJ, then we would think PJ to originate in the time when the talmuds came about. But only once does this idea occur in PJ. In this case, it might be possible that what we have so elaborate in the talmuds, was in less elaborate forms already present in the popular (oral) anecdotes preceding the talmuds. But this is contradictory to the opinion of J.

garden and Paradise was only made by rabbis and not by the ordinary people. "In the popular conception the two are not kept separate".¹ This places the basic PJ in the religious tradition used for or by the ordinary people. It also dates the basic PJ at the earliest long before the time of the beginning of the talmuds, or at latest in a time when the two gardens were beginning to be thought of as separate, which still must have been at least a century before the time of talmudic scholarship, in which latter time the idea is so elaborately represented.

It remains to be said that גן עדן is not found in O, PT, CG or N, and is not listed as used in the talmuds. It is possible to say that PJ stands with the other pentateuchal targums O, PT, CG and N in not distinguishing between Adam's garden and Paradise. PJ however is different from them in using a special word for the Garden of Eden as distinct from other gardens. PJ represents, at this point, a

Israelstan (cf. following ftnt.) that in the popular conception Adam's Garden and Paradise are not kept separate. However at **some** time before the origin of the talmuds the idea must have come into the religious thinking, making it possible for it to occur so elaborately in the talmuds. In either of our original possibilities can PJ be placed in time of origin before that of the origin of the talmuds.

1. So J. Israelstan on b. Ab. 5 (The Babylonian Talmud, op. cit., Seder Nezikin VIII: Shebu'oth ... by A. E. Silverstone, Makkoth ... by H. M. Lazarus, 'Eduyyoth ... by M. H. Segal, Aboth ... by J. Israelstan (London: The Soncino Press, 1935), Aboth, op. cit., p. 74, ftnt. 3). The full quotation runs: גן עדן The celestial Garden of Eden, "Paradise"--the abode of the righteous--of which the terrestrial one, spoken of in Gen. II and III, is the model...In the

unified targum tradition, and can be thought of as one stream of Palestinian pentateuch targum tradition. This important evidence is not noted by Grelot.

The passages in G 7.10; 8.1; and 9.20, dealing with stories of Noah, come under discussion now.

In G 7.10, although at first sight PJ seems to be influenced by O, the evidence is different. PJ is at times in agreement with the Par, CG, N tradition, at times different from these and from O and at times similar or equal to O. In the latter cases, to which we turn first, there is no conclusive evidence that O influenced PJ.

In BSV: "And after seven days the waters of the flood came upon the earth", "came", MT: וַיָּבֹא is in O and PJ: וַיָּבֹא , and in Par: וַיָּבֹא ,¹ CG and N: וַיָּבֹא . This is no proof that O influenced PJ. It need be no more than coincidence.

Both forms וַיָּבֹא and וַיָּבֹא occur in the Aram. of Per. Rab.,² in the J. Talmud (Peah 21b: וַיָּבֹא , Sot. 24c: וַיָּבֹא),³ and in PJ (G 5.4: וַיָּבֹא , G 3.7: וַיָּבֹא)⁴. Both forms are used in PJ,

popular conception the two are not kept separate'.

1. This is the feminine form, Pe. Perf., 3 fem. plur. Cf. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par. 73-3, p. 354 and Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 39. This must be an error because both nouns of the subject, "the waters of the flood" are masculine.

2. Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 39.

3. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par. 73-3, p. 354.

4. This is the reading in the printed edition of the Pentateuch, Venice, 1591. Cf. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op.

Par, and N.¹

In the phrase "the waters of the flood", the word, MT: הַמַּבּוּל is translated by Par, CG, N: מַבּוּלָא/ה. O has טַרְפּוּנָא and PJ טַרְפּוּנָא. Although PJ sounds similar to O, we have here two words. מַבּוּלָא (O) meaning "flood", is from the root מָבַן meaning "to drip, to stream to flood".² טַרְפּוּנָא (PJ) literally "the sinking away" is used only by the Jer. tgg in reference to Noah's flood (for MT: מַבּוּל and O: טַרְפּוּנָא). This word is from the root טָרַן, meaning "to sink in" (trans. and intrans.).³ This phenomenon is a recurring one: Par, Rom (if present), CG, and N use one word, and O and PJ use two words which sound very much alike, but which prove to be from two different words, with PJ using a word occurring only in

cit., p. XIV. The Brit. Mus. Ms. add. 27031 reads הוּן, for which cf. Pseudo-Jonathan etc., ... von Ginsberger, op. cit., p. 6, line 1.

1. CG seems to use only the longer form הוּן: G 4.8 (2x), 10; 8.4; 9.18; E 9.26. Both Syr. and CP Aram., although they use the longer and shorter form in the Perf., 3 masc. plur. or fem. plur. of the regular verb, use only the shorter forms in the verb "to be". Cf. Theodore H. Robinson, Paradigms and Exercises in Syriac Grammar, Third edition (London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 50, 55; Friedrich Schulthess, Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinischen Aramäisch, Herausgegeben von Bruno Littmann; Mit Nachträgen von Theodor Nöldeke und dem Herausgeber (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1924), p. 62; and G 7.10; 8.4; E 9.26 in A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, Containing Lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Prophets, Acts, and Epistles. In Studia Sinaitica No. VI, Edited by Agnes Smith Lewis, with Critical Notes by Professor Eberhard Nestle D.D., and a Glossary by Margaret Gibson. (Together with: Supplement to a Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, edited by Agnes Smith Lewis. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1907) (London: Cambridge University Press Warehouse, 1897).

2. Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 297f.

the Jer. tgg (often the words in O and PJ seem to be the same with PJ having a distinctly unique spelling). This kind of evidence cannot be taken as definite proof that O influenced PJ. The weight of evidence would seem to be in the other direction. Leaving aside the coincidence factor, there are two main possibilities. Either (1) O influenced PJ, or (2-a) PJ influenced O, or (b) both drew upon older tradition. In the meaning of "the flood" of Noah's time, both words are used in the tgg of the remainder of the OT.¹ $\text{K}^{\text{I}}\text{E}^{\text{I}}\text{U}$ is used in the Talmud² and exclusively in the lectionaries.³ In the first case, O has $\text{K}^{\text{I}}\text{E}^{\text{I}}\text{U}$ meaning "flood". Assuming that O influenced PJ it is difficult to understand why PJ changes this word to $\text{K}^{\text{I}}\text{Y}^{\text{I}}\text{U}$ meaning "sinking in", inasmuch as O's word is closer to the MT, and refers more specifically to a flood than the word "sinking in". It is easier to explain, if PJ influenced O: PJ has $\text{K}^{\text{I}}\text{Y}^{\text{I}}\text{U}$ "sinking in". O accepts a word of this sound, but changes it to $\text{K}^{\text{I}}\text{E}^{\text{I}}\text{U}$, flood, which is closer to the MT and refers more closely to the flood phenomenon. If both O and PJ had an older targum source to draw upon, this source would

3. Ibid., I, pp. 294f.

1. $\text{K}^{\text{I}}\text{E}^{\text{I}}\text{U}$ in Isa. 54.9; Ps 29.10, Cf. Ibid., I, p. 298.
 $\text{K}^{\text{I}}\text{Y}^{\text{I}}\text{U}$ in Job 4.8; 6.17; 22.17, cf. Ibid., I, p. 295.

2. Ibid., I, p. 298; Sanh. 96a.

3. Fridericus Schulthess, Lexicon Syropalaestinum, Adiuvente Academia Litterarum Regia Borussica (Berolini: In Aedibus Georgii Reimeri, MCMIII), p. 73: Q 6.17; 7.6ff; 9.11, 15; Mt. 24.38.

the Pal. Pent tgg also use 777 (N), 777 (Par, CG and N).

The expression in O and PJ is also found in Tg Jonathan to the Prophets¹ and in Syriac.² Though this expression, 777: "after" appears not to occur in the Lect. or in FT, CG or N, the word 777 as adverb is certainly used in these tgg, as in 777 777;³ "until", in Par, Bom, CG, and N, in 777777;⁴

three years": 777 777. Gesenius and Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 504, also list II Sam. 11.1 in this meaning "after": 777 777 777. RSV, however translates: "in the spring of the year, the time when ...".

5. For 777 in Pesh., see also Am. 4.4, "after (every) three years": 777 777.

1. 777 in Tg to the Prophets: II Sam. 13.23, "after two years": 777 777 777.

2. In Syr. 777 for "after" is found in Gregorii Bar-Hebraei Chronicon ediderunt Paul. Jac. Bruns et Georg. Guil. Kirsch (Lipsiae, 1789), p. 33, as quoted in: R. Payne Smith, S.T.P., *Thesaurus Syriacus*, in two Tomes, together with the *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith* (Oxonii: E. Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1879 (Tome I) and 1901 (Tome II); Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1927 (*Supplement*)), *Thesaurus etc.*, *op. cit.*, col. 1078. This meaning: postea, is usually in Syr.: 777 777 for "after" also occurs in Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana recensit Jos. Sim. Assemanus (Romae, 1719-1728), iii. i. 125, again as referred to in Payne Smith, *Thesaurus etc.*, *op. cit.*, col. 1078: 777 777; paulo post.

3. Cf. Professor A. J. Wensinck, Unpublished Notes of *A Palestinian Aramaic Lexicon*. With the consent of Mrs. Wensinck and Prof. P. A. H. de Boer of Leiden this material was copied into a bound volume by Prof. P. E. Kahle of Oxford. Prof. Kahle has kindly made this volume available to me during the period of this research. The original notes are preserved at the institute of Prof. T. Jansma of Leiden, under the superintendence of Prof. de Boer. (Cf. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, *op. cit.*, pp. 203ff) The lexicon includes the words of the Pal. Tg, in so far as it was available at that time, and of part of the Aram. portions of the Pal. Talmud (1523)

"when", in Par, CG, and N, as well as the ordinary use of this noun, in the Pal. tgg and the Lect. On the basis of this evidence, we cannot with certainty say whether PJ copied this use from O or O from PJ. That the expression is prior in PJ as a good Pal. Aram. rendering, next to the other Pal. renderings, and from there copied by O, is brought out by the following evidence.

Both words,]DT and *]D, are used in the tgg, though as translations of different BH words.¹ Both words occur in PBH,² and as such occur in the youngest Hebrew parts of the OT.³ If PJ had this word as one stream of Pal. tradition, and O knew PJ as well as the other Pal. tgg, why did O choose]DT and not *]D? We cannot determine this with certainty. But it may be because of the meanings of these two words. The former, meaning "a time", eventually comes to mean "a festival or appointed time" in both Aram. and PBH; the latter simply means "end". It is not impossible that O's choice of]DT is founded upon his exegesis that the floodwaters came at an appointed time, at a special time, so decided by God.]DT would well express this, and not *]D. PJ would have]DT

edition): *]DT 7D in Par: G 13.7; 21.33; Bom: G 13.7; 21.33; CG: G 8.7; 29.8; and N: G 8.7 (mg); 13.7; 21.33; and 29.8.

4. Cf. Wensinck, ... Lexicon, op. cit.: כַּזְמָא in Par: G 18.1, CG: G 32.20(19) and N: G 32.20(19).

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 224, II, p. 152. Brederek, op. cit., pp. 149, 169.

2. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., pp. 130, 286.

in its earlier Aram. meaning, the general meaning of "time", and as such would be parallel to the 770 in Par, CG, and N, as a separate stream of Pal. tg tradition.

In the expression "seven days", the cardinal number "seven" is in the absol. st. in O and PJ, and in the constr. st. in MT, Par, and N. The MT uses "seven" as a fem. noun, and thus in constr. st. with the noun "days".¹ In Par and N, the noun "days" is in the constr. st. with the addition following: "the seventh day of the mourning", and seven seems to be used as an adj. agreeing with the noun. In O, there is no addition following "days", therefore "days" is in the absol. st., and hence "seven" also is in the absol. st. In PJ before the addition "the mourning" there is another addition, making it unnecessary for "days" to be in the constr. st.; "days" is hence in the absol. st., and so also "seven". Hence "seven" is in the absol. st. in O and PJ, but for different reasons. CG, which like O omits any addition here, also has "days" in the absol. st. It modifies this by the unique reading, the adj. "few" in the absol. st., omitting the numeral. But an even more important difference is noted between O and PJ. O has the general spelling of this word,

3. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., pp. 259, 652.

1. Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, As Edited and Enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch, Professor of Theology in the University of Halle. Second English Edition, Revised in Accordance with the twenty-eighth German Edition (1909) by A. E. Cowley. With a Facsimile of the Siloam Inscription by J. Euting, and a Table of Alphabets by M. Lidzbarski (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1956), par. 134a, p. 432.

as found in O: שבעה, but PJ in common with Par, inserts a ך in the first syllable, making PJ: שובעא, Par: שובעת. This spelling does not occur in O,¹ does occur however in PJ,² the Pal. tgg of Par,³ Bom,⁴ CG,⁵ and N,⁶ and in the Jer. Talm.⁷ This evidence supports the view that PJ stands with the Pal. tgg.⁸

As for "days", we think that PJ is not influenced by O here. Other reasons can be adduced for the similarity be-

1. Brederek, op. cit., p. 118.

2. PJ uses the orthography שוב at: G 4.24: שובעא and שובעין; G 5.12: שובעין; G 7.2 (2x): שובעא; G 7.3 (2x): שובעא; G 7.4 (2x): שובעא; G 7.10: שובעא; N 28.17: שובעאא; N 28.19: ושובעא; N 28.21: לשובעא; N 28.24: שובעא.

3. Par uses שוב at: G 7.10: שובעת and L 22.27 (cf. below pp.231f): שובעא.

4. Bom has שוב at: L 22.27 (cf. below pp. 231f): שובעא.

5. CG has שוב at: G 29.27: שובעתי; G 29.28: שובעתי; L 22.27 (cf. below pp.231f): שובעה; L 23.36: שובעה; N 28.17: שובעה; N 28.19: ושובעה; N 28.21: שובעתה; N 28.24: שובעה.

6. N has שוב at: G 4.15: שובעה and N 28.24 (mg): שובעה.

7. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 449; Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par. 21, 1, p. 125 and Kuiper, op. cit., p. 162.

8. N mg reads: שבעתי יומיא ומורי, "days" in the emph. st. as in no tg at this place, and "seven" with a tē ending, again as in no other tg at this place, which is with Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par. 21-6, p. 129, taken as an emph. st., occurring only in the Pal. tgg however. (Ibid., and Levy, op. cit., II, p. 449) (cf. our discussion below pp.232f). Assuming that a ך preceded this (perhaps not visible as the mg disappears in the binding of the codex here), this N mg reading "after seven days" is thus a variant from Pal. tradi-

tween these two. The absol. st. of "days" in O, PJ and CG, and the constr. st. in Par and N can be due to the fact that the addition following in Par and N requires a constr. st., whereas the addition following in PJ takes the normal absol. st. In O and CG there is no addition following. O, PJ and CG have the absol. st., O and CG for the same reason: no addition following, but PJ for a different reason: the addition following does not require a constr. st. The spelling in Par without a ך is surely a scribal error, because this form is attested.¹

G 8.1 has some striking examples of PJ's standing with the Pal. tgg, as well as similarities between O and PJ. The texts of Par and Bom have large omissions here. The verse, MT, RSV reads, "But God remembered Noah and all the beasts and all the cattle that were with him in the ark. And God made a wind blow over the earth, and the waters subsided".

The word "subside" in "and the waters subsided" is as follows: MT: ַבַּיָּבֵשׁ ; O: ַבַּיָּבֵשׁ; PJ, N mg: ַבַּיָּבֵשׁ, CG, N, ַבַּיָּבֵשׁ, ַבַּיָּבֵשׁ. We could simply say that PJ stands with the other Pal. tgg: CG, N, N mg, ַבַּיָּבֵשׁ and ַבַּיָּבֵשׁ, though PJ and N mg use the Ethpe. and the others the Pe. It is obvious that PJ is not based on O here. But what is the reason that O, know-

tion, not from O. This is the more important because the third word of the mg reading is "and the waters of", as there is in N, Par and PJ. The variant is also not from CG, which latter uses "few" for "seven". This variant stems thus from a Palestinian tradition, which, like PJ in other places, lacks a complete addition.

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 329.

ing the Pal. tradition to use ךָו , does not use it himself?

O never uses the Aram. ךָו ,¹ though this is a good Aram. word used in the Jer. tgg, OP Aram., the non-Pent. tgg, the Jer. and Bab. Talmuds and Gen. Rab.² The general meaning of this word identifies it as a good Semitic word, cf. Arab. سَدَان "sich unten an eine Säule drücken" vom Schutzfliehenden³ and Syr. ܩܒܢܐ "the laying of a foundation..."⁴ and ܩܒܢܐ "to be founded",⁴ though in PEH the word is only found in the special meaning "wegen Heirat anhalten" (Pl.),⁵ whereas it is not at all found in BH.⁶

O does not use this word of the Pal. tgg. The root does not occur in BH at all, and in PEH only in a specialized meaning not applicable here. The MT here (ךָו), which is perhaps a late BH word, and occurs only five times in the OT,⁷ is present in PEH, but is not found in Aram.⁸ Therefore, O

1. Brederek, op. cit., p. 187.

2. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1525; Levy, op. cit., II, p. 456i; Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 201f.

3. Friedrich Schwally, Dr. ph., Lic. th., Idioticon des Christlich Palästinischen Aramaeisch (Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Buchhandlung, 1893), p. 127.

4. J. Payne Smith (Mrs. Margoliouth), A Compendious Syriac Dictionary, Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith, D.D. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 560.

5. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 415.

6. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 950.

7. Ibid., p. 969.

8. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 423.

could not have used the same root as in BH here, because, although it occurs in PBH, it is not present in Aram.

The word used by O here, נָחַח , is a good Aram. word, used in CP Aram.,¹ in the Jer. Pent. tgg as well as in O, in the non-Pent. tgg and in the Bab. Talmud,² and in Syr.³ It is also a general Semitic word, occurring in Ug., Ak., Phoen., PBH, Arab. and Ethiop.⁴ But most important is that this root נָחַח occurs in BH.⁴ O chooses an Aram. root, which occurs also in EH, though the MT does not use it at this place.

To sum up the evidence once more: our Pal. tgg, including PJ, use נָחַח . O does not use this, perhaps because this root does not occur in BH. O cannot use the MT נָחַח here, because it does not exist in Aram. The word used by O: נָחַח , apart from being Aram., is also used in BH. This kind of choice by O of a word in common between Aram. and BH, even if different from that in the Jer. tgg at the corresponding place, was already noticed by Neumark:

Vielleicht darf man...dieselbe Tendenz der möglichsten Anpassung der Version (des T.O.) an den Sprachcharakter des hebr. Textes daran wirksam sehen, das Onk. den gemeinaram. aber doch nur aram. Wörtern in T.J. ein Wort gegenüberstellt, welches das Aram. mit den Hebr. gemeinsam hat (wenn auch nicht im hebr. Text der betr. Stelle).⁵

1. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 120.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 97.

3. Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., p. 331.

4. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 601f.

5. Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen etc. (1905), op. cit., p. 46.

Be it said again, in conclusion, that PJ stands with the other Pal. tgg here.

In RSV, "And God made a wind blow over the earth", there is mixed evidence, that which would show similarity between PJ and O, and that which shows PJ to stand among the Pal. tgg. The verb "to make to blow, to cause to pass" is in the Hiph. or Aph. in the MT, O, PJ, Bom, and Lips, but in the Pa. in CG, N, Vat, as follows: MT: 72Y71, O, PJ, Bom, and Lips: 72Y87; CG, N, and Vat: 72Y7.

We review the use of this verb. It occurs in Ak., Phoen., PH, PBH, Eg. Aram., Jud. Aram., Nabat., CP Aram., Syr., Arab., OS Arab., with as basic meaning "to cross".¹ In BH it occurs in the Qal, "to cross", Niph., "to be crossed", Hiph., "to cause to pass". The two occurrences in the Pi. can be neglected, "to make pregnant" in Job 21.10 is surely an influence from the Aram. Pa. or the PBH Pi., and "to draw across, to make to pass across" in I Kings 6.21 is uncertain.² Now, whereas there are no intensive stems in BH, Syr.³ and CP Aram.,⁴ these do occur in Aram. and PBH.⁵ In Aram. and PBH,

1. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 675; Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 141f.

2. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., pp. 675f.

3. Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., pp. 398f.

4. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., pp. 141f; Schwally, op. cit., p. 65; and A Christian Palestinian Hologion (Berlin Ms. Or. Oct. 1019), Edited by Matthew Black, Dr. Phil. (Bonn), D. Litt. (Glasgow). Texts and Studies, Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature, New Series

four general meanings are found in the Pa. or Pi.: (1) the Pe. or Qal meaning "to cross, pass", (2) the Aph. or Hiph. meaning, "to cause to pass or go, to lead", (3) "to become pregnant" probably denom. from עוֹבְרָא, m, "embryo", f, "shoot, branch",¹ (4) "to pass, transcend, make full" in the special meaning of "to make full a month by adding or inserting a day" and "to make full a year by adding a month", hence "to insert (a day or a month)".² These meanings of the Pa. in Aram. are not used by O, but are used in the Pal. tgg.³ O only uses the Pa. once, and that for the Hiph. in MT of כָּרַח, "to exchange for",⁴ which O translates in the same passage by חָלַח;⁵ hence this is one instance of the Pa., with a unique translation in O.⁶ What does O use where the Pal. tgg use the Pa. in the four meanings listed above? In the first meaning, which is that of the Pe., "to cross", no doubt O uses

edited by G. H. Dodd, Volume I (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1954), p. 64.

5. Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 1038ff; Levy, op. cit., II, p. 197ff; Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., pp. 304f.

1. Levy, op. cit., II, pp. 198ff.

2. Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 1038ff; Levy, op. cit., II, p. 197ff; Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., pp. 304f.

3. Cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 198.

4. O at L 27.10; PJ, Par, and N have פָּרוּ.

5. O at L 27.33; PJ and N have פָּרוּ.

6. Brederek, op. cit., p. 171; Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., pp. 505f. Cf. L 25.9, where a Pa. is read in O, only by Berliner.

the Pe.¹ For the second, the Aph. meaning in the Pa., "to cause to pass", O uses the Aph.² or the Pe.³ For the third

1. This meaning is from Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 304, where no examples are listed here.

2. Clearly the Pa. Perf., 3 masc. sing., is used at G 32.24, two times, in PJ (ועבר, ועברינון), N (ועבר, ועבר) and CG (ועבר, ועבר), with the Hiph. in the MT (ועבר, ועבר) and the Aph. in O (ועבר, ועברינון), (Variants in the following mss of O are Ms 84, Solg, IX, Ven 1: ועברינון and Berliner: ועברינון; Ms 84, Solg, Ven 1, Ven 2: ועבר) for the meaning, "to send across"; at G 47.21 in the meaning, "to cause to pass from, to remove from" the Pa. Perf. 3 masc. sing. is used by N (עבר), for the Hiph. in the MT (העביר) and the Aph. in O (אעבר), (Variants in the following mss of O are: IX: אעבר; Berliner: אעבר), PJ (אעבר) and Bom (אעבר). Again at E 36.6 the Pa. Perf., 3 masc. plur., is used in N in the meaning, "to cause to pass (word)", hence "to proclaim": N (ועברו), for the Hiph. Impf., 3 masc. plur. (ועבירו) and the Aph. in O (ועברו, Berliner ועברו) and PJ (ועברו).

Quite apart from our present point, and incidentally, the mg of N has for our word under discussion in E 36.6 the following ואפיצו, which I cannot identify lexically. The form is Aph. Perf., 3 masc. plur., and should mean, "they spread, they caused to pass". The word is not related with the BH פצה, Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 772, "to set free, separate, open" and the corresponding Aram. פצי, Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1204, of which the Aph. means "to deliver, to save". Though our form would agree with this Aph. form, it is unlikely that "to spread" could be extended from this meaning. The meaning is in agreement with BH פצה with Hiph. הפיץ, "to break through, to spread", cf. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1145, for which however no Aram. equivalent is listed in Ibid., Dalman A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., pp. 329, 343 or in Levy, op. cit., II, p. 258. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 755 lists it as occurring in PEH, and links it with Arab. فَظَّ "to break asunder". If our word is an Aph. from this root, then this would supply the first known instance of this word in Aram., as compared to the known use in BH and PEH. The only other alternative for our word is from the root נפץ. The BH נפץ is, according to Jastrow, op. cit., p. 925, related to נפיץ, and means "to scatter, shake out, empty", occurring also in the Pi. There is a corresponding Aram. נפיץ and Pa. נפיץ with the same meaning. An Aph. however is not listed, cf. Ibid., Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 274

and Levy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 121. The Aph. form of the Aram. root פצ would however be, in the Perf., 'appes, cf. Odeberg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 21, hence אפיץ. This form would fit our form, and the meaning also would fit that of this root: Pe.: "to scatter", Aph.: "to cause to scatter, to spread". If we conclude this for our word, this would be adding for the first time an occurrence in the Aph., and hence the use of the Aph. for this root.

3. At D 2.30, in the meaning "to allow someone to pass, to let pass", the Inf. is a Hiph. in the MT (העברני), and Aph. in PJ (לאעברותא) and N (לנעברה) but a Pe. in O (למיעיבר), (Variants in the following mss of O are: Ms 1467 *secunda manus*, Ms 2228-9 mg: למיעבר; Berliner: למיעיבר; Ms 1467 *prima manus*: לאעברותא). With the same meaning at G 30.32, Wensinck lists the CG (אעבר) as a possible Pa. (Wensinck, ... *Lexicon*, *op. cit.*: "Pa?"), "let me pass through. The MT has the Gal (אעבר), and the forms in O are Pe. (Sperber's basic text, Ms 2363, for which he substitutes Ms 2228 if the former is defective, has: אעבר; IX and Freib: איעבר; Solg, Lis, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2, Sab, Ms 9400 have: אעיבר; Berliner: אעיבר), with PJ a Pe. or Aph. (אעיבר). O also uses the Pe. for the causative (Aph.) meaning, where all other tgg have the Aph. and the MT the Hiph., as in H 8.7, where O has the Impf., 3 masc. plur., "to cause to pass": ויעברון (Berliner however points this as an Aph.: ויעברין). The Hiph. Perf., 2 masc. plur., is in the MT (והעבירן), with the Aph. in PJ and N: (ויעברון, this could however be a Pe. or Pa. as well, depending upon the pointing). Also in H 32.5, again, if we accept the pointing of Sperber's text: Impf., 2 masc. sing., c. suff. 1 com. plur., in O (העבולנא; Ms 1467: העולנא; Ms 2228-2230: העולנא; Berliner: תעפרינא) with the Hiph. in the MT (העברני) and the Aph. in PJ (תעברנא) and N (תעברתון), though again PJ and N could be Pa. as well, depending upon the pointing. Similarly the Pe. is noted in O at H 13.12, where the meaning "to cause to pass" is extended to "to separate, to devote". The form is Pe. Impf., 2 masc. sing.: O (והיעיבר; Ms 2228-2230, Ms 84: ותעבר; Berliner: ותעפר). The MT has the Hiph. Perf., 2 masc. sing. ותעבר, while the root פוש is used by PJ (ותפוש) and N (ותפרשון).

meaning of the Pa., "to become pregnant", O uses the Pa. ׳ָיַי and the MT the BH Qal ׳ָיַי .¹ The fourth meaning is not attested in the Pent. tgg.² Hence, excluding one exception, O does not use the Pa., either in the first two meanings of Po. or Aph., or in the third and special meaning, whereas these meanings do occur in the Aram. of the Jer. tgg and in PPH.

As to the second meaning, the Aph. meaning "to cause to pass", in the Pa., which concerns us here, this is either used by PJ, or PJ substitutes an Aph. for this. In G 32.24, PJ, N, and CG have the Pa., with O and the MT the Aph., Hiph.; at G 47.21, N has the Pa., with the Aph. in O, PJ, Bom, and the Hiph. in the MT.³ It seems rather simple to interpret this evidence as follows: the real Pal tgg (PT, CG, and N) use this Pa, O does not, but uses the Aph., in this meaning. PJ, depending at times upon the Pal. tgg and at other times upon O, uses both the Pa. and Aph. But this analysis is too simple and overlooks that in the passage under discussion the Aph. also occurs in the Leipzig Ms of the PT, so that also this Lips would be influenced by O, under this analysis.

1. In E 21.22, for the Pa. Partic. pass., absol. st., fem., "pregnant" in PJ (מעבֵּרָה), N (מעבֵּרָה) and CG (מעבֵּרָה), O has the Pa.; ׳ָיַי (מעבֵּרָה), Berliner (מעבֵּרָה) and the MT the Qal (׳ָיַי). The same is the case in G 38.25, PJ (מעבֵּרָה), Par (מעבֵּרָה), Bom (מעבֵּרָה), CG, "D" (מעבֵּרָה) "E" (מעבֵּרָה) and N (מעבֵּרָה) with O: ׳ָיַי (Berliner: מעבֵּרָה) and the MT: ׳ָיַי . In G 38.26, Par (מעבֵּרָה), Bom (מעבֵּרָה), CG, "D" (מעבֵּרָה; in parentheses; this may not be in the text) and N (מעבֵּרָה). The phrase is in the addition, and therefore lacking in O and MT.

Such an analysis also overlooks the fact that the Aph. meaning for the Aph. forms is also used by the Pal. tgg: Par, Bom, CG, and N, just as in PJ.¹ It is however not impossible that in good Aram. the Aph. was used for "to cause to pass", but that in spoken Aram. also the Pa. (our second meaning) comes to be used for this basically causative meaning. In Par, Bom, CG, and N both Pa.² and Aph.³ are used in this meaning, as in PJ (in many instances, including in our passage), and in Lips (in our passage). It is quite possible that an

². Levy, op. cit., II, p. 198, Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 1038f.

³. Cf. above, p. 122, fnat. 2.

1. In the following examples all are in the Aph. or Hiph. for the BN. Some of the unpointed Aph. forms could be read as Pa. forms, however in the foregoing discussion we have not mentioned these examples, but have rested the weight of the argument on those above-mentioned examples which are obviously and can be no other than Pa. forms. We thus take all following forms as Aph. Following four verbs are used in the basic causative meaning "to cause to pass": E 33.19, MT, Impf., 1 comm. sing. (אָפּוּר), O (אָפּוּר; Berliner: אָפּוּר; Solg, Lis, Ven 1, Complut: אָפּוּר), PJ and N (אָפּוּר), Bom (אָפּוּר). N 27.7, MT, Perf., 2 masc. sing. (אָפּוּר) with the corresponding Aph. and Impf. in Aram., O (אָפּוּר; Solg, Ven 1: אָפּוּר; IX: אָפּוּר; Ms 282: אָפּוּר, Berliner: אָפּוּר, PJ (אָפּוּר) and N (אָפּוּר). N 27.8, MT Perf., 2 masc. plur. (אָפּוּר) and the Aph. and Impf. in Aram., O (אָפּוּר; Berliner: אָפּוּר) and PJ and N (אָפּוּר). D 18.10, MT, Partic. act., masc. sing. (אָפּוּר), O (אָפּוּר; Berliner: אָפּוּר), PJ (אָפּוּר), N (אָפּוּר), Bom (אָפּוּר). One example uses an extended meaning, "to separate, to devote": L 18.21, MT Infin. (אָפּוּר), O (אָפּוּר; Berliner: אָפּוּר), PJ (אָפּוּר, which could also be a Pa. Infin.) and N (אָפּוּר, which could also be an Ithpa. Infin.). One example extends the meaning to be "to send abroad": L 25.9, MT, Peri., 2 masc. sing., and Impf., 2 masc. plur., (אָפּוּר, אָפּוּר), O (אָפּוּר; Berliner: אָפּוּר;

Aph. meaning, in Aram. spoken by the general public is taken over by the Pa. form, so that both the Aph. and the Pa. forms serve the Aph. meaning. It seems to us that this rings true to a spoken and developing language. This cannot be said for O. O, being a work of literary unity, meant to be an authorized and authoritative tg, used the Aph. only for the Aph. meaning, changing all the Pa. forms, which had Aph. meanings, which he found in the Pal. tgg, to Aph. forms. It is also quite possible that O wishes to conform externally to the BH, which latter only uses the Hiph. for the causative meaning. Next, the Pa. takes as special meaning, "to become pregnant" probably a denom. meaning.¹ This is not unusual, as a matter of fact, it is perfectly normal that a denom. meaning is found in the Pa.² It is quite likely that O does not use this meaning, which would be good, spoken Aram., because the BH does not use a Pi. of this verb for that meaning. O wishes to have an external (and therefore artificial) similarity to the BH, and chooses a different verb for "to become pregnant" from the Pa. of 717. Whether this

and 717; Berliner: 717, which latter is a Pa.!) PJ (717, 717), N (717 2x).

2. Cf. above ftnts. 2 and 3, p. 122.

3. Cf. above, ftnt. 1, p. 125.

1. Cf. above, ftnt. 1, p. 121.

2. Hans Bauer und Pontus Leander, Kurzgefasste Biblisch-Aramäische Grammatik, Mit Texten und Glossar (Halle/Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1929), p. 12.

meaning in the Pa. went from Aram. to PBH, or vice versa (which latter Neumark holds),¹ brings in the whole discussion of relationships between Aram. and PBH, which we shall leave an open one, as far as this work goes. Suffice it to say, once more, in conclusion, that for the causative meaning, "to cause to pass" all our Pal. tgg (including PJ) use both Pa. or Aph. forms, whereas O only uses the Aph. forms. The practice of the Pal. tgg represents spoken Aram., in which the Aph. meaning is carelessly extended also to the Pa. forms. The use of O remains grammatically correct throughout the whole of O and may as well reflect O's attempt at similarity with the BH, which only uses the Hiph. for this causative meaning. Thus we see no need to interpret our example as influence of O upon PJ, rather PJ stands with the Pal. tgg, even here.

The phrase "that were with him" in RSV, "...God remembered...all the beasts and all the cattle that were with him in the ark", is rendered as follows, MT: $\text{וְכָל הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$; O, PJ, Vat: $\text{וְכָל הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$, N: $\text{וְכָל הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$; Par: $\text{וְכָל הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$, Bom: $\text{וְכָל הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$, N mg: $\text{וְכָל הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$; CG: $\text{וְכָל הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$. Obviously this is not a case where O influenced PJ. PJ is exactly the same as the Vat Ms of PT and very close to N, in using ו and עִמּוֹ plus a suffix. The other stream of Pal. tgg used $\text{וְכָל הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$ (Par, Bom) or $\text{וְכָל הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$ (CG) for ו , thus spelling out the verb "to be", rather than assuming

¹ L. Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen etc. (1905), op. cit., p. 35: the Pa. meaning "to become pregnant" is taken as a post-Biblical Hebraism in Aramaic.

it. O follows the former stream of tradition.

In the phrase "God remembered", a superficial conclusion would hold that O influenced PJ. The verb is translated: MT: זָכַר ; O, PJ: זָכַר ; Bom: זָכַר , Par, N: זָכַר . O and PJ use the Perf. Pe'il form, which is really the Partic. pass. of the Pe. of זָכַר ; and Bom, Par, and N use the Perf. of the Ithpe. in which the ז is assimilated by the ז , becoming זָכַר . Both the Pe. and Ithpe. mean "to remember".¹ But a closer scrutiny of the facts forbids such a hypothesis.

Our verb occurs in Aram. in the Pe., Ithpe. and Aph.: Pe--to remember, to remind, to mention; Ithpe--to be remembered, reminded, mentioned, to recollect; Aph--to remind, call to remembrance, to mention.¹ The verb זָכַר occurs in BH and PBH in the Qal, Niph. and Hiph.: BH: Qal--to remember, etc.; Niph.--to be remembered, thought of; and Hiph.--to cause to remember, cause to be remembered, mention;² and PBH: Qal--to remember; Niph.--to recollect; and Hiph.--to cause to remember, to quote.³ In Syr. the Ethpe., Ethpa. and Aph. are often used, and the Pe. only sporadically, while also the Ettaph. seems to occur.⁴ In CP Aram. only the Ithpe. is listed as used.⁵ In Aram., the Pe. Partic. pass. is often used with the auxiliary verb זָכַר or with accompanying personal pronoun (sometimes attached to it), but also as

1. Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 175; Jastrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 307f; Dalman, *A.-N. Handwörterbuch*, *op. cit.*, p. 98 and Charles-F. Jean, *Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de L'Ouest*. Deux Livraisons (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), p. 70.

2. Koehler und Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, pp. 255ff.

a Pe'il conjugation occurring in the Perf. or Impf. with verbal endings.¹ The Pent. tgg do use the Partic. pass. (Pe), but no use is found in them of forms of a Pe'il theme.²

We then study the occurrences of the Pe. Partic. pass. and the Ithpe. Perf., as in our verse. We note that the Ithpe. is used by all the Pent. tgg: O³, PJ⁴, Par⁵, Bom⁶,

3. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 128.

4. Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., p. 92, and Thesaurus etc., op. cit., cols 897f, and Carolo Brockelmann, Lexicon Syriacum. Editio Secunda Aucta et Emendata (Halis Saxonum: Sumptibus Max Niemeyer, 1928), p. 154.

5. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 46; our word is not listed in Schwally, op. cit.

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 175 alone lists this as a separate theme--to be remembered, borne in mind; Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 307f. lists this as a Partic. pass. and a noun; Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 98, as a noun, which can take verbal endings.

2. Such forms of a Pe'il theme are found in non-Pent. tgg, cf. Levy, op. cit., and Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit. We note the following: Lam. 1.9, Perf. 3 fem. sing.: זָכַרְתָּ--she remembered; and Ps. 109.14, Impf., 3 masc. sing.: זָכַרְתָּ--it is remembered. Cf. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par. 59-6, p. 253.

3. G 40.14, Ix: זָכַרְתָּ (first occurrence of MT), Impf. 2 masc. sing., c. suff. 1 comm. sing. G 40.23, Sper: זָכַרְתָּ, Ber: זָכַרְתָּ, Perf. 3 masc. sing. G 42.9, Sper: זָכַרְתָּ, Ber: זָכַרְתָּ, Perf. 3 masc. sing. E 32.13, Sper: זָכַרְתָּ, (although Ber (זָכַרְתָּ) and Walt (זָכַרְתָּ) give a Pe. pointing, which must be wrong here, and 7 (זָכַרְתָּ) points this as an Ithpa.) Imper., masc. sing. D 7.18, Sper: זָכַרְתָּ, Ber: זָכַרְתָּ, Infin. and Impf. 2 masc. sing. D 9.7, Lis, Complut: זָכַרְתָּ, Reg: זָכַרְתָּ, Imper., masc. sing. D 9.27, Sper: זָכַרְתָּ, with Ber pointing it as an Ithpa.: זָכַרְתָּ (Reg: זָכַרְתָּ), Imper., masc. sing. D 16.12, Freib: זָכַרְתָּ, Impf., 2 mas. sing. Cf. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 175. D 32.7 Sper: זָכַרְתָּ 1467 points an Ithpa: זָכַרְתָּ and Ber both: זָכַרְתָּ or זָכַרְתָּ.

CG¹, and N². The Partic. pass. is also used in nearly all the Pent. tgg: O³, PJ⁴, Par⁵, and N⁶. It is therefore not

4. G 40.23: אִידָּכֹר, Perf., 3 masc. sing. D 32.7: אִידָּכְרוּ, Imper. masc. plur.

5. G 8.1: וָאִדָּכֹר, Perf., 3 masc. sing. G 30.22: וָאִדָּכֹר, Perf., 3 masc. sing.

6. G 8.1: וָאִידָּכֹר, Perf., 3 masc. sing. G 30.22: וָאִידָּכֹר, Perf., 3 masc. sing. (this pointing is that of a Pe. Impf. 1 comm. sing, which the meaning excludes here. For the Ithpe. a doubling dot should be in the ד instead of in the כ). G 40.23: אִידָּכֹר, Perf. 3 masc. sing. (again, Pe. pointing!). N 11.5: מְדַכְּרִין אֲנַחְנָא, Part. act., masc. plur., absol. st. (the pointing is definitely Aph., but the meaning is a simple one, "we remember"). D 32.7: אִידָּכְרוּ, Imper., masc. plur. (again, the Pe. pointing is wrong, for there is no plur. form with preform. א in the Pe.); the Vat Ms also reads: אִידָּכֹר.

1. G 30.22: וָאִדָּכֹר (Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., also lists this as in Ithpe. and translates, "se souvenir"), Perf. 3 masc. sing.

2. G 8.1: וָאִדָּכֹר, Perf. 3 masc. sing. G 9.16: לְמִדְּכֹרָה, Infin. G 19.29: וָאִדָּכֹר, Perf. 3 masc. sing. G 30.22: וָאִדָּכֹר, Perf. 3 masc. sing. G 40.14 (first occurrence): אִדָּכֹר, Perf. 2 masc. sing. E 2.24: וָאִדָּכֹר, Perf. 3 masc. sing. E 6.5: וָאִדָּכֹרִית, Perf. 1 comm. sing. E 32.13: אִדָּכֹר, Imper., masc. sing. N 11.5: מְדַכְּרִין אֲנַחְנָא, Partic. act., masc. plur., absol. st. N 15.39: וְתַחֲכֹרוּן, Impf., 2 masc. plur. D 9.7: אִדָּכְרוּ, Imper., masc. plur. D 9.27: וָאִדָּכֹר, Imper., masc. sing. D 15.15: וְתַחֲכֹרוּן, Impf., 2 masc. plur. D 32.7: אִדָּכְרוּ, Imper., masc. plur.

3. G 8.1, Sper: וְדָכִיר, Ber: וְדָכִיר, with a proper noun as subject. G 9.15, Sper: וְדָכִירָא, Ber: וְדָכִירָא, c. suff. 1 comm. sing. G 19.29, Sper: וְדָכִיר, Ber: וְדָכִיר, with a proper noun as subject. G 42.9, IX, Complut: וְדָכִיר with a proper noun as subject. E 2.24, Sper: וְדָכִיר, Ber: וְדָכִיר, with a proper noun as subject. E 6.5, Sper: וְדָכִירָא, Ber: וְדָכִירָא, c. suff. 1 comm. sing. E 13.3, Sper: הָיוּ דָּכִירִין,

Ber: הָיוּ דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. E 20.8, Sper: הָוִי דָּכִיר, Ber: הָוִי דָּכִיר, as Imper. sing. E 32.13, Complut: הָוִי

necessary to conclude that the Pe. Partic. pass. in PJ is borrowed from O, in the verse under discussion.¹ This grammatical use occurs also in Par. and N.²

דָּכִיר, Reg: הָוִי דָּכִיר, as Imper. sing. L 26.42(1), Sper: וְדָכִירָנָא, Ber: וְדָכִירָנָא, c. suff. 1 comm. sing. L 26.42(2 and 3), Sper: אֲנָא דָּכִיר (2x), Ber: אֲנָא דָּכִיר (2x), c. suff. 1 comm. sing. L 26.45, Sper: וְדָכִירָנָא, Ber: וְדָכִירָנָא, c. suff. 1 comm. sing. N 11.5, Sper: דְּכִירִין אֲנָחְנָא, Ber: דְּכִירִין אֲנָחְנָא, c. suff. 1 comm. plur. D 9.7, Sper: הָוִי דָּכִיר, Ber: הָוִי דָּכִיר, as Imper. sing. D 24.2, Sper: הָוִי דָּכִיר, Ber: הָוִי דָּכִיר, as Imper. sing. D 25.17, Sper: הָוִי דָּכִיר, Ber: הָוִי דָּכִיר, as Imper. sing.

4. G 8.1: וְדָכִיר, with a proper noun as subject. G 9.15: וְדָכִירָנָא, c. suff. 1 comm. sing. G 19.29: וְדָכִיר, with a proper noun as subject. G 42.9: וְדָכִיר, with a proper noun as subject. E 2.24: וְדָכִיר, with a proper noun as subject. E 6.5: וְדָכִירָנָא, c. suff. 1 comm. sing. E 13.3: הָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. E 32.13: הָוִי דָּכִיר, as Imper. sing. L 26.45: וְדָכִירָנָא, c. suff. 1 comm. sing. N 11.5: דְּכִירִין אֲנָחְנָא, c. suff. 1 comm. plur. D 5.15: הָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. D 7.18: הָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. D 8.2: הָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. D 8.18: הָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. D 9.7: הָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. D 9.27: הָוִי דָּכִיר, as Imper. masc. sing. D 15.15: וְהָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper., masc. plur. D 16.12: וְהָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. D 24.9: וְהָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. D 24.18: וְהָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. D 24.22: וְהָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. D 25.17: הָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur.

5. E 20.8: הָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur.

6. E 13.3: הָוִי דָּכִירִין, as Imper. masc. plur. So also E 20.8, D 24.9 and 25.7.

1. It is observed however that the instances of דָּכִיר in Par and N all involve a use of the Pe. Partic. pass. with the accompanying verb הוּוּ (see p. 130, ftnts. 5 and 6). In O and PJ we find the Pe. Partic. pass. with הוּוּ (in O: E 13.3; 20.8; 32.13; D 9.7; 24.9; 25.7; in PJ: E 13.3; 32.13; D 5.15; 7.18; 8.2, 18; 9.7, 27; 15.15; 16.12; 24.9, 18, 22; 25.14; cf. p. 130, ftnts. 3 and 4); the Pe. Partic. pass. with a personal pronoun (in O: G 9.15; E 6.5; L 26.42,

45; N 11.5; in PJ: G 9.15; E 6.5; L 26.45; N 11.5; cf. p. 130 ftnts. 3 and 4); and the Pe. Partic. pass with a proper noun as subject, which could be taken as a Pe'il Perf. 3 masc. sing. (cf. ftnt. 2 on p. 129) (in O: G 8.1; 19.29; 42.9; E 2.24; in PJ: G 8.1; 19.29; 42.9; E 2.24; cf. p. 130 ftnts. 3 and 4). Again, it will have been noticed that the use of the Pe. Partic. pass in O and PJ is more frequent than in the other tgg. In the light of the foregoing and following main evidence however, we think that these uses in PJ and O, not occurring in the other tgg, are not decisive evidence for influence of O on PJ. It is not impossible however that O copied these uses from PJ.

2. We mention one other category for the sake of completeness. All our tgg have examples in which the consonantal forms could be either Pe. or Ithpe. Not even the pointing in O can be a reliable aid. The distinguishing feature is a doubling dot in the first radical: Ithpe.: the תד are assimilated into a ד , or the doubling dot in the second radical: Pe. Usually where Sper has the Pe. theme, Ber has the Ithpe. Examples of the Pe. or Ithpe. forms, with Pe. pointing in Sper are: in O: G 9.15, Ix: ואדכר , Impf. 1 comm. sing. G 40.13, Sper: יִדְּכֹרְנִי , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: יִדְּכֹרְנִי , Pe. pointing. Brederek, *op. cit.*, p. 30 lists O as a Pe. G 40.14(1), Sper: תִּדְּכֹרְנִי , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: תִּדְּכֹרְנִי , Pe. pointing; Impf. 2 masc. sing., c. suff. 1 comm. sing; G 40.14(2), Sper: וְתִדְּכֹר , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: וְתִדְּכֹר , Pe. pointing; 84: וְתִדְּכֹר , Aph. Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 175, lists this as וְתִדְּכֹר , hence as a Pe. The form can also be an Aph., as the vowels of 84, equaling MT, Hiph.: "that you will cause to remember me to Pharaoh. N 15.39, Sper: וְתִדְּכֹרְנִי , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: וְתִדְּכֹרְנִי , Ithpe. pointing; Impf. 2 masc. plur., N 15.40, Sper: וְתִדְּכֹרְנִי , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: וְתִדְּכֹרְנִי , Ithpe. pointing; Impf. 2 masc. plur. D 5.15, Sper: וְתִדְּכֹר , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: וְתִדְּכֹר , Ithpe. pointing; Impf. 2 masc. sing. D 8.2, Sper: וְתִדְּכֹר , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: וְתִדְּכֹר , Ithpe. pointing; Impf. 2 masc. sing. D 8.18, Sper: וְתִדְּכֹר , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: וְתִדְּכֹר , Ithpe. pointing; Impf. 2 masc. sing. D 15.15, Sper: וְתִדְּכֹר , Ber: וְתִדְּכֹר , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Impf. 2 masc. sing. Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 175 lists the Sab (i.e. Ber) form as pointed וְתִדְּכֹר , correctly identifying it as an Ithpe., and the form in the *Ausgaben* as pointed וְתִדְּכֹר , correctly listing it as a Pe. D 16.3, Sper: וְתִדְּכֹר , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: וְתִדְּכֹר , Ithpe. pointing; Impf. 2 masc. sing. D 16.12, Sper: וְתִדְּכֹר , Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: וְתִדְּכֹר , Ithpe. pointing;

When we look at the number of times of agreement or disagreement between O and PJ, as to the use of the Ithpe., Pe. Partic. pass, or a substituted Pe. or Aph., we find that of 34 examples, O and PJ use the same theme 19 times, and a different one 15 times. This is the conservative number, not counting differences of number in the verb form, which latter would give 14 times the same and 20 times different.¹ Side by side we compare the same for O and N. The conservative number is that of 31 examples, 18 times are N and O the

Impf. 2 masc. sing. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 175 lists O as an Ithpe. D 24.13, Sper: וְהוֹדַר, Pe. or Ithpe pointing; Ber: וְהוֹדַר, Ithpe. pointing; Impf. 2 masc. sing. Levy, Ibid.; Ithpe. D 24.22, Sper: וְהוֹדַר, Pe. or Ithpe. pointing; Ber: וְהוֹדַר, Ithpe. pointing; Impf. 2 masc. sing. Levy, Ibid.; Ithpe.

In PJ: G 40.14 (1 and 2): תְּדַכְּרֵנִי... תְּדַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 2 masc. sing., c. suff. 1 comm. sing; the second form is perhaps an Aph., cf. discussion at O. L 26.42(1): וְאֵי דַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 1 comm. sing. N 15.39: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur. N 15.40: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur. D 16.3: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur.

In Par: L 26.42(1): וְאֵי דַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 1 comm. sing. L 26.42(2 and 3): אֵי דַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 1 comm. sing.

In Com: L 26.42(1): וְאֵי דַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 1 comm. sing.; the pointing is Pe. L 26.42(2 and 3): אֵי דַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 1 comm. sing.

In CG: G 9.15: וְאֵי דַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 1 comm. sing. G 9.16: וְאֵי דַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 1 comm. sing.

In N: G 9.15: וְאֵי דַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 1 comm. sing. G 9.16: (N margin): וְאֵי דַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 1 comm. sing. G 40.14(2): וְהוֹדַר, Impf. 2 masc. sing.; this can also be an Aph., cf. discussion at O. L 26.45: וְאֵי דַכְּרֵנִי, Impf. 1 comm. sing. N 15.40: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur. D 5.15: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur. D 7.18: מְדַכְּרֵנִי תְּדַכְּרוּן, Infin. and Impf. 2 masc. plur. D 8.2: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur. D 8.18: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur. D 16.3: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur. D 16.12: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur. D 24.18: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur. D 24.22: וְתִזְכְּרוּן, Impf. 2 masc. plur.

same, and 13 times different. If differences in the verb number are counted, the figures are 7 times the same and 24 times different.¹ (For completeness we also list the hitherto not given Pe. or noun forms).² On the use of this verb, O and PJ are different from each other as often as the same, which is also true for O and N.

The result of this analysis shows that it is wrong to assume that O influenced PJ because they are the same in our verse, whereas Bom, Par, and N have another tradition. Because of this study of the use of the different themes of this verb by all the Pent. tgg throughout the Pent., we can say also for our verse, that PJ represents a Pal. Pent. tg tradition,

1. O and PJ are the same in: G 8.1; 9.15; 19.29; 30.22; 40.14(2x), 23; E 2.24; 6.5; 13.3*; 20.8*; L 26.45; N 11.5; 15.39, 40; D 9.7; 24.9*; 25.17*; 32.7* (the starred examples have a difference of number of the verb). O and PJ are different in G 9.16; 40.13; 42.9; E 32.13; L 26.42 (1 and 2); D 5.15; 7.18; 8.2, 18; 9.27; 15.15; 16.12; 24.18, 22.

1. O and N are the same in: G 40.14(2nd), 23; 42.9; E 13.3*; 20.8; 32.13* N 15.40; D 5.15*; 8.2*, 18*; 9.27; 15.15*; 16.12*; 24.9*, 18*, 22*; 25.17*; 32.7*. (the starred examples have a difference of number of the verb). O and N are different in: G 8.1; 9.15, 16; 19.29; 30.22; 40.14(1st); E 2.24; 6.5; L 26.45; N 11.5; 15.39; D 7.18; 9.7.

2. The following are Pe. forms (excluding Pe. Partic. pass. forms dealt with above) in one or more tgg, where the Pe. Partic. pass. or Ithpe. are used in one or more of the other tgg. Pe. in O in: G 9.16, Ven 1, Ven 2, Ix: למדוך, Infin. G 40.23, Ix, Complut: דוכר, Pe. Perf. 3 masc. sing. G 42.9, Ven 1, Ven 2, Solg: ודוך, Pe. Perf. 3 masc. sing. D 7.18, Reg, salt: מְדַכֵּר מְדַכֵּר, Infin. and Impf. 2 masc. sing. Pe. in PJ: G 9.16: למדוך, Infin. L 26.42 (2nd and 3rd): אדכור (2x), Impf. 1 comm. sing. Nouns occur in O: G 9.16, Spher: לְדוּכְרָן, Ber: לְדוּכְרָן. G 30.22, Spher: דְּכֹרְנָה, Ber: דוּכְרָנָה. Nouns occur in PJ: G 30.22: דוּכְרָנָה. G 40.13: דוּכְרָנָה.

as much as Bom, Par, and N. O could however have borrowed from PJ, rather than from the other tgg here.

There is also one rendering in CG which is more "wordy" than the corresponding translations of the other tgg. "In" in "in the ark" is in CG: **בְּתוֹכָהּ**, for MF: **בְּ**, and O, PJ, Vat and N: **בְּ**, which makes CG read: "inside the ark". This word in general is used in O as well as in the Pal. Pent. tgg; and also in CP Aram.¹ The Pal. Pent. tg tradition is extant in forms differing from each other.

The considerable omissions in Bom and Par, again show us the uncodified character of the Pal. Pent. tgg, existing in different streams. In RSV: "God remembered Noah and all the beasts and all the cattle that were with him in the ark", the word "God" and the phrase "Noah and all the beasts and all the cattle" are omitted in Par and Bom (though the latter phrase is included in the Vat however). The words "that were with him" then refer in Par and Bom, to the addition "in his good mercies" (cf. additions) which follows "He remembered". Bom and Lips transposed the object "Noah" to after "that were with him" (but it is left out altogether in Par). Bom then reads: "And he remembered, in his good mercies which were with him, Noah". The Vat appears to have the phrase, "that were with him" twice: once, **דָּאֵת עִימָהּ**, applying to mercies, and the second time: **דְּעִימָהּ** in reference to Noah: "And he

¹ I. Erederek, op. cit., p. 143; Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., pp. 341. Cf. also Jastrow, op. cit., p. 216 and Levy, op. cit., I, p. 128.

remembered in his good mercies that were with him, Noah and all the beasts and all the cattle that were with him in the the ark".¹ "In the ark" is omitted in Par and Bom, included however in Vat. In the phrase, RSV: "And God made a wind blow over the earth", the phrase: "over the earth" is omitted in Par and Bom. Par also omits the phrase, "And God made blow". Par does however insert the Hebr. רוח על הארץ between דאית עימיה and רוחא. Again, Par and Bom omit the final phrase, RSV: "and the waters subsided", though it is included in 'ע and 'ל. Par is surely the shortest text in this verse: "And God remembered in his good mercies, which were with him. (Hebr.: a wind upon the earth) A wind of mercies". It becomes clear that the individual tgg in circulation were vastly different one from another at certain points, pointing to the basically oral, independent and uncodified character of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition.

The MT of G 9.20, we translate as follows: "And Noah, the tiller of the ground, for the first time planted (or: was the first to plant) a vineyard (literally: began and planted ...)". There is in this verse no evidence supporting the

1. So M. C. Doubles, *op. cit.*, under "Fuller Readings".

2. The MT reads: וַיִּחַל לִתְּ אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה וַיִּשְׁע כָּרֶם. We follow the translation of Procksch (KAT, I), *op. cit.*, p. 71: "Noach, der Ackermann, aber pflanzte zum ersten Male einen Weinberg". As Procksch points out, אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה is not a predicate of וַיִּחַל, which would have required אֲדָמָה without an article, but rather in apposition to "Noah". Procksch takes the verb וַיִּחַל as adverbial, translating, 'er "zuerst" pflanzte einen Weinberg' (*Ibid.*, p. 72), referring to such adverbial uses of this verb in G 4.26; 6.1; 10.8; 11.6. But in these

theme that PJ borrowed from O, though parts in PJ resemble O, but in these the same forms are used in the other Pal. tgg.

We concentrate first on the part of the verse, hence MT: **וַיַּחַל נֹחַ אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה**. O gives a nearly literal rendering of this, with the exception that "man" is in the absol. st. and that **אִישׁ הָאֲדָמָה** is rendered **גִּבֹּר פֹּלַח בְּאֲרָעָה** (PJ, CG, and N-mg also have added this verb): "Noah began a man tilling the soil". O then finishes the verse again quite literally, so that the whole is a good translation of the MT. O reads: "Noah, a man tilling the soil, began and planted the vineyard".

examples, the second verb is an infin. In our verse, we have both verbs in the Impf., both with the waw-consec. We would take this as a coordination of the two verbs, such as referred to in Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, op. cit., par. 120d, p. 386: "...the second verb co-ordinated in a form exactly corresponding to the first ... by means of a ׀ (׀, ׀). As a rule ... the principal idea is introduced only by the second verb, while the first ... contains the definition of the manner of the action". An example is G 26.18: "and he returned and digged" i.e. "he digged again". Other examples given here of the Impf. are II Kings 1.11, 13. Our translation also agrees with von Rad (ATD), op. cit., p. 111: "Noah aber, der Landmann, war der erste, der Weinreben pflanzte". We are however in disagreement with Gunkel, op. cit., pp. 71f, who feels that the introduction of the subject here, "Noah, the tiller of the soil" refers to a J tradition, which beforehand told in detail about this man Noah. To refer to him then as "Noah, the tiller of the soil" is thought to mean that he was the first tiller of the soil, and so the verb **וַיַּחַל** is made to apply to both: the first tiller of the ground, and the first planter of a vineyard. This tradition is thus independent from the other in which Adam and Cain were the first tillers of the ground. He translates, "Noah, der Ackermann, begann auch Weinberge zu pflanzen". (underlining mine) But this hypothesis of another independent source behind the MT is not necessary on the basis of this verse. The **אֲדָמָה** passages, all from J, can just as well be one source. The introduction of this verse, "Noah, the tiller of the soil" gives the continuity with the foregoing: there were also other "tillers of the soil" e.g. Adam and Cain. Then the verse continues and gives the new item in the history: Noah was the first to plant

The first two words, "And Noah began" occur in all tgg: O, PJ, Par, Bom, CG and N.

In Bom, CG, and N mg, the adjective "righteous" in the emph. st. is added to "man" in emphat. st.: "the righteous man". Par and N have the same addition, but there "man" is in the absol. st., as in O and PJ, where the addition is not made. The reading in N and Par: noun in absol. st. and adj. in emph. st. is an impossible one and therefore surely an error, as the marginal correction of N, into the emph. st., shows. It is possible that the addition "the righteous man" originally stood only in the CG and Bom tradition, while the others simply read "a man, tilling the soil" i.e. a husbandman, as O and PJ. Then the adj. "righteous" in the emph. st. was added in N and Par, and the noun in the absol. st. was not changed. This would be a simple rendering of the meaning of the Hebrew in the Pal. tgg: "Noah a husbandman". It is quite possible that O, which deviates here from the literal MT in rendering the definite האדם by an indefinite or absol. גבר, deviates because it is influenced by the simple rendering

a vineyard. The verse, therefore need not be different source from J, it easily fits into J, giving continuity with the foregoing in J, and then introducing the new item of the vineyard of grapes. Again, we are in disagreement with Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, op. cit., par. 120b, p. 385, which alters the text of our verse, omitting the article before אדם, and making the substantive phrase the predicate of the verb: "and Noah began to be an husbandman". Such change of the text is unnecessary. We also disagree with the English Revised Version (The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated out of the Original Tongues: Being the Version Set forth A.D. 1611, Compared with the Most Ancient Authorities and Revised (Oxford: At the University Press, 1898)), and with the

of the Pal. tgg, of which PJ is a part.

Following the adj., CG and N mg add the infin. "to be" to the partic. "tilling" of O, PJ, CG, and N mg. (N only has the infin. of the main verb: "to till"). The whole reads as follows: "And Noah, the righteous man, began to be tilling (so CG and N mg; N: began to till) the soil".

Par adds the infin. "to be", but has nothing more of the verse: "And Noah, the righteous man, began to be...", which can be nothing else than a breaking off of material which used to be here. Bom does the same, but does however add the last two words of the verse and reads: "Noah, the righteous man, began to be ... and he planted the vineyard". This also must be due to a loss of material. Where we have put the "...", Etheridge corrects this by transposing "to be" and "a righteous man" and thus reads, "And Noah began to be a righteous man, and he planted a vineyard".¹ This correction must be rejected in favor of a loss of material here.

PJ has not added "righteous" but reads, and in this it equals O: "a man tilling the ground". PJ has added however the infin. "to be", putting it before "a man", whereas it follows "the righteous man" in Par, Bom, CG and N mg. PJ reads: "And Noah began to be a man tilling the soil". The important fact remains however that PJ and the other Pal. tgg have this addition, hence PJ is in the Pal. tg tradition.

~~PSV~~, which latter reads: "Noah was the first tiller of the soil. He planted a vineyard".

1. Etheridge, op. cit., I, p. 185.

At first sight one might think that whereas in "to be" PJ has "borrowed" from the Pal. tgg, in "a man tilling the soil" PJ has borrowed from O. But the thought of PJ in this part of the verse is too much related with the other Pal. tgg, to warrant such a view. In CG and N, and no doubt also in Par and Bom before the loss of material there, the meaning is unquestionably the same: "Noah began to be a husbandman", or more exactly, "Noah was the first to be a husbandman". We are now back at the view which Gunkel held for the MT here, and which we rejected for the MT.¹ This view was that Noah was the first husbandman, so that this part of J tradition was to be separated from the J tradition which has Adam and Cain as husbandmen long before Noah. On the basis of the grammar of the MT we rejected that view there, for the MT. But there can be no doubt about the Aram. in the Pal. tgg: Noah was the first husbandman.² It is possible that here in the Pal. Pent. tgg we have, in translation, this J tradition unassimilated to that which has Adam and Cain as earlier husbandmen and that this material is assimilated in the later MT. It is extremely important that PJ without any doubt shares this tradition, because of its inclusion of the addition of "to be" as also in most other Pal. tgg. This Pal. Pent. tg tradition is

1. Cf. above, p. 136, ftnt. 2.

2. One could conceivably take the Pal. tgg to read that Noah after the flood began to be a husbandman, and before the flood did something else. But this seems to us to be a too fine distinction to read into the text. The more obvious meaning is that Noah was the first to be a husbandman.

different from the MT, and it is with the latter that O¹ stands. In O and MT both, Noah is the first to plant a vineyard; in the Pal. tgg, including PJ, Noah is the first husbandman. Because of PJ being the same as the other Pal. tgg in interpretation, and different from O, we reject any view that PJ borrowed from O here, but hold PJ as a stream of Pal. Pent. tg tradition.

The last two words of the verse, "he planted a vineyard" are embedded in a long addition in PJ. Leaving this addition to be discussed at the proper place, we note that PJ and CG add after the verb the suff. 3 masc. sing., PJ attached to the verb and CG as suffix of the preposition ל:² "he planted himself the vineyard",³ PJ and CG having a common rendering. Again, PJ and Nmg use the preposition ל attached to and preceding "vineyard";⁴ PJ and Nmg have a rendering in

1. We reject Etheridge's translation, op. cit., I, p. 53, for O: "And Noah began to be a man working on the earth", and would translate O: "And Noah, a man tilling the soil, began and planted (or: was the first one to plant) the vineyard".

2. Cf. D 17.21, RSV: "You shall not plant any tree as an Asherah", O: לא תצונן לכונן, N: לא תיצב לך אשירה כל אילן, אשרה כל אילן.

3. Following the order as in Pal. Kil. IX.3: יהב לה לי: "he gave it to me" and חמי לה לי: "show her to me", as quoted in Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 87.

4. For ל as object particle with this verb, cf. Ps. 44.2, ונצונתיו לביית ישראל, "du setztest das Haus Israel ein", as listed in Levy, op. cit., II, p. 124. But as this very example has a suffix and ל plus noun for the object: "you planted them the house of Israel" so our verse in PJ, and also CG could be rendered: "he planted it the vineyard", i.e.: "he planted the vineyard", with a double reference to the object.

common.¹ These renderings prove PJ to stand with the Pal. Pent. tgg. Furthermore, "vineyard" is in the emph. st. in O, PJ, Bom and in the absol. st. in CG and N. The MT is indefinite. It is not sufficient to explain this by saying that PJ copied O here, because that leaves us to explain why O has the emph. and the MT the indefinite form, as well as why Par has the emph. st. It is more likely to think that one stream of Pal. tradition had the absol. st. (CG and N), that another, for a reason not known had the emph. st. (PJ and Par) and that O has copied from the latter stream.

The verses of G 43.14; 44.15, 18-19 deal with the stories of Joseph.

In G 43.14, there are two seeming similarities between O and PJ, which at closer scrutiny do not warrant the hypothesis that O influenced PJ; there are important occurrences where PJ stands fully with the other Pal. Pent. tgg; there are unique renderings in N as well as in PJ; and there is one omission in N.

In RSV, "may Almighty God grant you mercy before the man", "man" is pointed in O as גִּבְרָא (Ber: גִּבְרָא; mss 2228-2230 and 84: גִּבְרָא). PJ has the same consonants גִּבְרָא. CG has גִּבְרָא. N omits this noun, and Par and Bom omit the whole first half of this verse. Here O and PJ are the same. But this needs to be no more than coincidence, because of the fol-

1. We translate PJ: "And he planted himself the vineyard", and reject the translation of Etheridge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 185: "and he planted it in a vineyard".

lowing. O only uses the גּוּרָא consonantal form.¹ We have not found that O uses the גּוּבְרָא consonantal form. O points this form, sometimes as גּוּבְרָא¹ and sometimes as גּוּבְרָא.² Both consonantal forms גּוּבְרָא³ and גּוּבְרָא³ however, are used by the Pal. Pent. tgg: FT,⁴ CG⁵ and N.⁶ Most important is that PJ

1. Brederick, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 (Aram.: גּוּבְרָא), 20 (Hebr.: גּוּבְרָא), 3 (Hebr.: אִישׁ), 17 (Hebr.: בַּעַל), 67 (Hebr.: מִתּ). Cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 208f, 217; Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 124; Dalman, *A.-N. Handwörterbuch*, *op. cit.*, p. 70. O uses the 'גּוּבְ' form in: G 24.61, Ber: גּוּבְרָא; G 49.5, Sper: גּוּבְרָא, Ber: גּוּבְרָא; E 21.18, Ber: גּוּבְרָא, (Sper: גּוּבְרָא); E 21.22, Ber: גּוּבְרָא; E 22.6, Sper: גּוּבְרָא, Ber: גּוּבְרָא; N 22.9, ms 1467: גּוּבְרָא, Ber: גּוּבְרָא; D 1.13, ms 1467: גּוּבְרָא, Ber: גּוּבְרָא; D 1.17, Sper: גּוּבְרָא, Ber: גּוּבְרָא. Only occasionally does one ms of O use 'גּוּב': IX at E 12.37: גּוּבְרָא. Here the other mss read: Sper: גּוּבְרָא, Ber: גּוּבְרָא. The word is omitted in Solg (*secunda manus*), Lis, Complut and Ven 1; and 84 at G 44.17: גּוּבְרָא, where Sper text is גּוּבְרָא and Ber text גּוּבְרָא. These are surely very isolated instances in only one ms, so that the general rule would be that O does not use the 'גּוּב' form.

2. G 24.61, Sper: גּוּבְרָא; G 49.5, mss 2228-2230, Complut: גּוּבְרָא; E 21.18, Sper: גּוּבְרָא, (Ber: גּוּבְרָא); E 21.22, Sper: גּוּבְרָא; E 22.6, mss 2228-2230 and 84: גּוּבְרָא; N 22.9, Sper: גּוּבְרָא; D 1.13, Sper: גּוּבְרָא.

3. Besides Jastrow, Levy and Dalman, as above, cf. also Wensinck, *...Lexicon*, *op. cit.*, and Kuiper, *op. cit.*, p. 33. The form 'גּוּב' is not found in CP Aram., Syr. or PEH. Cf. Schulthess, *Lexicon etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 33; *...Herologion ...by Black*, *op. cit.*, Schwally, *op. cit.*; and Payne Smith, *...Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

4. FT has 'גּוּב' in: G 9.20, Bom: גּוּבְרָא; G 29.22, Bom: גּוּבְרָא; G 49.5, Levitas: גּוּבְרָא. FT has 'גּוּבְ' in: G 29.22, Par: גּוּבְרָא; G 24.60, Par: גּוּבְרָא.

5. CG has 'גּוּב' in: G 9.20: גּוּבְרָא; G 32.29: גּוּבְרָא.

also uses both גברא¹ and גורבא.² PJ thus stands within the tradition of the Pal. Pent. tgg, and not with O, in the use of these two consonantal forms. About the present verse: O uses גברא, the only form it ever uses, pointing it in our verse גִּבְרָא in some and גִּבְרָא in other mss; CG uses גורבא; now it is an even chance whether PJ is to use the גִּבְרָא or the גורבָא consonantal form, because both are used by PJ throughout the Pent., as also by the other Pal. Pent. tgg. Therefore, the fact that the former is used, can never be taken as "proof" that O influenced PJ, but must be understood as a coincidence. This coincidence does not only occur for PJ, but also for the other Pal. tgg. We name only E 21.18, where PJ has גורברין and N and O: גורברין.³ In the general use of this word, PJ stands with the Pal. Pent. tgg, and not with O.

In RSV, "that he may send back your other brother and Benjamin", for "to send" O and PJ use פטר, MT (Pl.), CG and N use שלח. It would appear that O and PJ form one tradition, using פטר and that CG and N are another tradition, which uses

CG has גִּבְרָא in: G 29.22: גבורה; E 21.22: גִּבְרָא.

E 22.6 lacks the ו but is pointed with the u vowel: גִּבְרָא.

6. N has גִּבְרָא in: G 9.20mg: גבורה; G 24.60: גברא;
G 24.61: גברא; G 29.22: גבורה; E 21.18: גורברין; E 21.22:
גורברין; E 22.6: גברא. N has גִּבְרָא in G 32.29: גִּבְרָא;
D 1.13: גורברין.

1. PJ uses גִּבְרָא in: G 24.61: גברא; E 21.22: גורברין.

2. PJ uses גִּבְרָא in: G 32.29: גורבריא; E 21.18:
גורברין; D 1.13: גורברין; D 26.18: גִּבְרָא, the last as listed in Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 124 for PJ. The example does not occur in Ginsb. ed.

שלח. A survey of the use of these and equivalent verbs by the tgg gives us different evidence.

In O, both verbs are used, שלח¹ and פטר,² in the main for the Hebr. שלח. Both verbs also occur in PJ. In a few instances both O and PJ use the Aram. שלח, either for the MT שלח³ or where the MT has פשט.⁴ In these eight examples also the other tgg have שלח, with a few exceptions.⁵ In addition to these small number of examples, PJ only uses שלח in a few additions.⁶ O however uses שלח abundantly.⁷ Of these examples where O uses שלח,⁸ the PT, OG, and N nearly always, like O,

³ Cf. below, p. 191.

1. Brederek, op. cit., p. 188, Aram.: שלח.

2. Ibid., p. 175, Aram.: פטר.

3. G 32.18, Sper: דַּמְשִׁלְחָא, PJ: דַּמְשִׁלְחָא; E 4.28, Sper: דַּשְׁלַחִיָּה, PJ: דַּשְׁלַחִיָּה; E 22.4, Sper: וַיִּשְׁלַח, PJ: וַיִּשְׁלַח; N 5.3 (1), Sper: תַּשְׁלַחֲוֹן, PJ: תַּשְׁלַחֲוֹן.

4. L 1.6, Sper: וַיִּשְׁלַח, PJ: וַיִּשְׁלַח; L 6.4, Sper: וַיִּשְׁלַח, PJ: וַיִּשְׁלַח; N 20.26, Sper: וַאֲשַׁלַּח, PJ: וַאֲשַׁלַּח; N 20.28, Sper: וַאֲשַׁלַּח, PJ: וַאֲשַׁלַּח.

5. In L 1.6, ל: וַיִּחְלִישׁ, Bom: וַיִּחְלִישׁ, the Aph. of חלש. Of our examples it also occurs in Nmg of L 6.4: וַיִּחְלִישׁ, and in Bom of N 20.26: וַתִּחְלִישׁ.

6. G 3.14: מַשְׁלַח; G 3.21: דַּאֲשַׁלַּח.

7. Brederek, op. cit., p. 122, Hebr.: שלח.

8. O (Sper) uses שלח in the following instances: G 3.23: וַיִּשְׁלַחֲהִיָּה; G 8.7: וַיִּשְׁלַח; G 8.8: וַיִּשְׁלַח; G 19.13: וַיִּשְׁלַחֲהִיָּה; G 20.2: וַיִּשְׁלַח; G 24.7: וַיִּשְׁלַח; G 24.40: וַיִּשְׁלַח; G 28.6: וַיִּשְׁלַח; G 31.4: וַיִּשְׁלַח; G 32.27(26): וַיִּשְׁלַחֲהִיָּה; G 37.14: וַיִּשְׁלַחֲהִיָּה; G 37.32: וַיִּשְׁלַחֲהִיָּה; G 38.17(1): 9400, Solg (secunda manus), Ven 1,

have שלח.¹ PJ however uses verbs different from שלח: it uses: תָּרִיךְ,² שָׁדַר,³ זָמַן,⁴ פָּטַר,⁵ and גָּרַי.⁶ Of these,

Ven 2: אִשְׁלַח; Lis: אִי־שַׁלַּח; Sah (Berl text): אִי־שַׁלַּח; however 1285: אִשְׁדַּר; 2363 (Sper text): אִשְׁדַּר; the occurrence of שָׁדַר here is probably a borrowing from the PJ branch of the Pal. tgg. Cf. G 38.20, 23, ftnt. 1, p. 148; G 38.17(2): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; G 42.16: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; G 45.5: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; G 45.7: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 3.12: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 3.13: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 4.23: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 5.2(1): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 5.2(2): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 6.1: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 7.16(1): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 7.16(2): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 8.17(21) (first example): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 8.17(21) (second example): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 8.25(29): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 9.27: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 23.28: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; E 16.21: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; N 5.2: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; N 5.3(2): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; N 5.4: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; N 22.15: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; N 22.37(1): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; N 22.37(2): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; N 22.40: 2363 (Sper text): וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; Berl text: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; 10, 11, Walt: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; however 282, Lis, Complut have וְשָׁדַר and Bamb, Reg, probably following Aruk R: וְשָׁדַר. Cf. below p. 148, ftnt. 1; N 24.12: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ; D 19.12: וְשִׁלַּחְתָּ.

1. In G 3.23, both N and Aruk's PT have וְשָׁדַר; in E 8.17(2) N has מְשַׁלַּח, whereas N mg has מְשַׁלַּח.

2. תָּרִיךְ, occurring in the Pa.; תָּרִיךְ--1. vertreiben, fortjagen; 2. trop. durch Verwünschung forträumen, aus dem Leben vertreiben; and in the Ithpa., תָּרִיךְ--1. vertrieben, getrieben werden, 2. durch Verwünschung fortgeräumt werden, aus dem Leben vertrieben werden (Levy, op. cit., II, p. 559, cf. also Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1699). It does not occur in BH and PBH (Ibid., and Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch etc., op. cit., p. 449), Syr. (Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., p. 621), CP Aram. (Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 224; ...Horologion...by Black, op. cit., p. 72). O also uses the verb (Brederek, op. cit., p. 193; Aram.: תָּרַךְ), whereas no instance of it has been located in FT, OG or N (Cf. also Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., תָּרַךְ). Among the examples mentioned before where O uses שלח, PJ uses תָּרִיךְ in G 3.23: וְתָרַיְתָּ.

3. שָׁדַר occurs in the Pa., שָׁדַר--schicken, senden, and in the Ithpa., שָׁדַר--gesandt, geschickt werden. (Levy, op. cit., II, pp. 457f; cf. also Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1526). It

does not occur in BH and PBH (Ibid., Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch etc., op. cit., p. 416 or in CP Aram. (except perhaps as a loanword from the Pesh.: Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 202, Schwally, op. cit., p. 93, and ...Horologion...by Black, op. cit., p. 70). The verb does occur in Syr. (Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., p. 56) and PBH (Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 416). Of the examples where Q uses שלח, our verb שַׁחַר is used by PJ in the following: G 8.7:

וּשְׁחַר; G 8.8: וּשְׁחַר; G 19.13: וּשְׁחַרְנָא; G 20.2: וּשְׁחַר; G 28.6: וּשְׁחַר; G 31.4: וּשְׁחַר; G 32.26(27): שְׁחַרְנִי; G 37.14: וּשְׁחַרְיָה; G 37.32: וּשְׁחַרוּ; G 38.17(1): אֲשַׁחַר; G 38.17(2): דַּשְׁחַר; G 45.5: שְׁחַרְנִי; G 45.7: שְׁחַרְנִי; E 3.12: שְׁחַרְתָּן; E 3.13: שְׁחַרְנִי; E 7.16(1): שְׁחַרְנִי; E 9.27: וּשְׁחַר; E 23.28: אֲשַׁחַר; N 22.15: לְמַשְׁחַרְנָא; N 22.37(1): שְׁחַרְא; N 22.37(2): שְׁחַרְיָת; N 22.40: וּשְׁחַר; N 24.12: דַּשְׁחַרְתָּ; D 19.12: וּשְׁחַרְרוּן.

4. שַׁחַח occurs in the Pe., שַׁחַח--bereiten sein, the Pa., שַׁחַח--bestimmen, vorbereiten, the Ithpa., שַׁחַח--sich anachicken, sich wohin verfügen and Aph., שַׁחַח--Pa--bestimmen, hinsenden (Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 223f. and Jastrow, op. cit., p. 404). The verb occurs in BH in Neh.13.31 (Harkavy, ... Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary etc., op. cit., p. 139) in PBH (Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 130). In Syr. it seems to be denom. from the Aram., occurring in the Pa, (Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., p. 117). It is not found in CP Aram. (Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 53, and ...Horologion...by Black, op. cit., p. 56). The verb occurs in the Pal. Pent. tgg (Kuiper, op. cit., pp. 49-50; G 48.16; cf. so L 22.27; cf. Jansinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit.,) as well as in O (Brederek, op. cit., p. 149, Aram. שַׁחַח). However it is only in PJ that we have found two examples of the Aph. in the meaning "to send", hence for the BH, שלח. These examples in PJ are from among our instances of שלח in O, as under discussion: G 24.7: שַׁחַח and G 24.40: שַׁחַח. As far as we know, this use is not found elsewhere in the Pal. Pent. tgg or in O, and is only listed in Levy, for the former passage. This is a peculiar usage of the PJ branch of the Pal. Pent. tgg, again marking its distinctiveness and its independence from O.

5. שַׁחַח is used in the Pe., שַׁחַח--1. intrans. fortgehen, scheiden, 2. gew. trans. entlassen, fortgeschicken, 3. losfreilassen, u. zw. von einer Frau, sich von ihr scheiden; in the Ithpa., שַׁחַח--fortgeschickt, entlassen werden; the Pa., שַׁחַח--entlassen (Levy, op. cit., II, pp. 260f). Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1153 lists besides these also the Aph., שַׁחַח--1. to dismiss, 2. to deliver a funeral address, 3. to take leave, 4. to read the Haftarah; and the Ithpa. In CP Aram. the verb

פָּרַד, ¹ used twenty-four times in PJ where O and the MF have פָּרַד, only occurs in the Jer. tgg. This analysis shows abundantly that PJ does not always have פָּרַד, where both O and MF have this verb. We found eight examples where O and PJ use

seems to be used only in the special sense of "divorce" (Pa., though Schwally lists these examples as Aph.) (Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 155). Our verb is used in Syriac, in the Pe. and Aph. as a general verb, though not in the specialized sense of "divorce". (Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., pp. 442f). Schwally points this out (op. cit., p. 73), when he says, "Edess. hat diese Wurzel reich entwickelt und auch diese Form (Aph.), aber nicht in dieser speziellen Anwendung (ἀπολύω γυναῖκα). Dagegen ist פָּרַד in jüdischen Aramäisch Terminus für die Ehescheidung". (parentheses mine). Thus the noun for "divorce" פָּרְדָּיִן occurs in the tgg and in CP Aram. but not in Syr. In our examples under consideration, as well as outside these, we have not found this verb used in PT, OG, or N, except in the Partic. form פָּרְדָּיִן, for "unleavened bread". (Cf. Kuiper, op. cit., p. 133). The verb does occur in PBH (Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 332). In many cases where we have noted O to use פָּרַד, PJ uses פָּרַד; G 42.16: פָּרַד; E 4.23: פָּרַד; E 5.2(1): לְמַפְטֹר; E 5.2(2): אֵי פָּרַד; E 6.1: יִפְטֹרֵנוּן; E 7.16(2): פָּרַד; E 8.17(1): מַפְטֹר; E 8.25: לְמַפְטֹר; L 16.21: וִיפְטֹר; N 5.2: וִיפְטֹרוּן; N 5.3(2nd time): תַּפְטֹרוּנוּן; N 5.4: פָּרַד. It is clear that פָּרַד is used by PJ more often than by O. As we will show later, in the PJ tradition this verb is used as a general verb, but by the time of O's compilation, the verb is a terminus technicus for "divorce", and its general use is on the decline. In respect to our study this cannot mean anything else but that PJ represents an earlier tradition than O.

6. פָּרַד is used in the Pa., פָּרַד--l. eig. zum Laufen reizen, anspornen, 2. schleudern, Pfeile abschliessen, emittere tela; the Ithpa., פָּרַד--l. gereizt, aufgeregt werden gegen Jem., sich erregen, ein niederes Gelüste tragen. (Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 153f, cf. Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 267f). This word occurs in Syr. (Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., pp. 76f), CP Aram. (Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 40), BH (Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 267f). It is used in O (Brederek, op. cit., p. 145, Aram.: פָּרַד and p. 122, BH: פָּרַד), for example in L 26.25; N 21.6; D 7.20; 28.48; 32.24. PJ uses it in these examples, as well as the other Pal. Pent tgg here, where present. Of the examples mentioned in p. 145, Ftat. 8, where O uses פָּרַד, there is one, E 8.17(21)(2nd example) where

שלח for the BH שלח or פשט,¹ Of the other forty examples where O uses שלח for BH שלח, PJ does not use שלח in any of the forty instances: it uses תָּרִיֵן² and גָּרִי³ once each, זָמַן⁴ twice, פָּטַר⁵ twelve times and שָׁדַר⁶ twenty-four times.

both PJ and N use מַגְרִי : מַגְרִי (Nmḡ notes: מַשְׁלַח). This again shows that PJ differs in an important respect from O and stands with another Pal. Pent. tg, here N.

1. As has been shown in p. 146, ftnt. 3, this verb occurs frequently in PJ. It has not been found in the PT, CG, or N in these examples, and no instance of it in these tgg has been found. Its occurrence at G 38.17(1) in O (cf. p. 145, ftnt. 8) is probably a later borrowing from PJ, as is also the example in N 22.40, of which Levy, op. cit., II, p. 458 says, "ed. Ven. 8 hat auch in Num. 22,40 O. וְשָׁדַר, wahrsch. crmp., da Mss. u. alt. Agg. וְשָׁלַח haben". There are however two places in O, where שָׁדַר is used, with a solid mss and edd evidence: G 38.20, 23. In G 38.20: 2363 (Sper text): וְשָׁלַח; 2228-2230, 84,9400, Solg, IX, Lis, Freib, Ven 1, Ven 2, Sab (Ber text: וְשָׁדַר): וְשָׁדַר. Berliner says in Targum Onkelos, op. cit., II, p. 14, "Vgl. ater M.S. 28 u. 78, wonach nur für V. 20 and 23 שָׁדַר bezeugt wird". Levy, op. cit., II, pp. 457f says, "Levita bemerkt richtig, dass Onk. nur in den zwei hier citirten Stellen (G 38.20, 23) unser ׀ habe, sonst überall ׀"; and continues, "sonst nur in jer. Trgg". (parentheses mine). The word however does occur in the tgg of Psalms, Proverbs and Job (Ibid., p. 458). It is our opinion that this verb is well used by one branch of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, namely PJ. The fact that our word occurs so abundantly in the PJ branch of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, and that it appears only twice in O, and there on very good mss and edd evidence, cannot but strongly point to O's dependence upon the PJ branch of the Pal. Pent. tgg, and that from the very inception of O's compilation.

1. Cf. p. 145, ftnts. 3 and 4.
2. Cf. p. 146, ftnt. 2.
3. Cf. p. 146, ftnt. 6.
4. Cf. p. 146, ftnt. 4.
5. Cf. p. 146, ftnt. 5.
6. Cf. p. 146, ftnt. 3.

PJ in these forty examples, different from O and MT, is rarely the same as the other Pal. *tgg.*¹ which latter sometimes introduce verbs other than O or PJ,² but which usually follow O and MT in the use of שלח. This sufficiently shows not only PJ's difference from O and stand with the Pal. *tg* tradition, but also PJ's uniqueness within that latter tradition.

But let us look further at the use of פטר by the *tgg.* Eleven instances are found where both O and PJ use פטר for MT שלח³ in which instances the other Pal. Pent *tgg* either use שלח or substitute another verb.⁴ In two instances, where O has פטר, following the MT שלח, PJ substitutes the verb נושל,⁵

1. Cf. p. 146, ftnt. 6.

2. G 3.23, FT (Aruk) and N: וטרוד.

3. The examples for O are mentioned, PJ following O, though unpointed: G 43.14: וריפטר; G 44.3: אַתְּפִטְרִן; E 21.26: יִפְטֹרִינִיה; E 21.27: יִפְטֹרִינִיה; D 15.12: תִּפְטֹרִינִיה; D 15.13 (two times): תִּפְטֹרִינִיה; D 15.18: נִמְפִטְרִן; D 21.14: דִּפְטֹרָה; D 22.19: לִמְפִטְרָה; D 24.4: דִּפְטֹרָה.

4. Verbs other than שלח are substituted in D 15.13 (1)N: תִּיטְלַח; D 22.9, N: לִמְשַׁבֵּקָה; D 24.4, N: דִּיטְבוּק.

5. נושל occurs in the Aph., אַשִּׁיל--herauswerfen, verstossen. (Levy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 131, Jastrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 940f) It is not found in CP Aram. (Schulthess, *Lexicon etc.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 128f and ...*Horologion*... by Black, *op. cit.*, p. 63) or in Syr. (Payne Smith, ...*Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, p. 354). It does occur in BH (Jastrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 940f) and in PNH (Dalman, A.-N. *Handwörterbuch*, *op. cit.*, p. 279). O does not use the verb (Brederek, *op. cit.*, p. 167), but it does occur in BH (Brederek, *op. cit.*, p. 77, MT: נושל). It is used at two instances in PJ: D 24.1: וַיִּשְׁלֵינָהּ; D 24.3: וַיִּשְׁלֵי, both used in the meaning of "divorce". We have not found the verb in N, OG or FT, except in Aruk's FT at ג, של, for D 24.3: וַיִּשְׁלֵינָהּ. Thus PJ here again shows its own distinctive nature, differing from O.

with N using שלח one time,¹ and טרד the other.² We have already noted³ the twelve instances where PJ has פטר for O: שלח. PJ is also found to use פטר⁴ for O: פְּרִיץ.⁵ It is clear that פטר is used much more abundantly in PJ than in O, while the verb is not found in PT, CG, or N, except in Partic. or noun form. From the above and from what we have said before,⁶ the following is clear: This verb פטר is first a general verb for "to send". As such it is well developed in Syr. and Aram. But in later Aram. as also in CP Aram., the verb begins to be a terminus technicus for "divorce". It can be for no other reason than this, that O uses פטר much less than PJ. This attests to PJ being older than O. PJ is not aware of this technical use of פטר. As a matter of fact, when divorce is discussed, as in D 24.1, 3 and 4, O uses three times פטר, PJ twice נשל and once פטר and N once שלח, once טרד and once שבק. It would seem that N is not aware of this specialized meaning of פטר either, or N would have used it here. In that respect PJ and N stand together here. Hence PJ is in tradition both different from O and earlier than O.

Against this background we must look at our original

1. D 24.1, N: וישלח.

2. D 24.3, N: ויטרוד, with Nmg: וישלח.

3. Cf. p. 145, ftnt. 4.

4. PJ: L 21.7: דמפטרוא and L 21.14: ומפטרוא.

5. Cf. p. 146, ftnt. 2.

6. Cf. p. 146, ftnt. 5.

verse under discussion, G 43.14, where O and PJ use פטר and CG and N שלח. The latter two tgg could not have used פטר because it is not a word used in their tradition. Inasmuch as פטר is used more often by PJ than שלח, it is not surprising that PJ uses פטר here. What is surprising is that here, where the MT has שלח, O does not have the same, but has פטר.¹ The only possible conclusion is that PJ has influenced O.

Three instances are present, where PJ stands openly with the Pal. tgg and not with O. In RSV, "May God Almighty grant you mercy..." for "grant" the following readings occur: MT: יָתַן, followed by PJ: יָתַן and CG: יָתַן. O however uses a different spelling: יִתֵּן. N uses a different verb: וְשָׂרִי, whereas the PTgg lack the beginning of this verse. We note the difference in spelling between O on the one hand and the Pal. Pent. tgg on the other. O inserts a yodh in the second syllable, but the Pal. tgg, including PJ, do not use this spelling.² It is quite customary for O to do this,³ but in none of the Pal. Pent. tgg is this spelling found: PJ,⁴ CG⁵

1. To this we add the different spellings of O: וִיפְטֹר and PJ: וִיפְטֹר. O and PJ are different in spelling here. A glance through the examples shows that in this verb, PJ uses the waw in the second syllable, and O does not. If O is influenced by PJ here, O has modified the spelling.

2. Cf. Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., and Kuiper, op. cit., pp. 113ff.

3. O: G 28.22: יִתְּתִין; G 29.27: יִנְתִין; G 30.28: יִתְּתִין; G 43.14: יִתְּתִין; E 7.4: יִתְּתִין; E 21.19: יִתְּתִין; E 21.22: יִתְּתִין; E 21.23: יִתְּתִין; E 22.6: יִתְּתִין; E 22.9: יִתְּתִין; D 15.10: יִתְּתִין. One instance is found where O omits the yodh, G 28.20: יִתְּתִין, which because of the persistent use

of H.¹ Though the dictionaries do not note this,² Dalman mentions it.³ The CP Aram. lectionaries also, seem only to use the shorter form, like the Pal. tgg.⁴ It is clear that PJ in this spelling stands with the Pal. Pent. tgg.

In "your other brother" for "other" O has אַחְרַבָּא, following BH: אַחַר, as does also CG: אַחְרַבָּא. But both PJ and N have the spelling without this prefixed א: PJ: חַרְבָּא and N: חַרְבָּא. This latter spelling in PJ and N: חַרְבָּא, חַרְבָּא resp., from חַרַּב with suffixed ן occurs only in the Jer. tgg,⁵ whereas the other spelling occurs in both O and the Pal. tgg.⁶ PJ is with N in the Pal. Pent. tg tradition here.

of the yodh in O, and lack of it in the Pal. Pent. tgg, is probably an influence in O of the Pal. tgg.

4. PJ: G 28.20: וּרְיָתָן; G 28.22: דַּחְתָּן; G 29.27: וּרְיָתָן; G 30.28: וּרְיָתָן; G 43.14: יָתָן; E 21.19: יָתָן; E 21.22: וּרְיָתָן; E 22.6: יָתָן; E 22.9: יָתָן; D 15.10: חַיְתָּנָן.

5. CG: G 28.20: וּרְיָתָן; G 28.22: דַּחְתָּן; G 29.27: וּרְיָתָן; G 30.28: וּרְיָתָן; G 43.14: יָתָן; E 21.19: יָתָן; E 21.22: וּרְיָתָן; E 21.23: וּרְיָתָן; E 22.6: (יָתָן); E 22.9: יָתָן.

1. N: G 28.20: יָתָן; G 28.22: דַּחְתָּן; G 29.27: וּרְיָתָן; G 30.28: וּרְיָתָן; E 21.19: יָתָן; E 21.22: וּרְיָתָן; E 21.23: וּרְיָתָן; E 22.6: יָתָן; E 22.9: יָתָן; D 15.10: דַּחְתָּן.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 133 and Jastrow, op. cit., p. 944.

3. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 293: "יָתָן" E 21, 4 O, JI יָתָן.

4. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 129.

5. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 283.

6. N in G 4.8 (1st example) has חַרְבָּן and in second אַחְרָן. PJ has אַחְרָן here in both cases as compared with in G 43.14. Both Par and Bom have אַחְרָן, each two times. Cf. also Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., for examples.

In RSV, "If I am bereaved of my children, I am bereaved", the verbs are in the Qal Perf. in BH: שָׁכַלְתִּי שָׁכַלְתִּי. For the first of these O has the Pe. Perf.: דַּתְּכֹרְלִית,¹ followed by Par: דִּילָא תְּכֹלִית, Bom: דִּי לָא תְּכֹלִית and N: דִּילָא תְּכֹלִית, though the Pal. tgg even here differ from O: the Pal. tgg do not use the ך in the second syllable of the verb, and use a different construction with the words ך and לָא. Both PJ and CG use a different theme altogether: the Perf. of the Ithpe.: PJ: אִיתְּכֹלִית and CG: אִתְּכֹלִית. Here the PT and N agree with O in theme, whereas PJ is the same as CG representing the Pal. tradition. With the second verb, O again has the Pe. Perf.: תְּכֹרְלִית.² Our Pal. tgg except PJ have the Ithpe. Infin., preceded by the Aph. Impf. אֹרְסִי(י), showing a repetition of the action of the main verb: Par, Bom, CG, N: לְמַתְּכֹלָא. PJ has the Ithpe. Impf. of תְּכֹל, without the Aph. of יֹסֵף: PJ: אִיתְּכֹל, a unique rendering, different from O as well as from the other tgg. We note however that whereas in O the tense of the verb is Perf., in all other tgg, including PJ it is Impf., showing how PJ stands with the Pal. tgg and not with O.

Next we find some unique renderings in N and PJ. The subject of the verse, BH: וְאֵל שָׁרִי, O, PJ, and CG: וְאֵל שָׁרִי, is in N: וְאֵלָה שְׁמִיא. Again: for the verb נתן in BH, O, PJ, and CG, another is substituted in N: וְשָׁרִי. And also a unique

1. A secunda manus in Solg, Ven 1, Ven 2, and Lis have the Ithpe.

2. A secunda manus in Solg, Ven 1, Complut have the Ithpe.

reading in PJ is found. For "if", MT: כִּאֲשֶׁר, O has כִּמָּא, our Pal. tgg (except PJ): הֵיךְ מָא/ה. PJ has the unique rendering הָא אֵין, which spelling אֵין is one not occurring in O.¹

In the beginning of the verse, there is an omission in N. For "the man", PJ: גִּבְרָא, CG has גִּבְרָא שְׁלִיטָא: adding an adj.: "the ruling man". N has only this adjective as a noun: שְׁלִיטָא: "the ruler", seemingly in the plural.² Unique renderings and omissions mark the Pal. Pent. tg tradition.

G 44.15, though lacking in major evidence, shows the difference between O and PJ and among the Pal. tgg themselves.

"This deed" is rendered: MT: הַמַּעֲשֶׂה הַזֶּה, O: עֹבְדָא הַדִּין, PJ: עֹבְדָא הַדָּא, CG: עֲבִידָתָא הַדָּא, N: עֲבִידָא הַדִּין (mg: עֲבִידָתָא). O and N have the denom. pron. for the masc. sing., and CG for the fem. sing.,³ corresponding to the different noun used: the masc. עֹבְדָא and the fem. עֲבִידָתָא. (assuming that our word in N is misspelled). Now it seems as if PJ has the masc. noun in common with O and N and the fem. denom. pron. with CG. This is not necessarily "proof" that PJ is made up of a mixture of O and the Pal. tradition. It is possible that PJ represents a mixing of the Pal. tradition itself: of N and CG, which have both genders. Again, it is not

1. Brederick, op. cit., pp. 7, 138-139.

2. Cf. also in the discussion of the addition, below, p. 272.

3. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 111, Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 7, Stevenson, op. cit., p. 18, etc.

impossible that in PJ we have the fem. noun עֲוֹנָתָא¹ in the absol. st., used instead of the emph. st.

For "you know", MT, O, PJ, CG, and N use יָדַע, with an interesting variant in Nmg: חֲכַמְתִּין from חָכַם.²

The word "that" in RSV, "Do you not know that" is אַרְוֵם in PJ, Par, CG, and N, with O having the usual אַרְי spelling.

In RSV, "Do you not know that such a man as I can indeed divine"? for the verb "to divine" we have the following renderings: MT: נִחַשׁ יְנַחֵשׁ, O: בִּדְקָא מְבִדִיק; PJ and Par: מְטִיירָא, CG: מְקַסֵּם הוּהוּ קְסִים, and N using the same root: מְקַסֵּם יְקַסֵּם. Some of these verbs occur in O as well as in the Pal. Pent. tgg: בִּדְקָא³ (used here by O), מְקַסֵּם⁴ (used here by CG and N). But the verb used by PJ and Par, מְטִיירָא, does not occur in O,⁵ but is used by all the Pal. Pent. tgg: PJ,⁶ Par,⁷ Bom,⁸ CG,⁹ and Nmg.¹⁰ The verb is used in Syr. in the Pe.

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 196.

2. Ibid., I, pp. 255f.

3. Ibid., I, p. 82 and Brederek, op. cit., p. 140, Aram.: בִּדְקָא.

4. Brederek, op. cit., p. 181, Aram. מְקַסֵּם; Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit.; מְקַסֵּם is used also at G 44.5 by CG: (וְהוּהוּ קְסִים) מְקַסֵּם and N: מְקַסֵּם יְקַסֵּם. Cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 375.

5. Brederek, op. cit., p. 154, Aram.: מְטִיירָא and p. 72, BH: נִחַשׁ.

6. PJ at G 30.27: אַטִּירִית and G 44.5: מְטִיירָא הוּהוּ מְטִיירָא.

7. Par at G 30.27: אַטִּירִית, as also here טִירָא, לִי; and מְטִירָא, לִי at G 44.5: מְטִיירָא מְטִיירָא.

יָבַח, found only in the Partic. act., meaning, "to fly" and in the Aph. יָבַח⁸, meaning, "to make fly, to let take flight".¹ It is hence not used in Syr. in the special sense of the Pal. tgg: "aus dem Vogelflug weissagen". In CP Aram. the verb is not found.² The root of our verb is the BH תָּבַח,³ --to travel about, to spy out, explore, search,⁴ which is not used in the specialized sense of "to divine", as it is in Aram. in the Pa. and Aph.⁵ PDH uses the noun תָּבַח of this root, meaning: "Beobachtung von Vögeln betreffs Weissagung", though the verb is not listed as used.⁶ PJ is in the Pal. Pent. tg tradition here in the choice of this word. Also in the choice of verb tense are PJ and Par (Pa. Partic. plus Impf.) quite different

8. Bom at G 30.27: אֲבַחֵי יָבַח and G 44.5: מְבַחֵי מְבַחֵי.

9. CG at G 30.27: תָּבַח.

10. Nmg at G 30.27: מְבַחֵי and G 44.5: מְבַחֵי.

1. Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., p. 170.

2. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., pp. 73f and ...Horologion...by Black, op. cit., p. 58. The verb יָבַח -- to note,-- (Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 217), has nothing to do with the probable BH root תָּבַח, of our verb

יָבַח. So Schwally, op. cit., p. 100: "Die Wurzel gehört wahrscheinlich zu he. תָּבַח Augenweide, arab. اتأر (Gauhari) ansehen und ist in unserem Dialect im Begriff, in eine mittelvocalige Überzugehen. Mit Hebr. תָּבַח 'herumgehen, auskundschaften' hat diese Wurzel nichts zu thun. Indessen ist beachtenswert, dass sich תָּבַח in späteren Hebr. jener anderen Wurzel bedenklich nähert".

3. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1656.

4. Harkavy, op. cit., p. 761.

5. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 526, Levy, op. cit., II, p. 301 and Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit.

from O (Pa. Infin. plus Partic.), with the BH having a Pi. Infin. plus Impf. CG has a Pe. Infin. plus Partic., and N a Pe. Infin. plus Impf.

The word "a man" in RSV, "such a man as I", BH: אִישׁ, without the article, is in the absol. st. in PJ and the other Pal. tgg, but not in O: O: גּוֹרָא; PJ: גּוֹר, CG: גּוֹר רַב, N: רַב וְשֵׁלֵט, again showing PJ to be with the Pal. tgg. We note CG's addition of רַב: "a strong man", which N has as a noun, having omitted גּוֹר, and adding also וְשֵׁלֵט: "a king and ruler". This addition in N is unique to the Pal. tgg, as noted before.¹

Finally, again in כּוֹתִי "like me" PJ's spelling is like that of the other Pal. tgg and is different from O. O has דְּכוּתִי, PJ, CG and N: דְּכוּרֹתִי.

In this verse, G 44.15, PJ thus stands with the other Pal. Pent. tgg, and not with O.

G 44.18-19, dealing with Judah's plea before Joseph on behalf of Benjamin, may be treated together. We find in PJ renderings which are unique as well as those which agree with the Pal. tgg. The verses read in the RSV,

Then Judah went up to him and said, "O my lord, let your servant, I pray you, speak a word in my lord's ears, and let not your anger burn against your servant; for you are like Pharaoh himself.
19 My lord asked his servants, saying, 'Have you a father, or a brother?'

6. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 169.

1. G 4.7 in five Pal. tgg: PJ, Par, Bom, CG and N, cf. below p. 250; and G 43.14, CG and N, cf. above p. 155.

Following are the unique renderings in PJ. For, "I pray you" the MT appends נא to ידבר as follows: ידבר-נא. O has ואמר בבעו, followed by Par, Bom, CG, N, Nmg, and FT-Cod. Ox. 2305.¹ PJ however uses twice במטר: במטר ריבוני ... במטר במטר, a word which occurs only in the Jer. tgg.²

After ימליל, O, Par, Bom, CG, N, Tos, FT-Cod. Ox. add כען: "let your servant speak now", perhaps in analogy of the MT: נא here. PJ uniquely omits this.

In two instances PJ stands with the Pal. tgg. "in my lord's ears" renders the MT: באזני אדני. O has here: קדם רבוני, followed by Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. PJ however renders: במשמעיה דריבוני, as do also Par, Bom, CG, and N: "in the hearing of my lord".

In "his servants" O has the והי suffix: עבדוהי whereas PJ with Par, Bom, CG and N have עבדוי: רי. The latter suffix never occurs in O, but does occur in the Pal. tg tradition.³ MT here has: עבדין.

The following verses in Exodus center around the Ten Commandments. We begin with E 20.1, which already marks PJ as a Pal. tg. The verse reads in the RSV, "And God spoke

1. In FT-Cod. Ox. 2305 (Ginsburger, Das Fragmententhargum etc., op. cit., p. 73) and in Tosefta at this place (תוספתא ויגש איליו יהודה) in Sperber, op. cit., I, pp. 355f) part of the verse proper occurs at the end of this verse, introducing the following verse. The FT. found in Cod. Ox. 2305 will be referred to hereafter simply as FT-Cod. Ox., and the Tosefta as Tos.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 27.

3. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 39b.

all these words, saying". The noun "the words", MT: הדברים, is rendered by דְּבִירָא¹ in PJ (דְּבִירָא), Par (דְּבִירָא), Bom (דְּבִירָא), CG (דְּבִירָא), and N (דְּבִירָא).² O however never employs any of the three possible nouns from this root: דְּבִירָא,³ דְּבִירָא,⁴ or דְּבִירָא.⁵ O uses instead the noun פתגמא, which commonly occurs in O, and more rarely in the Pal. tgg or PJ. PJ has not copied O here at all, but has the rendering of the Pal. tgg.

A number of items in E 20.2, verse and additions, point to the Pal. targumic character of PJ. The verse reads, RSV, "I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage...".

In the first phrase, O and Par do not have the verb "to be" following the MT: אֲנֹכִי יְהוָה, O: אֲנֹכִי יְיָ, and Par: אֲנֹכִי הוּא. PJ, CG and N do have the verb "to be": PJ: אֲנֹכִי הוּא and CG and N: אֲנֹכִי הוּא יְיָ. PJ is in the same tradition as the Pal. tgg of CG and N.

The suffix "your" in "your God" is sing. in the MT: אֱלֹהֶיךָ and O: אֱלֹהֶיךָ. In PJ and the Pal. tgg of Par, CG, and N, it is in the plur.: אֱלֹהֵיכֶן, placing PJ with these tgg.

1. Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161

2. In E 20.2, N uses דְּבִירָא.

3. Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161: Wort, bes. gleich דְּבִירָא Gotteswort.

4. *Ibid.*: das Wort, bes. Gotteswort.

5. *Ibid.*: 1. das Wort, der Ausspruch, Gottesstimme, 2. das Wort als Person dargestellt.

MT: אשר הוצאתיך, "who brought you out", is rendered in O by the Aph. of נפק: דאפיקתך, with the attached suffix of the second pers. masc. sing. The rendering in PJ and the Pal. tgg is from a different tradition. There the same verb appears, but with a separate word for the suffix, with the suffix for the second pers. masc. plur. Moreover in PJ, CG and N, this verb is the second part of a phrase, connected by a conjunction to its first part: די פרקית, "who freed (you)", from the verb פרק.¹ The whole phrase is furthermore completed by the Partic. pass. plur. of פרק as noun, in PJ, CG and N: פריקין, "free men". PJ reads: די פרקית ואפיקית יתכון פריקין, "...who freed you and brought you forth as free men". PJ is in this same tradition of the Pal. Pent. tgg with CG (די פרקית ואפיקית יתכון פריקין), N (די פרקית ואפיקית יתכון פריקין) and Par (though the latter lacks the last word, and has the phrase in reverse order: די פריקין ופרקית יתכון).

The same evidence of PJ being in the same tradition of translation as the Pal. tgg, is present in the phrase, "...out of the house of bondage...". The MT has בית עבדים, literally, "house of slaves", which means specifically, "house of servitude, bondage", i.e. the enclosure where the slaves are bred.² O has: בית עבדותא, using the abstract noun, "servitude", accurately rendering the meaning of the MT, though using a different form of the noun. PJ, Par, and CG have a

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 296: Pe--ablösen; loskaufen; befreien.

2. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 672.

different abstract noun: שַׁעֲבֹדָא. In addition, PJ and CG as well as N (בֵּית עֲבָדִים), use the plural "slaves" of the MT. PJ reads, (and also in general CG) בֵּית שַׁעֲבֹד עֲבָדִייה, "the house of servitude of serfs". Par has: בֵּית שַׁעֲבֹד עֲבָדֵיהוֹן, "the house of servitude of their work". Thus we see, that whereas O renders the idiom of the MT by using an abstract noun, giving a good translation of the meaning, the Pal. tgg and PJ, with individual differences, remain close to the idiom of the MT, and may well present an Aram. idiom. At any rate, the reading of PJ is entirely the same as that of CG, and shows marked agreement with those of Par and N. All these stand in the old targum tradition.

In E 20.3, we need only deal thoroughly with the additions. The verse proper is not present in Ms. Brit. Mus. add. 27031 or in the Biblia Rabbinica ab Bragadino.¹ At any rate, even in Ginsburger's completion, the source of which is unknown, the reading is nearly identical with that of O, Par, CG, and N. The verse, gives the first commandment² and reads in RSV, "You shall have no other gods before me".

In E 20.4, the evidence of the verse is that PJ is the same rendering as the Pal. tgg, and is different from O. The addition of one word is found in PJ, CG, and N, and of a pas-

1. Pseudo-Jonathan ... von Ginsburger, op. cit. Biblia Rabbinica ab Bragadino, op. cit.

2. In numbering the Commandments, the scheme of most Protestant churches is followed. The targum calls this first Commandment however זְבוֹיָא תַּנִּינָא: the second word, so that we shall follow the numbering of the tgg when speaking of the words.

sage only in Par. The verse reads, RSV, "You shall not make yourself a graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth..."

"You shall not make" is a sing. in the MT of the verb and the suffix: תעשה לך, and in O and Par: תעביד לך. PJ, CG, and N have this in the plur. however: תעבדון לכון. The relative pronoun "that" occurring three times together with the following form "is" of the verb "to be" is as follows: MT: three times אשר; CG three times דאית; O uses three times ׳ד as inseparable particle, attached to the following word; Par and N have ׳די three times; and PJ has the inseparable ׳ד the first time and the separate די for the two following times. Hence, CG gives us one rendering of the Pal. tgg, and Par-N another, and with this latter PJ agrees in two out of the three cases. In the first of the three cases where PJ has the reading of O, this need not be influence from O, because the difference between ׳ד and די is very small. PJ hence stands with the Pal. tgg here, with Par and N. The adverb "above" is in MT: ממעל. CG: מן לעל and Nmg: מן לעיל follow this with the preposition separate, whereas O, Par, PJ, and N have the preposition affixed to the following particle: O and Par: מלעילא and PJ and N: מלעיל. We cannot speak of influence of O upon PJ or the Pal. tgg here. This same is the case with the next adverb, "beneath". The readings are MT: מתחת, O, PJ, Nmg, Par: מלרע and N, CG: מן לרע. Then we look at the following

adverb in, "under the earth". For MT: **מתחת לארץ** GG has: **מן תחת לארעא** and N renders even more freely: **מן תחת לארעא**. O, PJ and Par have: **מלרע לארעא**. If there is any influence of O upon PJ, then it is also in Par. But the equal readings in PJ-Par and O would seem more due to coincidence, at least we cannot speak of definite influence of O upon PJ and Par here. On the whole, we have seen that PJ in this verse stands with the Pal. tgg.

Important evidence is found in E 20.5. In verse as well as additions, PJ stands firmly with the Pal. tgg, and not with O. But even more interesting here is that O has incorporated certain additions of the Pal. tgg, some of which are not present in PJ, in a deliberate attempt to change the meaning of the text in conformity with the meaning of PJ and the Pal. tgg. The verse reads in the RSV, "...you shall not bow down to them or serve them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity (sic) of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me...".

The following points are noted in the verse proper. The number of the verbs "to bow down" and "to serve" and of the pronoun "your" in "your God" is singular in the MT: ... **תסגוד... תפלחין... אלהך**, in O: **תשתחווה... תעבדם... אלהיך** and partly in Par: **תפלחין... תסגוד...; and plural** in PJ: **... תסגודין... תפלחון... אלהכון**, GG: **... תסגודין... תפלחון... אלהכון**, in N: **... תפלחון... תסגודין** and partly in Par: **אלהכון**. The partial similarity between Par and O, need be no more than

the adherence of Par as well as of O to the Hebr. text. PJ however stands firmly with the Pal. tgg of CG and N.

The difference between 77K (O) and 777K (PJ, Par, CG and N) for the conjunction is noted below.¹

For 77E, "visiting" in "visiting the iniquity..." O and Par use 770D, "requiting" and PJ and CG have 777D, "remembering". N omits this phrase.²

In E 20.6, the verse as well as the additions show PJ to be with the Pal. tgg, though individual differences exist. The verse reads, RSV, "...but showing steadfast love to thousands of those who love me and keep my commandments...".

"Showing", MT: 7771 is represented by the literal translation 7771 in O and by 777 (PJ: 7771), "Keeping" in PJ, Par, CG and N.

Again in E 20.7, verse and additions, PJ stands with the Pal. tradition. In addition an interesting problem is raised here between the interpretations of the phrase, "taking

1. Cf. below, p. 185, fnnt. 2.

2. It is interesting to note that the Peshitto does not use any of these verbs in the tgg here, or the Syr. 777. It uses instead the Partic. 777, which PJ, Par, CG, and N use for "to avenge" in their addition, "and an avenger and (N: who is) avenging in jealousy" following "I the Lord your God am a jealous God...". Cf. below Chapter III, p. . The fact of this choice of verb 777 in the Pesh., the same as the verby77 of the additions in PJ and the Pal. tgg is even more remarkable in view of the verbs used in the Pesh. for MT 777. Of the fifteen examples of the BH 777 meaning "to avenge" (cf. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 773: No. 11 and No. 13) listed, the Pesh. uses twelve times 777, once 777, once 777 and once 777. (Cf. GP Aram. 777, 777, Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 163). But the interesting question of the relationship between the Pesh. Pent. and the

the Lord's name in vain", which we discuss in chapter III. The verse reads in the RSV, "You shall not take the name of the LORD your God in vain; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless who takes his name in vain...".

Of the variants in the verse proper we mention two. First that relating to the verb "to take":¹ for MT: תשא,² "to pronounce", O and Par (part 1-a) have תימי from אמר, with elision of the final ך,³ "to pronounce", and possibly "to swear".⁴ PJ (part 1: ישתבע and part 2: דמשתבע), Par (part 1-b: תשתבע, part 2: דמשתבע and משתבע), CG (part 1: ישתבע and part 2: דמשתבע), and Nmgg (part 1: ישתבע and part 2: די משתבע) use the Ithpe. theme אשתבע, "to swear". N uses the

Pal. Pent. tg tradition is outside our present scope.

1. The verb occurs twice, once in (part 1) the commandment, "you shall not" and the second time (part 2) in the punishment given to those who break the commandment. Part 1 in Par is of a composite nature and uses two verbs, therefore the reference to part 1-a and part 1-b of Par below.

2. August Dillmann und (in dritter Auflage herausgegeben von) Dr. Victor Ryssel, Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus. In Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament, XII (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1897), p. 255: "תשא) nicht: hintragen (Hengst. Ke. a) oder erheben (Kn. Öhl. a), denn tragen oder erheben kann man einen Namen überhaupt nicht ausser vermittelt der Sprachwerkzeuge; auch nicht: nehmen = gebrachen (LXX Vulg. Date.) da תשא nie so angewendet wird, sondern einfach voce efferre, proferre, aussprechen wie 21,1. Ps 15,3. 139,20 (י. פקק)".

3. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par. 15, 3, b, α, p. 101.

4. Though the particular translation of אמר as "to say formally: to swear" is not noted in the lexica (Levy, op. cit., I, p. 37 and Jastrow, op. cit., p. 79), it is no doubt a valid use, as pointed out by Prof. Dr. A. M. Honeyman, F.R.A.S. St. Andrews.

verb **נָסַב**: **נָסַב**, in close adherence to the meaning of the MT **נָשָׂא**, "to lift up, carry".¹ Among the Pal. tgg and PJ we have thus three traditions: N (**נָסַב**) with a verb close in general meaning to that of the MT (**נָשָׂא**); Par (**אָמַר**), which translates accurately the specific meaning of the MT, i.e. "to speak, pronounce"; and PJ-CG-Nmg (**יִשְׁחַבֵּעַ**), which interpret this in an even more particular sense than Par, by changing the "saying of a name" of Par to "swearing". O has the same reading as Par. But PJ stands with the Pal. tgg of CG and its quotation in Mmg.

Secondly we mention "your God", MT: **אֱלֹהֶיךָ**, O, Par: **אֱלֹהֶךָ**, N: **אֱלֹהֶהּ**, and CG: **אֱלֹהֶיהָ**. PJ reads **אֱלֹהֶכֶרֶן**, also found in Nmg here: **אֱלֹהֶיכֶרֶן**. In D 5.11, the corresponding reading of this commandment, it occurs at PJ: **אֱלֹהֶכֶרֶן**, and Nmg: **אֱלֹהֶכֶרֶן** again, and also at N: **אֱלֹהֶכֶרֶן**. Therefore PJ here and at D 5.11 preserves a reading of the Pal. tg tradition.

Again in E 20.8, PJ stands in details with the Pal. tradition. One similarity between O and Par occurs. No additions are present, except for the introductory, "My people sons of Israel" in PJ, CG and N, and "My people, my people, house of Israel" in Par.

The verb "remember" in "Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy...", is in the singular in MT and O (**הָרִי דָכִיר**) but in the plur. in PJ, Par, CG, and N: (CG: **הָרוּן**) **הָרוּן** (**הָרוּן**) **דָּכִירִין** (**זֶהִירִין**). Again, "to keep it holy" is in the MT:

1. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 915 (**נָסַב**) and p. 937 (**נָשָׂא**).

לקדשו and so followed by O and Par: לקדושתיה. The other tgg however have the suffix unattached from the verb: PJ: למקדשא יתיה, CG: למקדשה יתיה and N: למקדא יתיה. PJ stands with the Pal. tgg and differs from O.

Of E 20.9, "...Six days you shall labor, and do all your work...", we note that whereas the verbs "you shall labor" and "you shall do" as well as the suffix on "your work" are in the singular in MT (תעבד ועשית כל-מלאכתך) and O (תפלא ותעביד כל) and in the plural in PJ (תפלאון ותעבדון כל עבידתון), CG (תפלאון ותעבדון כל עבידתון) and N (תפלאון ותעבדון כל עבדתון). PJ reads as the tradition in CG and N and is different from O.

E 20.10 reads, RSV, "...but the seventh day is a sabbath to the LORD your God; in it you shall not do any work, you, or your son, or your daughter, your manservant, or your maidservant, or your cattle, or the sojourner who is within your gates...". The particulars of this verb, including a minor addition can be dealt with in this context. For "a sabbath" MT: שבת and O: שבתא, (O though: the sabbath), the Pal. tgg including PJ have, "a sabbath and a rest": PJ: שבא ונניח, CG: שרבה ונניח and N: שבא ונניח. Furthermore, the number of the verb, of all the pronom. suffixes and of the pronoun "you" is sing. in the MT and O, but plur. in PJ, CG, and N, as in the previous verb. Again, only PJ omits "and your cattle", and may well have relation to Mechiltha here, which also lacks this¹ and to the Sam. which omits the conjunction, and the Sam.

Tg. which reads instead: שורך וחמורך וכל-בהמתך. Lastly, instead of the BH: בשעריך, "your gates", referring to both "towns" and "homesteads" all tgg use the noun קִיְרָא, "village", thus limiting the meaning. Has O been influenced by the Pal. tradition of PJ-OG-N here? We note that the Pesh. as well has this rendering: **كِرِّيَّة**.

In E 20.11, the choice of words of PJ is again that of the Pal. tgg. There is slight similarity between Par and O. Minor additions occur in N and Par. The verse reads, RSV, "...for in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is in them, and rested the seventh day; therefore the LORD blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it..."

The "in" in "in six days" is expressed in the MT by the constr. st. of the cardinal numeral "six", being the accus. temporis:¹ שֵׁשֶׁת-יָמִים. The same construction is possible in Bab. Aram.² and is followed by O here: שִׁיתָה יוֹמִין. In Pal. Aram. such an adverb. accus. of time is uncommon³ and a prepos. is used: PJ: בְּשִׁיתָא יוֹמִין and N: לְשִׁתָּא יוֹמִין. Par: שִׁיתָא

1. Mechiltha. Ein tannaitischer Midrasch zu Exodus. Erstmalig ins Deutsche übersetzt und erläutert von Jakob Winter und Aug. Wünsche. Mit Beiträgen von Professor Dr. Ludwig Blau (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909), pp. 216f.

1. Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, op. cit., par. 118k, p. 374.

2. Max L. Margolis, Ph.D., A Manual of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud. Grammar, Chrestomathy and Glossaries (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Oskar Beck; London: David Nutt; New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1910), par. 53, p. 74.

and CG: **אשתה יומין** (and Nmg: **אשתה**) however lack the preposition and are similar to O. The verb "to make" is in the MT: **עשה**, O, Par: **עבד** and PJ, N, CG: **ברא**. Nmg gives the unique reading **ועמל מימרי**: "And the Lord worked through". The relat. pron. "that" together with the following verb "is" in the phrase, "and all that is in them" is in the MT: **אשר**, followed by O, Par and N: **ד**. PJ, CG and Nmg have **דאית**, as also the Pesh. The adv. "therefore" is MT: **על-כן** followed by O: **על כין** and Par: **על כן**. PJ: **בגין כן** and N: **בגין כדין** as one branch of the Pal. tgg and CG: **מן בגין כדן** and Nmg: **מן בגין כן** as another, are however in the Pal. tradition. In "and (he) hallowed it", the suffix is attached to the verb in MT: **ויקדשהו** and O: **וקדשיה**, but not in PJ: **וקדישיתה**, CG: **וקדש יתיה** Par: **וקדיש יתיה** and N: **וקדיש יתיה**. Not only does PJ, but also Par, stand with the Pal. tgg. Though Par has shown similarities with O in this and preceding verses, there is some marked agreement with the Pal. tgg in the verse, as well as unique additions of the nature of the Pal. tgg.

The verse of E 20.12 again makes it clear that PJ and the Pal. tgg, are one tradition, which is different from O. Additions occur mainly in Par.

In this verse, "'Honor your father and your mother, that your days may be long in the land which the LORD your God gives you...'", the verbs, "honor" and "gives" and the pronouns "your" and "you" in "your days" and "gives you" are in the

3. Odeberg, op. cit., II, pp. 87.

sing. number in MT and O, but in the plur. in PJ, CG, and N, and where present also in Par. Par also has "your father and your mother" with plural pronouns. Here, PJ, CG, and N have "his" though MT and O have "your" sing. "Honor", MT: כבוד, and O: יקר, reads in the Pal. tgg including PJ, "be instructed in the honor of": PJ: הורו זהירין גבר ביקרא, Par: הורו זהירין באיקרא, CG: הורו זהירין כל גבר מנכון באיקרה and N: הורו זהירין גבר ביקריה. The word "that", MT: למען, O: כדי is in PJ, CG and N: מן בגלל ד'. Par, where the latter part of this verse is phrased differently, uses ד', "because". The verb for "to be long" is MT: יארכון, followed by O: דיורכון, and in PJ, CG and N: (ד)יסגון. Par has "to give": יהיבנא ליה, using the nouns of both the other verbs: אריכות יומין וסגיעות שנין "...I give to him increasing of days and lengthening of years...".¹

E 20. 13-16 are dealt with in one section. The Aram. numbers these together as verse 13. The verse reads in RSV "You shall not kill. You shall not commit adultery. You shall not steal. You shall not bear false witness against your neighbor...". The evidence of the verse places PJ with the Pal. tgg. The same can be said for the additions, which are in general the same in PJ, Par, CG and N.

The four verbs and the pronoun of "neighbor" are in the plur. number in PJ, Par, CG, and N, though in the singular

1. The Pesh. reads ܕܝܫܘܪܝܢ, thus using ܫܘܪܝܢ of the Pal. tgg and not ܝܩܪܝܢ, which in the Pe. and Aph. themes is well used in Syr., of O here.

in O and MT. ("your neighbor" however occurs only in O and PJ (and in the MT), and not in Par, CG, and N). Illustrating the verbs by the first one, "you shall not kill" we note as well the Impf. in the MT: תרצח and O: תיקטרול and the Partic. in PJ, Par, CG, and N: תהרון קטרולין. But even more impressive is the fact that these verses are woven into a long addition, found in PJ as in the other tgg.¹

In the verse proper of Ex 20.17(14), though PJ shows similarities with O, as do CG and N, in the main, PJ stands with the other Pal. Pent. tgg, which in this verse are Par, CG, and N.

In RSV, "You shall not covet...", the readings are: MT: תחמד, O: תחמיד, PJ: יחמיד, Par: יתחמיד, CG and N: יתחמד. PJ stands with O in using the simple theme, whereas Par, CG, and N use the Ithpe. But both of these themes are used both by O and by the Pal. tgg.² Moreover, though O agrees with the MT in using the second person sing.: you shall not covet, PJ renders this, as do Par, CG, and N: he shall not covet.

But not only does PJ show similarities with O, so also do CG and N. The phrase, RSV, "...your neighbor's house..." occurs in MT and O. Although it is omitted in PJ and Par, it is present in N and CG. In N however the suffix of the third person is used: his neighbor's house, because the passage is

1. Cf. the translation of vs 13-16 as in PJ, at the discussion of the addition, below, pp. 346f.

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 265.

written in the third person in the Pal. tgg. The more surprising it is when CG maintains the second person: your neighbor's house.

But the evidence that PJ stands with the other Pal. tgg, or represents the Pal. Pent. tg tradition uniquely is weighty compared with the above instances. In front of each of the members of this commandment, i.e. of the objects not to be coveted, PJ and the other Pal. tgg place "neither" or "nor" (ולא). Neither O nor the MT do this. The Pal. Tgg read: neither his manservant nor his maidservant, neither his ox nor his ass, nor (Par: or) anything that is his neighbor's (Par and N: your neighbor's).

In the phrase, "...or anything that is your neighbor's", which is rendered as follows: MT: וכל אשר לרעך, O: וכל דלחברך, PJ: ולכל דאית לחבריה, Par: ולכל דאית לחברך, CG: וכל מה דאית לחברה and N: כל מה די לחברך, we note that PJ's rendering is like those of Par and CG in using a word for the form "is": אית, and that PJ is unique in rendering the relative pronoun "that" with מאן (CG and N have מה, Par, O, and MT do not use a word here), where CG and N have the common unique rendering מה for this expression.

The expression: your neighbor's wife, is rendered as follows: MT: אשת רעך, O: איתת חברך, PJ: ית אינתתיה דחבריה, Par: אינתתיה דחבריה, CG: לאיתתא דחבריה and N: איתתיה דחבריה. Our Pal. tgg, including PJ use the suffix and ד for the genit. construction, O and MT however use the constr. st.

Furthermore, the form of the noun "wife" used by PJ and Par: אִנְתָּא, with the suffix, occurs only in the Jer. Tgg.¹ (O, CG, and N use the form without the nun.) All four Pal. tgg present here, including PJ, have the suffix of the third person masc. sing.: his neighbor's wife, whereas O and MT have: your neighbor's wife.

We note the important occurrence in this example of the particle ܢ' in PJ to indicate the accusative of the expression. Neither O nor N use a particle to indicate the accusative in this verse, following the MT. Par and CG use the inseparable ܘ with each accusative, though Par omits it in the case of "wife". PJ uses ܘ in each case, excepting our word "wife" under discussion. This ܢ' in PJ cannot be "sheer translation Aramaic for the Hebrew אֵת", as is sometimes maintained, because in our verse, there is no אֵת in the MT. As Baumstark notes of ܢ', it is the specific West Aramaic use as Nota Accusativa.² That the use of this word is West Aramaic is also held by Prof. P. Kahle, who shows the word ܘ at the beginning of Genesis in the Peshitta as proof of the latter's relation to the Palestinian Targum.³ We have here in PJ a West Aramaic word used in the old Palestinian Targum. When

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 44; cf. also p. 76.

2. Prof. Anton Baumstark, "Das Problem des Christlich-Palästinensischen Pentateuchtextes". Oriens Christianus III, 10 (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1935), p. 217.

3. Das Palästinische Pentateuchtargum etc., ... von Paul Kahle, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

this word is used by O, its rule of thumb may well have been that of literal conformity to the MT, i.e. to the Hebrew אַת, but it is quite likely that this word was mediated to O through the Palestinian Targum Tradition.

In E 20.18(15) we find some similarity between PJ and O, as well as between the other Pent. tgg and O. Most of the evidence, however, places PJ with Par, Bom, CG, and N in the Pal. tradition. There is an individual reading in Bom, but more important, a point where O does not follow the MT, but rather the Pal. tradition.

In RSV, "the sound of the trumpet", the constr. st. is used by the MT, O, and PJ. CG and N use the suffix and ך. The emph. st. and ך is used by Bom. A mere preference of a particular genitive formation cannot however be taken as a proof that one tg influenced the other.

Par, Bom, CG, and N add ן להרן after "they stood" in RSV, "and they stood afar off". This addition is lacking in PJ, surely a minor matter however.

The last part of this phrase, "afar off", is rendered by two words in Par, CG, and N: מן רחיק, and by one word in O, PJ, and Bom: מרחיק. Surely there is no question of influence from O upon PJ and Bom here.

The verb for "to tremble" in "the people...trembled", is rendered by four different verbs in the tgg. CG uses אַחַד, PJ has רָתַע, O and Bom have זָעַע, and N uses the Palp. theme of this verb: זָעָזַע. It is not likely that O influenced Bom and

N here. It is much more probable that O had the Pal. tgg, in certain forms, before him, as aids in its compilation. As far as the different verbs in the different Pal. tgg, this is what one would expect as different local streams in the Pal. tg tradition developed. We yet note that the verb יָנַח used in PJ, only occurs in the Jer. tgg.¹

There are many instances however, where PJ either uniquely, or together with the other Pal. tgg, represents the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. The verb used for "to perceive" in RSV, "Now when all the people perceived the thunders..." by O is כִּיּוּ . PJ, Bom, CG, and N however use כִּיּוּ , occurring only in the Jer. tgg.²

Two of the Pal. tgg, PJ and CG insert "all" in front of "the people", in RSV, "the people were afraid and trembled". PJ stands with a Pal. tg here.

In the phrase in the RSV, "...and the mountain smoking", PJ, Bom, CG, and N follow the MT in reading the noun "mountain" followed by the Partic. "smoking". Only O precedes this Partic. by וְהָרִים , reading: "the mountain which was smoking". Though O has modified the sentence grammatically, PJ stands with the Pal. tgg, which render literally the phrase as it stands in the MT.

Again in the words used for "lightning", PJ stands with the Pal. tgg, and not with O. O uses בָּרָק ; PJ, Bom, and CG

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 441.

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 264.

have לַפִּיד;¹ and N uses לִמְפֵד, apparently unrelated to the previous word.² Neither of the last two are listed as used in O.³

The adj. used for "smoking" is the same for our tgg here, except that Bom uses the unique עָטָד.

It is important to see that in the end of this verse O does not render the MT literally, but has adopted the reading of the Pal. tgg, including PJ. "to be afraid" in RSV, "...the people were afraid and trembled", is not in our Pal. tgg translated literally. The Pal. tgg use "to see": אָחַם: "the people saw and trembled". O has followed this, and uses אָחַח. This could indeed not have been a matter of all Pal. tgg following O. In that case they would not all have followed it; one or more would have given the MT reading. And if they had all given the new reading "to see", surely they would not all have changed the verb of O: אָחַח, into אָחַם. It is more reasonable to hold that O has copied the earlier Pal. tgg, of which PJ was a part, yet changing this verb אָחַח, which occurs only in the Jer. tgg, to אָחַח.

In E 20.25(22) we note some similarities between O and PJ and between O and the Pal. tgg and more important, the evi-

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 413 and Jastrow, op. cit., p. 715.

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 411 and Jastrow, op. cit., p. 713.

3. We do note however that the phrase in question is omitted in the ms for PJ, and has been restored by Gins. There is no reason to believe that this word was not the one employed by PJ, even though PJ uses בַּעֲרָא for "lightning" in

dence that PJ stands with the Pal. tgg. A unique reading is present in Par.

The verb "to make" in RSV, "...if you make me an altar of stone...", is in the sing. in the MT, O, and PJ, and in the plur. in Par, Bom, CG and N. The second time the verb is referred to, this time the verb, "to build" in RSV, "...you shall not build it of hewn stones", the sing. is used by the MT, O, PJ, and also by Bom, and the plur. by Par, CG, and N. Moreover in the choice of verb, in the first instance, Par and Bom stand with PJ, O, and the MT. These tgg have "to make": עָבַד, whereas CG and N have "to build": בָּנִי, as do all the tgg in the second instance. These are coincidences, and cannot be seen as proof that O influenced either PJ or Bom.

The verb "to wield" in RSV, "for if you wield your tool upon it", MT: הִנֵּפֶת, the Hiph. of נָרַף, O and PJ use רָוַם, Par and N עָבַד, and Bom uses עָבַד.¹ The reading of O and PJ is also found in Nmg. Indeed these readings are like O. But of the Pal. tgg, N and Par have one verb, Bom another and CG omits this verb altogether. It is quite possible that O chose the PJ reading of the Pal. tgg, rather than one of the other two readings.

MT, O, PJ, Par, and Bom use the constr. st. in RSV, "an altar of stone". CG uses the suffix and ך; and N uses only ך. This is clearly not a matter of O's having influenced

the following addition.

1. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 515f, renders Bom, "If thou workest with iron upon it,....".

PJ, inasmuch as O's form is also found in Par and Bom.

Weightier is the evidence showing PJ to stand with the Pal. tgg. The particle "if" in RSV, "And if you make me an altar of stone" is rendered $\square\aleph$ in O, Bom and N. The tgg PJ, Par, and CG however have אִי . We have already seen that the $\square\aleph$ form for this conjunction introducing a condition is the only one used by O, and that Pal. tgg use predominantly אִי .¹ PJ stands with Par and CG in that Pal. tradition here, even though Bom and N have $\square\aleph$.

The word "me" in RSV, "And if you make me an altar of stone" is rendered MT: לִי ; O and CG קִדְמִי ; and PJ, Par, Bom, and N: לְשָׁמִי . Even though one of the Pal. tgg agrees with O, PJ stands with the bulk of the Pal. tgg, and does not agree with O.

In the choice of the adj. "hewn" in RSV, "...you shall not build it of hewn stones", all the Pal. tgg, including PJ have one word, and O another: PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N have חֲצִיבִי , the Pe'il Partic. of חָצַב ; O has פָּסִילָן ; the MT here uses גִּזָּה , from גָּזַה . The verb used in the Pal. tgg, חָצַב , does not occur in O.² O uses instead פָּסַל for the MT גִּזָּה , as in our passage,³ as well as for the MT: חָצַב ,⁴ or the Aram.

1. We mention only E 22.12 (13): O, Bom: $\square\aleph$, and PJ, Vat, CG, and N: אִי ; E 22.14 (15): O: $\square\aleph$ (2x), and PJ, Vat, CG: אִי (2x); N has $\square\aleph$ for the first instance and אִי for the second.

2. Brederek, *op. cit.*, p. 153, Aram. חָצַב .

3. *Ibid.*, p. 22, Hebrew גִּזָּה .

4. *Ibid.*, p. 39, Hebrew חָצַב .

קצץ for the MT חטב.¹ Although Neumark lists the root חצב as a Hebraism, from the Biblical Hebrew, in Aramaic,² the use of this word stands fully in the Aram. of the Pal. tgg, and is not used in O.

For "to profane" in RSV, "...you profane it", O and MT use חלל, and PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N use פ'ס. The latter is not used in O,³ which uses the same letters as the MT in the main.⁴ PJ stands in the tradition of the Pal. tgg here. Moreover we note, about the construction of this phrase, that O and MT add the suffix to this verb, whereas PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N have a separate suffix added to the particle ת'.

In the last phrase of this verse, O makes a change in the grammar, as compared with the MT, which change is not followed by PJ, the latter concurring with the Pal. tgg. The MT reads literally, "...because ("if" omitted in MT) your tool you lift upon it, you profane it". O omits the "because", and puts there a negative, reading "lest", so that O is translated as: "lest thou wilt lift thy tool upon it and wilt profane it". PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N read: "('Because' only in PJ) if you work (PJ: 'lift up'; CG omits verb) your iron (N omits noun) upon it (PJ: 'upon the stone'), you profane it". N has the fuller readings in the mg. O has changed the gram-

1. Ibid., p. 35, Hebrew חטב.

2. Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen etc. (1905), op. cit., p. 24.

3. Brederek, op. cit., pp. 175f, Aram. פ'ס.

mar of the Hebrew, with the substitution of "lest" and the change of the verb tenses from Perfect to Imperfect. The Pal. tgg, including PJ, though showing minor differences between them carry in the main the grammar of the MT: "if" and maintain the Perfect meanings as in the MT.¹ PJ's standing with the Pal. tgg, comes out again in the word choice within this phrase. For tool, the MT uses חרב--sword, chisel.² O follows this, using the same word. All the other tgg however (N only in mg) use "iron": פרוזא, a word occurring only in the Jer. tgg.³ (In the adjoining addition, PJ uses סיפא, as also Nmg; but Par, Bom, CG, and N have חרוב).⁴ Dalman distinguishes between the noun ברזל used by O and closely related to it the Bibl. Aram. פרזל as Judaeen Aram. on the one hand, and פרזל as in the Pal. Talm. and Midrash, the Pal. tgg, CP Aram. (פּרזל) and Samaritan on the other.⁵ Neumark's comment is quite in place: "Man ist also nicht berechtigt, mit Dalm. 40 פרזלא galil. und ברזלא jüd. zu nennen, vielmehr ist die erstere Wortgestalt gemeinaram., die letztere hebräisch".⁶

4. Ibid., pp. 36f, Hebrew חלל.

1. Some mss in O read וּלֹא, others וּלְמָא, thus rendering the phrase, "in order that you will not lift up...". This remains a change of the MT which change is not followed by the Pal. tgg and PJ.

2. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 336.

3. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 288. Cf. Brederek, op. cit., p. 176, Aram. פּרזלא and p. 40, Hebr. חרוב.

4. Cf. below the discussion of the addition.

5. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 50.

The word occurring in our Pal. tgg here, also in PJ: פִּרְזָלָא, is a gemeinaramäisches word of the Jer. tgg (including PJ), occurring also in Syr., Bibl. Aram., OP Aram., Mand., Assyri. and Arab. (فرزل).¹ Neumark's thesis here is that the common Aram. word of the Pal. Tgg is not the peculiar Aram. dialect of these tgg, but that the different word used by O is due either to O's peculiar dialect or to O's method of translation. The latter is the case here, which specifically is "eine gewisse künstliche Art der Hebraisierung der Onkelossprache".² We shall not here take issue with the theme that the common Aram. of the Pal. tgg is normal Aram. and not a particular dialect. In either case, PJ's use here stands with the Pal. tgg. PJ here does not use the "hebraized Aramaic" which O employs. And so, both in the grammatical construction and in the important choice of this word, PJ stands not with O, but with the Pal. tgg. Evidence like this, so much found throughout all of PJ, makes it abundantly clear that we cannot hold the thesis that PJ was composed of O as well as of the Pal. tgg. Rather, we must hold that PJ is a stream of Pal. Pent. tg tradition, which shows unique differences with the other members of this tradition, as do FT, CG, and N amongst themselves, and which shows occasional similarities to O, as

6. Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen etc. (1905), op. cit., p. 44.

1. Ibid., p. 44.

2. Ibid., p. 41, ftnt. 1.

also do FT, CG, and N, which surely are no more than coincidences.

Finally Par adds the noun "stones" to the adjective "hewn", reading:]'33N]2'2N, a characteristic minor difference of one Pal. tgg with the others.

In E 20.26(23) one item of similarity between O and PJ occurs, and good evidence that PJ stands with the Pal. tgg. In RSV, "And you shall not go up" the verb for "to go up" is פִּדַע in O, PJ, CG, and N, and פָּדַע in Par and Bom. So, if there were any influence of O on PJ, it would also be on CG and N. One point of evidence however ties PJ directly with the Pal. tgg here, and differentiates these from O. O and the MT use the sing. of the verb, PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N however have the plur.

The noun used for "steps", in the MT מַעְלָה, is given as מַעְלָה in O, Par, Bom, CG, and N. PJ and Nmg have מַעְלָה. This reading of PJ and Nmg is not found in O.¹ These two tgg have the unique reading, different from O and the Pal. tgg. There is no influence of O upon PJ here.

The verb in the last phrase, "...that your nakedness be not exposed on it" is מְלִיץ in MT, O, Bom, CG (Pe'al theme), and N, and מְלִיץ in PJ only. The verb is unique in PJ in this passage, and moreover it is used only in the Jer. tgg.²

1. Levy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 53; Brederek, *op. cit.*, p. 166, Aram. פִּדַע; p. 170, Aram. פָּדַע; p. 85, Hebr. מַעְלָה and מַעְלָה.

The suffix on the preposition "on" is in O the only one used there: עָלָיו , and in PJ, Bom, CG, and N it is that used only in the Jer. tgg: עָלָיו . Either of these endings are used from time to time in the Jer. tgg.¹ The more important then that PJ has that which is like the Pal. tgg here, and not like O.

In E 21.18 a few instances occur where PJ appears to stand with O, but the major portion of evidence puts PJ with the Pal. tgg. At times there is unique evidence in PJ.

In the phrase "with a stone", O and PJ have the noun in the emph. st., as also Raschi's quotation of the FT, whereas CG and N have the absol. st. The MT lacks the pointing of the article. This kind of evidence however sometimes puts PJ with O, and at other times does the same for one or more of the Pal. tgg. This must be dismissed as coincidence, ~~hence~~.

The verb in RSV, "but keeps his bed" is in MT, O, PJ, and CG: לָפַד , and in Par, Bom, and N: לָפַד . Though the latter is a verb occurring only in the Pal. tgg,² we need not worry that the former is necessarily an influence of O upon PJ. If it were, it would also be O's influence upon CG. The fact is that the latter is a normally used verb in the Pal. tgg, i.e. in PJ,³ FT⁴ and N⁵ as well as here in CG and PJ, and is not a

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 264.

1. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 396.

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 306.

3. In PJ: G 11.28; 15.12(2x); 38.26; E 21.22, 26; 24.10.

specific use of O.¹ It is much more reasonable to assume that O chose this verb because of its literal equivalence to MT (and was perhaps influenced by the Pal. tg tradition of PJ and CG), than it is to assume that both CG and PJ here were influenced by O.

More numerous however are the instances where PJ stands with the Pal. tradition.

For "when" O has the spelling וַאֲרִי, and PJ and N וַאֲרוּם.²

The word "fist", MT: אֶגְרֵף, is rendered by O: כּוֹרְמִיזָא, but by PJ, Par, Raschi, Bom, CG, and N: מִרְתּוּקָא. Neither the meaning of Hebr. אֶגְרֵף, nor that of Aram. כּוֹרְמִיזָא is certain. The former has been variously translated as, "clod of earth, tool, fist";³ the Aram. כּוֹרְמִיזָא as "throwing

4. In Par: G 15.12(2x), 17.

5. In N: G 15.12(2x), 17.

1. Cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 120; Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit.; and Kuiper, op. cit., p. 110.

2. The same evidence is shown at: E 20.5, 11; 21.20; 22.15; L 22.27; 23.29.

3. אֶגְרֵף occurs in the OT here and at Isa. 58.4, in both places referring to the object used in fighting. Koehler lists the meaning as --1. broom, shovel, rake 2. hatchet, pickaxe, hoe, comparing it with مَجْرَفَةٌ, (Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 10) taking as root the PSH, Aram. and Arab. (جَرَفَ): גַּרַף --to wash away, which occurs once in the OT, at Judg. 5.21 (Ibid., p. 194). The other derivative of this root is the word מְגַרְפָּה used in Joel 1.17, translated by Koehler as "shovel". (The RSV renders it as "clod" with the ftnt.: Hebr. uncertain). It is compared with the PSH מְגַרְפִּית, מְגַרְפֵּי --tool for raking, and the CP Aram. מְגַרְפֵּי --spoon, and מְגַרְפֵּי

weapon, stick, stone".¹ The word used by PJ² and the Pal.

--shovel. (Ibid., p. 494). Gesenius-Buhl (Wilhelm Gesenius' Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, bearbeitet von Dr. Frants Buhl, unveränderter Neuauflage der 1915 erschienenen 17. Auflage. (Berlin/Göttingen/Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 1949), p. 8) render our word, "Klumpen, losgerissene Erdscholle". Siegfried-Stade (in Baentsch (HkAT, I, 2), op. cit., p. 193) renders, "Knüttel, Stock". Dillmann-Ryssel, op. cit., pp. 255f., and Georg Beer, Exodus, mit einem Beitrag von Kurt Galling. Handbuch zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von Otto Rissfeldt, Erste Reihe, 3 (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, (Paul Siebeck), 1939), p. 110, translate "Hacke". Dillmann feels that our word does not refer to the "Erdscholle, losgerissener Erdklumpen" spoken of by Gesenius-Buhl, but rather to the instrument used by farmers, "Schaufel, Karst" where the soil is stony, to cultivate the soil. This compares to the Arab. جَوْف

meaning both "wegschaufeln" and "unhacken" and مبرفة "Schaufel". (Dillmann-Ryssel, op. cit., p. 256). The PEH meaning of the word is "Faust; Gewalt, Macht". (Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 6). The LXX interprets the word as "fist" πυμνή. Dr. Bruno Baentsch, Handkommentar zum Alten Testament. In Verbindung mit anderen Fachgelehrten herausgegeben von D. W. Nowack, I. Abteilung, Die historischen Bücher, 2. Band, Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1903), p. 193, feels that eine absolut sichere Entscheidung sich nicht treffen lässt. This is true insofar as the meaning of the root is concerned. From the context however, this word is not expected to mean "lump of earth" as Baentsch and Dillmann-Ryssel point out, because after a fight with a stone, it takes more than a lump of earth to kill a man. Though by means of the "fist" one can kill another, in relation to "stone" a more substantial tool would be in place, i.e. a shovel or a hatchet, as also pointed out by Dillmann-Ryssel.

1. כִּיָּקִיָּא is taken by Levy (op. cit., I, p. 389) as related with χερμάδιον and χείρ, thus meaning--"Wurfwaaffe, Schleuder, so gross sie die Hand...fasst, wie Stein, Holzkloben". It is listed here as occurring in E 21.18, 0; Isa. 58.4 and N 35.17, 18. Another possible derivation is in relation to "das zabische كَبْ زَبْرَج" meaning--Stab, Stock.

(Ibid., I, p. 389). S. Kraus (Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum. Mit Bemerkungen von Immanuel Low. Zwei Teile: 1898-1899. (Berlin, N.W. 6: S. Calvary & Co.), II, p. 284) rejects the hypothesis of M. Sachs (Beiträge zur Sprach- und Alterthumsforschung, Berlin 1852, 1854, I, p. 144) that our word is related to κεραμῖς

tgg, meaning, "stick, beater, sledge-hammer", does not occur in O.¹ Whereas O has a word, ^{םסע} which use is not general and which meaning, at least at present, is not specifically clear, as is also the case in MT; PJ and the Pal. tgg have a word, which has a fairly specific meaning. The rendering of O here betrays its attempt to have a superficial and external similarity to the Hebr., not shared by PJ or the Pal. tgg. PJ and the Pal. tgg stand together.

For "his bed" in the phrase RSV, "the man does not die but keeps his bed", MT: **לְמִשְׁכָּב**, Par, Bom, and N have **לְעַרְס מַרְעָ** (N: **בְּעַרְס מַרְעָ**), "the sickbed" or "the bed, ill" in "he keeps

(Syr.: **ܩܡܘܢܐ**, cf. Levy, op. cit., p. 389)--tile, piece of earth. Professor A. M. Honeyman (in a lecture) takes our word to be from kummiz, **כַּמְזִיז**, with dissimilation of the middle radical. (Jastrow, op. cit., p. 625, also takes as root **כַּמְזִיז**, "with inserted **ר**" and translates our word as "fist"). Our word would be from a good Semitic root **כַּמְזַ**, "to clench one's fist, to round a thing with one's hand", of which a noun is **כַּמְזָה**, "small ball". (Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 426). I. Löw is reported to have communicated by letter the use of this word in the Talm. as "Brusthalter", and G. Dalman (Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina, V, p. 349) renders this as "female ornaments" and possibly as "breastplates". In the OT the word occurs at E 35.22; N 31.50 and Sir. 35.5 only. (Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 426). (On the dissimilation of the middle radical of **כַּמְזִיז**, cf. Carl Brockelmann, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen, in zwei Bänden, I. Band: Laut- und Formenlehre, 1908; II. Band: Syntax, 1913. (Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard), I, sect. 90f, pp. 243ff.). If this derivation of Professor Honeyman's is adopted, reference would be made to something which is held in one's hand (like a ball).

2. Gins. notes, "Spätere Ausg: **נִיא מוֹרְנִימָא**", which is **מוֹרְנִימָא** f--lance, pole, staff. Cf. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 750 and Levy, op. cit., II, p. 71.

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 74 and Brederek, op. cit.,

the bed, ill".¹ PJ only has the latter of these two words, with the preposition prefixed: למרע, which literally would render the phrase, "he keeps ill". The word however is rendered by Levy as "sickbed", and would be equivalent to Par, Bom, and N in meaning.² CG renders this: למש(רי ב)הת, literally, "in bed of shame", or "in bed of suffering". Though not noted lexically, this may perhaps be taken to mean "sickbed", the same meaning as PJ, Par, Bom, and N.³ These words are all used by O in a related meaning, however not in this specific meaning.⁴ O uses here לכוטלן, literally, "in idleness".⁵ We find that PJ stands in word choice and in meaning with the Pal. tgg of Par, Bom, CG, and N, translating, "sickbed". This is an extension of the MT, "bed" however. But O reads, "in idleness", a completely different reading from either MT, or PJ and the Pal. tgg. Why does O change the meaning, and use this word? Neither the noun nor the verb from the root בטל seem to occur abundantly in O,⁶ though they

p. 185, no Aram.: רתק, p. 164, no Aram.: מרתוקא, p. 23, MT: אָגְרִי equals Aram: כורמיו.

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 246.

2. Ibid., II, pp. 71f.

3. Ibid., II, p. 79, I, p. 85.

4. Cf. Brederek, op. cit., and Levy, op. cit.

5. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 91 and Jastrow, op. cit., p. 158; Etheridge, op. cit., I, p. 393, however translates O, "...and he die not, but fall upon his bed;". Brederek, op. cit., p. 121, BH: מְטָבֵב lists בוטלן, occurring in E 21.18 meaning "Krankenlager".

do occur frequently in the Pal. tgg.¹ The word does occur in the following verse for the BH: נָשָׂא , in O, PJ, CG, and N, in the phrase, "...only he shall pay for the loss of his time ...". It is likely that O found this word for verse 18, in verse 19. Why O made that choice is not readily clear. Did he wish to coordinate the verses 18 and 19 more closely? It is after all the same thing in verse 18, to which verse 19 refers: the man is sick in bed, and loses time; this loss of time must be repaid. If this is the case, it may be an influence upon O from the Pal. tgg, including PJ, as this word and its root are more frequently used there. Yet we ask, why does O not use the good Aram. word נִשְׂבַּח for the MT נִשְׂבַּח here in verse 18?² It has been noticed that sometimes when the Pal. tgg use an Aram. word, O uses another Aram. word. In these cases Dalman distinguishes between Galilaean Aram. in the Pal. tgg and Judaeen Aram. in O.³ Neumark, in rejecting this distinction, gives a number of possible reasons: O has chosen a word which externally is more like the corresponding MT;⁴ or O chooses an Aram. word which Aram. has in common with

6. Brederek, op. cit., p. 141, Aram.: נָשָׂא and corresponding Hebr. references, pp. 118f: נָשָׂא , p. 113: נָשָׂא , p. 121: נָשָׂא . Cf. also the references in the previous ftnt.

1. Cf. Levy and Jastrow, op. cit.; also Wensinck, ... Lexicon, op. cit., and Kuiper, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

2. Brederek, op. cit., p. 188, Aram.: נִשְׂבַּח , Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 257 and Levy, op. cit., II, p. 77.

3. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., pp. 39-51.

BH, even though the Hebr. is possibly not used at the corresponding place in the MT;¹ O has a particular Aram. idiom, for the Gemeinaramäische of the Pal. tgg, though this idiom in O does not necessarily represent ~~Judaean~~ Aram.;² or O's choice rests completely outside the lexical area, and is dictated by particular rules of translation or interpretation.³ The first, third and fourth choices do not apply here. The second choice is possible here: O has chosen an Aram. word, which is in common with BH. However it is just the verb which occurs in BH, and that only once, in the late Eccles. 12.3.⁴ Both the verb and the noun are well used in PEH.⁵ It is hence not likely that this choice of O was influenced from the BH equivalent, not used in the passage under discussion. Again, O does not use any of the expressions from the Pal. tgg or PJ in our verse, which words are all used by O. The evidence points in the direction that O wishes to remove himself both from the word choice of the Pal. tgg (including PJ) in verse 18 and from the Aram. word dictated by the MT here. Instead, as we have said, O coordinates verse 18 more closely to verse 19. For the MT צָבַח of verse 19, "loss of time, idleness" there is in-

4. Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen etc., (1905), op. cit., pp. 45-46.

1. Ibid., pp. 46-47.

2. Ibid., pp. 47-48.

3. Ibid., p. 48.

4. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 119.

5. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 52.

deed no better equivalent than the בִּזְטָלָן of the Pal. tgg and PJ.¹ It is hence quite possible that O's use of בִּזְטָלָן in verse 19 is an influence upon O of the Pal. tgg and PJ. This would mean that O's use of this word in verse 18, is also the influence from the Pal. tgg and PJ. And PJ, as we have already noted, stands in choice of word and in meaning with the Pal. tgg in verse 18.

Following is the unique evidence in PJ. The word "men" is spelled in PJ with the waw: בְּזָבְרִין, and in O and N without the waw: בְּזָבְרִין.² As we have seen above, O never uses the form with the waw, and the Pal. tgg and PJ use either the form with the waw, or the form without it. Hence PJ surely stands with the Pal. tgg here, as well as N.

For RSV, "...and one strikes the other..." MT: וְהִכְּתוּ אֶת אֶחָד מֵהֶם, O, OG, and N: וְיִמְחִי גֹבֵר יְת חֲבֵרִיה (CG: חֲבֵרָה) but PJ has: וְיִמְחֹן חֵד לְחֲבֵרִיה. Hence PJ has instead of "and one man strikes his neighbor", "and they strike, one his neighbor". This is a slight peculiarity in idiom found in PJ here, of the kind which is often found in one or more of the Pal. tgg. This occurrence here puts PJ in that tradition.

In E 21.20 we note some similarities between O and PJ,

1. Only in E 21.19 is בִּזְטָלָן used in the Hebrew Pentateuch, cf. Koehler und Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, p. 947. Of the possible Aram. renderings for the Hebr. root בִּזְטָל, as listed in Brederek, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119, the word בִּזְטָלָן is the only one suited for the meaning, "idleness, loss of time through sickness", though Brederek forgets to list it here, noting it however on p. 141, under Aram. בִּזְטָלָן.

2. For O, Berliner gives בְּזָבְרִין and Sperber points בְּזָבְרִין. Cf. above, pp. 142ff.

with one time CG standing with PJ, and PJ standing with the other Pal. tgg.

The noun "maidservant" is spelled in O and PJ: אַמְתִּיהָ; and in CG and N: אַמְהַתָּהּ and אַמְהַתִּיהָ resp. Jastrow lists the word with the ה: אַמְהַתָּהּ, אַמְהָא together with the spelling which lacks the ה: אַמְתָּא, with its absol. st. אַמְא.¹ The plural forms always have the ה: אַמְהַתָּהּ, אַמְהָן. Levy does not list forms with the ה for the sing., noting one example however which does have it: Job 31.13: אַמְהַתִּי --meine Magd.² The plurals noted above are also the plural forms of the noun אַמְהַתָּא, אַמְהָן --Bedienung, das Bedienen; bedienende Person.³ In CP Aram. and Syr. the singular forms occur without ה and the plural with the ה.⁴ Of the sing. noun in the Pent. tgg, O and PJ always appear to use the forms without ה;⁵ CG uses only the forms with the ה;⁶ whereas N uses both the forms with the ה⁷ and those without,⁸ often having the alternate form in

1. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 75.

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 34.

3. Ibid., p. 35; cf. Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 75f.

4. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 11 and Robinson, op. cit., p. 43. (Payne Smith, Thesaurus etc., op. cit., p. 20).

5. G 16.1, 3, 8; 21.10(2x); 25.12; 29.24(2x); 30.3, 4, 7, 10, 12; 35.25, 26.

6. G 29.24(2x); 30.3, 4, 7, 10; E 21.26. (Cf. Kuiper, op. cit., p. 10).

7. G 29.24(2nd time); 30.4, 7, 10, 12; 35.26.

8. G 16.1, 3, 8; 21.10(2x); 25.12; 29.24(1st time); 30.3.

the mg. It is possible that PJ's consistent use of the form without the ה, and N's use of this form part of the time, is influenced by O. Yet, CG uses as rigidly the sing. noun with the ה, as does PJ that without it. We may think of this then as difference in local dialects. But N uses both the spellings. Therefore the spelling of PJ need not have a relation to O, i.e. of being influenced by it. PJ's spelling may have been a dialect related to that of N, which uses both forms. At any rate, this cannot be taken as substantial proof that O influenced either PJ or N here.

The verb in RSV, "...and the slave dies", is a waw consecutive with Perf. in the MT: וּמָת, O, PJ, and CG have an Impf.: וּמִיָּמָת, and N has the Perf.: וּמָת. This is a matter of style, or perhaps coincidence, and no influence of O upon PJ and CG can be thought of here.

Next we consider the verb in RSV, "...he shall be punished". The readings are as follows: MT: וְנִקְּמוּ; followed by Bom: מִתְּנַקְּמָא יִתְּנַקְּמוּ; O and PJ: אֲתִדְּנָא יִתְּדִן (PJ: אִיתִ); Par and CG: מִתְּקַנְסָא/ה יִתְּקַנְסוּ (Nmg: בְּקַנְסָא יִתְּקַנְסוּ); and N: מִתְּפָרַע מִיָּנִיָּה. All the Aram. verbs, except קַנְס, used by Par, CG, and Nmg, are also used in O's vocabulary.¹ The meaning of the Niph. of the Hebr. נָקַם is "to be avenged", but surely here "to be punished".² The sense of "to be avenged"

1. Brederek, op. cit., p. 181, no Aram. קַנְס, cf. also p. 76, Hebr. נָקַם.

2. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 633. Cf. Baentsch (HkAT), op. cit., p. 195.

also underlies the Aram. verbs נָקַם (Bom) and פָּרַע (N). The Ithp. of both דִּין (O and PJ) and קָנַס (Par, CG, Nmg) is simply "to be punished". It would appear that PJ stands with O in having interpreted the legal meaning of this law--a slave, when he dies under the master's hand at the latter's strokes, is not avenged, but the master is punished. This punishment does not consist of the death penalty, but probably of a fine. This interpretation is also present in Par, CG, and Nmg, though a different root is used there. In Bom and N the meaning possible in the MT, "to be avenged" is held. Bom and N are therefore a closer duplication of the MT. If we say that O influenced PJ, there remains the question--why did O not use the Aram. נָקַם used by Bom, literally equivalent of the MT נָקַם? O sometimes prefers external equivalence with MT, at other times rejecting it, on account of his method of interpretation. The latter may have been the case here, following our interpretation above. In this case the possibility is equal that O influenced PJ, as that this is not the case. But another possibility exists. After the phrase "and he shall be punished" PJ finishes the verse with the addition, "with the punishment of death by the sword". The whole reads: אִיתְּדַבָּא יְתַדֵּן . דִּין קְטִילַת סִיפָא . The two parts, the verse and the addition, are very much one part, and seem consciously to have been just one part. Both verb and noun for "to punish" and "punishment" are the same root. As will be shown in the discussion of the addition, this interpretation is an early one. This being so,

and the addition forming a part with the verse through the use of the root **דִּין** in both, there is no question of O's having influenced PJ in the choice of the verb **דִּין** in the verse part. The Pal. tradition, with PJ as part of it, used the different verbs here **דִּין**, **קָנַס**, **נָקַם**, and **פָּרַע**, marking the uniqueness of the different branches of the Pal. tradition. O in having this tradition for the work of compilation of the "received" targum, chose the verb **דִּין**, from the PJ branch of the Pal. tradition, because of O's rules of interpretation, as referred to above. This presents itself as a likely explanation.

"With a rod", MT: **בַּשֵּׁבֶט**, is rendered by O: **בשולטן** and by PJ, PT in **עִ**, OG, and N: **בשרביטא/ה**. (**ע** has the absol. st.). The BH word which is copied by PJ and the Pal. tgg, is an often used BH word, referring to rod, sceptre, staff, tool and sword.¹ PJ and the Pal. tgg do not however use the exactly literal equivalent of the BH, which would be **שֵׁבֶטָא**, a word which is also used in O's vocabulary,² but they use the noun from a Parel form: **שֵׁרְבִיטָא**,³ which is not used in O.⁴ Why is it that O here, does not use **שבט** or **שרביט**, literal renderings of the MT word, but has **שולטן**? The latter word is translated, "1. Macht, Herrschergewalt...2. Übrtr. Machthaber...3. Stab".⁵ Hence, whereas the former root **שבט** implies a general

1. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 941.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 447.

3. Ibid., II, p. 517, cf. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1628.

4. Brederek, op. cit., p. 118, BH **שבט**.

meaning, referring to sceptre, rod and sword, as well as to tool, the word שולטן implies basically authority and power on the part of a person, and hence the rod of authority used by such a ruling person. It is possible that O favors an interpretation which stresses the difference between the slave and his master, with the latter as ruling authority over the slave. This is the official interpretation of this law, which does not require the death penalty from the master, should the slave die immediately, but a fine only. This interpretation is in line with the other laws in this section. It is hence most probable that O's rejection of the Aram. literal equivalent of the MT is deliberate, and due to his aim of interpretation, i.e. of giving the official interpretation of these laws. Yet, here PJ has the noun also in the Pal. tgg, nearly the literal equivalent of the MT, a noun not occurring in O.

In E 21.25 some similarities between O and the Pal. tgg as well as O and PJ occur; there is unique evidence in PJ as in the other Pal. tgg.

The preposition "for" in RSV, "...burn for burn, wound for wound, stripe for stripe" is rendered by MT: פָּחַח; O: חָלַף; PJ: חוּלַף and by FT as in עֵי, CG, and N: חֲשֻׁלְּוּמִי. Admittedly, the word חֲשֻׁלְּוּמִי used here by עֵי, CG, and N is a word not used in O,¹ nevertheless, PJ is not equal to O in spelling,

5. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 485.

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 564, cf. also Brederek, op.

the former having חרלף and the latter חלף, which is an important difference when we look at the Pent. as a whole. Both of these spellings are used by the Pal. tgg and by PJ, whereas O only uses the spelling without the waw:¹ O,² Bom³ and N⁴ consistently use חלף; Par,⁵ CG⁶ and Nmg⁷ use only חרלף. PJ however uses both חרלף⁸ and חלף.⁹ It would be a simple solution on the basis of this evidence to assume that PJ is made up of both O (חלף) and the Pal. tgg (חרלף). But this would only be so if the חלף form only occurred in O. But it also occurs in Bom and N, besides PJ. Both of the spellings are used in Pal. tgg and hence in Pal. dialects. It is quite possible either that PJ uses a Pal. dialect which employs both of these spellings or that PJ is not careful to distinguish between two spellings which are both employed in Pal. dialects.

cit., p. 188, Aram. שלם, no Aram. תשלום and p. 128, BH חחח.

1. Cf. Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., and Kuiper, op. cit., p. 60.

2. O: G 4.25; 20.16; 30.15; E 21.24(4x), 25(3x), 36, 37(2x); L 24.20(3x); 26.43; N 11.20; D 22.29. Cf. Brederek, op. cit., p. 128, BH חחח, Aram. חלף.

3. Bom: G 20.16 (so also Vat here); 29.22; L 26.43 (2x).

4. N: G 4.25; 29.22; N 11.20; D 22.29.

5. Par: G 29.22; L 26.43(2x).

6. CG: G 29.22; 30.15; E 21.36, 37(2x).

7. Nmg: G 4.25; 30.15; N 11.20; D 22.29.

8. PJ: חרלף: G 29.22; 30.15; E 21.24(4x), 25(3x), 36, 37(2x); L 24.20; N 11.20; D 22.29.

It would be quite wrong to ^{regard} ~~the~~ PJ here ^{as} influenced by O, with absolute certainty. We find it more plausible to assume that PJ stands in the Pal. tradition.

The word "burn", MT: כָּרַיָּה is rendered O: כְּרֹאָה, CG: כְּרֹיִיָּה and N: כְּרִיָּה. PJ however has צַעַר מַחְרוֹךְ, "the pain of burning".¹ Hence, if we are to look for an influence of O, it would be upon CG and N. PJ is unique here. Though the noun צַעַר is also used in O,² the noun for "burning" does not occur in O.³ Of the Aram. root חֲרַךְ,⁴ O only uses the noun חֲרַכָּא--Höhlung, Fenster, Lücke,⁵ for the BH חֲלֹן--Fenster,⁶ at G 26.8.⁷ Neumark thinks that both the verb חֲרַךְ--glühen, and the noun מַחְרוֹכָא-burn, are gemeinaramäische words of the Jer. tgg (which for Neumark means PT and PJ), and that O uses the equally gemeinaramäische word for this noun, namely כְּרִיָּאָה, probably because it is closer externally to the MT, which has for the noun: כָּרַיָּה.⁸ We have to do with a root here, whose

9. PJ: חֲלַף: G 4.25; 20.16; L 26.43.

1. So Etheridge, op. cit., I, p. 517.

2. For BH עֲצָר (G 3.16) and עֲצָבוֹן (G 3.17). Cf. Brederek, op. cit., p. 179, Aram. צַעַר and p. 88, BH: עֲצָר.

3. Brederek, op. cit., p. 153, Aram. חֲרַךְ.

4. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 281: "glühen, brennen".

5. Ibid., I, p. 282.

6. Kochler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 301.

7. Cf. Brederek, op. cit., p. 37, BH חֲלֹן under חֲלַל for Aram. חֲרַךְ in G 26.8.

derivatives, excepting one instance, and that in a removed meaning, are not used in O. Although the noun **מחרוכא** seems only used here and in PJ,¹ the verb **חרך**--to burn, is used in the Pal. tgg² as well as in the tgg outside the Pent.³ We therefore conclude that our noun as well as the verb are Pal. in usage, which in our passage applies to PJ.

The spelling of "wound" is in O, CG and N: **פדעא/ה** and in PJ: **פודעא**. It is not a case of PJ's spelling being the same as that of O here, over against a different spelling in the Pal. tgg. PJ's spelling is unique here, and that of CG and N is the same as O. PJ is quite unique here in using the form with the waw, which perhaps makes this the fem. noun, and therefore the absol. st., "a wound" as the MT reads.⁴ Some non-Pent. tgg also use this form.⁵ PJ's use of this form is unique and does perhaps represent a dialectical peculiarity within Pal. Aram.

Four different nouns are used in the tgg for "stripe", MT: **חַבְנָרָה**. Following the MT is CG: **חברי**. O has: **משקופי**; PJ: **הלכשיש**; Par: **גלופשש**; N: **רושם** and PT in **רשם עי'**. The

8. Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen etc., (1905), op. cit., p. 45.

1. At the other instances where the noun "burn" is used in the Pent., O, PJ, and N use **כויא/כואה**, Par, Bom, CG being absent here: L 13.24(2x), 25, 28(2x).

2. Cf. Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 281f: G 21.15; E 12.37.

3. Ibid.; Job 30.30; Isa. 9.18; Jer. 6.29.

4. Cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 225.

MT and CG noun: חֲבֹרָה and חֲבֵרָא are from the root BH חָבַר, Arab حَبَّرَ, meaning, "verzieren, bunt machen".¹ The noun used in O, מִשְׁקוּפֵי is from the root שָׁקַף, "schlagen, klopfen".² The reading of PJ, הַלְכָשִׁישׁ, is no doubt from ἑλκωσις.³ It is reported as used only here in PJ, and in no other Pal. tg. It does not occur in O.⁴ It occurs also in Tg Ps. 22.18; 38.6 and Tg Job 9.17.⁵ The Gk word ἑλκωσις occurs in Thucyd. II, 49 (fifth cent. BC)⁶ and its root ἑλκος (1) in Homer, Herodotus and the Tragici as "wound", (2) in the Attici and the NT as "Eiterwunde" and (3) in the Lyrici and Tragici as "loss".⁷ We have hence the related word ἑλκος occurring in the NT, meaning, "sore".⁸ This was no doubt a word of common

5. Ibid.: Prov. 20.30; 23.29; 27.6.

1. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 273. Cf. Kuiper, op. cit., p. 52 and corrigenda.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 79.

3. Ibid., I, pp 199, 201 and Jastrow, op. cit., p. 353. The word is surely not a reduplication of שִׁקְוֵי מ--the woolly substance of cedar twigs, (Ibid., p. 711) as Jastrow posits.

4. Brederek, op. cit., p. 148, no Aram. הלכשישׁ.

5. Krauss, op. cit., II, p. 229.

6. George Dunbar and E. H. Barker, A Greek and English Lexicon... Also An English and Greek Lexicon. (Edinburgh: MacLachlan and Stewart, South Bridge, MDCCCXXI), p. 276.

7. Dr. Fred Muller en Dr. J. H. Thiel, Beknopt Grieks-Nederlands Woordenboek, vierde druk. (Groningen: J. B. Wolters' Uitgeversmaatschappij, N.V., date between 1944 and 1950), p. 235.

8. Walter Bauer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New

speech around the first century of our era, and it testifies to the character of PJ's language as that commonly spoken in Palestine as an area where Greek was also spoken and had made its influence upon Aram. Buxtorf¹ reads הלכשוש here, which reading also occurs in some of the other passages quoted. This kind of variant reading points to language spoken by those whose first language was Aram., and who secondarily and perhaps imperfectly knew some Greek. Such was the ethos of those who first used the Pal. Pent. tg--they were ordinary folk, whose common speech was Aram. Par reads for this noun גלופש, a word which we have not been able to identify lexically. It is quite possible that this is another variant reading of the Aram. הלכשיש, along the lines of which we have discussed the spelling of PJ in Buxtorf. N and MT in ע have רושם and רשם respectively, from the rt רשם, "zeichnen, bezeichnen, ein Zeichen, Mal machen, aufzeichnen",² a noun also used by O. Hence we have here three different words used in the Pal. tgg and PJ, and yet another by O. It is not clear why O does not use the Aram. חבנרא as does CG, which is the literal equivalent of the MT חבנרה. But of course this

Testament and other early Christian Literature, a translation and adaptation of the German Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur, fourth revised and augmented edition, 1952, by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 251: Lk. 16.21 and Rev. 16.2.

1. Buxtorf, Lexicon Chald. Talmud. et Rabbin., Basel, 1639; ed. Fischer, Leipzig 1875, as referred by Krauss, op. cit., II, p. 229.

noun is never used in O.¹ PJ-Par, CG and N-PT (ע) may be seen as different and unique branches of the Pal. tg tradition, though of course we cannot identify any dialects from this evidence.

The evidence in E 22.12 is the usual--some similarities between O and PJ as well as between O and the Pal. tgg; some unique spelling of PJ hence different from O; and some additions, either only in PJ or in the Pal. tgg as well.

The following are the similarities between O and PJ. The verb used for "to tear" in RSV, "If it is torn" is תבר by O and PJ; איתברא יתבר by Bom and CG; Bom: יתקטלא (Vat: מתקטלא) and CG: יתקטלה (מתקטלה); and טרף by the MT and N: MF: טַרַף יַטְרַף and N: מטרפה ויטרף. O does not use the Aram. טרף here, which would be literally the equivalent of the MT טרף. O never uses the Aram. טרף for the BH טרף. For the BH טרף O uses either קטל or תבר.² O does use the Aram. טרף in the Ithpa. for BH פעם in Niph.³ O could have used the rendering of CG and Bom, the verb קטל, which O uses elsewhere. The fact is that both O and PJ use the verb תבר. Is this influence of O upon PJ? The evidence does not necessarily prove this. The verb תבר is not only one used by O,⁴ or PJ,⁵ but

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 439.

1. Brederek, op. cit., p. 33, BH פַּתְּוּהָ with as only Aram. rendering מַסְקוּפִי.

2. Brederek, op. cit., p. 44, BH טרף.

3. Ibid., p.155, Aram. טרף; cf. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 321.

is also used by the Pal. tgg:¹ as for instance CG² and N.³ Hence, though the possibility exists that PJ's choice of verb תבר was influenced by O, this is not a proved fact. It is possible that here O was influenced by PJ which latter uses a verb, also used in the Pal. tgg throughout the Pent.

Following upon this use of the main verb, is the verb used in the phrase RSV, "what has been torn". All sources follow the use of the main verb, except N which now also uses קטל: MT: הִטְרַףָּה; O, PJ: דחביר; Par(en), Bom and N: קטילא. Following what we have said above, this need not be absolute proof that O influenced PJ here.

Instead of "evidence" in RSV, "...let him bring it as evidence..." O,⁴ PJ, N, and Par (ms) read "witnesses": טה(י)דין Par (en) and Bom have טהיד, "a witness" or "a testimony". MT reads עֵד. O parts with the meaning of the MT here. The phrase in the MT is: יבאֵהוּ עֵד, "he shall bring it as evidence". This is interpreted in the OT itself to mean that the shepherd were to bring part of the animal back.

4. Brederek, op. cit., pp. 190f, Aram. תבר for BH טבר, עוץ, מוּג, טרף, חתת, רועץ, מסס, מחץ, כנוע, טרף, חלש, המם, חזף, נוגף, חול, חרס.

5. G 8.11; 19.9; 31.39; 50.19; E 9.25; 22.9, 12 (2x); 23.24(2x); 34.1, 13; L 22.22; D 9.17(2x).

1. Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., Kuiper, op. cit., p. 117 and Levy, op. cit., II, p. 526f.

2. CG: E 9.25; 22.9.

3. N: G 19.9; E 9.25; 22.9; 23.24(2x); 34.1, 13; L 22.22; D 9.17.

This showed that the shepherd went after the attacking animal and had torn at least part of his own animal out of the mouth or claws of the attacking animal. This sufficiently proved that the shepherd had done his duty.¹ This is the interpretation of the Sam. Pent., which omits the suffix on the verb, and places a ׀ in front of the כָּל, thus reading the phrase one word farther than the MT reading mark does: "...he shall bring an evidence of the torn animal and then he shall not make restitution".² The Mechiltha lists this interpretation under the name of R. Josiah (third generation Tannaim, ca. 130-160 A.D.³)

Wenn zerrissen, zerrissen es wird, so bringe er טַי, d. i. das Zerrissene (oder das dem Wild Entrissene טַי (טַי)). Worte des R. Josia. Obgleich es keinen Beweis für die Sache gibt, so gibt es doch eine Andeutung (Erinnerung) für die Sache, denn es heisst (Am. 3, 12): "Also spricht der Ewige: Gleichwie der Hirt entreisst aus dem Munde des Löwen zwei Kniestücke oder einen Ohrzipfel, also sollen gerettet werden die Kinder Israel" u.s.w.⁴

The LXX however reads the MT טַי as טַי, and also puts the conjunction "and" before the negative "not", hence like the Sam. Pent. reading the phrase one word farther than the MT: ἄγει αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν καὶ οὐκ ἀποτείσει, "...he shall lead him

4. The 1490 Biblia Hebraica, Ixar has טַי טַי.

1. G 31.39; I Sam. 17.35; Amos 3.12. Cf. Beer (HBAT), op. cit., p. 114.

2. Cf. also Baentsch (HKAT), op. cit., p. 200.

3. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., p. 114.

4. Mechiltha, übersetzt von Winter und Wünsche, op. cit., Mischpatim (Nezikin), 16. Abschnitt, Kap. 22, 12, pp. 297f.

to the animal and then he shall not make restitution".

This interpretation is present in Mechiltha under the name of R. Jonathan (third generation Tannaim, ca. 130-160 A.D.¹).

He and R. Josiah were the most prominent pupils of R. Ishmael:

R. Jonathan sagt: Er bringe עד הטרפה, bis zu dem Zerrissene und er soll frei sein zu zahlen; oder: Sollte er gleichwohl schuldig sein? Und die logische Schlussfolgerung ergibt es: Weil das Verlorengehen Mangel an Hütung und das Zerreißen Mangel an Hütung ist, --wenn du hinsichtlich des Verlorengehens gelernt hast, dass er schuldig ist zu zahlen, so soll er auch hinsichtlich des Zerreißens schuldig sein zu zahlen. (ftnt.: D. i. es soll auch der... Hüter um Lohn...schuldig bei Zwang sein, d.i. wenn der Bewahrungsgegenstand ihm mit Gewalt entrissen wurde).²

Finally there is R. Jochanan ben Josiah, who takes the

EH טַי as a plural: עֵדִים:

R. Jochanan ben Josia sagt: "Wenn zerrissen, zerrissen es wird, so bringe er טַי", d.i. er bringe עֵדִים, Zeugen, dass es zerrissen worden ist, und er soll frei sein zu zahlen.³

In our verse, Par (cn), Bom, and from the context also CG read MT טַי in the sing.: "evidence". This is the same as the meaning of the MT, as implicit in the MT, and as explained by other OT passages, the Sam. Pent. and R. Josiah in the Mechiltha. O, PJ and N read the MT טַי as a plural, as also R. Jochanan ben Josiah in Mechiltha: "witnesses". In this case the shepherd is not to bring as evidence of the mishap a

1. Ibid., p. 375 and Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., p. 114.

2. Ibid., Mischpatim (Nezikin), 16. Abschnitt, Kap 22, 12, p. 298.

3. Ibid., Mischpatim (Nezikin), 16. Abschnitt, Kap. 22, 12, p. 298.

piece of evidence of the torn animal, but he is to bring witnesses of the mishap. O along with PJ and N depart from the meaning implicit in the MT. Inasmuch as this is the interpretation of both N and PJ, there is reason to feel that this was an interpretation occurring in part of the Pal. Pent. tg. It seems therefore likely that O is influenced by the Pal. Pent. tg, perhaps by the very tg PJ and/or N on this point.

A number of points emerge where PJ does not stand with O. Besides the usual variants with the אַא vs אִן spelling, where PJ and the Pal. tgg have the latter, there is the spelling of the verb, "to make restitution". O has: יְשַׁלֵּם; PJ, Par, Bom and N: יְשַׁלֵּם.¹ PJ's unique spelling is different from O as well as from the Pal. tgg. There is no influence of O on PJ here. Rather, PJ stands as a unique witness of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition.

The same is the case in the rendering of the verb in, RSV, "let him bring it as evidence". PJ reads: מִיִּיתִי; O, Par and Bom: יִיתִי; CG: וְיִיתִי; and N יִיתֶן. The Pal. tgg and O have the Impf. 3rd person masc. sing. whereas PJ has an Infin. or Part. act.² PJ is unique. There is no influence of O upon PJ. Rather is PJ a unique representative of the

1. Similar evidence is found in E 22.14 (RSV: 15), where O and Vat have יְשַׁלֵּם and PJ, CG, and N have: יְשַׁלֵּם.

2. The 3rd masc. plur. reading of N is certainly a mistake. This would render the passage, "...witnesses shall bring him the torn animal". This kind of procedure is not referred to in any references.

fluid Pal. tg tradition.

E 22.14 (RSV: 15) shows two points where PJ stands with the Pal. tgg, two facts which could be interpreted as influences of O upon PJ, and an addition which PJ has in common with the Pal. tgg.

The variation in spelling of אַא vs אִין is as usual. We have as well mentioned already the spelling of the verb, "he shall make restitution", where again PJ stands with CG and N, as different from O and Vat.

The expression, RSV, "...it came for its hire", ^{is rendered} renders the MT; ^{by} בָּא בְשָׂכְרוֹ. The verb עלל is used by O: על¹ and PJ: עאל. N renders אַתְקַבֵּל, "it will be received in the hire". Par and Vat use the verb זול: Par: יזיל, Vat: ייזיל, "its hire will be cheap in the loss". The verb of Par and Vat, זול is not used by O, though O uses once, at D 21.20 the rt זלל, which has the same meaning.² The verb קבל used by N, is one used both by O and the Pal. tgg.³ The verb used by O and PJ, is a very common one both in O and in the Pal. tgg.⁴ But it is important to note the difference in spelling: PJ uses an aleph to express the vowel. Dalman lists this spelling only for PJ (editio princeps) at N 17.23⁵ and lists this as

1. Biblia Hebraica, Lisbon, 1491, reads: ייעול.

2. Brederek, op. cit., pp. 148f, no Aram. זול, Aram. זלל, p. 30, BH זלל, cf. Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 215, 222.

3. Ibid., II, pp. 339f.

4. Ibid., II, p. 218.

5. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 330.

the Galilaeen dialect, separating it from that of Tg Onk.¹ Three facts then prevent us from lightly assuming that O influenced PJ here. First, a use of the same verb need not mean influence of one tg upon the other, to the exclusion of the equal possibility of the other's influence upon the first tg. Other evidence has to be used. Secondly, this verb is as commonly used by O as it is by the Pal. tgg, rendering the BH . Thirdly, there is the decisive difference in spelling between PJ and O. This means that it is easier to assume that PJ influenced O than vice versa. Because, if an unauthorized tg (PJ) is copying from an authorized version (O), it is not likely that the former changes the spelling of the latter. If however, the editor of the authorized version (O) has a number of unauthorized tgg, such as PJ before him, the O editor will change and standardize the spelling of the other.

The phrase RSV, "...for its hire..." is rendered as follows: O and PJ: באוריה; and N: באורא. But the suffix on the noun is also present in Par (cn), Vat, and Nmg, though these have this part of the verse in a different order. Par and Vat read, "...its hire will be cheap in the loss", and Nmg reads "its hire" as correction for the text, "the hire". A longer reading in the mg of N also has the suffix, "...all its hire is all its loss".² Here is thus no question of O in-

1. Ibid., p. 405.

2. The first two letters of this addition have not been translated. The scribe's ׀ appears to be ׀.

fluencing PJ. The suffix in O, PJ, Par (cn), Vat, Nmg (2x) is the faithful rendering of the suffix in the MT.

PJ and the Pal. tgg (except N) add the word "its loss" in the last phrase of the verse. PJ reads, "...if it is hired, the loss comes in its hire..."; Par and Vat, "...its hire will be cheap in the loss...". CG has a lacuna and reads, "...if it is hired...in the loss...". N has, "...if it is hired, it will be received in the hire (mg: its hire) ..." and Nmg, "...all its hire is all its loss...". The Pal. tgg and PJ use a noun, which neither itself: פְּסִידָא nor its root: פִּסַּד occurs in O.¹ The word itself is no addition in thought to the MT. The meaning there is implicit: it is the loss for which no restitution is made because the hire has been received. Here then is one word added, making vivid and explicit the meaning of the text. And PJ stands with the Pal. tgg in this addition.

In E 22.15 (RSV 16) there are a few similarities between O and PJ, and a host of certain evidences that PJ stands with the Pal. tgg.

For "a virgin", MT: בְּתוּלָה, O and PJ use the emph. st.: בתולתא, whereas Bom, CG, and N have the absol. st., in conformity with the MT: בתולה. Why do O and PJ here both use emph. st.: "the virgin"? In the following verse, there is spoken of "the marriage present for virgins", in RSV, "...he

¹ Brederek, *op. cit.*, p. 176, no Aram. פִּסַּד. Cf. Levy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 276.

shall pay money equivalent to the marriage present for virgins". MT reads here כְּמִקְדָּר הַבְּתוּלֹת, where the article of the noun "virgin" goes to the noun preceding it, which depends upon it as a constr. st.: "the marriage present of virgins". The tgg however all have the emph. st. here with virgins, perhaps in imitation of the MT. A point could be made here that this evidence (E 22.15) is peculiar to O, and has found its way in the present mss of the Pal. tgg, and PJ, through O. Be that as it may, the presence of the emph. st. in verse 14 (RSV 15) may be due to that form in the following verse. It is impossible to say whether O influenced PJ, or vice versa, or that both arrived at this in another fashion. Insofar as all the other evidence of this verse shows PJ to stand with the Pal. tgg, it is rather doubtful that in such insignificant detail O would have influenced PJ here. Yet the question remains for this verse for PJ, and for the following verse for PJ, OG, and N, why these have the emph. st. as does O, in distinction of the MT which does not have the article. If there were other influence of O in these verses, then we could think this as influence from O. But there is not. Yet it is not impossible that this outward similarity of the Aram. to the MT of verse 15 (RSV 16) was first of all present in O. This feature is characteristic of O throughout the Pent. How does it get from O into the Pal. tgg, when the latter are not basically influenced by O? It is certain that the mss of the different Pal. Pent. tgg were copied by scribes

who also copied mss of O. Remembering this small rendering of O the scribes may have pushed the influence of O into the different Pal. Pent. tgg, in the copying of the Pal. tg mss. This is the logical explanation when the influence of O upon the Pal. tg Pent. tradition is so minor, moreover when it is found not only in PJ but also in CG and N.

We then turn to the overwhelming evidence that PJ stands with the Pal. tgg in this verse. The usual spelling of ארי (O and Vat) vs. ארום (PJ, Bom, CG, and N) speaks for itself.

The reading for "seduces" is MT: יִפְתָּהּ, O: יִשְׁדִּיל; PJ, Bom, and CG: יִשְׁרֹג and N: יִתַּפֵּס. The verb used by N, תַּפֵּס is a good Aram. verb not used in O.¹ More important it is however that the verb used by O, שִׁדְּל is not used in any other tgg here. Instead PJ, Bom, and CG use שִׁרְגוּ. This Shaph., as also its Ishtaph theme, is only used in the Jer. tgg, and is not found in O.² The rt is רִגּוּ, common in the Pal. tgg, is but only once used in O for the MT ארה at D 5.21 -- to wish.³ A Part. מְרִיג is twice used for the Niph. Part. נִחְמַד -- desirable, at G 2.9; 3.6.⁴ Hence PJ stands with the

1. Brederek, op. cit., p. 192, no Aram. תַּפֵּס; cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 550.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 517 and Brederek, op. cit., pp. 183, 190 no Aram. שִׁרְגוּ.

3. Brederek, op. cit., p. 183, Aram. רִגּוּ and p. 3, BH ארה.

4. Ibid., p. 183, Aram. רִגּוּ and p. 37, BH נִחְמַד, חִמַּד.

Pal. tgg, Bom and CG in using a verb only used in the Pal. tgg, as opposed to the reading of O.

For, RSV, "...who is not betrothed...", MT: אֲרוּסָה , is rendered by a Pa. Part. pass. in O and PJ: מְאַרְסָה , and CG and N: מְאַרְסָה .¹ Bom and Nmg read a Pe./Pa. Perf.: אָרַסָה , though Levy lists this as אָרַסָה (אָרַסָה), Pe. Part. pass. and translates (actively!), "ein Mädchen das nicht verlobt".² At any rate we have PJ reading with the Pal. tgg in the verb and tense. O has the same here, it is true. But O influenced PJ as little here as O influenced the Pal. tgg. The obvious assumption is that O has chosen the same verb which he found in the Pal. tgg, including PJ.

RSV, "...he shall give the marriage present for her..." stands for MT: $\text{מָתָר יְמַהֲרֶנָּה}$. O uses the verb קָיַמָה : קָיַמָה . PJ and the Pal. tgg however use the verb פָּרַן : PJ, Bom, Par (Gins.cn),³ CG, and N:⁴ $\text{מַפְרִינָה/יפְרִינָה}$. N mg reads: $\text{מַפְרִינָה יפְרִינָה}$. Our verb פָּרַן is denom. from פֹּרֵן related to φερνῆ ,⁵ referring to the marriage present of the bridegroom.⁶ The important facts are that this word occurs

1. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 302.

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 67.

3. Par 110, ms reads $\text{מַפְרִינָה יפְרִינָה}$, as if from פָּרַן Pa--Menschen ernähren, verpflegen; leiten, führen (Levy, op. cit., II, p. 292). Gins. rightly corrects this to $\text{מַפְרִינָה יפְרִינָה}$.

4. This reading is our cn; the ms reads $\text{מַפְרִינָה יפְרִינָה}$, an obvious scribal error.

5. Krauss, op. cit., II, pp. 490f.

in the Pal. tgg and in PJ, and that it does not occur in O.¹ PJ stands here with the Pal. tgg. This is again seen in the fact that the suffix on this verb in ME and O, is rendered by PJ and the Pal. tgg separately. PJ, FT-Vat, Par, CG and N have: יתה. (Nmg however probably has the suffix attached to the verb. The reading is not clear). In this again, PJ stands with the Pal. tgg, and not with O.

Finally there is the word, "his wife" in RSV, "...and make her his wife...", ME: לְאִשָּׁה. The readings are as follows: O² and N: לאִיתוּ; PJ: לאִינתוּ; Bom and Nmg: לא(י)תא; and CG: לאנתה. PJ has a different reading from O here. Analysis of the spelling shows that four different forms of the noun are represented. These nouns are: אֲנִתָּא f--wife;³ אֲנִתָּא f--meaning primarily "marriage", but secondarily also,

6. Levy, op. cit., II, pp. 291f. Of the meaning of the noun פִּוּרָן ibid., p. 291 says, "Morgengabe, das was der Bräutigam seiner jungen Ehefrau zusagt, verschreibt....warsch. jedoch ... diejenige Verpflichtung...des Mannes, wonach er die Mitgift seiner Frau, die sie ihm aus dem elterlichen Hause zugebracht hat, im Todes- oder Scheidungsfalle zurückerstatten wolle. Dass wäre also dem gr. $\phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (viell. auch hebr. מִתְּנָה) mehr entsprechend. Unter פִּוּרָן פִּוּרָא wäre dann zu verstehen: das Geschenk des Mannes, Brautschatz". Cf. however Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 500 and Pederson, op. cit., I, pp. 68, 297. The BH מִתְּנָה refers to the gift of the bridegroom's family to that of the bride in return of the latter's gift of the bride, signifying the real relation between the two families.

1. Brederek, op. cit., p. 176, no Aram. פִּוּרָן, p. 62, BH מִתְּנָה, never rendered by Aram פִּוּרָן.

2. Solg, 282, IX, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2: לאִינתוּ.

3. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 44.

"wife";¹ אָתָּא f--wife;² and אָתָּא f--again primarily, "marriage" and then also secondarily, "wife".³ The last two forms are resp. identical to the first two forms, after the ך has been dropped. Of the normal nouns for "woman", אַנְתָּא does not occur in O.⁴ It is however found in the Pal. tgg⁵--Par⁶ and CG⁷ and in PJ.⁸ O uses instead אַתָּא.⁹ This is used also

1. Ibid., I, p. 44.

2. Ibid., I, p. 76.

3. Ibid., I, p. 76.

4. Brederek, op. cit., pp. 8f, BH אָתָּא.

5. Cf. Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 44, 76, Wenwinck, ... Lexicon, op. cit., Kuiper, op. cit., p. 14 and Brederek, op. cit., pp. 8f, BH אָתָּא, for the following references. This form has not been found in Bom and N.

6. Par reads אַנְתָּא at G 26.10, אֵינְתָּךְ.

7. CG reads אַנְתָּא at G 7.13, וְאַנְתָּתִיָּהּ; G 29.21, אַנְתָּתִיָּהּ; G 30.4, לְאַנְתָּהּ; G 30.9, לְאַנְתָּהּ; G 34.12, לְאַנְתָּהּ; E 21.4, (אַנְתָּהּ) and אַנְתָּהּ (אנ); E 21.5, אַנְתָּתִיָּהּ; and E 22.15 (RSV 16) לְאַנְתָּהּ.

8. PJ reads אַנְתָּא at G 2.24, בְּאֵינְתָּתִיָּהּ; G 2.25, וְאֵינְתָּתִיָּהּ; G 6.18, וְאַנְתָּתִיָּהּ; G 12.19 (2nd time), אַנְתָּתִיָּהּ; G 26.10, אַנְתָּתִיָּהּ; G 29.21, אַנְתָּתִיָּהּ; G 38.7, אֵינְתָּתִיָּהּ; G 38.9, אֵינְתָּתִיָּהּ; E 21.3, אֵינְתָּתִיָּהּ and אֵינְתָּתִיָּהּ; E 21.5, אַנְתָּתִיָּהּ; E 21.22 (2nd time), דְּאֵינְתָּתִיָּהּ; D 21.5, אֵינְתָּתִיָּהּ and אַנְתָּתִיָּהּ.

9. O reads אַתָּא at G 2.22, לְאֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 2.23 (2nd time), אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 2.24, בְּאֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 2.25, וְאֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 6.18, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 7.13, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 11.29, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ and אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 11.31, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 12.19 (2nd time), אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 26.10, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 29.21, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 38.6, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 38.8, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 38.9, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; G 38.12, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; E 21.3, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ and אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; E 21.4, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ and אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; E 21.5, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; E 21.22, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ and אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; N 26.46, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ (only in mss Nachmanides and Chaskuni, Levy, op. cit., I, p. 76); D 22.22, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ and אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; D 22.24, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; D 23.1 (RSV 22.30), אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; D 24.1, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; D 24.5, אֵתָּתִיָּהּ and אֵתָּתִיָּהּ; D 25.5 (1st time),

by the Pal. *tgg*¹--Par,² Bom,³ CG⁴ and N⁵ and by PJ.⁶ Hence as far as these two forms are concerned--אתתא and אנתתא--PJ stands in the Pal. tradition. With the abstract nouns, "marriage", which only by extension mean, "woman" it is different. אתר is used by O,⁷ twice by PJ⁸ and once by N.⁹ אנתר is not אנתר; and D 25.11, אנתר.

1. Whereas the Pal. *tgg* Par and CG, as also PJ, seem to use both אתתא and אתתא, where O uses only אתתא, Bom and N do not fall in line with the Pal. *tgg* Par, CG, and PJ. Bom seems only to use אתתא as also N, except for our verse (N: איתו), which is the only instance found that N does not use אתתא.

2. Par uses אתתא at G 37.33, איתא.

3. Bom uses אתתא at G 26.10, איתתן; G 37.33, איתתא (Vat: איתתא); E 21.10, איתתא; E 22.15 (RSV 16), לאתתא.

4. CG uses אתתא at G 6.18, ואתתן; G 29.28, לאתתא; G 37.33, איתתתא; E 21.22, איתתתא and דאתתתא.

5. N uses אתתא at G 2.22, לאתתא; G 2.23, אתתא and (mg) אתתא; G 2.24, באתתתיה; G 2.25, ואתתתיה; G 6.18, ואתתתן; G 7.13, ואתתתיה; G 11.29 (mg), דאתתתיה and דאתתתיה; G 11.31, אתתתיה; G 12.19, לאתתתא and אתתתתן; G 20.12, לאיתתתיה; G 26.10, אתתתתן; G 29.21, אתתתתיה; G 29.28, לאתתתתא; G 30.4, לאתתתתא; G 30.9, לאתתתתא; G 34.4, לאתתתתא; G 34.8, לאתתתתא; G 34.12, לאתתתתא; G 38.6, אתתתתא; G 38.8, אתתתתיה; G 38.9, אתתתתתא; G 38.12, אתתתתתיה; G 38.14, לאתתתתתא; E 6.20, לאתתתתא; E 6.23, לאתתתתא (extra t ab ln); E 6.25, לאתתתתא (extra t ab ln); E 21.3, אתתתתא and אתתתתיה; E 21.4, אתתתתא and אתתתתתא; E 21.5, אתתתתתיה; E 21.10 (mg), אתתתתא; E 21.22 (1st time), אתתתתא; D 22.16, לאתתתתא; D 22.19, לאתתתתא; D 22.22 (perhaps נ ab ln?), אתתתתתא; D 22.24, אתתתתתא; D 22.29, לאתתתתתא; D 23.1 (RSV 22.30), אתתתתתא; D 24.1, אתתתתתא; D 24.3, לאתתתתתא (extra t ab ln?); D 24.4, לאתתתתתא (extra t ab ln?); D 24.5, אתתתתתא and אתתתתתיה; D 25.5, אתתתתתא and לאיתתתתא; and D 25.11, אתתתתתא.

6. PJ uses אתתא at G 2.22, לאיתתתתא; G 2.23, אתתתתא and איתתתתא; G 7.13, ואתתתתתא; G 11.29, איתתתתא and אתתתתתא; G 11.31, איתתתתתא; G 37.33, איתתתתא; G 38.6, איתתתתא; G 38.8, איתתתתתא; G 38.12, איתתתתתא; E 21.4, איתתתתתא and איתתתתתא; E 21.22 (1st time), איתתתתתא; D 22.22, אתתתתתא and איתתתתתא; D 22.24, איתתתתתא; D 23.1 (RSV 22.30), איתתתתתא; D 24.1, איתתתתתא; D 25.5 (1st time), איתתתתתא; and D 25.11, איתתתתתא.

found in the Pal. tgg, but is used by PJ¹ and in some mss and edd of O.² These references moreover show that of the nineteen instances where the main O text has אַתָּה, sixteen parallel passages in PJ have אַתָּה,¹ and the other three in PJ have אַתָּה,³ like O. At these same nineteen places some mss and edd of O have אַתָּה,² which is also the case at one additional passage.⁴

7. O uses אַתָּה at G 12.19 (1st time), אַתָּה; G 20.12, אַתָּה; G 29.28, אַתָּה; G 30.4, אַתָּה; G 30.9, אַתָּה; G 34.4, אַתָּה; G 34.8, אַתָּה; G 34.12, אַתָּה; G 38.14, אַתָּה; E 6.20, אַתָּה; E 6.23, אַתָּה; E 6.25, אַתָּה; E 22.15 (RSV 16), אַתָּה; D 22.16, אַתָּה; D 22.19, אַתָּה; D 23.1 (RSV 22.30), אַתָּה; D 24.3, אַתָּה; D 24.4, אַתָּה; and D 25.5 (2nd time), אַתָּה.

8. PJ uses אַתָּה at D 22.29, אַתָּה; D 24.3, אַתָּה; and D 25.5 (2nd time), אַתָּה.

9. In the verse under discussion.

1. PJ uses אַתָּה at G 12.19 (1st time), אַתָּה; G 20.12, אַתָּה; G 29.28, אַתָּה; G 30.4, אַתָּה; G 30.9, אַתָּה; G 34.4, אַתָּה; G 34.8, אַתָּה; G 34.12, אַתָּה; G 38.14, אַתָּה; E 6.20, אַתָּה; E 6.23, אַתָּה; E 6.25, אַתָּה; E 22.15 (RSV 16), אַתָּה; D 22.16, אַתָּה; D 22.19, אַתָּה; and D 24.4, אַתָּה.

2. Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 44 lists אַתָּה, "nur in J" (i. e. PJ), so Brederek, *op. cit.*, p. 139 only has Aram. אַתָּה and אַתָּה. The form אַתָּה is found in O in the following mss and edd: mss: Solg (1291), 282, 2228-30; and edd: Ix (1490), Lis (1491), Ven 1 (1515), Complut (1516) and Ven 2 (1524), as follows: G 2.22, Ix, Complut, אַתָּה; G 12.19, Solg (secunda manus or marginal note), Ix, Lis, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2, (1st time), אַתָּה; G 20.12, Solg, Ix, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2, אַתָּה; G 29.28, Solg (secunda manus or marginal note), Ix, Ven 1, Complut, אַתָּה; G 30.4 and 30.9, Solg, Ix, Ven 1, Ven 2, אַתָּה; G 34.4, 8, 12, Ix and Ven 1, אַתָּה; G 38.14, Solg, Ix, Ven 1, אַתָּה; E 6.20, 23, 25, Solg (secunda manus or marginal note), 282, Ix, Ven 1, Complut: אַתָּה; E 22.15 (RSV 16), Solg, 282, Ix, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2, אַתָּה; D 22.16, 19 and 23.1 (RSV 22.30), Solg (secunda manus or marginal note), Ix, Lis, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2, אַתָּה; D 24.3, Solg (secunda manus or marginal note), Ix, Ven 1, Ven 2, אַתָּה; D 24.4,

Only at one of these passages does a Pal. tg have either of these: N: אתר at our passage under discussion. The question arises what is the relationship between O and PJ in these nineteen passages: O has 19 x אתר (some mss and edd: 19 x אנתר) equals PJ: 16 x אנתר plus 3 x אתר? The simple explanation that O influenced PJ, cannot be forwarded, inasmuch as the main mss of O only use אתר and PJ uses both אתר and אנתר. It cannot be said either that PJ uses both O and the Pal. tgg, because neither of these spellings occurs in a Pal. tg, with the exception of אתר once in N.

The nouns for "marriage" have no parallels from the same rt in Syr.,¹ CP Aram.² or BH.³ PNH does use the noun however: אַשַׁת f--Ehe.⁴ Hence for a study of the rt of אתר, אנתר, we must look at אתתא, אנתתא. These are parallels of BH אַשָּׁה. The derivation of the BH אַשָּׁה and אִשָּׁה is not a settled matter.⁵ The possible roots are $\sqrt{\text{איש}}$, "to be strong",⁶ com-

Solg (secunda manus or marginal note), Ix, Lis, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2, לַאֲנֹת; and D 25.5 (2nd time), Solg (secunda manus or marginal note), Ven 1, Ven 2, לַאֲנֹת.

3. D 22.29; D 24.3; 25.5 (2nd time).

4. G 2.22.

1. Payne Smith, Thesaurus etc., op. cit., cols 285, 287f.

2. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 14 and Payne Smith, Thesaurus etc., op. cit., col. 288.

3. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., pp. 40f: אִשָּׁה, 70: אִשָּׁה; 92: אַשָּׁה. BH uses for "to give her in marriage": "to give her as wife". Cf. G 34.8, 21; 38.14; 41.45 etc.

4. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 43, Jas-

paring Assyr. iṣanu, strong, and $\sqrt{w}l\kappa$,¹ either parallel to أَنْسَر, "to be polite, kind, social"² or to أَنْث, "to be soft, effeminate".² It is difficult to derive $\square w\kappa$, "men", $w\kappa$, "mankind" and $\eta\kappa$, "woman" from the verb (I) $w\kappa$,³ "to be weak, to be sick", parallel to أَنْث.⁴ To take $\eta\kappa$, $\square w\kappa$ and $w\kappa$ from (II) $w\kappa$,⁵ parallel to أَنْسَر, "to be friendly, social", would necessitate a relation between أَنْث, "woman"

trow, op. cit., p. 61 lists, $\eta\kappa$.

5. Cf. Articles in Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 35, $\eta\kappa$, p. 60, $w\kappa$ I and II, p. 61, $w\kappa$ III and $\eta\kappa$; and Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., pp. 40f: $\eta\kappa$, p. 70, $w\kappa$, p. 92, $\eta\kappa$.

6. Francis Brown, D.D., D. Litt., S.R. Driver, D.D., Litt. D., and Charles A. Briggs, D.D., D. Litt., A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, with an Appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic, etc., (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 35, 1) the vocalization with η , maintained even with the suffixes, 2) the rare plur. form $\eta\kappa$; $\eta\kappa$, 3) the impossibility of deriving both $\eta\kappa$ and $\eta\kappa$ from the same $\sqrt{w}l\kappa$ from أَنْث, "to be soft", 4) the exceptional Aram. parallel $\eta\kappa$ (Inscriptions of Carpentros).

1. Cf. Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 35. 1) parallels of $w\kappa$ in cognate languages: BH $\eta\kappa$, Egypt. Aram. $\eta\kappa$; Aram. $\eta\kappa$, Syr. $\eta\kappa$, Nab. c. suff. $\eta\kappa$, Old South Arab. $\eta\kappa$, Ethiop. $\eta\kappa$, Arab أَنْث (cf. also ibid., p. 61 and Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 92), 2) the plur. form $\eta\kappa$, 3) the fem. form $\eta\kappa$ from a supposed $\eta\kappa$, 4) the existence of $w\kappa$, "man, mankind", 5) Arab. أَنْسَر, "man".

2. J. G. Hava, S. J., Arabic-English Dictionary. A.M. D.G. (Beirut: Catholic Press, 1951), p. 15, col. 1.

3. Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 60; Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 70. This verb occurs in BH as Qal Part. pass. and Niph. Impf.

4. So Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 70.

5. This verb does not occur in BH, unless our words

and أَنَس , "to be friendly", which has not been determined so far¹ although Wetzstein derives the (II) אָנַשׁ (أَنَس) from (I) אָנַשׁ (أَنْت) per antiphrasin.² Brown, Driver and Briggs seem to derive אָפָּה from אָנַשׁ , "soft" and hence from אָנַשׁ , "to be soft",³ and for אָיִשׁ feel that, "On the whole, probability seems to favour $\sqrt{\text{אִישׁ}}$ ".⁴ It is possible and even likely that more roots than one are in the background of the nouns "man" and "woman", so that each as we know them in literature, has characteristics of more than one root in the different forms, "man" from $\sqrt{\text{אִישׁ}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{אִנַּשׁ}}$, and "woman" from $\sqrt{\text{אִנַּשׁ}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{אִנְת}}$.⁵ Hence it occurs that we find אִנְתָּא and אִתָּא , Aram. "woman" in the Pal. tgg and PJ. The official tg O renders in each case the spelling without the נ : אִתָּא , in the attempt to standardize the spelling. The same may be the case with אִנְתָּא , אִתָּא , inasmuch as it is not probable that these depend upon $\sqrt{\text{אִישׁ}}$, as does perhaps the PBH אִישׁוּת .⁶ And so both spellings אִנְתָּא , אִתָּא are found in PJ (only אִתָּא in N) and in the im-

under discussion are its derivatives. Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 60 and Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 70.

1. So Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 70.

2. J. G. Wetzstein in Franz Delitzsch, Psalmen, ed. 4, p. 882, as referred to in Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 60.

3. Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 60.

4. Ibid., p. 35.

5. It is granted though that we have as little proof of the relationship between Arab أَنَس and أَنْت as we do between $\sqrt{\text{אִנַּשׁ}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{אִישׁ}}$ or $\sqrt{\text{אִנַּשׁ}}$.

portant mss of O we have only the spelling without the י: אַתָּה. O has again standardized the spelling, though some edd and mss of O still have the י. It may be possible that the orthography אַתָּה is a dialectical peculiarity of the Aram. of PJ, which from PJ influenced O. At any rate, it is least likely that we can take these phenomena as simple influence of O upon PJ.

In Leviticus we deal with 22.27; 23.29, 32. The first of these passages consists of a long introductory addition in the Pal. tgg and PJ, after which the verse proper follows, which itself is only interspersed with minor additions. In the verse proper, there are similarities between O and PJ, which however do not lead to the conclusion that O influenced PJ, as well as a number of instances where PJ reads with the Pal. tgg. As there are similarities between PJ and O, so these exist between the Pal. tgg and O.

Of the similarities between O and PJ, there are only two in which the Pal. tgg do not stand with PJ. First of these is the preposition "from" in RSV, "...and from the eighth day on...". O and PJ have the preposition attached to the noun: וּמִיּוֹמָא, following the MT: וּמִיּוֹם; whereas the Pal. tgg: Far, Bom, CG, and N have a separate preposition: וּמִן יּוֹמָא/ה. It is quite wrong to think that this evidence is proof that O influenced PJ. It may be that the opposite has occurred, or perhaps, and this is more likely, that this is no more than a

6. So Jastrow; Dalman has אַתָּה.

coincidence. The second of the examples follows upon the first one. This deals with the expression, RSV, "...it shall be acceptable...", MT: יִרְצָה, O and PJ: יתרעי; Par, Bom, and N: יהורי כשר, and CG: יהורי כשר. What is true in this case is that O and PJ have exactly the same reading, whereas the Pal. tgg have a different reading. The possibility exists, on the basis of this one example that O influenced PJ. But the reverse is equally possible. However, though our verb רעא in the meaning "to be pleased with, accept favourably"¹ does normally occur in O,² and in PJ,³ it also occurs in the

1. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 1486 lists two verbs: our verb, רעא II Pe--to desire, take delight in; welcome, and רעא I Pe only--to feed, graze. Levy, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 430f lists these meanings for one root רעא. The Hebrew counterparts seem to favor two different roots, though here too a relationship may exist between them. Cf. Koehler und Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, p. 906 and Brown, Driver and Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 953, רצה, "to be pleased with, accept favourably", Ug: rsw/j (?); El Amarna: arzi, liebte; PHH: wollen; JA, Syr.: רעא, Gefallen haben; ד' עיני, mit Gefallen sehen; Old South Arab: רצו. Brown, Driver and Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 953, compare this with רעה II (for which cf. *ibid.*, p. 945 and Koehler und Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, pp. 898f), which has as meanings: Qal--sich einlassen mit, Pi.--als Brautführer dienen, Hithpa--Gemeinschaft haben mit; Ak.: Ru'u, fem ruttu, Freund, Gefährte; Phoen: רעי; Bedouin: راعي, Genosse; راعوا, Joch, Grundbedeutung: mit einander zu tun haben. Indeed there seems to be similarity in root meaning. The roots however in their orthography are different. The orthography of the latter word, רעה II, would seem the same as that of רעה I (Koehler und Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, pp. 898f and Brown, Driver and Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 944f) --to feed, graze; PHH; JA; Syr.: רעא; Ak.: rē'u; Phoen.: רעי.

2. רעא, "to be pleased with, accept favorably" occurs in O at: G 33.10; L 1.4; 7.18; 19.7; 22.23, 25, 27; 26.34, 41, 43 and D 33.11; cf. Brederek, *op. cit.*, p. 113, BH רצה, for Aram. רעא.

3. Besides our verse, PJ has רעא at: G 34.3:

Pal. tgg¹--Par,² Bom,³ CG,⁴ and N,⁵ as well as in Syr.⁶ and CP Aram.⁷ Also the noun, "will, pleasure" רַעְנָא occurs not only in O,⁸ but in the Pal. tgg as well,⁹ and in CP Aram.

و ر ع ن ا .¹⁰ In view of this evidence, it is not at all certain that O influenced PJ here. It would seem more likely that the יתרעי of PJ represents one tradition of the Pal. Pent. tgg and that יהוי כשר, as in Par, Bom, CG, and N is another tradition of these, and finally that the editor of N chose the former. This seems the more likely hypothesis in view of the use of this verb רעא in the Pal. tgg and PJ as well as O.

The other similarities between O and PJ, do not at all

ו א ת ר ע י י ת ; 34.8: ; ר ע י י ת ; L 26.34(1): ; ת ר ע י ; 26.34(2):
ו ת ר ע י ; and L 26.43(1): ; ו ת י ר ע י .

1. Cf. Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., and Brederek, op. cit., p. 185, Aram. רעא and p. 113, BH רצה.

2. Par uses רעא at L 26.43(1): ; ו ת ר ע י .

3. Bom uses רעא at L 26.43(1): ; ו ת ר ע י .

4. CG uses רעא at G 34.19: ; הוּא רעִי and E 15.14: ;
ו א ר ע ת הוּן .

5. N uses רעא at G 34.3: ; ו א ת ר ע י י ת ; G 34.8: ; א ת ר ע י י ת ;
G 34.19: ; א ת ר ע י י ת ; L 26.34(1): ; ת ר ע ת ; L 26.34(2): ; ו ת ר ע י ;
and L 26.41: ; י ר ע ון .

6. Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., p. 545.

7. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 196.

8. Cf. Brederek, op. cit., p. 113, O has רעוא for BH
ו ר צ ון at E 28.38; L 1.3; 19.5; 22.19-21, 29; 23.11; D 33.23.

9. Cf. Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., CG and Par at
G 4.4, 5, 8; PJ at G 48.16; רַעְנָא in Par at G 4.7; 19.24.
Wensinck also notes רַעְנָא--Wohlbehagen, in Esdr. 5.17. Cf.
as well Kuiper, op. cit., pp. 160f for references in CG: G 4.4,
5, 8(3x): ; רַעְנָא ; N 28.24: ; רעוה .

mean any influence of O upon PJ. Often these similarities are shared by one or more of the Pal. tgg, which are not either influenced by O. In RSV, "...it shall remain..." the verb forms are as follows, MT: וְהָיָה; O, PJ, and Bom: וְהָיָה; Par: וְהָיָה, N: וְהָיָה and CG: וְהָיָה. In this Impf. tense, third person masc. sing., O, PJ, and Bom have dropped the ו, and Par, N, and CG have retained it. But this is not a case of O influencing both PJ and Bom. It is true that in the orthography of O the ו occurs only in the fem. plur. and sometimes the first singular forms of the Impf. The Jer. tgg either retain the ו or omit it in the Impf.¹ In our case of the third person masc. sing., the orthography of O always omits the ו,² and that of the Jer. tgg is either with or without the ו.³ This is clearly the case with CG, which has both וְהָיָה⁴ and וְהָיָה.⁵ Our verse shows the former also found in Bom. This

10. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 196.

1. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., pp. 353f, par. 73: 1, 3.

2. Ibid., p. 353, "Im Onkelostargum ist das ו nur in den Femininformen des Plural und zuweilen in der 1 Sing. des Imperfekts erhalten...Sonst wird es im Imperfekt stets ausgestossen". One form of the third person masculine singular with ו is noted however on p. 354, which is the exception to this rule: G 18.18: וְהָיָה. Another isolated example of this is E 20.3: וְהָיָה, which however is וְהָיָה in Ix, Lis and Complut.

3. Cf. Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., and Kuiper, op. cit., pp. 44f. For Par and N only the forms with the ו have been found: וְהָיָה, וְהָיָה.

4. CG uses וְהָיָה at: G 29.15: וְהָיָה and G 35.9: וְהָיָה.

5. CG uses וְהָיָה at: G 4.12: וְהָיָה; G 4.14: וְהָיָה;

is the case as well with PJ, which uses both יהי¹ and יהוי.² Both forms are listed for the orthography of the Palestinian Talmud and Midrashim-- יהי and יהוי,³ and are also reported in the language of the Aramaic portions of Bereshit Rabba: ihue and iehe.⁴ That PJ does not reserve the use of the ו for the fem. plur. and sometimes the first sing. person of the Impf., as does O, becomes also clear in the orthography in PJ with the ו in the second masc. sing.,⁵ the third masc. plur.,⁶ the second masc. plur.⁷ and the first person plur.⁸ Hence, when we realize that O uses only one orthography in the third person masc. sing.: יהי, and the Pal. tgg use both spellings: יהי and יהוי, it is very reasonable to feel that Par, N, and CG represent one

G 6.21: ויהווי; G 9.11: יהוי; G 9.14: ויהוי; G 9.15: יהוי; G 28.20: יהוה; G 48.19: יהוי; G 48.20: יהוי; E 9.22: יהוי; E 9.29: יהוי; E 20.3: יהווי; E 21.6: יהווי; E 21.22: יהווי; E 21.23: יהווי; E 22.22: יהווי; E 22.26: יהווי; L 22.27: יהווי; N 28.25: יהווי.

1. PJ uses יהי at G 6.21: ויהי; G 9.11: יהי; G 9.14: ויהי; G 9.15: יהי; G 18.18: דיהי; G 28.20: יהי; G 29.15: יהי; G 37.20: יהי; G 48.19: יהי; G 48.20: דיהי; E 9.22: ויהי; E 9.29: יהי; E 21.6: ויהי; E 21.23: יהי; E 22.26: ויהי; L 22.27: ויהי; N 28.25: יהי.

2. PJ uses יהוי at G 16.12: יהוי.

3. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 73f.

4. Odeberg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 39.

5. PJ with the ו in Pe. Impf., 2nd masc. sing. (or 3 fem. sing.): G 21.30: דתהווי.

6. PJ with the ו in Pe. Impf., 3rd masc. plur.: G 3.15: יהוון.

7. PJ with the ו in Pe. Impf., 2nd masc. plur.: D 7.26: תהוון.

possible spelling of the Pal. Pent. tgg: יהוי, that PJ and Bom have another possible spelling of the Pal. Pent. tgg: יהי, and that O, which uses only one form in the third person masc. sing., is obliged to choose the latter: יהי.

The ordinal numeral "eighth" in RSV, "...and from the eighth day on..." is rendered in the context as, MF: ומיום; O and PJ: ומיוםא תמינא; Par and Bom: ומן יומא תמינא; and CG and N: ומן יומא/ה תמינייה. It is hence a difference in orthography of the ordinal numeral: תמינא (O, PJ, Par, and Bom) and תמינייה (CG and N), as it stands with a masc. sing. noun "day". O only uses this orthography with a masc. sing. noun.¹ The Palestinian Tgg and PJ however use both orthographies. We find תמינא in Par and Bom here as well as in PJ.² But also תמינייה³ occurs in them: In PJ,⁴

8. PJ with the ו in Pe. Impf., 1st plur.: G 38.23: בהוי.

1. תמינא occurs in O as follows: וַיִּזְרַח הַמִּינָא at E 22.29 (RSV: 30); L 9.1; L 14.23; L 23.36; N 7.54; N 29.35; וַיִּזְרַח הַמִּינָא at L 12.3; L 14.10; L 15.14; L 15.29; L 23.39; N 6.10; and וַיִּזְרַח הַמִּינָא at L 22.27. Cf. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., pp. 131f, par. 22, and A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 444.

2. תמינא occurs in PJ as follows: ביוםא תמינא at E 22.29 (RSV: 30); L 9.1 (1st time); L 14.23; N 7.54; N 29.35; וביוםא תמינא at L 14.10; L 15.14; L 15.29; וביום תמינא at L 23.39; N 6.10; וביום תמינא at L 9.1 (2nd time); and ומיוםא תמינא at L 22.27.

3. Cf. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 131f, par. 22, ^{t^emina} is the orthography of Bereshit Rabba: Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 69.

4. PJ uses תמינייה at: E 22.11; וביוםא תמינייה and L 12.3: וביוםא תמינאי.

what about N?

CG¹ and N.² It is therefore meaningless to say that PJ, using both forms, is made up of the Pal. tradition and O, because these same two forms are also found in the Pal. tradition. It seems more reasonable to think of PJ as part of the Pal. tradition. O then favors the orthography תמינאה which is that of Babylonian Aramaic, which also happens to occur in PJ and the Pal. tgg at times.³ The only difference is that O only uses this orthography.

The adverb "on, onwards" in RSV, "...and from the eighth day on..." is rendered, MT: וְהִלָּאָה; O, PJ, and Par: וְהִלָּאָה; Bom, Nmg: וְהִלָּאָה; CG and N: וְהִלָּאָה.⁴ We note however that whereas the orthography וְהִלָּאָה is the standard one for O,⁵ it is only here used in PJ and Par. PJ either uses the one-syllabled form with the prefixed preposition: לְהִלָּאָה,⁶

1. CG uses תמינייא at L 22.27: וּמִן יוֹמָה תְּמִינִיָּה and L 23.36: בְּיוֹמָה תְּמִינִיָּה.

2. N uses תמינייה at: E 22.29 (RSV: 30): וּבְיוֹמָה תְּמִינִיָּה; L 22.27: וּמִן יוֹמָה תְּמִינִיָּה and L 23.39: וּבְיוֹמָה תְּמִינִיָּה. This orthography with a suffix is used at L 9.1: תְּמִינִיָּהּ. The same orthography is present, writing one ' instead of two ' in: וּבְיוֹמָה תְּמִינִיָּה; L 12.3; L 15.14; L 15.29; N 6.10 and N 29.35; וּבְיוֹמָה תְּמִינִיָּה at L 14.23 and N 7.54 and וּבְיוֹמָה תְּמִינִיָּה at L 14.10.

3. Margolis, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

4. Cmp. Syr.: ܠܗܠܐ, ܠܗܠܐ, Arab: هَلَا (Brown, Driver and Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 229). For Aram. the forms הָלָה, הִלָּאָה and הִלָּאָה are listed. (Dalman, *A.-N. Handwörterbuch*, *op. cit.*, p. 113, and Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 199). Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 191 also lists הָלָה, pointing it הִלָּאָה! PBH has הָלָה (Dalman, *A.-N. Handwörterbuch*, *op. cit.*, p. 113).

5. O uses הִלָּאָה at: G 19.9: ܠܗܠܐ; G 35.21: ܠܗܠܐ; L 22.27: ܠܗܠܐ; N 15.23: ܠܗܠܐ; N 17.2: ܠܗܠܐ; N 32.19:

which is the main form used in N,¹ and is used by CG,² or PJ uses the orthography להלא,³ which is also found in variants of O.⁴ In the former case (להאל) PJ stands with the usage of the Pal. tgg (N, CG) on the basis of the evidence, even though Dalman has found that the loss of ultimate syllables, which are or have become unaccented only seldom occurs in the Galilaean dialect (Palestinian Talmud and Midrash).⁵ In the latter case (להלא) the orthography occurs in PJ and certain variants of O. This orthography of PJ (להלא) is the simpler one as compared with להלאה of O. The orthography of O is the literary correct one, and the simpler one of PJ reflects a commonly spoken and used dialect. We cannot therefore think of any influence of O upon PJ in this latter case. It remains to note that the orthography of Bom in our verse (להלן) is also found in Nmg⁶ and is characteristic of Pal. Aram.⁷

וְלֵהֲלֵאָה, Cf. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 213, par. 43:3.

6. PJ uses הל at G 32.24: מן האל; E 16.21: ולהאל; and N 17.2: להאל.

1. N uses הל at: G 19.9: להל; L 22.27: ולהל; N 15.23: ולהל; N 17.2: להל; N 32.19: ולהל.

2. CG uses הל at: L 22.27: ולהל.

3. PJ uses הלא at: G 19.9: להלא; G 35.21: מן להלא; N 15.23: ולהלא and N 32.19: ולהלא.

4. Certain mss and/or edd of O use הלא at G 19.9: 9400, Freib, Ix, Lis, Comput, Sab: להלא; G 35.21: Freib, Lis, Ix: מלהלא; L 22.27: Solg, 9400, Freib, Ix, Lis, Ven1, Complut, Ven 2, Sab: ולהלא; N 15.23: 9400, 2228-'30, Freib, Ix, Lis, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2, Sab: וְלֵהֲלֵאָה; N 17.2: Solg, 9400, 2228-'30, Freib, Ix, Lis, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2, Sab: וְלֵהֲלֵאָה; N 32.19: 282, 9400, 2228-'30, Solg, Ix, Lis, Freib,

Following are the instances where PJ sides with the Pal. tgg. The noun "goat" is rendered by one word in O and by another in PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N: MH: יָי and O: יָי; but PJ: אֲדִי and Par, Bom, CG, and N: אֲדִי. O thus renders this with a noun, which is the same as the Hebr. heve. Both words occur in BH: יָי, f--she-goat¹ and אֲדִי, m--kid (i.e.

Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2, Sab: וְלֵהָאֵלָא.

5. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par 14:18, p. 95.

6. להלן is found in Nmg in the present verse and at G 35.21: להלאן.

7. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 102, par. 15: 3d .

1. Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 777: יָי is from $\sqrt{\text{ענז}}$, Arab.: عَنَزَ--to turn aside, عَنَزَ--goat, Assyri.: enzu, Syr.: ܥܢܙܐ, constr.: ܥܢܙܐ, Phoenic. and Palmyr.: עז. For "he-goat" the expression עָיִר עָיִם (G 37.31) or the late צָפִיר הָעָיִם (Dan. 8.5, 8) is used. שָׁעִיר m--he-goat, buck, hairy one, and the corresponding שָׁעִירָה f--she-goat, are from BH. $\sqrt{\text{שער}}$, Arab.: شَعَرَ--to be hairy, شَعْرٌ--hair, Aram.: שְׂעָרָא, Assyri.: šârtu--hairy skin. (Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 972). The derivation of the late BH. (Dan. 8.5, 8, 21; II Chron. 29.21 and Ez. 8.35) of צָפִיר--he-goat, is not certain. Suggested is V. $\sqrt{\text{צפר}}$, "...perh. cp. Arab. قَفَرَ leap (but ق = צ?)..." (Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 862). It is not clear whether Brown, Driver and Briggs mean قَفَرَ--to plait a woman's hair; to twist a rope, or قَفَز--to leap. (Cf. Hava, op. cit., p. 419) (Gesenius and Robinson, op. cit., p. 904, also refer to a root قَفَرَ--to leap: צפר I, 2: "to dance in a circle, also gen. to dance, to leap; ... Arab. قَفَرَ id. --Hence צָפִיר he-goat". Guilielmi Gesenii, Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti. Editio Altera Secundum Radices Digesta Priore Germanica Longe Auctior et Emendatior. Three Tomes in One. Tomi Tertii Fasciculus Novissimus, quo continentur Indices, Additamenta et Emendationes, digessit et edidit Aemilius Hoediger. (Lipsiae: Sumtibus Fr. Chr. Guil. Vogelii:

young goat),¹ in Aram.: קָטָן, f--goat² and קָטָן, m--he-goat, kid, with קָטָן as fem.,³ and PBH: קָטָן m--goat⁴ and קָטָן m--kid.⁵ Both Aram. words קָטָן⁶ and קָטָן⁷ are used by O and the Jer. tgg. There is a difference in their usage however. Whereas both O and the Jer. tgg use קָטָן for "goat",³ it is not so with קָטָן. O is found to use קָטָן with the noun קָטָן: קָטָן בר עזי -- "a young male kid" or קָטָן בר עזי -- "young male kids",⁸ as if the noun קָטָן does not have the meaning of "kid,

Tomi Primi: 1829; Tomi Secundi: 1839; et Tomi Tertii: 1858), p. 1183 discusses: "...saltavit... Et hanc quidem verbi potestatem a prima illa (No. 1) (i.e. مَفْر --trillern) proficisci, satis credibile est, licet non certum. Vestigia eius in lingua Arabica esse possunt مَفْر salit vir, cucurrit, مَفْر assilivit equus. Sed quum pro مَفْر dicant etiam مَفْر, haec etiam alius familiae esse possunt (قفز, قفز)". Gesenius-Buhl, op. cit., pp. 692f does not analyze מַפֵּר IV.) מַפֵּר --to leap, seems ruled out because of its third radical זַי. There is perhaps a relationship with מַפֵּר --to plait hair, so that the "goat" would be "the hairy one". (Cf. the derivation of --goat) (Is our word related to III מַפֵּר, cf. Arab.: مَفْر --to braid and BH מַפֵּר f--braid? Cf. Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 862). The "מַפֵּר" problem remains,

1. קָטָן, Arab.: جَدَى --kid, capricorn, perhaps related to جَدَى --to request of anyone a donation, and جَدَى --to ask (a gift, or a thing wanted). (Hava, op. cit., p. 81), Phoen.: קָטָן, cf. Assyri.: gadû, gadiia: Brown, Driver and Briggs, op. cit., p. 152.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 207.

3. Ibid., I, p. 126.

4. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 309. The corresponding fem. noun is קָטָן f--goat.

5. Ibid., p. 71.

6. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 207.

7. Ibid., I, p. 126.

young goat" but means "young", so that a second noun became necessary to indicate of which animal the young was.¹ The Jer. tgg however use the word גדיא by itself, as referring to "kid, young goat".² It is in the tradition of the Jer. tgg that PJ stands here--PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N all use it without another noun, where O and MT use עֵזָא and עֵז, resp.

The orthography of "when": O: ארי; and PJ, Par, Bom, CG and N: ארום, has already been noted.

The verb "to bear" in RSV, "When a bull or sheep or goat is born..." is a Niph. Impf., third person masc. sing. in the MT: יִנָּלֵד. O and CG have: יתיליד, followed by N: יתילד. PJ and Par have: איתיליד, as also Bom: דאתיליד. One ms of O (Solg) also has: איתיליד. The fact thus is that O, CG, and N use the Impf. tense, following the MT, but that PJ, Par,, and Bom have the Perf. tense. Two points are to be made, apart from the fact that the verb tense does not alter the meaning of the passage. First, PJ stands with the Pal. tgg of Par and Bom, and is different from O, even though CG and N, two other Pal. tgg, agree with O. Secondly, it is not unusual that one or more of the Pal. tgg agree with O. From other evidence it is clear that this cannot be thought of as influences of O upon these Pal. tgg. The reverse may be the

8. Cf. Ibid., I, p. 126: G 38.17, 20: גדיא בר עיזי; D 14.4: גדיין דעיוזין; G 27.9: גדיי עזין; G 27.16: גדיי בני עיזי.

1. It is not clear which meaning of these two is the more original of BH גָּדַי, Arab. جَدِي, Aram. גָּדִיא etc. If the roots are جَدَى--to request a gift, and جَدَأ--to ask a gift, the noun גָּדַי may originally have the general meaning "gift".

case, or other factors may be involved such as the dependence of both O and the Pal. tgg upon the MT, mere coincidence, or the state of affairs originating in late mss of each, having been copied by the same scribe. Therefore, when we find similarities between O and PJ, the same phenomenon is the case in PJ, as we have described for the Pal. tgg, and which has occurred in our verse in CG and N. When this is the case in PJ, PJ shares in a characteristic of the Pal. Pent. tgg, and is seen to be in the same tradition as those tgg.

The numeral "seven" in RSV, "...seven days..." is rendered thus, MT: שִׁבְעַת יָמִין; O: שִׁבְעָה יוֹמִין, so also N: שִׁבְעָה יוֹמִין; PJ only has: שִׁבְעֵתָא יוֹמִין; Par, Bom, CG have: שִׁבְעָה/ה יוֹמִין. A variant for O is in Ix: שִׁבְעָה. PJ is different from O, as a matter of fact it is N here which is the same as O. But first we turn to Par, Bom, and CG, which spell the cardinal numeral with a שִׁבְעָה. We have noted at G 7.10, where this orthography occurred in PJ and Par, that this spelling does not occur in O and is peculiar to the Jer. tgg and the Jer. Talm. Hence, Par, Bom, and CG stand in the Jer. tg tradition here. The orthography שִׁבְעֵתָא of PJ does not occur in O.¹ It is found in PJ only here. It occurs also in CG²

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 126: G 38.17, 20: יָיִי; D 14.4: יָיִי.

1. Cf. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par 21:1, 6, pp. 125, 129 and A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 414; Levy, op. cit., II, p. 449; and Brederek, op. cit., p. 118, BH: שִׁבְעָה.

2. CG at N 28.21 has שִׁבְעֵתָה.

and N.¹ With it we compare another form, שבעתי, occurring in PJ,² Bom,³ CG,⁴ N⁵ and Nmg.⁶ Of this latter emphatic form ending in tē, which occurs in PJ and Pal. tgg, but not in O, Dalman says,

Die Grundzahlen haben eine determinierte Form auf te, (footnote: Eine Form auf תא hat mit derselben Bedeutung das Palmyrenische, s. עשרתא "die Dekaproten" Rechendorf, ZDMG XLII 397, eine männl. Determinationsform ist תרתיא Vog. 16, 2, ZDMG XXIV 102.) welche vielleicht mit Nöldeke als Status constr. eines von der Femininform gebildeten Maskulinplurals angesehen werden darf. Winer, Chald. Gramm. § 36, bezeichnet diese Form fälschlich als St. constr. des Zahlworts in Femininverbindung. Sie wird auch mit maskul. Substantiven verbunden. ...Überhaupt kein Beispiel enthält das Onkelostargum. Die jer. Targume haben hier galil. Formen.⁷

The form is also noted in Bereshit Rabba, where Prof. Odeberg calls it "...a determinate form ending in -e...": šuba'te and šib'ate.⁸ In the CP Aram. lectionaries however this "... Determ. st. cst...."⁹ ends in an aleph and not a yodh: שׁוּבַעְתָּא¹⁰

1. N at N 28.21 has שׁוּבַעְתָּיָא.

2. שבעתי in PJ at G 29.27: שבעתי; G 29.28: שבעתי and L 23.36: שבעתי.

3. Bom at G 29.27 has שׁוּבַעְתָּיָא.

4. CG uses שבעתי at G 29.27: שׁוּבַעְתָּיָא and G 29.28: שׁוּבַעְתָּיָא.

5. N uses שבעתי at G 29.27: שבעתי, G 29.28: שבעתי and N 28.24: שבעתי.

6. Nmg at G 7.10 has שבעתי.

7. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par. 21:6, p. 129.

8. Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 68.

9. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 200.

The nouns ending in תא, תה (תיה) and תי, are all variants of the determinate form ending in tē, of which Dalman speaks. This determinate form, in all its different spellings (תא, תי, תיה and תה) is only found in PJ and the Pal. tgg and not in O, as our examples have shown. Therefore, at our verse, the orthography of PJ (שבעתא) stands with that of the Pal. Pent. tgg.

For MF: אַמו, "its mother" the tgg have: O, Par and CG: אימיה and PJ, Bom, and N: אמיה. A small variation in orthography, but one in which PJ does not stand with O, but is with Bom and N, whereas the Pal. tgg of Par and CG agree with O.

The noun "an offering", MF: קָרְבָּן is rendered as follows: O: קרבנא; PJ, Bom: קורבנא; Par, CG: קורבן; while N omits the noun. As far as the orthography of the first syllable is concerned, O stands by itself (קר) while PJ stands with the Pal. tgg of Par, Bom, and CG (קור). Analysis of the orthography of this noun in other places, renders results not obvious from our verse, though PJ remains with the tradition of the Pal. Pent. tgg. O is found only to use the קור spelling,¹ though in three isolated instances is קר found in O.²

10. Ibid., p. 200: G 7.10: אַבְרָהָם אֵבְרָהָם (A Pal. Syr. Lect. etc. (Stud. Sin. VI), op. cit., p. 91), Mt. 15.36: אַבְרָהָם אֵבְרָהָם (The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels. Re-edited from two Sinai mss. and from P. de Lagarde's edition of the "Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum" by Agnes Smith Lewis, M.R.A.S. and Margaret Dunlop Gibson, M.R.A.S. (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1899), p. 80), Mt. 22.28 (codd. B, C): אַבְרָהָם אֵבְרָהָם (ibid., p. 157), Luke 8.2 (cod G): אַבְרָהָם אֵבְרָהָם (ibid., p. 290).

The Pal. tgg and PJ seem to use both קרר and קרי, though the frequency of each in the separate tgg is not the same. The usage in the Pal. tgg and PJ ranges from one extreme in N, where only one use of קרר is found,¹ hence a nearly unanimous usage of קרי,² to the other extreme of the PT, where in Par once קרי³ and four times קרר⁴ and in Bom once קרי⁵ and five times קרר⁶ occur. In between these two extremes, stand PJ and CG, in which either orthography is used equally often:

1. O uses the קרר spelling at: G 4.4: וּבְקוֹרְבָנֶיהָ; G 4.5: וּבְקוֹרְבָנֶיהָ; L 2.1 (1st time): קוֹרְבָּן; L 2.1 (2nd time): קוֹרְבָנֶיהָ; L 2.2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 (1st time), 16; 7.25, 29, 30, 35, 36, 38; 22.27; N 28.19: קוֹרְבָּא; N 28.24: קוֹרְבָּן.

2. קרי occurs in O at our verse L 22.27: קֹרְבָנָא; L 2.13 (2nd time): קֹרְבָנֶיךָ and in 2228-30, 9400, Solg, Freib, Ven 1, Ven 2, Sab, at G 4.3: קֹרְבָנֶיךָ.

1. קרר is found in N in mg at L 22.27 (the 2nd occurrence of the addition): קוֹרְבָנֶיךָ.

2. N uses קרי at G 4.4; קרוביה; G 4.8 (2x); L 2.1 (1st time): קרבן; L 2.1 (2nd time): קרבניה; L 2.2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13(2x), 16; 7.25, 29, 30, 35, 38, L 2.27 (2x: first occurrence of the addition; and the occurrence of the verse); N 28.19: קרבנין; N 28.24: קרבן.

3. Par has קרי once at L 22.27 (the 2nd occurrence of the addition): קרבנין.

4. Par has קרר at: G 4.8 (1st time): קורבין; G 4.8 (2nd time): קורבני; L 22.27 (1st occurrence of the addition): קורבנין; L 22.27 (verse): קרבין.

5. Bom has קרי once, at G 4.8 (2nd time): קרבני.

6. קרר occurs in Bom at: G 4.8 (1st time): קורבין; L 7.34: קורב; L 22.27 (twice in the addition): קורבנין; L 22.27 (verse): קורבנא.

in PJ fifteen times קורי¹ and fifteen times קר² and in CG three times קורי³ and four times קר⁴. Hence, even though in our verse the orthography of O is the exceptional and not the usual one, PJ stands with the Pal. tgg. PJ and the Pal. tgg namely use either orthography. The orthography of O however is always, excluding the isolated exception, קורי.⁵

In the phrase "to the Lord", MT: לַיהוָה, in RSV, "... as an offering by fire to the Lord..." the preposition is rendered קדם by O and N, followed by CG: קודם; and לשמא by PJ, Par and Bom. This is another instance where some Pal. tgg (CG and N) have a reading identical with O, whereas others (Par and Bom) have their own reading, with PJ agreeing with the latter, and differing from O.

In L 23.29 there is important evidence that PJ is in the same tradition as the Pal. tgg. Two similarities between

1. קורי in PJ occurs at: G 4.4: וּבִקְרֹבָנֶיהָ; G 4.5; L 2.1: קֹרְבָנֶיהָ (2nd time); L 2.3, 9, 13 (1st time), 16, 7.29, 30, 35, 38; L 22.27 (1st occurrence of the addition): קֹרְבָנֶיהָ; L 22.27 (verse): קֹרְבָנֶיהָ; N 28.23: קֹרְבָנֶיהָ; N 28.24 (2nd time): קֹרְבָנֶיהָ.

2. קר in PJ occurs at G 4.3: קָרְבָּן; G 4.8 (2x); L 2.1 (1st occurrence): קָרְבָּן; L 2.2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13 (2nd time); 7.25; N 28.19: קָרְבָּן; N 28.24 (1st time): קָרְבָּן.

3. קורי in CG occurs at G 4.8 (1st time): קֹרְבָּן; L 22.27 (2nd occurrence of the addition): קֹרְבָּן; L 22.27 (verse): קָרְבָּן.

4. קר in CG occurs at G 4.8 (2nd time): קֹרְבָּן; L 22.27 (1st time of the addition): קֹרְבָּן; N 28.19: קֹרְבָּן; N 28.24 (1st time): קָרְבָּן.

5. For the references cf. Levy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 385f, Wensinck, *...Lexicon*, *op. cit.*, Brederek, *op. cit.*, p. 106, Aram.: קרב and Kuiper, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

O and PJ as well as O and CG cannot be taken as evidence of the influence of O upon PJ or the Pal. tgg. Some additions are found in this verse, in PJ as well as in the Pal. tgg.

The orthography of ארום in PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N and ארי in O has been noted already.

For "whoever", MT: כָּל־הַנֶּפֶשׁ, O only has: כָּל אִנֶּשׁ; the Pal. tgg follow the MT, with a unique addition in N as follows: Par, Bom: כָּל נֶפֶשׁ, CG: (נֶפֶשׁ) כָּל and N: כָּל נֶפֶשׁ גִּבְרִי; and PJ and Nmg have: כָּל בֵּר נֶשׁ. Nmg is not simply the variant from PJ to N, because the full mg reading of N is different from the reading in PJ. Nmg in full reads: בֵּר נֶשׁ דְּלֵא יִצְרֹם and PJ in full reads: אַרְוֹם כָּל בֵּר נֶשׁ דִּי יִכּוֹל לְצִיִּמָא וְלֵא יִצְרֹם. We therefore take the reading כָּל בֵּר נֶשׁ to represent one stream of Pal. Pent. tg tradition, presently found in PJ and as mg variant in N. The other stream of Pal. Pent. tg tradition reads כָּל נֶפֶשׁ (with N adding: גִּבְרִי) and thus follows the MT. That these two readings are clearly from the Pal. tg tradition is again seen from the reading of O: כָּל אִנֶּשׁ which is different from either of the Pal. readings. It is remarkable that O does not literally follow the MT, which surely would have been possible here.

In the choice of the verb "to afflict" in RSV, "For whoever is not afflicted..." PJ again stands with the Pal. tgg in the use of the verb צָרָם which does not occur in O¹ and is

1. Brederek, *op. cit.*, p. 178, no Aram. צָרָם and Levy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 318.

different from O (ענא). The readings are as follows: MT: לא־תִעָנֶה, followed by O: וְלֹא יִתְעַנֶּי; PJ has: וְלֹא יִצְרוֹם; Par: וְלֹא צִיִּמְתָּ, Bom: וְלֹא צִיִּימָה, CG: וְלֹא צִיִּמָּה, N: וְלֹא צִיִּימְהוֹן. The difference in tense of PJ (Impf.) from the Pal. tgg (Perf.) again reveals the individual character of the different tgg of the Pal. tradition. Par has the correct third person feminine sing., referring to the feminine subject נַפֶּשׁ, which seems to have been overlooked by Bom, CG, and N. CG and N do correctly render the person however in the second verb of the verse, שִׁיִּצִי. Whatever the individual differences between PJ and the Pal. tgg, it is clear that PJ stands in the tradition of the Pal. tgg.

In the expression, "from his people", PJ and the Pal. tgg insert גֵּר, "the midst of",¹ reading, "from the midst of his people", or "from among his people". The readings are as follows: MT: מִמְעַמָּהּ (מִמְעַמָּהּ); O: מִמְעַמִּיהָ; PJ: מִמְּגֵר עַמִּיהָ; CG: מִמְּגֵר עַמָּהּ; N: מִמְּגֵר עַמָּהּ (Nmg: מִמְּגֵר). Again, PJ stands with the Pal. tgg, and not with O.

The first similarity between O and PJ and CG is in the phrase, "...on this same day...", MT: בְּעֶצְמֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה. O and PJ have: הַיּוֹם זֶמַן יוֹמָא הַדִּין, partly found in CG: בְּכַרְן יוֹמָא הַדִּין. Par and Bom have: בְּיוֹם, N: בְּזִמְן יוֹם and Nmg: בְּיוֹם. Par, Bom and N are followed by the addition, and read the phrase, "...on the day of fasting of his atonement...". This addition however does not occur in PJ and CG, and of course not in O.

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 128.

If PJ and O were the same, and both quite different from the Pal. tgg, there would be equal possibility that O influenced PJ or that PJ influenced O. But there is more evidence here. The word כרן used by O and PJ here, is also used in other places in the Pal. tgg.¹ Moreover, the latter part of the phrase, יומא הדן and the lack of the following addition occurs in CG as well as in O and PJ. It is therefore likely that this is one stream of the Pal. tg tradition בכרן יומא הדין, which we find in individual ways and with differences in PJ and CG; and that the other had כפוריה צום ביום צום, which we find with individual differences in Par, Bom, N and Nmg. This being likely, the reading in O was taken from PJ, probably because it resembles closely the MT.

The verb in "(he) shall be cut off from his people", is a Niph. Impf., 3rd pers. fem. sing., going back to the fem. subject הַנְּפִשׁ : וְנִכְרְתָהּ. O and PJ both have an Ishtaph. Impf., 3rd masc. sing.: וישתיצי; CG has the Shaph. Impf. 3rd pers. fem. sing.: ותשיצי and N an Ishtaph. Impf. 3rd fem. sing.: ותשתיצא. This is not a case of influence from O upon PJ or vice versa however. O and PJ have the 3rd pers. masc. sing. because of different reasons. O has as subject כל אנש, which is masculine, and PJ has the masculine subject כל בר נש. Hence there is no case of influence of one upon the other here.

¹ Levy, op. cit., I, p. 389, for example, D 16.2

In L 23.32, there is a unique reading in PJ, and a similarity between O and PJ; but most of the evidence centers around the additions, which show quite conclusively that PJ stands with the Pal. tgg here.

The phrase, RSV, "It shall be to you a sabbath of solemn rest..." is in the MT: **שַׁבַּת לְשַׁבְּתוֹן**, followed by O: **שָׁבָא** (Complut: **שַׁבַּת**), CG: **שַׁבַּת שַׁבְּתוֹן** and N: **שַׁבַּת שַׁבְּתָה**. Only PJ is different: **שָׁבָא וְנִיחָא**, "a sabbath and time of leisure". In this case the Pal. tgg are like O and PJ is different. But we need not conclude that PJ influenced the Pal. tgg of CG and N. There are two streams of Pal. tradition here, one paralleling the MT, found in CG and N, and the other giving a very free rendering of the MT, found in PJ. These are both streams of the Pal. tradition, and quite uninfluenced by O. The reading of O, in paralleling the MT literally, happens to be like that of CG and N, and is perhaps the influence of these latter two upon O, but surely not necessarily so.

The rendering of RSV, "...and you shall afflict yourselves", is in the MT: **וְרָעַבְתֶּם**, followed by O and PJ: **וְרָעַבְתֶּם**. CG and N have: (N: **בָּה**) **וְרָעַבְתֶּם בֵּיתָה**. O and PJ are similar here, as against CG and N on two counts: choice of the verb: **רָעַב** in O and PJ and **צָרַם** in CG and N, and the addition, rendering the phrase, "and in it you shall humble your souls". Yet there is equal possibility here for PJ influencing O as for O influencing PJ. We have noted in L 23.29 that the verb **צָרַם**, here in L 23.32 only used in CG and N, is also used by PJ and the other Pal. tgg in the former verse. On the other hand,

וַיִּצַד, "leiden machen, demütigen, kasteien, peinigen" also occurs in the Pal. tgg.¹ There is thus reason to believe that we have to do in PJ with one branch of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, different from the CG-N branch. It is possible that O is influenced by PJ here, and not at all likely that the opposite has occurred.

In D 27.8, in the passage of the recording of the law upon the stones after the Jewish tribes had crossed the Jordan into Palestine,² we have clear evidence in the verse and the addition that PJ stands with the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, and not with O.

For "And you shall write", MT: וְכָתַבְתָּ, O has the exact translation: וְכָתַבְתִּיב, but PJ and the Pal. tgg have the plural person: וְכָתַבְתֶּם in Par, Bom, CG, and N, and וְכָתַבְתֶּם in PJ. PJ stands with the Pal. tgg.

1. Cf. Levy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 228, i.e. E 1.12; L 16. 31.

2. We shall not go into the relationship of this verse to the previous parts of the chapter in Deut., except to say that two streams of information can easily be detected. Generally verses 1-4 and 8 speak of the setting of large stones, to be plastered and inscribed with all the words of the Law, immediately after passing over the Jordan into the Promised Land. Verses 5-7 record the command to build an altar of unhewn stones on Mt. Ebal. Though the unhewn stones of the latter cannot be reconciled with the plastered and inscribed stones, the two separate traditions became mingled already here, but especially in later interpretations. Cf. Lic. Dr. Carl Steuernagel in Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von D. F. Nowack, *op. cit.*, I. Abteilung, Die historischen Bücher, 3. Band: Übersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900), pp. 96f. and Dr. August Dillmann in Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament. Dreizehnte Lieferung: Die Bücher Numeri,

The noun "the words" in RSV, "...all the words of this law...", MT: אֶת-כָּל-הַדְּבָרִי-הַתּוֹרָה is rendered in O, PJ, CG, and N: פתגמי, and in Par, and Bom: מילי שבח and Nmg: מלי שבח. This cannot be a case of PJ being a copy of O, because CG and N have the same rendering. It is more likely that there were two renderings in the Pal. tgg for the Hebr. הדברי, one being the ordinary noun פתגמא, "word" and the other being מילא, as a noun commonly used in the Pal. tgg, but not in O,¹ for "word", the latter מילא followed by שבח, reading: מילי שבח, "the glorious words"² or "words of praise".³ The Pal. tg tradition was not a uniform one, so that some tgg, PJ, CG, and N had one rendering and others, Par, Bom, and Nmg had another. It is understandable that O chose the rendering of the former, because the word מילא is not used in O. PJ hence is not influenced by O, but stands prior to O, with the Pal. tg tradition.

The words "very plainly" in RSV, "And you shall write upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly", are in the MT: בַּאֲרֵי הַיֵּטֵב, literally "made clear well". O translates פריש יאות, "made clear properly".⁴ The other tgg use

Deuteronomium und Josua, für die zweite Auflage neu bearbeitet von Dr. August Dillmann (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1886), pp. 364ff.

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 37 and Brederek, op. cit., p. 163, under Aram.: מלל or p. 65 under BH: מלל.

2. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 638.

3. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 447.

4. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 533 translates O, "...

the same verb for the verb of O, but all have a form different from O: **וּמַפְרֵשׁ** and are thus in a different tradition from O. PJ stands with the Pal. tgg here. The second word in O: **יְאֹרֵת**, "properly" is the same in CG and N. Bom and Nmg have instead **טַבֵּאוֹת**, "well",¹ which occurs only in the Jer. tgg.² Par and Lips have another form of this adv: **טַבֵּא**; and PJ omits the word altogether.³ It is noted that Par, Bom, Lips, and Nmg in having the adv "well", use the same root as the MT here, the latter having **הֵיטֵב**, whereas O was a different root. In this respect Par, Bom, Lips, and Nmg more accurately render the MT than do O, CG, and N, which have "properly", or than PJ, which omits the word. It is obvious nevertheless that neither PJ nor the Pal. tgg copy O here. PJ and the Pal. tgg are in the same tg tradition, with its characteristic individual differences between the component tgg. This is also seen in the addition.

Of D 34.10, which reads in the RSV, "And there has not arisen a prophet since in Israel like Moses", we can be very brief. All the evidence which this verse presents proves PJ to stand with the Pal. tgg.

distinctly and beautifully...".

1. Bom is translated by Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 638, "...and plain, to be well read", reading the adv. "well" with the following verb "to read", which latter verb lacks the addition in Bom, following it in the other tgg: "...in one language".

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 293.

3. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 638, translates PJ: "...and distinct...".

The MT has **עוֹד**, translated as "since". O and N have the same, which may simply be a Hebr. word, and not Aram.¹ PJ and CG have **תּוֹב**, "later, afterwards", a word which only occurs in the Jer. tgg, and not in O.² PJ here stands with CG, and is in the Pal. Pent. tg tradition.

RSV, "...whom the Lord knew..." translates MT: **אֲשֶׁר יִדְעֵי יְהוָה**. O changes the meaning of this phrase, making the relationship less intimate. The verb-voice is changed to a passive, and the verb itself is changed from **יָדַע** standing for an intimate relationship to the much less personal verb **גִּלִּי**, "to reveal". O reads, **דָּאֲתִגְלִי לִיהּ יְהוָה**, "...unto whom the Lord revealed Himself...".³ The Pal. tgg and PJ use the active voice of the verb, and employ a verb signifying a close and intimate relationship: **חָכַם**.⁴ PJ reads: **אֲרוֹם יְהוָה חָכַם מִיִּמְרָה דְּהוּ**, "...because the word of the Lord had known him...".⁵ Par, Lips, CG, and N have basically the same rendering. The Pal. targumic understanding was of a close intimate relationship between the Lord and Moses, which is as well indicated in the MT. The official Targum Onkelos made

1. Cf. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1048 and Levy, op. cit., II, p. 205.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 532.

3. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 556.

4. Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 255f: **חָכַם**, Pe--1. verstehen, erkennen, wissen, weise sein; 2. den Beischlaf ausüben, beiwohnen; Pa.--1. weise, verständig machen, 2. = Pe. kennen, 3. intrans: weise, verständig sein.

5. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 685.

the relationship more impersonal and general without completely altering the text. Clearly here we see the different circumstances and motives of the Pal. tgg and the official Targum Onkelos. And PJ stands with the former.

Finally the phrase "face to face" for the MT: פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים. O renders this quite literally: אַפִּין באַפִּין. PJ and the Pal. tgg of CG and N have instead of the noun "face", forms of the root מלל. These render the preposition either by לקבל or by קבל כל, "gegenüber".¹ The readings are, PJ: ממלל כלו קבל ממלל, "...speaking opposite him (face to face with him) speech...";² CG: מלל לקבל מלל, "speaking opposite (him) speech"; and N: ממלל כל וקבל ממלל, where it seems as if the prepositional phrase is misunderstood, so that the final ו of כל was prefixed on קבל, as if it were a conjunction.³ The form קבל כל does not occur in O,⁴ but is used in PJ and the Pal. Pent. tgg:⁵ Bom,⁶ CG,⁷ N⁸ and PJ.⁹ It is also found in

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 341.

2. ממלל can either be a Pa. Part.: מְמַלֵּל, which as well occurs with one מ, as in CG here (cf. following), or the noun: מִמְלָל, "speech". This noun also occurs with one מ, viz. מְמַלֵּל, as in CG here. Cf. Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 792 and 795 and Levy, op. cit., II, pp. 42 and 44. Etheridge translates PJ (op. cit., II, p. 685): "...to speak with him word for word...".

3. Cf. Nmg at E 28.7: כל וקבל.

4. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1309; Levy, op. cit., II, p. 341; and Brederick, op. cit., p. 179 under Aram.: קבל, p. 68 under Hebr. נָבַד (Aram.: לקבל, מקבל, כקבל or קדם) and p. 73, under Hebr. נִכַּח (Aram.: לקבל).

5. Cf. previous ftnt., Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 369, and Dalman, Grammatik etc., par 47:7, pp. 231f.

the Targ. of Ruth 4.4.¹ CP Aram. does not use כּל, but does employ כּל and כּל.² כּל is not listed as used in Syr.³ כּל קביל occurs in Genesis Rabba (77.3) as preposition, "towards, opposite, corresponding".⁴ It occurs in Vaj. R. 22,⁵ and also in the Talmud.⁶ כּל-קביל, כּל-קביל and כּל-קביל occur in the Aram. portions of the OT, meaning, "accordingly, thereupon, forasmuch as, because, although".⁷ It may be accepted with Dalman⁸ that כּל קביל should be pronounced כּל-קביל, made up as it is of קביל and כּ and כּ and not of קביל and כּל,⁹ and the pronunciation כּל קביל may well

6. G 25.18: כּל קביל.

7. G 30.38: כּל קביל and G 38.26 (2x): כּל קביל.

8. G 25.18: כּל קביל; G 33.12: כּל קוביל (ab ln: כּלו (כּלו קביל mg); E 25.37: כּל קביל; E 28.25: כּל קביל (mg: כּל וקביל); E 28.27: כּל וקביל (ab ln: כּל וקביל; mg: כּל וקביל).

9. G 28.17: כּל קביל; E 25.37: כּל קביל; E 28.25: כּל קביל; E 28.27: כּל קביל; E 28.37: כּל קביל.

1. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par 47:7, p. 231.

2. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 173 and Horologian ... by Black, op. cit., p. 68.

3. Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., pp. 487f.

4. Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 74.

5. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par 47:7, p. 231: כּל קביל.

6. Ibid., and Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit.: Kil. IX, 4: כּל קביל; Ter. II.1: כּל קביל; Hall. II.8; and Ket. 33a: כּל קביל.

7. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 1117.

8. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 369.

9. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 1117.

have been "influenced by the Masoretic traditional pronunciation of Biblical Aramaic כּל קבל".¹ Only the form לקבל seems used in Samaritan,² whereas Arabic appears to use only قَبْل and مِنْ قَبْل, prep. "before".³ The preposition כּל, "gegenüber" may well be one peculiar to the commonly spoken Aramaic of Palestine, and as such occurs in the Pal. tgg, including PJ, in certain Midrashic writings and in the Talmud. (Its meaning in Bibl. Aram. is different from the meaning under discussion). At this verse, we find the preposition in PJ and N. When we compare the rendering of O (אפינ באפינ) with that of the Pal. tgg and PJ (ממלל כלו קבל ממלל) for the MT: פּוֹנִים אֶצְפְּנִים, it is clear that O has a stiff literal rendering of the Hebrew, whereas the Pal. tgg and PJ have a freer rendering, which no doubt has a true Aramaic idiom. In this PJ stands with the Pal. tgg.

1. Odeberg, *op. cit.*, II, p. 74.

2. The Samaritan Liturgy, Edited by A. E. Cowley, In Two Volumes (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, (Vol. 2:) 1909), II, p. lxxiii.

3. Hava, *op. cit.*, pp. 585f and Rev. G. W. Thatcher, M.A., A.D., Arabic Grammar of the Written Language. Fifth Edition, Revised and Corrected by H. M. Mahmud (London: Percy Lund, Humphries & Co. Ltd., 1958), p. 419.

CHAPTER III

TARGUMIC ADDITIONS

We turn in this chapter to the targumic additions of the Pentateuchal targums. Generally it is only necessary to deal with PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N. Occasionally an addition is also found in O. In these instances we have dealt with O within the context of each verse under discussion. In the former case we have ample opportunity to compare the traditions of PJ to those of Par, Bom, CG, and N; in the latter we can, in addition to this, determine the relationship of PJ to O.

The first verses under discussion are G 4.7-10, 16, dealing with the story of Cain and Abel. In G 4.7 there are some minor additions in four Pal. tgg, lacking in PJ; some additions in all five Pal. tgg--although minor differences exist between ^{among} them--; and some unique additions in only one tg.

In PJ: "if you do well your work (1), (2) it will be forgiven to you (3)", Par, Bom, CG, and N add at (1): "in this world", at (2) "it will be pardoned and", and at (3) "in the world to come."

Addition (1) occurs in all five tgg, including PJ after a following addition "if you do not do your work well". "your work" (CG: "your works") in these two cases occurs in all targums, also in O. It is not in the MT. All tgg,

except O have "until the day of the great judgment your sin is reserved" following "and if you do not do your work well in this world." This addition, with the exception of "great" is used by O, together with an addition peculiar to O, in the place of the translation of the last part of this verse.¹ This last half of the verse, not literally rendered by O, is translated by the five Pal. tgg as follows:

and at the door of your heart sin lies;
 into your hand I have given the power of the evil
 impulse (1),
 and you will be powerful over it to be righteous or
 to sin.

Neglecting minor differences², there are only two unique parts in this addition. Only PJ adds at (1) "because for you will be its desire".³ This phrase is taken by Grelot as a doublet of the phrase, "into your hand I have given the power of the

1. Cf. below, p. 251.

2. For "you will be", PJ uses the shorter form, and Par, Bom, CG, and N the longer form. Both forms are found in the Jer. tgg, but only the shorter form for the 2nd pers. masc. sing. is used by O. (Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 353; cf. also Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 39; and Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 73f.) We have only found the longer form in CG (Wensinck, ... Lexicon, op. cit., and Kuiper, op. cit., p. 44.) for the 2nd masc. sing., though both are present for the other persons. Only the shorter form has been found for PJ (G 4.7, 12; N has the longer form here) for this person, though both occur in other persons. For "over" in "you will be powerful over", PJ, Par, and N use א, whereas Par, and CG use כ. Though the former use seems to be normal in Aram., CG uses both (G 4.7; 48.19; cf. Wensinck, ... Lexicon, op. cit., and Kuiper, op. cit., p. 168) and both are listed in Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 207. The Syriac as well uses both. (Payne Smith, ... Dictionary, op. cit., p. 579.)

3. PJ uses כתיב, translating MT ארון, the latter

evil impulse" (PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N) for the MT, "its desire is for you". PJ is said to represent "une leçon confluente".¹ Let us note however that there are two phrases in the MT, RSV reading, "its desire is for you, but you must master it." The two phrases in PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N, "into your hand I have given the power of the evil impulse, and you will be powerful over it..." do not translate the first phrase of the MT, but really only the second. The first phrase of the MT is only translated by PJ's insertion: "because for you will be its desire." PJ thus follows the Hebr. more closely than Par, Bom, CG, and N. This is sometimes a characteristic of the Pal. tradition. We therefore take PJ here as one form of the Pal. tradition, which follows the Hebr. text more closely than the other form (Par, Bom, CG, and N). CG uses for "to sin" the root גָּחַן , where the other four Pal pent tgg use חָטָא .

3. occurring only here, at G 3.16 and in Song of Sol. 7.11 (cf. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 1043). No other derivatives from the Hebrew root פָּחַח are found in the MT (Ibid., p. 957), O does not use the Aramaic כְּפִיחָא (Brederek, op. cit., p. 140). O omits this at G 4.7, and uses כְּפִיחָא at G 3.16 (Ibid., p. 120). Leyy, op. cit., II, p. 80 lists three occurrences of כְּפִיחָא in Aramaic: Targum on Song of Sol. 7.11, PJ at G 4.7 and PJ and N at G 3.16 (FT and CG are lacking here). This word in the unique addition of PJ here, is no doubt a Palestinian Aramaic word, not occurring in O, but occurring in the PJ and N at another place. This substantiates the claim that this unique addition of PJ is of the same character as unique additions of the other Palestinian targums, namely independent Palestinian Pentateuch Targum tradition.

1. Grelot, op. cit., p. 69.

The noun of the root נָסַח turns up at the beginning of this verse in PJ, where "your sin" is added at (1) in "... if you do your work well, (1) (it) will be forgiven to you." We note finally that the word "powerful": שׁוֹרֵשׁ , used by all five Pal. tgg in this addition, occurs only in the Jer. tgg.¹

As far as these additions go, PJ stands with the other four Pal. Pent. tgg, sometimes omitting minor expressions they have, sometimes adding unique additions of its own. Except for the fact that in one unique addition of PJ, PJ is the only targum translating the fifth phrase of the MT, RSV: "its desire is for you", the omissions or unique additions of PJ are similar to those occurring among the other four Pal. Pent tgg. In this one unique addition, PJ alone, stands closest to the MT, a fact which proves to be a recurring one.

In G 4.7 O as well makes a number of additions, some with the other five tgg, and one not found in the other tgg. For MT, RSV: "if you do well" (2x), O reads "if you do your work well" (2x), as do all our other tgg (GC has "your works"). The last part of this verse, MT, RSV: "...sin is couching at the door; its desire is for you, but you must master it", which is translated by our five Pal. Pent. tgg (PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N), is not translated by O. O instead gives part of the addition which in the five other tgg precedes directly the translation of this verse, while O finishes this with an addi-

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 485; cf. also the additions at G 43.14, above pp.155/8, and G 44.15, below on p.272.

tion not found in the other targums. O reads:

...until the day of the judgment (your) sin is reserved.¹
 You will be punished if you do not repent;
 but if you repent, you will be forgiven.

The first line, with a slight omission of "great", is literally from our five other tgg. The second and third lines are not found in the other tgg, though the first part of line two reminds us of the conversation between Cain and Abel recorded at this verse in the Tosephta in Cod. Ox. 318: "and there is another world to exact punishment from the evil"², and at G 4.8 in PJ, Par, Bom, and N. Neither are the last two lines present in any versions³, so that we find these as a unique addition of O, representing the editor's attempt to make clear the meaning of the Hebr. text. Grelot agrees that O borrows the first part from the Pal. tgg: "TO connaît évidemment ce développement sans rapport avec l'héb., mais il l'abrège."⁴ It is

1. All five Pal. tgg read, "...until the day of great judgment your sin is reserved." Cf. above p. 248.

2. Das Fragmententhargum, herausgegeben von Ginsburger, op. cit., p. 71, line 3: וְאִתּוֹ עֲלָמָא אַתְרָא לְאִתְרָא מִן וְאִתּוֹ אַתְרָא מִן, O reads: וְאִתּוֹ אַתְרָא מִן.

3. LXX: ἡσύχασον· πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἀποστροφή αὐτοῦ καὶ σὺ ἀρῆεις αὐτοῦ. (Septuaginta, edidit Alfred Pahlfs, in two volumes. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935, I, p. 5) The ἡ ἀποστροφή: the turning or inclination, reminds of O: וְתָנָה: you repent.

4. Grelot, op. cit., p. 69

three phrases of this verse and the translation of this in all five Pal. Pent. tgg. O substitutes the simple lines about repentance or punishment for the metaphorical animal "sin" lurking at the door, over whom man must rule. O rejects this metaphorical part, but PJ retains this, and in so doing PJ is with the other four Pal. Pent. tgg.

In G 4.8 we see once more that the additions of PJ are the same as those of Par, Bom, CG, and N, with only very minor variations ^{among} between them. Close comparison shows that PJ and N are practically identical, that Par, and Bomb, with changes, have the same additions, in different order, and that CG omits two paragraphs from this addition. We elaborate upon this, taking PJ as a basis. Here four speeches are recorded: Cain's first speech, Abel's first answer, Cain's second speech, and Abel's second answer. We shall refer to the parts in this manner. The translation, point by point, runs thus in PJ:

Cain's first speech: Said Cain to Abel, I am understanding

- (a) that the world was created in love,
- (b) but that it is not carried on according to the fruits of good works;
- (c) there is discrimination of persons in judgment,
- (d) wherefore your offering was accepted in pleasure.

Abel's first answer: Abel answered and said to Cain,

- (a) in love was the world created,
- (b) and according to the fruits of good works it is carried on;
- (c) discrimination there is not in judgment;

(d) but because the fruits of my works are better than those of your hand, therefore, before that of your hand was my offering accepted.

Cain's second speech: Cain answered and said to Abel,

- (a) there is neither judgment nor judge, nor another world,
- (b) neither the giving of a good reward to the righteous nor punishment of the wicked.

Abel's second answer: Abel answered and said to Cain:

- (a) there are judgment, a judge and another world,
- (b) there are both the giving of a good reward to the righteous and the punishment of the wicked.

N follows this same order, making slight additions^{1,2} and two minor omissions.³ In these additions and omissions N agrees with one or more of the other tgg^{1,3}, except for one addition, unique to N.²

Par and Bom differ in the framework of the additions. These tgg have Cain's second speech immediately preceding and there attached to Cain's first speech, and Abel's second answer thus preceding his first answer. In Par and Bom, Cain thus has one speech (No. two plus No. one of PJ and N) and Abel thus

1. In Cain's first speech in (a) "not" is added, making the clause negative. Par and Bom make the same addition. CG is like PJ.

2. In Abel's second answer only N adds at the end of phrase (b): "in the coming world".

3. In Abel's first answer, phrase (c) is omitted in N, Par, Bom, and CG. (In the last three, the phrase is also omitted in (c) of Cain's first speech). In the same speech phrase (d), "the fruits of" and "before that of your hand" are omitted in N (both are in the mg however) and in Par, Bom and CG.

has one answer (No. two plus No. one of PJ and N). Apart from this general structure of the additions, the substance is like those of PJ and N, except for four omissions¹, one substitution² and two additions³ common to Par and Bom; one substitution in Par, which Bom has as an addition, retaining also the phrase of PJ²; and one substitution only in Bom⁴; which omissions, substitutions, and additions are in relation to PJ.

CG as it stands does not have Cain's second speech and Abel's second answer. Though for the part where CG is present, it is in substance the same as the other tgg, sharing with them in minor differences⁵, and also having unique readings⁶.

In all these additions PJ agrees with one or more of

1. In Cain's first speech, phrase (c) is omitted in Par, Bom, and CG. The same phrase (c) is omitted in Abel's first answer in N, Par, Bom, and CG. In (e), Cain's first speech, "my offering" is omitted in Par, Bom, and CG. Abel's first answer, (d) omits "the fruits of" and "before that of your hand" in N, Par, Bom, and CG.

2. In Cain's first speech, (b) "in love" is substituted for PJ's "according to the fruits of good works" in Par, Bom, CG. In Abel's first answer, Par makes the same substitute, but Bom and CG both have this substitution (as an addition) and the original phrase in PJ; "...and in love it (the world) is carried on; surely according to the fruits of good works it (the world) is carried on."

3. In Cain's first speech, (a) "not" is added in N, Par, and Bom; in (d) "from thee" is added in Par, Bom, and CG.

4. In Abel's first answer, (d) Bom and CG use a different root for the word "better".

5. Cf. above, ftnts 1-4 and p. 254, ftnts 1-3.

6. In Cain's first speech, phrase (b) "not" is omitted. This is surely an error, because it makes this whole speech illogical. Abel's first answer is prefaced by "what if this is so?..."

the four other targums, excepting one phrase only found in PJ, though it recurs as a marginal note in N.¹

It is quite clear that PJ stands with Par, Bom, CG, and N as free targum tradition. Grelot points out that this tradition is very old. The teaching of good works of this story as basis for acceptance by God was known by the author of 1 John:

Il semble avoir été connu dans les cercles chrétiens dès la fin du Ier siècle, car la Ire épître de Jean dit de Caïn qui égorgéa son frère; "Et pourquoi l'égorgea-t-il? Parce que ses oeuvres étaient mauvaises tandis que celles de son frère étaient bonnes" (1 Jn., III, 12). Cette allusion, jointe au parallélisme relevés plus haut, permet d'apprécier l'antiquité du thème recueilli par TP.²

Of this ancient tradition, PJ is a part. In this tradition, PJ and N are practically identical. Grelot has noted this, and explains it by saying that when PJ uses the Pal. tradition, it uses N. But, as we have seen here with the verse proper, PJ is a part of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. Only CG lacks large parts of the additions of this verse. Minor differences between all these Pal. tgg exist,³ as can be expected in a tradition which does not have one authorized text. If it should be said that PJ is made up of the verse parts of O (and we have

1. In Abel's first answer, (d) "before that of your hand."

2. Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

3. We note in the closing addition in PJ: "and concerning these words they were quarrelling upon the face of the earth" that PJ, Par, and Bom use one root and CG and N another for the verb "to quarrel".

seen above that we cannot say this at this verse¹) and of the additions of the old Pal. tg tradition, then the same would have to be said of N, for this verse. It is however clear here that all five tgg: PJ, Par, Bom, CG and N are in the tradition of the old Pal. tgg, existing independent] from O.

The additions of G 4.10 give a unique presentation. They are most extensive in Par, CG, and N. None of these occur in PJ, but two have found their way into O. PJ has additions peculiar to itself. Also O and CG have unique additions.

At (a) in MT: "the voice of the blood of (a) your brother," Par, Bom, CG, and N add, "the crowds of (N adds: numerous) righteous, which were to arrive from Abel." O has instead, "the seed which was to come forth from" partly its own, partly from the other tgg. PJ has "the killing of", its own addition. Grelot admits that O here has used some of the Pal. tg tradition: "TO ...conserve quelque chose du développement de TP-TJ ..."² After "your brother" only PJ adds: "Which has been hid in the earth". Grelot feels, viewing this unique addition of PJ, that the latter has somewhat changed the center of the verse, first following O and then the Pal. tradition.

Ps-J suit partiellement TO (cf les cinq premiers mots), sans ignorer complètement la tradition de TJ (emploi de 1'713) mais il accommode à sa façon le centre du verset: "La voix du sang du meurtre de ton frère Abel, qui a été avalé par l'argile, crie ..."²

1. Cf. above, ch. II, pp. 81-87.

2. Grelot, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

Grelot then continues in pointing out that this idea is as old as Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum:

Ginsburger cite ici en référence le Talmud de Babylone, Sanhedrin 37b (Jeh. b. Hiyya); mais l'idée, qui est conforme au texte l'hébreu, est attestée déjà dans le Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, XVI, 2: "... et festinans terra deglutivit sanguinem ejus".¹

It is difficult to see how PJ has changed the emphasis of this verse. What is important is the fact that PJ has incorporated material which is found also in the first century document Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, which Grelot himself dates, in another connection, in the "dernier tiers du premier siècle chrétien."² We have good evidence here that PJ itself, with this unique addition, is an early tg, standing with the tradition of the Pal. tgg. Furthermore we note how important it is indeed when additions found in Par, Bom, CG, and N are also found in O, and when these are lacking in PJ, while PJ and O have their own unique additions, differing from each other. Certainly there is no influence from O to be found in PJ here.

In G 4.16, we find one addition in common between O and PJ, and another long addition in common between Par, Bom, CG, and N, with minor differences among them. The long addition, occurring after the RSV, "in the land of Nod, east of Eden", reads in Par:

1. Ibid., p. 79.

2. Ibid., p. 86.

And it was so until Cain had killed Abel (a) that the earth richly yielded him fruits (b) like the fruits of the Garden of Eden; but because (c) he changed (d) and killed (e) Abel (f) his brother (g) it (the earth) changed for him (h) to yield richly (i) thorns and thistles.

(a) Bom, CG add: "his brother". (b) N omits "fruits". (c) for "because" Bom, and N have "from", meaning "from the time that" and CG has "as soon as, when". (d) Bom, and N read instead "sinned"; CG: omits this. (e) end of folio for CG, no more text in CG. (f) Bom omits this. (g) N omits this. (h) Bom, and N omit this. (i) for "to yield richly" Bom: "to produce", N: "to be yielding richly for him". No trace of this addition is found in O or PJ.

The phrase "in the land of Nod" is rendered by O, "in the land a wanderer and exile", and by PJ, "in the land of the exile of his wandering".¹ After this, both O and PJ add, "which had been prepared for him". Grelot correctly notes that the addition finds no support in the Hebr. and that it does not fit easily in the sentence. As adjectival modifier to the noun "earth", it is separated from it by the phrase "an exile and a wanderer". Referring to O, Grelot says:

Et surtout, la fin de la section est paraphrasée de façon tout à fait indépendante, sans aucun support dans l'hébreu: *וְעַד כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה הָאֵרֶץ מְעַלְמָה*. Cette finale se rattache fort mal à l'antécédent *וְעַד כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה* par dessus deux adjectifs intercalés; c'est donc une addition artificielle ...; ... il demeurera sur la terre exilé et banni, (la terre) qui avoit été faite pour lui à l'origine

1. Cf. above, ch. II, pp. 94f.

dans le jardin d'Eden.¹

We note that if PJ reads, "in the land of the exile of his wandering, which had been prepared", as Ginsburger corrects the text, then the problem of the unnatural sentence structure of O does not exist in PJ. This could be interpreted to mean that PJ knew O and improved upon it, but it could also be that O borrows "a wanderer and an exile" from the Par-Bom-CG-N tradition, "which had been prepared for him" from PJ, and that O has not put the two phrases together with good structure in the sentence. Therefore, we cannot say with certainty that O influenced PJ here.

The additions in the tgg at the verses of the Noah story (G 7.10; 8.1; 9.20), are only found in the Pal. tgg, i.e. in PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and N. No additions are found in O.

A number of additions occur at G 7.10 in PJ, Par and N.

After "And it was at the time of seven days" PJ has, "after the conclusion of the mourning for Methusaleh." Par and N have only, "the mourning of Methusaleh" and read, "And it was at the end of the seventh day of the mourning for Methusaleh." The tradition that one week of respite was given during the seven days of mourning for Methusaleh is present in Ber. Rab. and is ascribed to Rabbi Nehemiah (third generation of Tannaim, ca 150²). Speaking of "the light of seven days"

1. Grelot, op. cit., p. 84.

2. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., pp. 114f.

(Isa. 30.26), which refers to the light which God created on the first day and which served for four days until God created the sun on the fourth day:

R. Nehemiah said: It refers to the seven days of mourning for Methusaleh, when the Holy One, blessed be He, lavished light upon them.¹

This also occurs in B. Sanh., where it is related to Rab's name (first generation Amoraim, ca 250²), and where it is said that this was either to lead the wicked to repentance, or to give the wicked a foretaste of the future world, so that they would know what they were to miss:

What was the nature of these seven days? -- Rab said: These were the days of mourning for Methuselah, thus teaching that the lamenting for the righteous postpones retribution. Another meaning is: After the seven days during which the Holy One, blessed be He, reversed the order of nature, the sun rising in the West and setting in the East. (ftnt: That the wicked might be arrested by the phenomenon and led to repentance). Another meaning: the Holy One, blessed be He, (first) appointed a long time for them, and then a short time. (ftnt: He first gave them 120 years in which to repent -- this being the homiletical interpretation of Gen VI, 3--; this ended, he gave them a further seven days' grace). Another meaning: After the seven days during which He gave a foretaste of the future world, that they might know what good they had withheld from themselves.³

There is also another interpretation of the reason for these seven days of waiting, in Ber. Rab., namely that God mourned for seven days with the thought of his decision that he had to

1. Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. III, par. 6, p. 22.

2. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., p. 120.

3. The B.Talm, Nezikin, Sanhedrin, op. cit., par. 108b, Vol II, p. 744.

destroy the world. This is ascribed to Joshua b. Levi (first generation of Amoraim, ca 250¹)². R. Berekiah (fifth generation Amoraim, ca 350³) speaks of this as a palace built by an architect which displeases the king⁴, (as do also R. Ammi and R. Jassi--third generation Amoraim, ca 250⁵⁻⁶) and as a father (a king) who rejoices at the birth of a son, although eventually the son, as all people, has to die⁷ (as do also R. Joshua b. Karhah--third generation Tannaim, ca 150⁸-- and R. Joshua b. Levi--first generation Amoraim, ca 250⁹⁻¹⁰). We have here thus two explanations, both with the authority of teachers as early as the third generation of Tannaim, ca 150, as reported in Ber. Rab. Both traditions are included in one discussion, the former with reference to no teacher in particular and the

1. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., p. 120.

2. Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. XXXII, par. 7, p. 253.

3. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., pp. 130 f.

4. Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. XXVII, par. 4, p. 222.

5. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., pp. 124ff.

6. Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. VIII, par. 3, pp. 56 f.

7. Ibid., Ch. XXVII, par. 4, p. 222.

8. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., pp. 114 f.

9. Ibid., pp. 119 f.

10. Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. XXVII, par. 4, p. 222.

latter on the authority of Joshua b. Levi (ca 250) in the following passage from Ber. Rab.:¹

AND IT CAME TO PASS AFTER THE SEVEN DAYS (VII, 10). This teaches that the Holy One, blessed be He, gave them a respite during the seven days' mourning for the righteous Methusaleh, so that they might repent, yet they did not. Another interpretation: AND IT CAME TO PASS AFTER THE SEVEN DAYS: R. Joshua b. Levi said: Seven days the Holy One, blessed be He, mourned for His world before bringing the Flood, the proof being the text, And it grieved Him (Gen VI, 6), while elsewhere we read, The king grieveth for his son (II Sam. XIX, 3). (ftnt: The period of deep mourning for a near relation is seven days.)

We have here an old tradition, in substance in PJ, Par, and N, though the PJ reading is more wordy. The Pal. Tg tradition includes PJ.

Immediately following this, only PJ adds, "The Lord saw and behold the sons of man had not repented". As we have seen above, the tradition that those seven days were meant as an opportunity for the wicked to repent is an ancient one, and as such points to the antiquity of PJ. Moreover, it is to be noted that the verb תָּתַחַח (or: תָּתַחַח) -- to repent, used by PJ here, is a verb which is only used in the Jer. tgg.² It does not occur in O³, but is found in PJ⁴, the FT⁵, and N⁶. This

1. Ibid., Ch. XXXII, par. 7, p. 253.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 530.

3. Brederek, op. cit., p. 191.

4. E 13.7, Impf. 3 masc. plur: יִתְחַחֵן; L 5.5, Perf. 3 masc. sing.: תָּתַחַח; L.5.24, Perf. 3 masc. sing.: תָּתַחַח.

5. G 6.6, Partic.: Bom: וְתַחַחֵם, Vat: תַּחַחֵם, Lips: וְתַחַחֵם, Aruk at תַּחַח: וְתַחַחֵם. This reference is cited in Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit.

6. G 6.6, Partic.: וְתַחַחֵם (mg: תַּחַחֵם).

verb is also attested in CP Aram.¹, Syr.,² PBH³ and is used in Pal. non-Pent tgg⁴ as well as in the Jer. Talmud⁵. There is no doubt that we have here a word used in the tradition of the Pal. tgg--but also elsewhere--which is not used in O. It is in that Pal. Pent tg tradition, that this addition, only in PJ in our verse, places our tg PJ.

In the latter part of this verse, "and the waters of the flood came (lit: were) upon the earth," only PJ inserts after, "were" the following, "coming down boiling hot from the heavens", and thus reads, "and the waters of the flood were coming down boiling hot from the heavens upon the earth". The tradition that the generation of Noah was punished with hot water as retribution for their hot passions is in the B. Thalm. ascribed to R. Hisda (third generation of Amoraim, ca 275⁶):

R Hisda said: With hot passion they sinned, and by hot water they were punished. (For) here it is written, And the water cooled; (ftnt: E. V. 'abated'. Gen VIII, 1) whilst elsewhere it is said, Then the king's wrath cooled down. (ftnt: Est. VII, 10. In both cases the root שָׁנַן is used, giving them the same meaning, and proving that the water was hot when it

1. Schwally, op. cit., p. 100, Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 218.

2. Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., p. 605.

3. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 439.

4. Cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 530: Song of Sol. 5.5: תְּהִינִי, ich bereute; Eccles. 2.19: תְּהִינִי, ich bereute; and Lament. 1.9: תְּהִינִי, sie bereute.

5. Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., Shab. I, 5: וְהָיָה, und er begann Reue zu haben.

6. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., p. 127.

descended.)¹

This tradition is also present in the Jer. Talmud.²

It is important that the Partic. pass., masc. plur., absol. st. used by PJ for "boiling": רָתַח is from רָתַח, a verb which only occurs in the Jer. tgg³. This verb is never used by O⁴, but does occur in PJ⁵, FT⁶ and N⁷. The verb is

1. The B. Talm., Seder Nezikin VI, Sanhedrin, op. cit., par. 108b, p. 743. So also R. Hisda at The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Mo'ed VII, Rosh Hashanah, Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices by Maurice Simon, M.A.; Ta'anith ... by Rev. Dr. J. Rabbinowitz, B.A., Ph.D.; and Shekalim ... by Rabbi M. H. Segal, M.A. (London: The Soncino Press, 1938), Rosh Hashanah, op. cit., par. 11b, p. 43.

2. J. Sanh. 10, 29b, as referred to by Ginzberg, op. cit., V, p. 178, ftnt. 26, referring to the text in I, pp. 158f, which paragraph in latter reads, "The water alone could not have made an end of them, for they were giants in stature and strength. When Noah threatened them with the scourge of God, they would make reply: "If the waters of the flood come from above, they will never reach up to our necks; and if they come from below, the soles of our feet are large enough to dam up the springs." But God bade each drop pass through Gehenna before it fell to earth, and the hot rain scalded the skin of the sinners. The punishment that overtook them was befitting their crime. As their sensual desires had made them hot, and inflamed them to immoral excesses, so they were chastised by means of heated water." The ftnt. in Vol. V also lists works of quite late date, to which some of the later elaborations must be due.

3. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 440.

4. Brederek, op. cit., p. 185.

5. Cf Levy, op. cit., II, p. 440: G 50.1.: רָתַח, siedende Weine; N 24.16: רָתַח, wenn er zurnte; N 25.6 רָתַח, er zurnte; D 19.6: רָתַח, er wird ergluhen.

6. L 6.14, Partic., aufbrodelnd: Par: רָתַח, Bom: רָתַח, Levitas Methurgeman at רָתַח, Aruk at רָתַח.

7. L 6.14, Partic.: רָתַח.

used in CP Aram.¹, Syr.², PBH³ and is found in the non-Pent. Jer. tgg⁴ and in the Talmuds⁵. Neumark lists this as a gemeinaramäisches word, which O never uses and in the place of which O chooses the Aram. ܩܬܐ, which outwardly resembles the Hebr. text קחם(חם)⁶. Nevertheless, the fact is abundantly clear that in the choice of this word PJ stands in the tradition of the Pal. tgg and not in that of O.

Therefore we take this addition, only in PJ at this verse, to be from the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, in which PJ stands, here.

In G 8.1, one addition occurs only in N, one in PJ, for which the other Pal. tgg have another added phrase, and one is in common between all Pal. tgg, including PJ.

In the list of Noah and the animals in the ark, N lists Noah's sons immediately following Noah: "And God remembered,

1. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 197.

2. Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., p. 552.

3. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 409.

4. Cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 440: Esth. 1. 12; Job 24.24 (2x), Pe.: במִיָּא קִחִיָּין, in heissem (eig: gekochtem) Wasser; Job 41.23, Pa.: קִחִיָּין, aufwallend; Ps. 39.4, Pe.: קִחִיָּין, er braust auf; Eccles. 7.9, Pe.: קִחִיָּין, Pa.: קִחִיָּין, zürnen.

5. Cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 440: Sanh. 108b (2x): קִחִיָּין, in boiling...; Ber. 29b: קִחִיָּין, du bist aufbrausend; Ber. 62b; Taan. 4a: קִחִיָּין, wenn er aufbrausend ist; Pes. 110a: קִחִיָּין, der Aufbrausende.

6. Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen etc. (1905), op. cit., p. 46. This is the case at D 19.6, MI: קִחִיָּין (Qal Impf. 3rd masc. sing. from קחם, cf. Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 311), O: קִחִיָּין (so Sper; Ber has: קִחִיָּין) (Pe. Impf. 3rd masc. sing. from קחם, cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 332); the Pal. tgg use קחם or קחע, both only occurring in the Jer. tgg and not in O (Levy, op. cit., II, pp. 440f.): PJ: קחע; Bom: קִחִיָּין; N mg: קחע.

in his good mercies, Noah and his sons and all the beasts...", a unique addition of one Pal. tg only.

After, "And God remembered" only PJ adds: "in his word", for which the other tgg have (Par, Bom, Lips, Vat, CG, and N): "in his good¹ mercies"². A unique addition in PJ for an addition in common by the other Pal. tgg, showing individuality of the PJ form of the Pal. tgg.

After "wind" in RSV: "And God made a wind to blow over the earth", PJ, Par, Bom (also Vat, Lips), CG, and N add: "of mercies". A number of different genitive constructions are used, showing that this is no single tradition: PJ has the constr. st.; Par, Bom, Vat, and Lips the emph. st. plus ך; and CG and N the constr. st. plus ך. But PJ is with the Pal. tgg in this addition. Moreover, if the thesis is held that PJ

1. Bom reads בְּרַחֲמָיו טוֹב, with the adj. in the sing. Doubles, op. cit., under "Gender, Number and Person", reports the same for the Nor Ms. Doubles takes Bom and Nor to be in error here, since Lips, CG, and N all have the adj. in the plural form, as we know, and so also Vat: בְּרַחֲמָיו טוֹבִים, as Doubles reports. It is possible that the reading of Bom was understood completely in the sing: "in his good mercy", because the termination of the 3 masc. sing. suffix ך or contracted to ך is reported to have been used for a sing. as well as plur. stem. Cf. Stevenson, op. cit., p. 40 and Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., pp. 395f. Cf. also the following fnt.

2. We follow the translation of Doubles, op. cit., "Gender, Number and Person". Etheridge, op. cit., I, p. 181, translates Bom: "And he remembered in his mercies the good which was with Noah." No doubt this is another attempt to justify "good" in the sing. This is not a possible translation however, because "Noah" is preceded by the object particle: ך ך. Cf. also Doubles, op. cit., under "Fuller Readings".

borrowed from O and from the Pal. tgg, mostly the verse parts from the former and the additions from the latter, why does PJ in this case change the genitive construction? Why would PJ not have used any of the genitive constructions of the Pal. tgg, inasmuch as they are all used by PJ at one time or another? Or could we hold that this is a later addition in PJ? That however is least probable as the addition is in the other Pal. tgg as well. The facts here again point to the thesis that PJ stands among the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, a tradition with a great many unique readings in different forms of it.

The addition of "to be" in PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg, of "righteous" in Par, Bom, CG, and N, both of G 9.20, have been dealt with in relation to the verse proper. It now remains us to note the addition only in PJ in this verse, in which is embedded the latter part of the verse. This part of the verse reads in PJ: "and he planted for himself the vineyard". We translate this addition in PJ as follows:

And he found a grapevine,
 which the river brought from the Garden of Eden;
 and he planted for himself the vineyard.
 Then, within that day, it (the grapevine) brought
 forth blossoms;
 it (the sun?) ripened the grapes,
 and he pressed(them) out.¹

According to PJ, Noah finds the vine shoot which the river

1. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 185, translates PJ:
 "And he found a vine which the river had brought away from the garden of Eden; and he planted it in a vineyard, and it flourished in a day; and its grapes became ripe, and he pressed them out."

brought to him from the Garden of Eden. In Ber. Rab., Rabbi Abba b. Kahana (third generation Amoraim, ca 300¹) is quoted as saying that Noah himself had taken the vine shoots with him in the ark, based on G 6.21, which in RSV reads: "Also take with you every sort of food that is eaten, and store it up (~~AND~~); and it shall serve as food for you and for them." The Midrash reads²:

HE PLANTED A VINEYARD. And whence did he procure it? Said R. Abba b. Kahana: He took into the Ark with him vine shoots for planting, and young shoots for fig trees and olive trees, as it is written, And thou shalt gather to thee (Gen VI, 21): a man gathers in only what he will need (in the future).

And again, also in reference to R. Levi of the same generation³:

AND TAKE THOU UNTO THEE OF ALL FOOD THAT IS EATEN. R. Abba b. Kahana said: He took in pressed figs with him...(and) said: He took in branches for elephants, hazubah for the deer, and grass for the ostriches. R. Levi said: Vine-shoots for vine plantings, fig shoots for fig trees, and olive-shoots for olive trees...In the view of R. Levi... And gather it to thee (implies): a man does not gather (store) anything unless he needs it (for later) (ftnt.: He understands gather--~~AND~~-- to mean store, hence it means for future use, viz. for replanting)⁴

The tradition that the vine-shoots came from the Garden of Eden is only found in our tg and in the ninth century work⁵: פרקי רנ"י

1. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., pp. 124ff.

2. Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. XXXVI, par. 3, p. 289.

3. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., pp. 124ff.

4. Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. XXXI, par. 14, pp. 247f.

5. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., pp. 225f.

אל"ף¹. We have thus two traditions as to where Noah obtained the vine-shoots. That in Ber. Rab., that he had taken them in the ark, was prevalent in the third century, and probably goes back to an earlier time. The tradition in PJ, that the river brought them to Noah from the Garden of Eden, is in a modified form present in the ninth century midrash. But that midrash is one composed in Palestine². Our addition in PJ therefore is probably Palestinian in origin. It is possible that it is a late addition, especially because it has no place in Ber. Rab. But this is not probable. We hold that this addition is not an appendage to the Pal. tg tradition, but that it forms an integral whole with that tradition in PJ and in the other Pal. tgg, because of the following reason. At G 4.16³ we studied the expression]TWT KQ'111'1 for Garden of Eden, as used by PJ. We noted that PJ constantly uses this

1. Amsterdam, 1709 or Warsaw, 1852, as quoted in Ginzberg, op. cit., V, ftnt. 57, p. 190. In the text in ibid., I, p. 167, to which this ftnt. refers, Ginzberg writes: "Noah found the vine which Adam had taken with him from Paradise, when he was driven forth." We know that PJ has it that Noah found the vine, as brought to him by the river from the Garden of Eden. It is then probable that the information that Adam had taken it from the Garden of Eden when he was driven forth is from Pirke Rabbi Eliezer. This is not clear in the ftnt. in Ginzberg. All that he says there is, "That the grapes came from paradise is mentioned only in the two last sources." (ibid., V, ftnt. 57, p. 190). The view of Origen, at G 9. 20, that Noah's vine was the offshoot of the tree of knowledge, seems to be related to this tradition. So Ginzberg, op. cit., V, ftnt. 59, pp. 190f.

2. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., pp. 225f.

3. Cf. Above, pp. 98-108.

word קִנְיָן for the Garden of Eden, and that PJ makes no distinction between the Garden where Adam lived, and Paradise proper¹. Such a distinction is neither made by the other Pal. Pent. tgg², nor in the popular conception³. But the distinction is made by the rabbis and is elaborately represented in the Talmud.⁴ Hence in the use of קִנְיָן for the Garden of Eden, PJ is a unified targum in itself, and stands in the same interpretive tradition as the other Pal. Pent. tgg. This whole Pal. Pent. tg tradition antedates the rabbinical views of talmudic scholarship on this point.⁵ Therefore we would consider this addition as a true representative of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition in PJ.

The tradition that the vine had blossoms, and grapes on the day of planting, and that Noah pressed out the grapes on that same day, is not far removed from the OT, which reads in the RSV: "He planted a vineyard; and he drank of the wine," (G 9.20b-21a), is present in Ber. Rab., referring to R. Hiyya b. Abba (fifth generation Tannaim, ca 200⁶):

R. Hiyya b. Abba said: He planted it, drank thereof, and was humiliated all on one and the same

1. Ibid., p. 106.

2. Ibid., pp. 102f.

3. Ibid., p. 107.

4. Ibid., pp. 106f.

5. Ibid., p. 107.

6. Strack, Introd. to the Talm. etc., op. cit., pp. 118f, and Mishna etc., op. cit., pp. 799f.

day.¹

Thus also this part of the addition is of ancient character, going back to the second century, if not before.

We repeat that this addition is of the nature of those found in the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, and that it occurs in this case only in PJ.

Of the Joseph stories we look at additions in G 43.14 and 44.15.

In G 43.14 we find additions in one, two, four or in all five of the Pal. tgg.

In CG, for "the man" after גִּבּוֹרָא the addition שְׁלִיטָא is present: "the ruling man." As noted before, the word גִּבּוֹרָא is omitted in N, but the addition is present there: שְׁלִיטָא. Here is an addition in common between CG and N, which moreover is a word occurring only in the Pal. tgg.² That this word occurs in all Pal. Pent. tgg, including PJ, has already been shown.³ Only CG adds to this phrase the word אֲדָרְעָא: "the ruling man of the earth."

The end of the verse, MT, "And I, if I am bereaved, I am bereaved," is duplicated by O: "And I as I am bereaved, I

1. Midrash Rabbah, Genesis, op. cit., XXXVI, 4, p. 290.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 485.

3. Cf. G 4.7 in Ch. III, above, p.250. Cf. also Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit., who cites a number of examples: G 27.29; 34.19; 39.1; 44.18.

am bereaved." Around these four words a considerable addition has grown in all five Pal. Pent. tgg, with minor differences between them. As basic reading we give Par and Bom, which agree with each other:¹

And I, behold, even as I have not become childless
with regard to Joseph, my son,
likewise I shall again not become childless:
not with regard to Simon,
and not with regard to Benjamin.

Tradition had it that Jacob knew, through revelation by the Holy Spirit, that Joseph was still alive.² N agrees with this reading in substance. In the third line, N omits: "likewise", and of all of the fourth and fifth lines N has: "with regard to Benjamin," thus omitting Simon. In CG, the substance of the addition is changed: in the first line "not" is omitted, thus making this positive, and the verb is put in the passive:

And I, behold, even as I have been made childless
with regard to Joseph, my son...

The rest of this addition in CG is present as in Par-Bom, except that "likewise" is omitted in CG. Here in the CG tradition, Jacob thinks that he has lost Joseph, but knows that he shall not lose Simon and Benjamin. Now, in PJ, the first two lines of this addition stand the same as in CG: the negative

1. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 310, translates Bom:
יִּי אֵלֵינוּ יְהוָה: "behold if" the same as PJ: יִּי אֵלֵינוּ... אֵלֵינוּ: "behold ...if". Quite clearly the former Bom as well as Par, CG, and N should be rendered: "even as". Cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 382 and Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 197.

2. Levy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 537, FT: "so wie ich durch Josef nicht kinderlos geworden (er soll dies näml. durch Eingebung des heiligen Geistes gewusst haben), so werde ich auch den Simon und Benjamin nicht verlieren; vgl. auch Genes. r. Sect. 92."

is absent, and the verb is a passive. The only differences between CG and PJ are that PJ has יִרְא... אִם^1 : behold...if, instead of עַד אֲמַן יִרְא in the other Pal. tgg: behold, even as; and that PJ omits "my son". This part of PJ reads:

And I, behold, if I have been made childless
with regard to Joseph...

Thus this first part of PJ is in agreement with the Pal. tradition as in CG. In the rest of the addition, PJ agrees with CG in leaving out the word "likewise" but stands alone in (here as well) omitting the negatives and putting the verb in the passive: as Jacob had lost Joseph so also would he lose Simon and Benjamin. Next, PJ also adds a phrase of its own at the beginning of this addition, informing the reader that this knowledge comes by inspiration of the Holy Spirit. PJ thus reads:

And I, behold, now have received a message by the Holy Spirit that
if I have been made childless with regard to Joseph,
I shall be made childless
with regard to Simon
and with regard to Benjamin.

First we note PJ's addition of the word עַתָּה , "now". It is an interesting variant. The word is an adv. meaning -- "a long time since; long ago, already; once."² In BH the word occurs only in the late Eccles. 1.10.³ It occurs in PBH.⁴

1. Cf. above, p.155,ftnt. 1.

2. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 609.

3. Harkavy, op. cit., p. 283.

4. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 609 and Dalman, A.N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 191.

Dalman lists the Aram. ܘܢܝܢ as occurring in the tgg at Jer. 38. 9, Eccles. 1.10 and Esth. (second tg) 5.14.¹ He also lists our verse, G 43.14 in PJ and states that this word does not occur in O.² The Aram. does occur in Gen. Rab. at 2.8; 4.1; 4.7;³ 10.9; 52.12.⁴ The word is found in CP Aram.⁵ and is also listed for the Talm. and Mishna.⁶ In Syr. the word is found not in our meaning, but only as a particle of doubt: "perhaps".⁷ Neumark lists this Aram. word as a Hebraism⁶, though it occurs in BH only in the late book Eccles. We have not found the word in the FTgg, CG or N. We therefore note that it is a word peculiar to PJ's stream of Pal. tgg, and that it does not occur in O.

The addition in substance in PJ is peculiar. If the FTgg and N on the one hand speak of Jacob's not losing Joseph and therefore his not losing Simon and Benjamin, and CG on the other says that Joseph was lost but Simon and Benjamin would not be, then how does PJ relate to these two traditions? PJ bears some resemblance to CG, as has been noted, yet it is

1. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 191.

2. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 213; cf. also Brederick, op. cit., p. 158.

3. Wensinck, ...Lexicon, op. cit.

4. Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 71. Cf. also Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 213.

5. Schulthess, Lexicon etc., op. cit., p. 90.

6. Neumark, Lexikalische Untersuchungen etc., (1905) op. cit., p. 24.

7. Payne Smith, ... Dictionary, op. cit., p. 203.

closer to the FTgg-N tradition than to CG. When PJ says: if I have been made childless on account of Joseph, I shall be made childless with regard to Simon and Benjamin, the implication is that the protasis of the condition is probably not true, and that therefore the apodasis will also not come to pass. Or in other words: Joseph is alive, Jacob did not lose him, and he will not lose Simon and Benjamin either. This is the very same thing which the FTgg-N tradition says: Joseph is not lost, the others will not be lost either. CG however is a different tradition: Joseph is lost, but Simon and Benjamin will be saved. Here then is one Pal. tradition in all Pal.Pent. tgg, in which a certain degree of unity can be seen, though two streams of development can be detected, the PJ-FFN stream and the CG stream.

Around G 44.18-19, the passage dealing with Judah's plea before Joseph on behalf of Benjamin, many additions have developed in the tgg, excluding O. Only one of these additions occurs in PJ, and is in common with the other Pal. tgg. We propose to deal with it first, after which we shall, as briefly as possible, deal with the many additions, some of which are in common and others unique, in Par, Bom, CG, N, Nmg-tg,¹ Tos. and the FT-Cod.Ox.2305.

The addition of PJ is generally the same in the other

1. A continuous variant of 25 lines is present in the mg of N. We refer to it as Nmg-tg in distinction to the variants in the mgg of N, referred to as Nmgg.

Pal. tgg, though peculiarities are present in PJ as well as in the other tgg. The addition follows the main part of verse 18: 'Then Judah went up to him and said, "O my lord, let your servant, I pray you, speak a word in my lord's ears, and let not your anger burn against your servant; ..."'. The addition then ends omitting the last words of the verse proper, "for you are like Pharaoh himself". The addition reads in PJ:

Because from the time that we came to you,
you have said to us: I fear the Lord.
But now your judgments are changed,
to be like the judgments of Pharaoh.

The addition is present besides in PJ, in Par, Bom, CG, and N. O, Tos., and FT-Cod. Ox. have the verse proper without the addition and end with the phrase, "for you are like Pharaoh himself".

The addition is generally the same in the Pal. tgg, with a few peculiarities.

In "that we came" PJ, Par, and N use the verb אָמַר : וְדָאָרְיָנָן ; whereas Bom (וְדָאָרְיָנָן) and CG (וְדָאָרְיָנָן) have נָחַח .

Unique renderings of one tg are the following. After, "that we came down to you", Bom adds, "to Egypt". After, "of Pharaoh, your Lord", only Bom adds, "by whom you swear". For, "but now": וְכַתּוּב in PJ, Bom, CG, and N, a larger phrase is given in Par: וְכַתּוּב , "and now at this time". At the end of the addition, Par only omits the verb "to change", slightly rearranging the order. For PJ, Bom, CG, and N:

"...your judgments are changed, to be like the judgments of Pharaoh", Par reads, "...your judgments (are) like the judgments of Pharaoh..." Also PJ has some unique renderings.

"Because": בְּכִינֵה occurs only in PJ. Par, Bom, CG, and N have:

הֲלֵא : "Did you not...tell us..." "From the time": מֵעַתָּה

מֵעַתָּה in PJ, is given in Par, Bom, CG, and N as: מֵעַתָּה לְךָ

מֵעַתָּה , "from the first time". PJ omits the addition "your lord" after "Pharaoh", of Par, Bom, CG, and N.

We have seen that the one addition of PJ here is essentially in common with the Pal. tgg of Par, Bom, CG, and N. Even though the further additions of these tgg are omitted in PJ, there is no reason to doubt that PJ stands with the Pal. tgg in tradition. There has been no indication in these verses proper and in the addition, that PJ depends upon O. We cannot therefore assume that PJ is a compilation of O and of but part of the additions found in the Pal. tgg. It is possible that PJ had more additions, which have subsequently dropped out of the it. However, PJ as it stands here is a whole and is likely to represent a branch of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition which did not experience the further development which the other Pal. tgg had here. In any case, PJ stands as a branch of the Pal. Pent. tg. tradition.

We now turn to the further additions of Par, Bom, CG, N, Nmg-tg, Tos., and FT-Cod. Ox., not found in PJ.

We remember that the general outline of these biblical verses is as follows: (1) Judah's tactful approach to Joseph

asking if he may speak to him, that Joseph's anger shall not burn against Judah and saying that Joseph is like Pharaoh himself; and (2) Judah repeats the question Joseph had asked, whether they had a brother or father. With this we may first compare the outline of the text of Par and Bom, which are parallel, and then that of Tos. Par and Bom are in outline: (1) Judah's tactful approach, (2) Judah asks if he may speak and prays that Joseph shall not be angry, (3) Judah mentions the former statement of Joseph that the latter feared the Lord and asks why he has now changed his judgments as Pharaoh does, (4) Judah compares his father and himself respectively to Pharaoh and Joseph, saying that each two are honorable, the former two in Canaan and the latter in Egypt, (5) Judah threatens to draw his sword and to kill all people in Egypt, beginning with Joseph and ending with Pharaoh, (6) Judah relates how his brothers Simeon and Levi killed all the males of Shechem, because of their sister Dinah and says how much more they would do this on account for Benjamin, head of a tribe, (7) Judah says how he has become sponsor for Benjamin at the hands of his father, (8) Joseph sees Judah's strength, (9) Joseph calls his first-born, Manasseh, who stamps his foot so that the whole palace trembles, (10) Judah recognizes such strength as that of his father's house and begins to speak mildly and (11) Judah repeats the question Joseph had asked, whether they had a father or brother (this is verse 19 proper). The order in the Tosephta is as follows: (1) Judah approaches without tact, ready to fight,

strong as a lion, (2) Judah mentions the former statement of Joseph that the latter feared the Lord, (3) he accuses Joseph of false words and deeds--their having been treated as spies, Simon's imprisonment and torture and Joseph's capture of Benjamin as slave by placing his cup in Benjamin's sack, (4) Judah relates how his brothers Simeon and Levi killed all the males of Shechem, because of their sister Dinah and says how much more they would do this on account for Benjamin, head of a tribe, (5) he mentions that in Benjamin's land the Shekinah will dwell and that in his heritage the sanctuary will be built, (6) Judah threatens to draw his sword and to kill all people in Egypt, beginning with Joseph and ending with Pharaoh, (7) Joseph and Judah mutually threaten each other; Joseph then reveals that he knows how his brothers had sold their brother Joseph, dipping his tunic in blood, sending this to his father and announcing the death of Joseph; Judah fears greatly, cries loudly and frightens ~~all~~ all the Egyptians so that every child comes forth from the womb of its mother, as well as half the cattle of Egypt coming forth, (8) in turn Joseph is frightened, calls Manasseh, lays his hand upon his shoulder and strikes the pillar of the palace so that the whole palace shakes, (9) Judah begins to speak mildly, (10) Judah asks if he may speak and prays that Joseph shall not be angry, stating how Joseph is like Pharaoh (this is verse 18).

As has been pointed out by Dr G. Vermes, we have to do here with two traditions.¹ In the Par-Bom tradition, Judah

approaches Joseph tactfully, as he does in the MT, but becomes furiously angry on account of Joseph's inconsistency. It takes the feat of strength of Manasseh, Joseph's son, to calm Judah, because Judah realizes that this is the strength of his father's house. Judah then speaks gently again:

In the Fragmentary Targum, the opening of Judah's address corresponds to the biblical account. He politely reminds Joseph of his profession of faith in God, and points out, still with restraint, that by changing his mind, and by not remaining true to his word, he becomes as inconsistent as Pharaoh. Then suddenly his attitude changes. He becomes furiously angry, declares himself Joseph's equal, and threatens to kill all the Egyptians, Joseph and Pharaoh included. He reminds Joseph that two of his brothers exterminated all the male inhabitants of Shechem because of the violation of Dinah, and boasts that he is stronger than Simeon and Levi together. Benjamin, he says, as the father of a whole tribe, is more important than Dinah, and his loss will cause the death of Jacob, to whom he had promised his son's safe return. At this point, Judah is beside himself with fury; but once again, his attitude suddenly alters. When Joseph's son, Manasseh, performs a feat of strength, Judah recognizes him as a member of his own family, and subsequently lowers his voice and takes up his former humble and courteous approach.²

The tradition of the Tosephta is quite different. Here Judah from the start approaches Joseph with threatening words. His rage increases in his accusations of Joseph. They frighten each other: Judah by his threats and accusations, Joseph by

1. Geza Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. Haggadic Studies. We refer to the typescript of this admirable book in which Dr. Vermes applies the method of historical criticism to Jewish exegetical traditions. The typescript (the book has not yet appeared in print) has been made available to us in Oxford through the kindness of Prof. P. E. Kahle, with whose permission we quote.

2. Ibid., pp. 23f.

his revealing the knowledge of what they did to him formerly, then Judah again, by crying so loud that it is heard in all Egypt, and finally Joseph by calling Manasseh, placing his hand on his shoulder and by kicking a pillar of the palace. Then Judah speaks more quietly, realizing that this is the strength of his father's house:

The literary structure of Tosefta is quite different. Judah shows Joseph no courtesy at all. On the contrary, he approaches him "strong and mighty as a lion", and immediately proceeds to threaten him. By the time he has come to the end of his angry dispute with Joseph, his rage is almost beyond control; but although Manasseh's strength is hinted at in this version also, it is an action of Joseph himself which calms his furious brother, and causes him to speak mildly for the first time.¹

Dr. Vermes states:

Comparison of the ... texts show that ... the Fragmentary Targum and Tosefta represent two different types of interpretation...²

As far as these two differing outlines are concerned, CG agrees in general with the Par-Bom tradition, and FT-Cod. Ox. with the Tosefta. N seems to use both of these traditions and results in a number of doublets. At present we note how this is true for the opening sentences of the verse. N begins, like the other tgg, "And Judah approached him," following in general with the opening remarks of Tos., though with unique words of its own, "thundering fully, from which he then turned in tongue,

1. Ibid., p. 24.

2. Ibid., p. 23.

grumbling like a lion," then following with the Par-Bom tradition, "and said, 'In beseeching you my lord, let your servant now speak...'" Clearly we have to do with a doublet here, where two different traditions are next to each other making the meaning abrupt. Dr. Vermes noted this character of N in general in this verse:

Comparison...shows that...Neofiti attempts to harmonize the Fragmentary Targum and Tosefta, and contains a long repetition,¹

and in particular relating to the opening of the verse:

This same Tosefta exegesis appears in the opening words of Neofiti: "Judah approached him, first speaking furiously, then softening his tongue", but the words immediately following reveal disharmony. "I pray you, my lord," etc., has little in common with a roaring lion.²

We leave this discussion for the present,³ to look at the different details of a passage found in both the Par-Bom tradition and in the Tos., namely item 10 in the Par-Bom outline and number 8 in that of Tosefta. In the former, Joseph sees Judah's strength and calls his first-born Manasseh. Manasseh then performs the feat of strength: he stamps his foot, so that the whole palace trembles. N here agrees with Par and Bom. The latter reads in translation:

In that hour Joseph motioned to Manasseh, his first-born;
and he pounded with his shoe;
and all of Joseph's palace trembled.

In the Tosefta version however, Joseph calls Manasseh, lays his

1. Ibid., p. 23.

2. Ibid., p. 24.

3. This is continued below on pp. 301ff.

hand upon his shoulder and himself strikes the pillar of the palace, so that the whole palace shook. It reads in translation:

Now Joseph was afraid, and motioned to Manasseh,
his son,
And he laid his hand upon his shoulder;
then Joseph struck the pillar of the palace,
and he shook it.

FT-Cod. Ox. follows the reading of Tos. Both of these traditions are found in Genesis Rabbah, as Dr. Vermes points out.¹ They are under the heading, "Then Judah came near to him". The version of Par, Bom, and N is found as follows in Gen. Rab.

FOR THOU ART EVEN AS PHARAOH. Just as Pharaoh decrees (promises) and does not fulfill his decree, so dost thou decree and not fulfil...As Pharaoh is a king and thou art second to him, so is my father a king in the land of Canaan and I am second to him. If I draw my sword, I will begin with thee and finish with Pharaoh. Now had he said, I will begin with Pharaoh and end with thee, he would have left him alone. But when he said, I will begin with thee, he made a sign to Manasseh, who gave one stamp on the floor at which the whole palace trembled. Woe! he (Judah) cried out; such a stamp can only be from my father's house. When he saw that matters were thus, he began speaking with gentle words: My lord asked...²

The tradition of Tosefta and FT-Cod. Ox. is also found in Genesis Rabbah:

Another interpretation of THEN JUDAH CAME NEAR UNTO HIM...When Joseph saw the signs by which he knew that Judah was angry, he trembled and was terrified, thinking to himself, Woe is me! he may kill me... What did Joseph do in that hour? He kicked the stone column on which he was sitting and reduced it to a heap of fragments. At this Judah was astonished and exclaimed,

1. Ibid., pp. 25f.

2. Midrash Rabbah, II, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. XCIII, par. 6, pp. 860f.

'He is as powerful as we are!'¹

Leaving the discussion of the content of these two traditions for the present², we look first more fully at the composite character of N. We have already seen how N contains a doublet in the opening lines of the verse, using both the "fighting approach" of Tos. and the tactful approach of Par and Bom.³ There are four other doublets in N, which we note, numbered one to four. Each first member of the doublet of N will be referred to as "a", and the second as "b".

The first doublet deals with Judah's reference to Joseph's former statement that the latter feared the Lord and Judah's question, why Joseph had now changed his judgments like Pharaoh. Doublet 1a reads in N:

Did you not say to us, from the first time when we came
to you; I fear the Lord?
But now your judgments are changed,
to be like the judgments of Pharaoh, your Lord.

comparable to PJ, Par, Bom, and CG. Bom reads here:

Did you not say to us, from the first time when we came
to you in Egypt: I fear the Lord?
But now your judgments are changed,
to be like the judgments of Pharaoh, your lord,
by whom you swear.

Doublet 1b of N follows immediately upon 1a, and is translated as follows:

And he said: Now, our lord,
Did you not say to us, at the first time when we
came: I fear the Lord?
But now you say, I fear Pharaoh.

1. Ibid., XCIII, 7, pp. 862ff.

2. This is continued below on pp. 293-296.

3. Cf. above, p.282 and also below pp. 293-296.

This addition occurs generally the same in Nmg-tg and in FT-Cod. Tos. here omits the phrase "I fear the Lord" in this addition, giving it however toward the beginning of the following addition. The addition under discussion, and the phrase from the following addition read in Tos.:

Did you not say to us, at the first time when we came to you: I fear Pharaoh?

.....
And on the third day you said to us:
I worship the Lord.

Of doublet one, part a of N agrees with PJ, Par, Bom, and CG; and part b with Nmg-tg, Tos., and FT-Cod. Ox.

The second doublet deals with Judah's relating the Shechem account, how Simeon and Levi killed all the males there because of the violation committed against their sister Dinah; and concludes how much more this would be done for Benjamin, head of a tribe. 2a reads in N:

As illustration: Has it not been said to you or has it not been heard by you,
what Simeon and Levi, my two brothers, did in the strong city of Shechem?
That they went into it and killed there all males, because they violated in it Dinah, our sister;
That she was not numbered (with) the tribes, and had no portion or heritage in the devision of the land.
So much the more because of Benjamin, our brother, who is numbered (with) the tribes, and who has a portion or a heritage in the division of the land.
And I have strength more powerful than the strength of Simeon and Levi.

This reading of N is essentially the same in CG, Nmg-tg, Tos, and FT-Cod. Ox. Tos. reads as follows:

Have you not been reminded or has it not been heard by

you,
 what my two brothers, Simeon and Levi, did?
 That they went into the city of Hamor, the father of
 Shechem,
 and killed all males,
 because of Dinah, our sister;
 That she was not numbered (with) the tribes,
 and had no portion or heritage with us in the division
 of the land.
 How much more for Benjamin, our brother,
 who is numbered (with) the tribes,
 and who has a portion or a heritage with us in the
 division of the land,
 And I in my strength am more powerful than the two of them:
 the strength of the Lord, the God of Israel.

2b follows in N after doublet 3a, Judah's threat to draw his sword
 and kill all people in Egypt, and doublet 4a, Judah's comparison
 of his father and himself to Pharaoh and Joseph, resp. We trans-
 late N:

Has it not been heard by you or has it not been told
 to you,
 what my two brothers, Simeon and Levi, did in the
 strong city of Shechem,
 while they were in peace?
 (That) they went into it and killed all males,
 by means of the sword,
 because they violated Dinah, our sister;
 that she was not numbered with us with the tribes,
 and did not receive with us her heritage.
 By how much more for our brother,
 who is numbered with us with the tribes,
 and who receives a portion or a heritage with us
 in the division of the land.
 How much stronger am I than they (are),
 and how much stronger is my strength than theirs.

2b of N is the same as Par and Bom, which latter reads:

Because, has it not been heard by you or has it not
 been told to you,
 what my two brothers, Simeon and Levi, did?
 That they went into the strong city of Shechem,
 while they were living in peace,
 and killed all males,
 by means of the sword,
 because they violated Dinah, our sister;

that she was not numbered in the tribes,
 and did not receive a portion or a heritage with us,
 in the division of the land.
 By how much more for Benjamin, our brother,
 who (is) numbered with us in the tribes,
 and who receives a portion or a heritage with us
 in the division of the land.
 And my strength is stronger than theirs.

Clearly, we have again a doublet here in N, of which part a agrees with CG, Nmg-tg, Tos., and FT-Cod. Ox. and part b with Par and Bom.

The third doublet narrates Judah's threat to draw his sword and to kill all the people in Egypt. 3a in N reads:

Upon my oath, if I should draw my sword from the sheath,
 I will not return it to the case,
 until the time when every Egyptian is killed;
 With you I am beginning and with Pharaoh, your lord,
 I am ending.

Doublet 3a in N is found in CG, Nmg-tg, Tos., and FT-Cod. Ox.

The Tosefta renders as follows:

If I should draw my sword from the scabbard,
 I will not return it empty to its covering,
 until I have killed every Egyptian;
 With you I am starting and with Pharaoh, your lord,
 I am ending.

Member b of this doublet follows in N after doublet 4a, where Jacob and Judah are compared with Pharaoh and Joseph, resp.

The translation of doublet 3b in N is:

For if I should be drawing my sword from the covering
 of the sheath¹,

1. $\text{קַרְנֵי הַבֶּטֶן וְהַכֶּסֶף}$, translated to illustrate that here we have a combination of the words used in 3a in N: קַרְנֵי , "sheath" and הַכֶּסֶף , "covering". A better translation is, "...from the belly of the sheath" or simply with Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 315: "...from within its sheath" (the latter for Bom: קַרְנֵי הַבֶּטֶן).

I will not be putting it back in the sheath,
 until I have filled the whole land of Egypt with
 slain;
 I will not be putting it back in the sheath,
 until I have made the whole land of Egypt desolate
 of inhabitants;
 With you I am beginning and with Pharaoh, your lord,
 by whom you swear,
 I am finishing,
 even if it must be done against the will of my
 father.

This portion, 3b, occurs also in Par and Bom, which latter
 reads in translation:

For if I should be drawing my sword from the covering
 of the sheath¹,
 I will not be putting it back in the sheath,
 until I have filled the whole land of Egypt with
 slain;
 I will not be putting it back in the sheath,
 until I have made the whole land of Egypt desolate
 of inhabitants;
 With you I am beginning first and with Pharaoh, your
 lord, I am finishing,
 even if it must be done against the will of my
 father.

In the third doublet we have thus the same evidence that we
 found in the second: part a is found in CG, Nmg-tg, Tos. and
 FT-Cod. Ox. and part b in Par and Bom.

In the fourth doublet, Pharaoh and Joseph are compared
 with Jacob and Judah. Part 4a reads in N:

Because I am honorable like you, and my father
 is honorable like Pharaoh, your lord.
 Because as you swear, which swearing you do in him,
 so I am swearing (like) you in the life of the head
 of my father,
 as you are swearing in the life of the head of Pharaoh,
 your lord.

Bom and Par have the comparable passage, the former reading:

1. Cf. p. 288, ftnt. 1.

Because I am honorable like you, and my father is
 honorable like Pharaoh, your lord,
 in whom you swear.
 Can I not be swearing in the life of the head of my
 father,
 (only Bom adds: as you are swearing in the life of
 the head of Pharaoh, your lord?)
 and not lie?

Following in N are doublet 3b, Judah's threat to draw his sword,
 doublet 2b, the Shechem story and Judah's relating how he has
 become the sponsor for Benjamin. Then follows 4b in N:

As you and Pharaoh are rulers in the land of Egypt,
 so I and Jacob my father, are rulers in the land
 of Canaan.

The parallel is only found in CG:

As Pharaoh, your lord, is great and a ruler in the
 land of Egypt,
 and he dwelled in his home,
 so my father is great and a ruler in the land of
 Canaan.

In the case of this doublet 4, where the Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox.
 are lacking, we find 4a in Par and Bom and 4b in CG.

There can thus be no doubt of the composite character
 of N. We have to do here with real doublets, which have more-
 over not been worked into the fabric of the text artistically,
 but are found put together without much editorial revision.
 Dr. Vermes states, on the basis of the comparison of the Frag-
 mentary Targum, the Tosefta and N in these verses, that "Neo-
 fiti is a mixed version"¹, and continues in the footnote²,
 "This example indicates that Neof. cannot be considered as a

1. Vermes, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

2. *Ibid.*, ftnt. 12.

pure version of T. Yerushalmi". There can be no doubt of the mixed character of N in these verses. However, as in Dr. Vermes' paper, "its study is postponed until later"¹, so in the context of the present work, we must take into account the character of N as a whole, covering the Pentateuch.

Before leaving the study of the doublets in N, we may summarize how the other tgg stand in these places. If we separate the two traditions in each case by the word "versus", we have the following evidence: doublet 1: CG, Par, Bom versus Nmg, Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. (the same was the case in the doublet at the opening of the verse); doublet 2 and 3: CG, FT-Cod. Ox. Tos., and Nmg versus Par and Bom; doublet 4: CG versus Par and Bom. In general here, Par and Bom never agree with Tos., FT-Cod. Ox, or Nmg-tg, where the latter are present, but always give the other tradition. It would thus appear to be correct to speak of two traditions here: Par, Bom on the one hand and Tos., FT-Cod. Ox and Nmg-tg on the other. As for CG, it now agrees with Par and Bom (doublet 1 and opening doublet), and then again presents the other tradition from them (doublet 2, 3 and 4). The same seems to be its relation to the Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox.: CG agrees with this tradition in doublets 2 and 3, but presents the opposite tradition in case of doublet 1 and the opening doublets. CG here is folio 7a of Ms B 8 of the Taylor-Schechter-Collection of the Cambridge University Library.

1. Ibid., p. 23.

We have here one targum ms (the tg follows the Hebrew verse for verse in this ms), which is not simply in one tradition or the other, as we have found these two traditions above. In one place CG stands with Par and Bom against Tos., FT-Cod. Ox. and Nmg-tg, and in another place CG reads with Tos., FT-Cod. Ox. and Nmg-tg against Par and Bom. We have however not to do with a compilation in CG. The latter has a unified character. When we thus have seen the evidence of CG, as well as that of Par-Bom, of Tos., FT-Cod. Ox., Nmg-tg, and of N, in these verses, we cannot simply speak of a ms giving one of two possible traditions of interpretation unless the ms were a compilation. CG does not fit in such a classification. In the Palestinian (Pentateuch) Targum tradition we have rather to do with different aspects and emphases in the targumic interpretation, occurring over the years in different localities in Palestine and possibly coming in contact with each other. These different emphases, which over the years grew into specific types of interpretation, existed independently of each other in a free state of tradition, and with equal claim as "targum", as translation and explanation of the text. Such a frame of reference deals adequately with the facts which we have found in these verses.

We now return to the discussion of the two traditions of the feat of strength performed by Joseph or Manasseh which brought Judah back to milder speech¹; and to the doublet in

1. Cf. above, pp. 282ff.

N at the opening of the verses¹.

We return first to the two accounts of the way in which Judah was brought to milder speech. According to one account, found in Par, Bom, and N, Joseph motions to Manasseh and Manasseh stamps his foot so that the whole palace trembles:

In that hour Joseph was afraid and quivered before
Judah;
and Joseph motioned to Manasseh, his son;
and he stamped with his foot upon the palace;
and all of the palace was made to shake.²

The other account is found in Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. According to it Joseph motions to Manasseh, lays his hand on Manasseh's shoulder and then strikes the pillar of the palace:

In that hour Joseph rose,
and hit the pillar of the palace
and he shook it.³

The difference is that of Manasseh stamping his foot in Par, Bom and N and of Joseph striking the pillar in Tos., and FT-Cod. Ox. It was shown above⁴ how both these interpretations are present in Genesis Rabbah, the former in chapter XCIII, 6 and the latter in XCIII, 7. As Dr. Vermes notes⁵, the latter passage is considered by J. Theodor to be an interpolation in the text of Genesis Rabbah⁶. Dr. Vermes states that, "...

1. Cf. Above, pp. 278-283.

2. This is the translation of N.

3. This is the translation of FT-Cod. Ox.

4. pp. 284f. above.

5. Vermes, op. cit., p. 25.

6. Rabbi Freedman notes this in a footnote in Midrash Rabbah, II, Genesis, op. cit., p. 861, ftnt. 2, "Sec. 7 is

textual criticism of Genesis Rabbah confirms ... (the) ... conclusion ... concerning the secondary character of the Tosefta version."¹ The haggada of Genesis Rabbah XCIII, 6 is said to presuppose the targum because it comments on the targumic expression "I will begin with you and finish with Pharaoh", and subsequently establishes a logical connection between Judah's threat and Joseph's following action. The haggada of Genesis Rabbah is seen to be an exposition based on the targum of G 44.18-19, which makes the targum in question older than this "most ancient" part of Genesis Rabbah:

As for the targumic exegesis, it can safely be stated that Genesis Rabbah does not create the haggadah, but presupposes it. This is apparent from the fact that it comments on the targumic expression "I will begin with you and finish with Pharaoh", and subsequently establishes a logical connection between Judah's threat and Joseph's further action. In other words, the passage from Genesis Rabbah is a commentary based on the targumic exegesis of Gen. xlv, -- which is consequently older than the final composition of this most ancient part of the Midrash Rabbah. This chronological sequence, established by pure literary analysis, has certainly some significance, but it is still, needless to say, merely relative. No precise date can be attached to the haggadah in question.²

We do not wish here to discuss J. Theodor's judgment that Genesis Rabbah XCIII, 7 forms part of an interpolation, nor his reasons for this judgment, though Rabbi Freedman includes the

transposed in Th., and comes after 9 and 10. Th. adds that sections 7, 8, 11 and 12 are interpolations."

1. Vermes, op. cit., p. 25
2. Ibid., p. 25.

passages in question in his translation.¹ We do however note that in the targumic sources, even though we find two traditions of interpretation, there is striking similarity between the tg(g) of one tradition and the tg(g) of another and dissimilarity between the tgg of one tradition.² N, being in the tradition found in Par and Bom, has certain marked similarities with either Tos. or FT-Cod. Ox. of the other tradition: "(Joseph) was afraid": אַתְּבֵהֶל, is only found in N and Tos. "his son" is found in N and Par of one tradition, and in Tos. of the other; Bom has "his first-born". Dissimilarity in the Par-Bom-N tradition is seen in unique renderings of N. Only N has, "Joseph quivered before Judah": וְאַרְתָּת יוֹסֵף מִן קִדְמוֹה דִּיהֶרֶדָה. Where Par and N read, "and he stamped with his foot": וְטַפַּח בְּרִגְלֵיהּ, Bom reads, "and he pounded with his shoe": וְרַפֵּשׁ בְּמַטְאֵנִיהּ. There is also dissimilarity between Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. For Tos, "now": בְּכֵן, in "Now Joseph was afraid", FT-Cod. Ox. has, "in that hour": בְּהַהִיא שְׁעָתָא, which latter is literally the same as N, and similar to Par: בְּהַ שְׁעָתָא and Bom: בְּיַהּ בְּשְׁעָתָא, of the other tradition. For "Joseph was afraid": וְאַתְּבֵהֶל יוֹסֵף in Tos., FT-Cod. Ox. has, "Joseph rose": קָם יוֹסֵף. For, "then Joseph struck the pillar": בְּעֵט יוֹסֵף בְּעַמּוּדָא, in Tos., FT-Cod. Ox. reads: "and he hit the pillar": וְחָמַא לְעַמּוּדָא. We hence see how we have to take into account the facts of similarity

1. Midrash Rabbah, II, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. XCIII, par. 7, pp. 862-866.

2. Cf. the translation on p. 283f. (Bom and Tos) and (N and FT-Cod. Ox.), p. 293.

between tgg of different traditions and dissimilarity between those of one tradition, as well as the fact of finding two traditions of interpretation concerning the passage in question. The evidence is not fully explained by seeing here no more than two traditions of interpretation, of which one is later than the other. There is an inter-relatedness of these traditions beyond that which can be explained by the fact that each tradition interprets the same Biblical text. We must rather think in terms of a Palestinian Pentateuch Targum tradition, which grew up in different places in Palestine, emphasizing different aspects of interpretation. Though different traditions of interpretations came to exist in different localities, the targumic tradition was a fluid one in which local targums on specific passages may have come in contact with each other. We have in our case in point to do with two traditions, which came into existence in the development of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, which traditions in the earlier and more fluid state have come in contact with each other. The latter development explains both the facts found immediately above¹ and the character of CG as relating to the doublets found in N.²

Before we return to the discussion of the doublet in N at the opening of these verses³, we refer to Dr. Vermes' thorough analysis of the origin of these two traditions. The Par-

1. Cf. above, pp. 294f.

2. Cf. above, pp. 291f.

3. Cf. above, pp. 278-283, 292f. and below, pp. 302ff.

Bom tradition is said to move away from the text at the phrase, "...for you are like Pharaoh himself",¹ which is a compliment in the MT, but a reproach in the tg. Dr. Vermes analyzes that the interpreters were not thinking of the Pharaoh of Joseph's time, but of the Pharaoh of the later Exodus, who vacillated between letting the children of Israel go, and keeping them in Egypt. And indeed this targumic exegesis which is found in the last paragraph of Genesis Rabbah XCIII, 6 is under the heading, "For thou art even as Pharaoh"²:

...however, it is possible to make some progress in the matter of establishing its link with the biblical text on the interpretive level. The key appears to lie in the phrase "for you are like Pharaoh". It is from this point onwards that the targumic exegesis moves away from the biblical narrative. Genesis presents the phrase as a compliment, but in the Targum it is clearly a reproach. The comparison implies inconsistency, weakness, the promise of good and the doing of evil. Why? Because the name of Pharaoh was indissolubly bound, in the minds of the interpreters of the Bible, with the Pharaoh of Exodus, the ruler who vacillated between his promise to the children of Israel, and his refusal to grant them their freedom. The whole haggadah is in fact, founded on this pejorative interpretation. As so often happens, tradition was stronger than the exigences of the context and its general significance.

This observation is confirmed by external evidence. Under the heading "For you are like Pharaoh", Genesis Rabbah xciii.6 summarizes this whole targumic exegesis.³

As the interpretation of Pharaoh for G 44.18 comes from E 7-9 so the character of Judah is interpreted as found in G

1. Genesis 44.18.

2. Midrash Rabbah, II, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. XCIII, par. 6, pp. 860f.

3. Vermes, op. cit., pp. 25f.

49.8-9. These two facts, the vacillatory character of Pharaoh and the strength of Judah are inserted as particular exegesis of "...for you are like Pharaoh himself" between verses 18 and 19. The passage thus opens and closes on a supplicatory note:

According to the usual midrashic process, Gen. xlv. 18 is interpreted in connection with the relevant passages from Ex. vii-ix referring to Pharaoh's behaviour; and Gen. xlix, with reference to the character of Judah. However, by introducing this particular exegesis of "For you are like Pharaoh", the Targum interrupts the harmony between verses 18 and 19. In Genesis, both verses belong to the same supplicatory prayer, but in the Targum, Judah's address opens quietly and courteously, and then moves straight on to threats and reproaches. Finally, in v. 19, it reverts to its former tone. The sudden change from hostility to reason is explained by Judah's discovery of kinsmen in the persons of Manasseh and Joseph... In this way the targumic haggadah is fashioned into a coherent, and psychologically well-constructed albeit popular interpretation.¹

The second tradition, that of Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. did not take its inception from the phrase, "...for you are like Pharaoh himself", but rather from "Judah approached him". The word "approach" was often used in the context of battle, and so here it was thought that Judah wanted to fight. The opening of the verses in this tradition is different from that of the MT, as opposed to tradition one.²

Dr. Vermes presents a number of indications that the Tos. tradition is secondary. The first of these is a long addition in Tos., occurring in the passage just before Joseph

1. Ibid., p. 26

2. Ibid., pp.26f.

kicks the pillar of the palace. The additions, in which Joseph and Judah mutually threaten each other, are seen to be an independent development:

Tosefta's account of the altercation between Judah and Joseph, in which the governor of Egypt reveals an astonishing knowledge of Judah's past, is clearly an independent development, and to judge from the structure of both documents, the exegesis of the FT would appear to remain closer to the biblical narrative.¹

The addition of Tosefta which follows immediately upon Judah's threat to kill all people in Egypt, reads in translation:

Joseph said to him, "If you should draw your sword, I would be turning it against your neck." Judah said to him, "Now I will open my mouth and will swallow you up." Joseph said to him, "If you shall open your mouth, I will close it with this stone." Judah said to him, "The fire of Shechem is burning in my heart." Joseph said to him, "With the fire of Tamar, your daughter-in-law, I am extinguishing (it)." Judah said to him, "Now I will submerge the land of Egypt in blood." Joseph said to him, "You are submerging (in blood) all your days, as you did to the tunic of Joseph, your brother, when you killed the ram of a goat, dipped it in blood, brought it to your father and said to him, 'Seek to know now whether this tunic is of your son or not.'" Now Judah cried with a loud cry so that all the Egyptians were afraid; every child came forth from the womb of his mother and half of the cattle came forth from the land of Egypt.

The second indication of the secondary character of the Tos. tradition came from a comparison of the account of Joseph's kicking the pillar (Tos.) or Manasseh's stamping his foot (Par-Bom) with these traditions in Genesis Rabbah XCIII, 7 and 6 resp. It was pointed out that Genesis Rabbah XCIII, 7 was considered to be an interpolation there, by J. Theodor. The

1. Ibid., p. 24.

account of Tos. was therefore thought to be secondary to that of Par-Bom:

In fact, textual criticism of Genesis Rabbah confirms that provisional conclusion already arrived at, concerning the secondary character of the Tosefta version. The passage in which it figures, xciii. 7, is considered by J. Theodor as an interpolation.¹

Thus, Dr. Vermes comes to the following conclusions about the two traditions: (1) the Fragmentary targum presents the more primitive form of G 44.18-19, based on the association of G 44.49 and E 7-11; (2) the tradition of Tos. is independent of that of the Fragmentary targum, building on a different base; (3) N is principally made up of the Fragmentary targum, but in addition combines the exegesis of both FI and Tos.; and (4) both of these traditions were known at the time of the original redaction of Genesis Rabbah.²

In conclusion Dr. Vermes points out that the two different approaches of Judah, the ferocious one and the mild one, are both referred to in Genesis Rabbah:

THEN JUDAH CAME NEAR UNTO HIM. R. Judah, R. Nehemiah, and the Rabbis commented. R. Judah said: He came near for battle, as in the verse, So Joab and the people that were with him drew nigh unto battle (II Sam. x, 13). R. Nehemiah said: He came near for conciliation; as in the verse, Then the children of Judah drew near unto Joshua (Josh. xiv, 6)--to conciliate him...³

Dr. Vermes notes that the Tos. exegesis is traced to R. Judah, disciple of R. Aqiba, who lived in the first half of the second century A.D. This being true, the exegesis of the Fragmentary

1. Ibid., p. 25.

2. Ibid., p. 27; No quotation is available.

3. Midrash Rabbah, II, Genesis, op. cit., Ch. XCIII, par. 6, p. 859.

targumic tradition is at least as old or perhaps older than R. Judah's time. It is however also warned, that absence from pre-Rabbinic sources shows that if the tradition were known before Aqiba's time, it was not widely accepted.¹

We need to ask ourselves whether the proof for the secondary character of the Tos. tradition has been decisive enough. It rested mainly on an addition in Tos. which shows an independent development and on the fact that the Tos. rendering of Joseph kicking the pillar of the palace occurs in Genesis Rabbah, where it is thought by Theodor to be an interpolation. It has already been pointed out, that the two traditions of Judah's approach, the ferocious one and the mild one, are in Genesis Rabbah XCIII, 6 attached to the names of Rabbis Judah and Nehemiah, resp. These men are contemporaries, later pupils of R. Akiba, and are often found to be in controversy with each other.² This would indicate that both traditions existed side by side during the time of the third generation of Tannaim (approx. 130-160 A. D.). We have already twice seen that the hypothesis of two independent traditions of exegesis did not do full justice to all the facts.³ This is equally true if we ascribe a secondary character to one of these traditions. With these questions and the previous discussion in mind, we return to the discussion of the doublet in N at the opening of these verses.⁴

1. Vermes, op. cit., p. 28.

2. Strack, op. cit., p. 115: R. Judah ben El'ai and R. Nehemiah.

3. Cf. above, pp. 291ff. and 294ff.

4. Cf. above, pp. 278-283, 292f., 296.

This concerns the approach made by Judah at the opening of verse 18. We had noted how N seemed to combine the mild approach of PJ, Par, Bom, and CG, with the ferocious approach of Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. This comes out clearly in the following translation of N, numbering the lines for analysis:

1. And Judah approached him,
2. thundering fully,
3. from which he then turned in tongue,
4. grumbling like a lion;
5. and he said, "In beseeching you my lord,
6. let your servant now speak..."

Line one, stating that Judah comes near, is the same in all the tgg, O, PJ, Par, Bom, CG, N, Tos., and FT-Cod. Ox. Lines five and six of N, are the following lines of O, PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg-tg. Lines two, three and four of N however give the substance of interpretation of the corresponding line of Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. read:

1. And Judah approached him,
- 2-4. mighty and strengthened as a lion,
5. and he said, "Listen to me, o king!"

We note the different phrasing and word choice of Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. on the one hand: **תקיף ומתגבר כאריא** and of N on the other: **זעף במלין ומדכרך בלישנא בהם כאריה**, as it concerns lines two to four. Now we call attention to a fact which has not been noticed so far. The approach like a lion is mentioned for a second time in FT-Cod. Ox. It follows there immediately upon Judah's threat to kill all people in Egypt, and is followed by Joseph's kicking of the pillar. The phrase reads: **בההיא שעתא קם יהודה ובהם עליהון כאריה**, "At that time Judah stood and roared (grumbled) over them like a lion". We note a real, lit-

eral similarity between this (second) reading of FT-Cod. Ox. and line 4 of N: both use the same verb $\square\eta\eta$, "and he roared", as well as the noun $\aleph\aleph\aleph$, "like a lion". This literal similarity between the second reading of FT-Cod. Ox. and the opening of N is striking in comparison to the lack of literal similarity between the opening of Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. and the opening of N. (except for the word $\aleph\aleph\aleph$, "like a lion") Hence, though the meaning of these lines in N, Tos. and the two places in FT-Cod. Ox. is the same, N has more literal similarity with the second reading of FT-Cod. Ox. than with the first reading of the latter and Tos. The context of the second reading of FT-Cod. Ox. is very natural: Judah is speaking his wild words and threatens to kill all Egyptians; here our reading is inserted, saying that Judah stood and roared over them like a lion; next Joseph stands and kicks the pillar of the palace. That the second reading of FT-Cod. Ox. forms an integral part of the context is seen in the use of the verb $\square\eta$, to stand, in this reading, and in the phrase immediately following, where it is only used by Tos. and not in the other tgg in the parallel passage. We may thus assume that this "second" reading of FT-Cod. Ox. is found in its right and proper context. This reading shows similarity of words as well as of meaning with line four of N. Moreover lines two to four of N are not in their proper place there, but are an insertion of material from the Tos-FT-Cod. Ox. tradition. It is not impossible to regard the origin of these opening lines of N, not the opening lines of Tos. or

FT-Cod. Ox., but rather the context and place of the second reading of FT-Cod. Ox. Indeed this is more reasonable, viewing the literal similarity of the opening lines of N and the second reading of FT-Cod. Ox. But if this be so, this can be how the tradition that Judah approached ferociously from the start, came into being; from its former place (second reading in FT-Co. Ox.) to the beginning of the verse (opening lines in N). Once a beginning was made with the idea that Judah approached like a lion from the start, it developed into a tradition of interpretation and was taken over by other tgg (Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox.).

Thus, as far as the opening lines of these verses are concerned, we have two traditions. The main tradition tells of a tactful approach of Judah. This is found in the MT and O, and of the Pal. tgg in PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and in N. A ferocious attitude in Judah is found later on in the passage and is specifically stated in FT-Cod. Ox. (second reading). This made its way to the beginning of the verse, and is found in N, next to the tactful approach of Judah. The account of the approach of Judah which was ferocious from the start became a tradition of exegesis, and found its way into the opening of Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox. These two traditions of approach then come to be equal traditions and they are associated in Midrash Rabbah with the names of Rabbi Nehemiah and Rabbi Judah, contemporaries in the first half of the second century A.D. The tradition of ferocious approach is thus developed from the tradition of humble approach, N providing the link between these, and the doublet of the ferocious attitude

in FT-Cod. Ox. providing the clue. Behind these two traditions of approach lies the Pal. Pent. tg. tradition, with different tgg developing more or less independently and sometimes coming in contact with each other, accounting for the relatedness of the two traditions. It remains to be said that once the ferocious attitude of Judah had transplanted itself from a later place in the passage to the beginning, it would have been easy for a ferocious approach to be suggested through association of G 49, as mentioned by Dr. Vermes.

As for the difference in these two interpretations with regard to Manasseh stamping his foot (Par, Bom, N) and Joseph kicking the pillar of the palace (Tos., FT-Cod. Ox.), these are best regarded as two interpretations which grew from different emphases in separate branches of the Pal. Pent. Tg. tradition. They had become independent traditions in the time of the Midrash Rabbah, and occur both in Genesis Rabbah, XCIII, 6 and 7.

As for the passage as a whole, it is best to think of two traditions (evidence of approach), with one tradition (Tos. and FT-Cod. Ox.) having sprung from the former (PJ, Par, Bom, CG and N), though both N and FT-Cod. Ox. present an in-between stage of movement from the former to the latter tradition. As for the accounts of Manasseh stamping his foot or Joseph kicking the pillar of the palace, these took inception as independent emphases of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. Both the two "traditions" (approach) and the different emphases (feats of strength of Manasseh or Joseph) are found in Genesis Rabbah, and were

established at the beginning of the second century A.D. But most important of this discussion is the fact that underlying these two "traditions" and "emphases" are the different branches of the Pal. Pent. tg. tradition. This was well seen in the inter-relatedness of both the "traditions" and the "emphases" which we have discussed so fully. This tradition thus rests in time, before the end of the first century A.D. It directly underlies all the tgg discussed: PJ, Par, Bom, CG, N, Nmg-tg, Tos., and FT-Cod. Ox. It remains to be admitted that the doublets of N, loosely put together as they are, point to a crude putting together of different targumic readings in N. This is not "artistic compilation" done by an experienced targumic editor. The nature of N in other passages must be looked at, before a judgment be made about the nature of N.¹

1. It remains to give in translation two unique additions, one in Tos. and one in FT-Cod. Ox. The first occurs in Tos. following the mighty approach of Judah and his mentioning of the former statement of Joseph that he feared the Lord: "You have spoken to us false things and hard words. You have treated us as spies of the land and have chained us in prison for three days. Then on the third day, you have said to us 'I worship the Lord; leave with me one of you, till you will bring back to me Benjamin, your brother.' And Simon, our brother, you separated from us and chained him in prison to torture him. Now we did according to your word and brought to you Benjamin our brother. Then you placed your cup in his sack to make him slave." The second addition follows the account of the Shechem disaster in FT-Cod. Ox.: "How much more has he kept him alive to be lifted up to greatness. But you are wishing him for kindlingwood, for service." And Joseph replied and said to Judah, "I see that you are of the intention (that you hope) to do in Egypt what you did in Shechem." And Judah said to Joseph, "My weapon is the word which comes from my mouth. As two of us laid waste Shechem so we destroy you: each inhabitant, for I am stronger than the two of them..."

We begin the additions of the passages dealing with the Ten Commandments at E 20.1. An addition is found here in the phrase, "all these words" referring to the Ten Commandments. Par, Bom, CG, and N insert the noun שְׁבוּחַ, and read generally, תְּשִׁיבָה דְּכָל שְׁבוּחַ דְּבִרְיָא, "all the excellency of these words".¹ The addition is also found at D 27.8 in Par and Bom only, lacking as it is there in PJ, CG, and N.² There also, the reference is to the words of the Torah. The evidence need not mean that PJ is not in the Pal. tgg tradition. The facts as compared with D 27.8 would be that there may have been more streams in the Pal. tgg, of which PJ at E 20.1 is one stream, omitting the addition, and the tgg of Par, Bom, CG, and N the other, including this addition. At D 27.8, CG and N agree with PJ in omitting this addition. It may therefore well be that PJ here at E 20.1 has one tradition of the Pal. tg, and Par, Bom, CG and N have another.

Two additions of E 20.2 have been dealt with in the discussion of the verse part, namely in relation to the phrases, "who brought you out" and "the house of bondage".³ Remaining are one unique addition, in the context of the verse proper, in Par, and a long paragraph introducing this verse.

Instead of "...out of the land of Egypt", Par gives "and from the servitude of Egypt, as you were slaving under the hand

1. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 510.

2. Cf. below.

3. Cf. above, Ch. II, pp. 161ff.

of the Egyptians (דְּמִצְרָאִי)". We note that PJ also reads: דְּמִצְרָאִי, "from the house of the Egyptians", though lacking the unique addition of Par. The addition in Par, giving an ordinary but vivid explanatory comment, is of the kind often found in the Pal. tg tradition.

A large addition is prefixed to this verse and describes how the first "Word of the Lord" came from His mouth like storms, lightnings and fires, was seen by the camp of Israel and was engraven on the tables of the Commandments. The introduction leads up to the quotation of the "First Word", i.e. the verse proper, "I am the Lord your God..."¹ With minor variations, this addition is present in PJ, Par, CG, and N. PJ reads (numbering the lines):

1. The First Word, as it came forth from the mouth of the
2. Holy One, blessed be His name,
3. was like violent storms, like lightnings and like flames of fire,
4. a torch of light on His right and
5. a burning torch on His left.
6. It flew and soared through the air of the heavens
7. and was again seen by the camp of Israel.
8. It returned and was engraven on the tables of the Covenant,
9. which were given into the inside of the hand of
10. Moses², and were turned in them from side to side.
11. Then He called and spoke, "My people, sons of Israel..."

This addition, except for minor additions noted below, is the same in PJ, Par, CG, and N. As an introduction to the "First

1. This same addition is similarly prefixed to verse 3, where it introduces the first commandment, or second word, coming from the Lord. The addition of verse 3 is prefixed only to PJ and N and is nearly identical to that of verse 2 here. Cf. also below at verse 3.

2. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 511 translates, "...that were given by the hand of Mosheh..."

Word" spoken by the Lord, illustrating its splendor and might, it is a part of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, with which PJ is one here.

In the description of the First Word coming from the mouth of the Lord, "...like violent storms, like lightnings and like flames of fire..." only PJ has שלהרוביין, "flames". N, Par, and CG have ל(מ)פ(י)דין, "torches". PJ preserves a unique choice of noun of the varied Pal. tg tradition. PJ also preserves a unique reading of the Pal. tgg in, "...which were given into the inside of the hand of Moses, and were turned in them from side to side."¹ In PJ it follows the engraving of the Word on the tablets and is a relative clause to "tablets". Only the second part of this stands in Par, "...and they were turned in them from side to side..." where it follows, "... and it was engraven upon the tablets of the Covenant...", and is not really intelligible there. PJ here preserves for us a reading of the Pal. tgg, which only imperfectly stands in Par.²

Unique readings occur in Par and N, one in common between Par and CG. For יהי שמייה מברך (PJ), "blessed be His name" in PJ and N, the reading יהי שמייה משבח, "praised be His

1. In E 20.3, PJ reproduces the second part of this addition. Cf. also there.

2. Presumably, part of the addition in Par was lost. It is less probable to assume that PJ has copied the addition as it stands now in Par, and has added to it to make it intelligible. Ginsburger, in the edition of PJ, refers to Mechiltha at verse 15 for this addition in PJ, but this reference does not seem to have any relation to it. Cf. Mechiltha, Übersetzt von Winter und Wünsche, op. cit., pp. 219f.

name" occurs in CG. Par combines these two, adding the adjective "great" to "name", the adverb "forever" to the verb and preceding the whole with "blessed be He", thus reading, "...blessed be He whose great name is blessed and praised forever": בְּרִיךְ הוּא יְהוָה שְׁמִיה רַבָּא מְבֹרָךְ וְשִׁבּוּחַ לְעֹלָם. In line six, Par, inserts רִקִּיעַ, "firmament", thus reading, "It flew and soared through the air of the firmament of the heavens". In N, the spelling of "torch" agrees three times with that of the word twice occurring in PJ: לְמִשְׁפָּחָה. Par and CG omit the מ and have twice each: לְמִשְׁפָּחָה. The reading without the מ is also preserved in a mg of N.

Lines seven, eight and eleven of PJ¹:

- (7a) and it circled around (b) and was seen (c) by the camp of Israel.
 (8) It returned and was engraven on the tables of the Covenant...
 (11) Then He was calling and spoke, "My people, sons of Israel..."

are a doublet in N, which we translate below, marking the first member "A" and the second member "B", and following the subdivision of line seven into "a", "b" and "c":

- ^A
 (7a) and it circled around (b-c) and all Israel saw it and feared.
 (8) And it was returning and was engraven upon the two tables of the Covenant.
 (11) And He spoke, "My people, sons of..."
- ^B
 (7a) and it was again circling around (c) the camp of

1. Omitting line nine, an addition peculiar to PJ, and line ten, an addition in common between PJ and Par. Line seven has been subdivided into "a", "b" and "c".

- Israel.
- (8) And it was again engraven¹ on the tables of the Covenant.
- (8x) And all Israel saw it.²
- (11) Then He was calling and spoke, "My people, sons of Israel..."

The first member (A) of the doublet in N, parallels the rendering of lines seven, eight and eleven in CG:

- (7b-c) and all Israel saw it and feared it.
- (8) And it was returning and was engraven on the two tables of the Covenant.
- (11) And He spoke, "My people, sons of Israel..."

The second member (B) of the doublet in N, is like the rendering of these three lines in Par:

- (7a) it went forth and circled (c) around the camp of Israel.
- (8) It returned and was engraven³ on the tables of the Covenant.
- (10) and were turned in them from side to side.⁴
- (11) And when He was calling and spoke, "My people, my people, house of Israel..."

That the reading of N is a doublet can easily be seen.^{4A}

Member A of N resembles the reading of CG: (7b-c) is the same in both, except that CG adds "it": *וּמְנַה* after the verb "feared".

1. *וּמְנַה וּמְנַה* can either be translated "and it was again engraven" or "and it returned and was engraven". Cf. Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 248: *וּמְנַה*, Pe--1. umkreisen, umringen (, zuruckkehren: Bom. at G 49.19); 2. mit nachfolg. Verbum adverbialiter: etwas wieder, noch einmal thun.

2. Line 8x is a unique addition of N, which therefore does not form part of the doublet.

3. Cf. above, ftnt. 1.

4. Line ten is an addition in common between Par and PJ and does not form part of the doublet.

4A. The following verse, E 20.3, also has the doublet in N. There the same long addition is prefixed to the verse, only in PJ and N. Cf. the addition there.

(7a): וְהָיָה , "and it circled around", may be borrowed from PJ¹ or the editorial work of the scribe of N, using this verb four times introducing lines seven and eight in each of the two members A and B, to make a unity of N.² (Par and CG use the verb only once, in line eight, referring to the returning of the word and its engraving on the tables) Line eight in this member A is exactly alike in N and CG, "And it was returning and was engraven upon the two tables of the Covenant." As compared with the rendering in PJ and Par, N-CG uses the auxiliary verb הָיָה with וְהָיָה , "it was returning" and specifies that there were two tables of the Covenant. The presence of line eleven here in N is important, 'And He spoke, "My people, sons of...". This set phrase is generally used in the tgg to introduce the speaker, as it is in PJ, Par, CG and member B of N. But after its mentionⁱⁿ member A of N the speaker's words do not follow, but instead the second rendering of these lines, i.e. member B of the doublet. That this line eleven is part of the doublet, and is from the CG tradition as seen in the fact that both have the same: $\text{וַיִּבְרַח אֶת־עַמּוּדַיִם}$ (CG: עַמּוּדַיִם), whereas PJ has $\text{וַיִּבְרַח אֶת־עַמּוּדַיִם}$

1. Cf. the discussion below, p. 319, ftnt. 1. But cf. also below, p. 323, for the same addition in verse 3. There PJ reads וְהָיָה without the conjunction ו , while N has, as here in verse 2, וְהָיָה . Hence whereas the reading for PJ and N are the same in verse 2 (וְהָיָה), they are different in verse 3 (PJ: וְהָיָה and N: וְהָיָה).

2. וְהָיָה in N at (A7a): וְהָיָה , "and it circled around"; at (A8): וְהָיָה , "and it was returning"; at (B7a): וְהָיָה , "and it was again circling around"; and (B8): וְהָיָה , "and it was again engraven".

עמי בני , 'Then He was calling and spoke, "My people, sons of ...".¹ We have hence seen how member A of the doublet in N is like CG (lines 7b-c, 8 and 11) and perhaps in one word like PJ (line 7a),

Member B of the doublet in N is like the rendering of Par, with affinity to PJ: for (7a) PJ has: וְחָזַר, "and it circled around", Par: אָזַיל וְאָקִיף, "it went forth and circled around" and N (member B): וְחָזַר וְחָקַף, "and it was again circling". The second part in N uses the same root (חָקַף), though a different form, as Par. The first part in N is the same as PJ: וְחָזַר, and may be either borrowed from PJ² or the editorial work of the scribe of N in making the doublet a united whole³. The same was the case at line (7a) in member A of this doublet, where N borrowed from CG but included the first word of PJ: וְחָזַר. It is obvious that the first word of Par (אָזַיל) becomes unnecessary to N when וְחָזַר of PJ is chosen. (7b) of PJ, "and was seen" does not occur in N here and in Par. (7c) is the same in PJ, N (member B), and Par, "by the camp of Israel", reading in N: עַל מַשְׁכַּיִּי וְחִתְּרוֹן דִּישְׂרָאֵל. Line eleven in N, and Par is similar. Both use צָוָה, "to call", with the auxiliary

1. Whereas PJ, Par, and the second member (B) of N have עמי for "my people", CG has עם and the first member (A) of N has עמם. (Kahle footnotes this rendering עם in CG with the note "a. R.".) Also in this form עם-עמם as opposed to עמי, it seems that part A of N has affinity with CG.

2. Cf. the discussion below, p.319 and there ftnt.1.

3. Cf. above, p.312 and there ftnt 2.

verb *הרה*. N reads, 'Then He was calling and spoke, "My people, sons of Israel..."'. The reading of CG is simply, "And He spoke...".

There can be no doubt of a doublet in N, made up of CG and Par. We must however look at two more aspects of this doublet, the addition peculiar to N, numbered line 8* in member B of the doublet and certain peculiarities of line eleven in the same member B of the doublet, before we can inquire about the relationship of PJ to this doublet.

Line 8*, in the second member of the doublet of N, reads: *וכן הוה צן צורח ואמר וכל ישראל חזיין יתיה*, "and all Israel saw it". Two m_{gg} of N also have this phrase, preceding (and in one m_g preceding and following) line 8* with line eleven, which only follows line 8* in the text: *וכן הוה צן צורח ואמר וכל ישראל חזיין יתיה כד הוה* in the text: *וכן הוה צן צורח ואמר וכל ישראל חזיין יתיה כד הוה* , 'And thus (or: hence) He was calling and spoke, and all Israel saw it when He was calling and spoke, "My people, sons of Israel..."' and: *וכן הוה צורח ואמר וכל* , "And thus (or: hence) He was calling and spoke and all Israel saw it". It may be posited that N here in line 8* is a repetition of part of lines (7b-c) in part A of the doublet, which is literally the same in CG and is substantiated in N_{mg} for lines (7b-c): *וכן הוה צן צורח ואמר וכל ישראל חזיין יתיה ודחליין*, "...and all Israel saw it and feared". This presents some difficulties however: In the first place, why the change from *חמא* (occurring only in the Jer. t_{gg} for "to see"¹) in line (7b-c) in N, N_{mg}, CG,

1. Levy, *op. cit.*, I, p. 264.

and PJ (the passive of the verb occurs in PJ in this passage: ... רחזר ומחמי על , "and it was again seen by...") to רחזר (usually used in the Bab. tgg--including O--for "to see"¹) in N, and substantiated in two Nmgg? Secondly, if the phrase in N is a repetition of the earlier and similar phrase, why does the latterly occurring phrase occur in two mgg of N? The mgg of N are not likely to be scribal fabrications, but rather quotations from other tgg. Therefore, this phrase in N, marked line 8x, is uniquely a part of an old Pal. tg reading at this place, occurring in the two mgg of N in a different word order with the following phrase.

We now turn to line eleven. The reading of N, in member B of the doublet: בכנ הרה צורה ואמר, is nearly the same as that of PJ: ובכנ צורה ואמר. We translated N, "Then He was calling and spoke...". For this purpose CG remains outside of the discussion, because it only has, "And He spoke..." as does N in member A. Par uses וכד, "when" instead of בכנ, "then" in N and PJ. The reading of Par also occurs in a mg of N. Par has: וכד הרה צורה ואמר, 'And when He was calling and spoke, "My people, my people, house of Israel...". The meaning of this sentence with "when" does not come smoothly. Ginsburger, in the text of Par, corrects וכד, "when" to וכדין, "thus", of which the contracted form וכן occurs in two mgg of N here. The first mg of N has: וכן הרה צד צורה ואמר וכל ישראל חזין יתיה

1. Ibid., I, pp. 245f.

כך הרה צוה ואמר , "And thus (or: hence) He was calling and spoke, and all Israel saw it when He was calling and spoke..." and the second mg reads: וכן הרה צוה ואמר וכל ישראל חזיין יתיה , "And thus (or: hence) He was calling and spoke and all Israel saw it". Is Nmg the more original and has part of Par been lost--the character of Par is fragmentary!--making the present Par somewhat unintelligible (for which reason Ginsburger makes a correction in the Par text)? Or, assuming that Par as it stands is imperfect, which we must assume, did Nmg correct this into an intelligible reading? The latter is surely not the case, because the mgs of N are rather direct quotations from other tg sources or mss, as we pointed out above. The meaning of Nmg (especially the first mg) is perfectly clear and complete, and could be rendered freely, 'And thus He was calling and spoke--and all Israel saw it when He did so--', "My people, sons of Israel..."¹. Hence, Nmg preserves a unique reading of a Pal. tg, only imperfectly and unintelligibly preserved in Par. To an extent this unique reading of Nmg is also present in the text of N (line 8x)¹, which therefore apart from the mgs goes back to this Pal. tg with a unique reading at this point.

But in addition to this Par-Nmg branch of the Pal. tg

1. But cf. E 20.3, the following verse below, p. 324: in the large addition preceding the verse proper, which is repeated in verse 3 from verse 2. There the text of N reads: וכן הרה צוה , "thus He was calling" at line 11, which is precisely the reading of the unique Nmg at the present verse 2.

tradition, which is present to an extent in N, we note that the reading of N shows similar ties with PJ, so that N-PJ may be shown as another branch of the Pal. tg. tradition. N reads: **בכַן הוּרַח צוּרַח וְאִמַר** and PJ: **וּבְכַן צוּרַח וְאִמַר**. The difference between these is the lack of the auxiliary verb **הוּרַח** in PJ. But in the following verse, where both PJ and N have this same long addition, both do use the auxiliary verb **הוּרַח**, and are thus alike.¹ We can therefore speak of a PJ-N branch and a Par-Nmg-(N) branch of the Pal. tradition here.

We must conclude this discussion of N, on the basis of the facts we have found, viz. (1) a unique rendering in N and its mgg, noting that N offers us fragments of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition not found in the other texts we have; and (2) a doublet in N combining CG and Par, and perhaps also PJ. The fact of the unique reading in N prohibits us from saying that N is a compilation of other Pal. Pent tg texts available at present. Could N be a compilation of Pal. Pent tg texts, some of which are not extant at present? This may always be posited as a possibility for any of our Pal. Pent tgg, because we do not know the extent of lost mss. This possibility must however not be exaggerated in view of the oral and unofficial character of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition (there was no one authorized version in this tradition), manifesting itself in many individual

1. Cf. the discussion below, pp. 323f. The difference between PJ and N in verse 3 is in the adverb, PJ using **בְּכַן** in verse 3 as here, but N using **בְּכִי** in verse 3 (agreeing with the mentioned Nmg-Par branch of verse 2) in place of **בְּכַן** of verse 2.

forms. These individual forms can easily have come in contact with each other and have been partly or wholly fused. Admittedly, the doublet in N here shows a coming together and fusing of material from different branches of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. We would go even further and say, that this fusing has been done by the editing mind or hand of an intelligent meturgeman or scribe, preserving individual bits of information, as well as giving the whole a character of unity. However there is enough unique material in N--in our verse and in general throughout N--to substantiate the hypothesis that N is a branch of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition in its own right and not a mere ("later") compilation of that tradition.

Now we are able to look critically at the portion of PJ, which in N is the doublet. The doublet in N, we saw, is generally made up of CG and Par. We may think of CG and Par as original Pal. Pent. renderings of this fact. Once more we review the description of the fact. After the "Word" of the Lord soared through the skies, in CG: (1) it was seen by Israel, (2) returned and (3) was engraven on the tables; while in Par. after the soaring through the skies, the Word: (1) circled about the camp, (2) returned and (3) was engraven on the tables. Besides the mention of "two tables" and of "Israel's fear", in CG, the difference with Par is that in CG Israel sees the Word, and in Par the Word encircles the camp of Israel. This is a difference in expression, and surely leads to the same meaning: the Word circled about the camp and was seen by the people in

the camp. Now, in PJ, both these facts, the Word's encircling the camp and its being seen by the people in the camp, are explicitly mentioned, as if PJ had taken elements from each of the two original Pal. renderings of CG and Par. We therefore now look in detail at lines seven, eight and eleven in PJ:

- (7a) and it circled around (b) and was seen (c) by the camp of Israel.
 (8) It returned and was engraven upon the tables of the Covenant... (omitting lines 9 and 10)...
 (11) Then He was calling and spoke, "My people, sons of Israel..."

(7a) in PJ: וְחָזַר, "and it circled around" is the same as Par: וְרָאָהּ, "and it circled around", though PJ uses a different verb (חָזַר) from Par (Aph. of נָקַף).¹ (7b) in PJ: וּמַתְחֵמִי, "and it

1. An interesting but unanswerable question is why PJ uses וְחָזַר here for "to circle around", using the verb for the second time in this passage. We noted above (pp.312 ff, and of p.312 ftnt 2) how CG and Par only use וְחָזַר once each, referring to the returning of the Word and its engraving on the tables. We noted how N uses the verb four times in the doublet (twice in each member of the doublet) which we translated in order (the underlined parts represent our verb): "...and it circled around...and it was returning...and it was again circling round...and it was again engraven...". PJ uses וְחָזַר twice, which we have translated, "...and it circled around...It returned...". It would seem that it is normal for PJ to use וְחָזַר twice, in both instances using the same general meaning: to encircle, to return. This is not to deny the word play and poetical characteristic of which is made use in PJ by using this verb twice:

וְחָזַר וּמַתְחֵמִי עַל מַשִּׁירֵי יְתֵהוֹן דְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
וְחָזַר וּמַתְחַקֵּק עַל לִבִּי קְיִמָּא

But as for N, where the word is used four times, employing the different uses of the verb: (1) as verb meaning: to encircle, to return, and (2) as adv: again, with a following verb, we certainly have to do with word play and a poetical characteristic imposed by an editing mind or hand. We have therefore spoken (for N) of the fusing of material done by the editing mind or

was seen", may be from the "original" CG branch of the Pal. tg: חמין, "they saw". (7c) simply duplicates Par. As far as the discussion of כד, "when" (Par and Nmg), כן, "thus, hence" (two Nmgg) and בכך, "then" (N and PJ) in lines eleven is concerned, PJ and N have a common tradition, different from Nmg-Par, and again different from the CG branch. Hence in PJ, in lines 8-9-11, there is material from each of the basic renderings of this fact: Par and CG, as well as unique material in common with N. In the case of the doublet in N we have spoken of a coming together and fusing of material of different branches of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, performed by the editing hand of an intelligent scribe. But in PJ at this place, there is, with certainty, no editing of material from other branches of the Pal. tradition. There is in PJ a kind of fusion of the

hand of an intelligent meturgeman or scribe, although by this we have not meant that the character of N is that of a compilation. Going back to PJ, it is not likely that PJ knew N, because in that case PJ with its wish for rather fuller explanations, would have copied something of the doublet. It is possible that N knew PJ and conceived its quadruple use of חזר from the dual use of it in PJ. But it is more likely that the fusion of material from CG and Par putting חזר twice in the doublet of N, plus the possibility of using the verb as an adverb, "again", gave the editor of N the idea that the Word circled around the camp and was engraven "again", i.e. for a second time. It is perhaps instructive to read N here in one part, to realize this: 'It flew and soared through the air of the heavens, circled around and all Israel saw it and feared. And it was returning and was engraven on the two tables of the Covenant. And He spoke, "My people, sons of...". Again it was circling around the camp of Israel and again it was engraven on the tables of the Covenant. And thus He was calling and spoke--and all Israel saw it when He did so-- "My people, sons of Israel ..."'. (The last sentence, from "And thus He was..." on, is the Nmg reading, which in substance is also in the N text.)

description of the Word's encircling the camp (Par) and its being seen by the people who were there in the camp (CG). But this fusion need not be of the original Par and CG traditions, but could merely be suggested by a mental picture or visualizing of the situation. If we visualize the Word soaring through the sky, circling the camp, returning and being engraved upon the tables (Par), it would be normal to think that this Word is seen by those who were in the camp. Similarly, it can be argued with CG. That the kind of fusion in PJ of these traditions was suggested by a visualization of the situation, is also seen from the fact that when the "encircling" of the Par tradition is mentioned, PJ does not use the root of the verb of Par (נכף) but another root (חזר). Similarly in (7b) PJ has not copied the וכל ישראל חמיין יתיה of CG, but only has the verb, and it in a different theme: ונתחמיי, "and it was seen". PJ thus goes back to a unique Pal. Pent. tg tradition, visualizing this event. This is also borne out by the evidence of line eleven, where PJ (ובכין) shows affinity with N (בכין), yet has its own reading, omitting the verb חזר: PJ: צורה and N: חרה צורה.

We conclude that PJ, in these lines seven, eight, and eleven is an "original" branch of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, on a par with the CG branch and the Par branch; and that in PJ no formal fusion of other branches has taken place, but rather a more explicit recording of the characteristics of this event. Some fusion of material has taken place in N, yet on the basis of the evidence we have concluded that N also represents a

branch of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition here, with unique readings. As we have seen all along, a more explicit rendering of events or facts is characteristic of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition (including PJ). This conclusion for PJ is borne out as well by the unique rendering¹ and addition² in PJ in other parts of this verse.

At E 20.3, there are two main additions, one preceding the verse proper in PJ and N and the other following the verse, only in Par. Bom is completely absent here.

The long addition preceding the verse, and describing the giving of the "second Word" is nearly identical to that of E 20.2. Here it occurs only in PJ and N. The only differences in PJ are that in line seven³ the ך is omitted, reading here here חזר למתחמל, "was again seen", compared with E 20.2, "and was again seen";⁴ of lines nine and ten, line nine is omitted, so that "their turning in them from side to side" (line ten) no longer refers to the tables of the law of Moses's hand (line nine), but to the Word being engraven on the tables (line eight).⁵ The complete addition of PJ in the previous verse (E 20.2)⁶ read:

1. ך שלחוביי for למפוי׳ at line three of the addition. Cf. above, pp. 308f.

2. Line nine, "which were given into the inside of the hand of Moses..." Cf. above, pp. 308f.

3. Cf. above, p. 308.

4. Cf. above, pp. 311f, and ftnt. 1 of p. 312.

5. So that Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 511, translates PJ here: "...it returned, and was engraven on the tables of the covenant, and was turned in them from side to side".

6. Cf. above, pp. 308f.

- (8) It returned and was engraven on the tables of the Covenant,
 (9) which were given into the inside of the hand of Moses, (10) and were turned in them from side to side.

This incomplete addition (only line nine) in PJ, was similarly present in Par in E 20.2. It is possible that the incomplete addition (Par at E 20.2 and PJ at E 20.3) is the more original, reading with Etheridge, "...it (the Word) returned, and was engraven on the tables of the covenant, and was turned in them from side to side"¹ and that the full addition is a scribal correction and addition, because of the obscure meaning of the incomplete addition, made however in PJ only at E 20.2, and overlooked in PJ at E 20.3. The meaning of the incomplete addition is obscure--how can the Word, being engraven on the two tables, be turned in them from side to side? It is quite possible that the full addition of PJ in the previous verse is the original reading, that the parallel in Par, partially dropped out, and that the incomplete reading of PJ at E 20.3 was completed by memory from the verse just preceding. In the latter case, PJ in both verses 2 and 3 of E 20, stands in a Pal. Pent. tg tradition. In the former case, E 20.2 (line 9) would be a scribal addition made later than the earliest stages of this branch of Pal. tg tradition, but verse 3 would in this case be of the earliest rendering of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. The final difference in PJ is that in line 11 PJ in verse 3 reads: וַיִּקְרָא הוָיָה צְרוּרָה "Then He called", adding the auxiliary verb הוָיָה

1. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 511.

as compared with verse 2. At verse 2 PJ reads: **וּבִכַן צוֹרַח**, "Then He called" The reading in N at verse 2 also included the auxiliary verb: **בִּכַן הָיָה צוֹרַח**, "Then He was calling". Similarly N in verse 3 reads: **וּבִכַן הָרַר**. We see that this difference in PJ between verse 3 (**הָרַח צוֹרַח**) with verse two (**צוֹרַח**) even more closely unites PJ with the Pal. tradition as found in N.¹

One difference is noted in N between the reading of verse 2 and that of verse 3. Apart from this, the doublet as noted in verse 2 is identically repeated in verse 3. The difference is in line eleven, where verse 2^{1A} uses the adverb **בִּכַן**, "then" (at verse 2 PJ has: **וּבִכַן**, "then", Par: **וּכְד**, "when" and Nmg has: **כִּד...בִּכַן**, "thus...when"), and in verse 3, N has **וּבִכַן**, "thus" (at verse 3, PJ has the same reading as at verse 2: **וּבִכַן**, "then"). Hence, the reading of N at verse 3 (**וּבִכַן**) is part of that of Nmg at verse 2 (**כִּד...בִּכַן**). About the reading of Nmg at verse 2, we have noted that it preserves a unique reading of a Pal. tg, which is there only imperfectly preserved in Par.² Now in verse 3 we find a trace of this unique reading in N itself. This is indication that the nature of the text of N is that of the Pal. tg tradition.

Immediately following the verse, Par has a unique addition, giving the reason why there are not to be other gods be-

1. Cf. above, pp. 315ff.

1A. Cf. above, pp. 315ff.

2. Cf. above, p. 316.

fore God. Par reads:

For as I only created the whole world,
and there is not another with me,
so you shall not bow down to another god,
but to Him who has strength.

There seems to be no direct reference here to that material also found in Mechiltha. Reference to the God who created and who has strength, well distinguish this real God who acts from idols, as those mentioned in Mechiltha, from gold, silver, copper, iron or clay. The "other gods" of the verse are thus interpreted as "idols" by the Par targum. Though this is a definite interpretation, and not a mere extension of the text, the interpretation is understandable as made by Jews, surrounded as they were by idol-worshiping peoples. Therefore we hold this unique addition of Par to be from a branch of the old Pal. Pent. tg tradition.

It remains to be said that the end of this long addition introducing the verse proper is present in PJ, Par, CG, and N. We note the similarity of PJ: עמי בני ישראל and Par: עמי עמי בני ישראל as opposed to CG: עמי בני ישראל and N: עמי בני ישראל, another indication of the relatedness of PJ with a branch (Par) of the Pal. tg tradition.

Two additions are noted in E 20.4. The first occurs in the verse in PJ, N and CG. "graven image", MT: פסל, is in PJ: צילם and in Par: צלם. PJ and CG however have: צלם וצורה, "image and figure". At N here there is an erasure of about ten spaces with letters faintly showing, though not distinguishable. Obviously the two words צלם וצורה have been erased, perhaps as

Pater G. Schelbert has noted by the (sixteenth century) censor who felt that this commandment was too directly a prohibition of the "Bilderkult", though it is no more than a translation of the MT.¹ Nevertheless, we see that in this addition to the word of the verse, rendering the MT: לֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה , PJ stands well with the Pal. tradition of CG and N.

Similar to the previous verse, Par has an addition following the verse proper, explaining the reason of the prohibition of making images. The reason is that God has made all of them (the image-gods?) and they were frightened and bowed down before God, therefore Israel ought to worship the Lord in great fear. The source of the addition is not apparent² and also the meaning may be puzzling. The full reading is:

...for all of them I have made in six days
and they being shaken from before me like...(?)...
went out and bowed down before me in great fear.
So ye shall worship before me in great fear.

We now turn to the additions in E 20.5. One is only in CG, two only in Par, a number in all the Pal. tgg including PJ, and some as well in O.

Instead of "'...for I the Lord your God am a jealous God"',

1. Pater Georg Schelbert, Zur Geschichte und Eigenart des Ms. Vat. Neofiti I. A copy of this unpublished paper, which deals in a detailed fashion with the history of N, was made available to us at Oxford through the kind offices of Professor P. E. Kahle, F.B.A., with whose permission we quote: "...Gen...Ex 20, 4...Deuteronomium...ist an den Stellen gegen den Bilderkult sol-
am oder surah ausradiert, obwohl es wiederum meist nur wörtliche Wiedergabe des Schrifttextes ist."

2. Cf. Mechiltha, übersetzt von Winter und Wünsche, op. cit., pp. 210f.

where the verb is understood and not explicitly present, CG has the verb "to be" present (אני), but between "I" and "the Lord your God", thus reading: "'...for I am the Lord your God, a jealous God..."'.

After, "'...for I the Lord your God am a jealous God and an avenger, avenging in jealousy..."' Par only adds:

...for I am prepared to extract punishment from every one who bows down to them, instead of bowing down before me,
and also from them I shall make judgment upon them who bow down to them, the creatures.¹
For I am the Lord.

This is an addition which explicates the meaning already present in the text, and is common to those often found in the Pal. tg tradition.

The translation of Par continues after this: "'...requitting the sins of the wicked fathers upon the rebellious children to the third generation and the fourth generation of those who hate me, when the sons are continuing to sin after their fathers..."' immediately upon which follows the unique addition of Par: "'...because of the rebelliousness before me and because of the transgression against my word.'" Here is another addition making explicit the meaning already implicit in the text.

A number of additions are found in PJ and in all or most of the Pal. tgg. After "serve them" PJ and N add: קדמי הוה ,

1. It is not clear whether "the creatures" are the idolaters or the idols. The latter half of the text reads: $\text{ואוף מבתון מעביד דיבא על דסגידו להון בדייתא דאנא הוה אלתא}$.

reading, "serve in their presence," or "serve before them".

CG adds instead: }לטע(וורתהו), reading, "serve their idolatry".

After "...I the Lord your God am a jealous God," PJ, Par, and CG add, "...and an avenger and avenging in jealousy..". The text reads (in PJ): ופטרען ומתפרע בקינאה. N has nearly this same, "...and an avenger¹ who avenges in jealousy..."²

In the phrase "...the iniquity of the fathers..." the noun "fathers" is followed by the adjective רשיעין, "wicked"; "...visiting the iniquity of the wicked fathers...". N omits this whole phrase, but does have מן רשיעיא and thus reads, "...for I the Lord your God am a jealous God and an avenger who avenges in jealousy from the wicked ones...". The addition here hence is in common between PJ and the Pal. tgg of Par, CG, and N. It repeats what is already present explicitly in the text, namely that the "fathers" under discussion are evil persons.

Now we come to two important additions, both occurring in Par, N, and O, and the first one also in PJ and CG. The first one adds the adj. מרדיין (CG: מררדיין) to "children", reading, "...visiting the iniquity of the wicked fathers upon the rebellious children..." This addition is added in O, PJ, Par, CG, and N. The second addition, following immediately

1. N reads: ופטרען which is probably a scribal error for ופטרען, and probably has no relation to מרע--erkranken. (cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 21)

2. Cf. above, Ch. II, p. 165, ftnt. 2, for the Peshitto's use of the same verb פטרע in the phrase "...visiting the iniquity".

upon, "...to the third and the fourth generation of those who hate me...", and reads in O, Par, and N: "...when the sons are continuing to sin after their fathers...". The text of Par reads: מְסַלְמִין בּוֹנִיא לַמַּחְסִי בְּתַר אֲבוֹתָהוֹן. N reads the same in the main, "...when they¹ are continuing in water (?) in sin after their fathers: them I call hating me..." The point is quickly seen: Whereas the text speaks of punishment of children, grandchildren and greatgrandchildren of evil fathers, because of the evil of the fathers and quite independent of the morality of the posterity of the fathers, the tgg punish only evil posterity of evil fathers. The tgg hence reject the "transferred punishment" of the text, and substitute individual punishment of the wicked. And this change of meaning of the text is present not only in PJ and the Pal. tgg, but also in O. And what is important for the relationship of PJ to O, only the shorter addition is present in PJ, whereas both are present in O. O has therefore not borrowed the second addition from PJ or CG but from the Par-N branch of the Pal. tg tradition. It is not likely that PJ has been influenced by O to adopt the first addition and not the second one. If this were the case, the same could

1. "sons" is perhaps also present in N. In the other tgg it follows the verb "continuing", (PJ): כִּי מְסַלְמִין בּוֹנִיא לַמַּחְסִי בְּתַר אֲבוֹתָהוֹן. In N this phrase ends nearly at the conclusion of a line, with a loose ׀ following there, which may well stand for בּוֹנִיא: כִּי יִהְיוּן בּוֹנִיא מְסַלְמִין בְּתַר אֲבוֹתָהוֹן ׀. The ׀ is not the first letter of the first word in the next line, as is sometimes the case, so that the word would have been spelled out beginning the next line. The following line begins: לְהוֹן אִנֵּה קָרָא, "then I call...".

be said for CG. It is more likely to speak of a PJ-CG branch of the Pal. tradition, which has only addition one, and a Par-N branch, which has both additions. O then has the reading of the latter branch of the Pal. tgg. The meaning is however the same for all the tgg here--the rejection of transferred punishment. This interpretation of the verse is also present in Mechiltha¹, which reads:

"Er ahndet die Schuld der Väter an den Kindern", d. i. wenn sie nicht unterbrechen (überspringen), aber nicht, wenn sie unterbrechen. Wie so ist das? Ein Frevler, Sohn eines Frevlers, Sohn eines Frevlers. Ein Abschneider, Sohn eines Abschneiders, Sohn eines Abschneiders. (ftnt: "Wenn Sohn und Enkelsohn des Frevlers ebenfalls Frevler sind; wenn hingegen die Reihe der Frevler durch einen Tugendhaften unterbrochen wird, so fällt die göttliche Ahndung an den späteren, selbst frevelhaften Nachkommen fort." S. Levy, WB. III, s.v. 170 586.)

As far as this change of meaning of the text is concerned, it is part of all the Pal. tgg, including PJ, and has been adopted by the composer of O. The important conclusion in this context is that PJ is not a copy of O here, but forms with CG one branch of the Pal. Pent tgg, with Par and N forming the other branch. It is the latter from which O has copied.

Finally we note that O, PJ, and the Pal. tgg spell out the noun "generation": ⁷⁷ once each after "third" and "fourth" of the MT.

The following additions are made in E 20.6. Par, CG,

1. Mechiltha, übersetzt von Winter und Wünsche, op. cit., pp. 212f, at E 20.5.

and N introduce this verse not by ו, "and" but by וְכֵן, "however, but". These same tgg follow the verb "keeping (showing)" by the pers. pron. "I": אֲנִי, "...but I am keeping". "Steadfast love", MI: דָּוָה, is in O: טִיב, "goodness", which is also the reading of Par. PJ, CG (דָּוָה וְטִיב), and N however have: דָּוָה וְטִיב, "mercy and goodness". These two words of the Pal. tgg, "mercy and goodness" for the text, "mercy" are the reading of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, in which PJ participates here. It is not likely that PJ has the first word from O and the second from the Pal. tgg, because then the same could be said for the Pal. tgg. It is more likely to think that the reading "goodness and mercy" in PJ, CG, and N is that of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. As for O, we have another example here of it not using the Aram. word דָּוָה (and this word is used by O in general¹) which is the same root as the BH here: דָּוָה, whereas the Pal. tgg of PJ, CG, and N do use that Aram. word: דָּוָה. The Pal. tgg hence give a more literal and accurate rendering of the text here, than O. Finally, it is difficult to know the relation of O and Par. Both have the same reading: טִיב. Was Par (טִיב) one branch of the Pal. tgg and PJ-CG-N (דָּוָה וְטִיב) another, with O choosing the former? In that case, why did O choose the former? Or is there in Par influence from O? In view of the additions and verse parts which Par in this verse has in common with the Pal. tgg, any possible influence of O upon Par would have come about

1. Cf. Brederek, op. cit., p. 152, Aram: דָּוָה.

at a (for Par) late date. Par would thus be seen as an early Pal. tgg alongside the other Pal. tgg--accounting for its common material with these--but one which at a later date during its growth was influenced by tg O--taking care of its reading in common with O. The question remains of why O chose this reading.

Other additions are the following. Following "thousands" all tgg: O, PJ, Par, CG, and N insert }״׳׳, "generations", so that God's mercy is understood to be extended not to thousands but to thousands of generations. This thought also occurs in the Mechiltha¹ as follows:

Deshalb heisst es (Ex. 20.6): "Der aber Gnade übet an Tausenden". "Wenn an Tausenden" so könnte ich meinen: die Mindestzahl von Tausenden, nämlich zwei (Tausend)? Daher heisst es (Deut. 7.9): "Bis in tausend Geschlechter", d. i. Geschlechter der Geschlechter ohne Erforschen und ohne Zahl.

O has an addition, which further interprets the text, in common with the Pal. tgg. It is quite possible that O has been influenced by these tgg.

Following the verb "to love" in "thousands of those who love me", PJ, Par, CG, and N add ך״׳׳׳׳׳׳ (PJ), "righteous ones", thus reading, "to thousands of the righteous who love me..." This is saying explicitly what is implicit in the text, viz. that to love God and to keep His commandments are characteristics of the righteous. PJ stands with the Pal. tgg.

Finally, "my commandments", MT: ״׳׳׳׳׳, is in O and N: ״׳׳׳׳׳ (N: ך״׳׳׳׳׳). PJ and Par have a common reading, no

1. Mechiltha übersetzt von Winter und Wünsche, op. cit., p. 213, E 20.6..

doubt one of the Pal. tg tradition: PJ: פִּקְדוֹתַי וְאֲרִיִּיתַי and Par: פִּקְדוֹתַי וְאֲרִיִּיתַי, "my laws and my teaching". CG and Nmg have another common tradition, which doubtless gives us another branch of the Pal. tg tradition: CG: מִצְוֹתַי דְּאֲרִיִּיתַי, and Nmg: מִצְוֹתַי דְּאֲרִיִּיתַי, "the commandments of my teaching". Something similar is present here, as what we saw above with "mercy and goodness".¹ If it were Par there which had the same reading as O, here it is N which agrees with O. There seem to be two branches of the Pal. tradition for the text "my commandments" viz. PJ-Par, "my laws and my teaching" and CG-Nmg, "the commandments of my teaching". That O does not choose the Aram. מִצְוֹתַי "commandment" for the BH מִצְוָה, whereas the word does occur here in CG-Nmg, is caused by the fact that this word does not seem used in O at all, though it does occur in the Jer. tgg.² Thus here there is an explanation of the fact that some Pal. tgg use a word from the same root as the BH to render the text, and not O. As for N, we must assume that it stands in the Pal. tg tradition, viewing the material in this verse which it has in common with those tgg. Yet we may think of a late (for N) influence upon it from O, parallel to that we have spoken of for Par above. For PJ, as we have noted, it stands with one branch of Pal. tg tradition here (PJ-Par), the other being CG-Nmg.

The following additions of minor nature are present in

1. Cf. above, p. 331.

2. Levy, *op. cit.*, II, p. 61 and Brøderek, *op. cit.*, p. 178, no Aram. מִצְוָה or מִצְוֹת and p. 98, BH מִצְוָה and מִצְוֹת, where for the BH noun only the Aram. מִצְוָה is listed.

in E 20.7. The verse is prefaced in PJ, CG, and N by עמי בני ישראל and in Par by עמי בני ישראל. After the verb "take" in "you shall not take", PJ, CG, and Nmg add חד מנכרן and N has גבר מנכרן: "not one (not a man) of you shall...". After, "for the Lord will not hold him guiltless..." PJ, CG, and N add ביום דינא/ה רבא/ה and Nmg simply ביום דינא, "on the day of (great) judgment". In these PJ very much stands with the Pal. tgg of CG and Nmg. Par however lacks the additions here.

We now discuss the variants of the adverb "vain" in "taking the name of the Lord in vain". The word occurs twice in the text, "You shall not take the name of the LORD your God in vain; for the LORD will not hold him guiltless who takes his name in vain...". The MT has twice לשוא; PJ and N read two times על מגן, "unnecessarily, falsely"; CG uses the first time two nouns: שבועה דשקר, "the oath of falsehood", and the following time a second verb, which makes this whole part of the second phrase: כל מן דמשחבע בשמה דמסקר, "everyone who is swearing in my name and is lying"; O uses the first time למגנא, "unnecessarily, falsely" using a different construction of the adverb from PJ-N (על מגן) however, and the second time לשיקרא, "falsely". Part 1 of Par, which is of a composite nature reads: ...למגנא ודשקר, "unnecessarily, falsely... and (not) thou shalt lie". Part 1-a of this composition is the adverb, "unnecessarily, falsely" of O, PJ, and N, but not in the spelling of PJ-N: על מגן, but in the spelling of O: למגנא. Part 1-b of the composition

of Par, reading completely: וְלֹא תִשָּׁבַע בְּשֵׁמִי וְתִשָּׁקֵר, is much like Part 2 of CG: מִן דְּמִשְׁבָּע בְּשֵׁמִי וְתִשָּׁקֵר, though the participles have been changed to imperfects. Part 1 of Par thus seems to be composite of O and CG, which statement must be modified by saying that the reading like O is similar to that of PJ-N, so that this does not simply need to be influence of O upon Par. Part 2 of Par is not present as such. It is rendered by the following long addition:

because I am the Lord your great God, an avenger, who is ready to take vengeance of him who lies in my name, for in my great name was the world created. Everyone who swears in my name and lies (concerning) revelation in my presence, that one I will destroy in his sins. Everyone who keeps his soul and does not swear to false revelation in my presence, is in his righteousness established eternally. And everyone who is established eternally, for his sake he shall have goodness in this world and in the coming world.

The verb for swearing occurs here twice, and is the same as in PJ and CG. Thus here again in part 2, as in part 1, there is repetition in Par, and perhaps here again we can speak of a composition. Three times there is a rendering for the "in vain" of the MT: a: דְּמִשְׁקֵר, "who lies", b: וְתִשָּׁקֵר, "and lies" and c: לְשִׁקְרָא גִלְיָא, "to false revelation". The Part. מִשְׁקֵר in a and b are the same as CG, part 2: מִשְׁקֵר. Instance c: לְשִׁקְרָא, is the same as the adverb לְשִׁקְרָא, "falsely" in O, part 2, but is here in Par used as an adj, with the ל serving as preposition "to", "to false revelation". This also resembles the noun שִׁקְרָא, "falsehood" of part 1 of CG: שְׁבוּעַת דְּשִׁקְרָא, "the oath of falsehood". Hence, part 2 of Par may be composite of CG, PJ, and O, which must again be modified by saying that the rendering

like O is also like CG, so that we cannot necessarily speak of influence from O upon Par. Finally we consider the mgg of N, where part 1 has: לשקר...ימתבע and part 2: ממתבע...לשקר. Hence both times the adverb "falsely, unnecessarily" is used. This form as adverb occurs in part 2 of O: לשיקרא. The form also occurs in part 2-c of Par: לשקרא, though there it is an adj. The same root is used in part 1 in Par (b: ותשקר as verb) and CG (לשקר: as noun) and in part 2 in both Par and CG as verbs. We cannot simply say that part 2 of Nmg is a reference from O, because not only are there the difference of emph. st. (O) and absol. st. (Nmg) and the fact that the same root (Par and CG) and the same form (Par, part 2-c) occur in the Peltgg of Par and CG, but the verb for "to swear" in Nmg, the Ithpe. ימתבע, does not occur in O here, but is present in PJ, Par, and CG at the corresponding places of this verse. Thus we see that Nmgg are like CG and Par (part 1-b and 2) and as far as the verb is concerned are also like PJ.

Looking only at the text, we have three traditions as far as the verbs are concerned ("take" or "swear") in the tgg: N: יס', PJ-CG-Nmgg: ימתבע and O: אמר. Par is composite in part 1 using both O (Par, part 1-a) and PJ-CG-Nmgg (Par, part 1-b). In part 2 of Par, if this also be composite, Par uses only the PJ-CG-Nmgg tradition. We thus have, for the verbs the following traditions: 1. N; 2. PJ-CG-Nmgg-par (1-b and 2) and 3. O-Par (part 1-a).

The traditions we find when we look at the renderings

for "vain" do not parallel these for the verb. For "in vain" we find the following two traditions: PJ-N: על מגן; and CG (ותשקר...דמשקר...דמשקר...דמשקר)-Par (1-b and 2: לשקרא...לשקרא...לשקרא...לשקרא)-Nmgg (לשקר...לשקר). These forms of שקר are individually different from each other, and can never be classified together. O seems to partake of both traditions. Part 1 of O has למגנא, a changed form of PJ-N: על מגן¹ and part 2 of O uses לשיקרא, from the CG-Par (1-b and 2)-Nmgg. It remains to be said that Par (1-a) is like O. Thus we have the following two traditions: PJ-N-O (1)-Par (1-a) and CG-Nmgg-Par (1-b and 2). On the basis of this textual evidence, we can but see PJ, CG, N, and Nmgg as a related targum tradition, one which allowed for individual differences among its members, such as was the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. O does not belong in this tradition (verb), and yet seems to have known this tradition and to have borrowed from it, changing an expression such as על מגן to one used by itself: למגנא. We might say that Par is composite of O and the Pal. tradition. Is this however warranted by the facts? There is unique material in Par, such as the whole of part 2, which there takes the form of a unique addition. Moreover, the part in Par which is like O, is one complete phrase, which if omitted left Par as a good Pal.tg, and taking away the composite nature of Par. It

1. The reading על מגן for the adverb, seems not to be used in O but is used in the Jer. tgg here and at D 5.11 (PJ and N) and in the Jer. Talm. Sanh. X. 29a. (Jastrow, op. cit., p. 729; cf. also Levy, op. cit., II, p. 7. O uses instead למגנא. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., par. 42-1, p. 210 lists על מגן also for Midrasch zum Hohenlied II, 2 and Vajjikra Rabba 22.

is not impossible to think of part 1-a in Par as a later addition from O.¹

It remains to look more closely at the meaning of these words employed for "in vain". The אָוַר of the MT: אָוַר has the meaning of being "evil, foul, unseemly or worthless".² That this word has the original meaning of both emptiness and falsehood, evil, is well noted by Pederson in two passages:

The powerless, empty juggling of falsehood the Hebrews often denote by shāw'. It is difficult to establish wherein the shade of difference between this and the other words (i.e. sheker and kāzābh, falsehood) consists, but perhaps it may be said that, whereas the other Hebrew stems equally denote the conflict within the soul and the powerlessness, this more onesidedly denotes the latter, i.e. emptiness, delusion. The prophet uses this appellation for the sacrifices of the Israelites... because they are mere forms without any power of reality, and the same is said about the salvation of man... To make some thing lashshāw', unto emptiness, is to do it aimlessly, without meaning and without result... shāw' is chaos, tōhū Is. 59,4), the confused mass to which life has not given the shape which makes it reality. For chaos is not reality, for the very reason that it cannot realize; it lacks the construction of the living organism. He who acts for shāw' consequently throws his ac-

1. This evidence must be briefly compared with D 5.11, where this commandment is also given. There only PJ and N are present and Bom, Par, and CG are absent. The renderings of O, PJ, and N, for verb and adverb in both parts are the same as those in the present verse. The mgg of N however read as follows: לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה וְלֹא תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה בְּשֵׁם מַלְאָכָיִם אֱלֹהִים לְשִׁקְרִיִּים (or: לְשִׁקְרִי) בְּשֵׁם. We note that the לְשִׁקְרִיִּים of part 1 is not present at part 1 of O, PJ or N, though it is present in part 2 of O. But וְלֹא תַעֲשֶׂה of Nmg in part 2 is not present in either part of the other tgg at D 5.11. These readings are present at E 20.7 in the Pal. tgg. It may be that Nmg at D 5.11 quotes from the Pal. tgg of E 20.7. However there is also unique material in the Nmg of D 5.11, i.e. the word following the verb in the second mg, which we have not been able to read clearly: וְלֹא תַעֲשֶׂה or וְלֹא תַעֲשֶׂה; and also the plural number of the verb in part 1: וְלֹא תַעֲשֶׂה. We therefore posit the hypothesis that Nmgg at D 5.11 are variants from other Pal. tgg at D 5.11, which are not otherwise extant to us than in the Nmgg. These may have been CG or Par, which are lacking here in D 5.11.

2. Brown, Driver and Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 996 and Koehler

tivity into empty space.¹

and:

The enemies are constantly called the practitioners of 'awen, which word, as we have seen denotes the false strength, deeds involving disaster, witchcraft and magic arts. All that they do is shaw', falsehood, corruption, acts which proceed from a sinful, inhuman soul and do harm. In secret they utter their fatal words, so that they themselves do not need to fear anything...mostly they send them forth during the night,² the time when evil of all kinds has the strongest effect.

The commentators thus find three basic meanings in this word, viz. emptiness, falsehood, and evil. The commandment against pronouncing the name of God emptily, falsely or in an evil fashion is thus taken to include 1. empty swearing, i.e. that a stone is a stone³; this is empty, useless or vain swearing; 2. false swearing, such as that a stone is wood⁴ and 3. an evil use of the name of God, witchcraft or conjuring.⁵ Some commentators, like Holzinger take the commandment to refer mainly to false swearing.⁶ However, the division between useless and

und Baumgartner, op. cit., p. 951.

1. Johs. Pederson, Israel. Its Life and Culture. In two vols. Volume II (First published in 1940; reprinted, photoprint, 1947; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press; and Copenhagen: Povl Branner), p. 413.

2. Ibid., p. 448.

3. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 7.

4. Ibid., II, p. 7.

5. Baentsch (HkAT, I, 2), op. cit., p. 181, C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament, Volume II: The Pentateuch, translated from the German by Rev. James Martin, B.A., Nottingham. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1864), p. 118 and Dillmann-Ryssel (KeHbAT, XII), op. cit., p. 233.

6. Lic. Dr. H. Holzinger, Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, in Verbindung mit Sachgelehrten herausgegeben

false swearing is that of the Talmuds¹ and marks an attitude of legalism not originally present in the text. It is better with Professors Martin Noth² and Beer-Galling³ to think of the basic underlying idea that for the Semitic peoples the name was a duplicate of the person. The knowledge of a name meant knowing the inmost personality of its bearer and having power over him. The correct use of the name of God was praising His name, i.e. letting Him be in this world him who He is. The "vain" use of the name of God was thus in the widest sense the denial of God as He has revealed Himself in His name, which in a narrower sense specifically forbids the pronouncing of curses in God's name and magical undertakings. False swearing in the name of God would surely be included in this prohibition. If the distinction between false and useless swearing were originally felt in the text, the latter would also be included. But basically the "vain" must be seen as "zu einem nichtigen Zweck", meaning both a negating of God's being and an evil tempering with God's power: 'Aussprechens des Gottesnamen zu einem "nichtigen Zweck"...wobei der Begriff des "Nichtigen" gleichbedeutend ist mit dem Begriff des Bösen".⁴

von D. Karl Marti, Abteilung II, Exodus, Mit acht Abbildungen. (Tübingen: Verlag von J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1900, p. 71.

1. So Levy, op. cit., II, p. 7 under שׁוּבָה.

2. Martin Noth, Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk, in Verbindung mit Sachgelehrten herausgegeben von Artur Weiser: Teilband 5, Das zweite Buch Mose, Exodus. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1959), p. 131.

3. Beer-Galling (HbAT, I, 3), op. cit., p. 101.

4. Noth (ATD, V), op. cit., p. 131.

The two Aram. words used have been לֵאמֹר and שָׁקַר . The first, basically a noun לֵאמֹר is rendered: Nichtigkeit, Leerheit,¹ and also: grace, undeserving gift.² With or without prepos. it is used as adverb meaning: umsonst, ohne Nutzen oder Entgelt.^{2A} The basic meaning of the verb שָׁקַר is: lügen, täuschen, treulos handeln, with the accompanying nouns שָׁקָר : Lüge, Täuschung, trügerische Rede, and שָׁקָרִים : der Lügner, Täuscher, which latter is really an adj. and for which is also used שָׁקָרִים : der Lügner.³ Whereas the meaning of שָׁקַר is only "lie" that of לֵאמֹר seems to be both "lie" and "emptiness". Levy points out in the article on לֵאמֹר ⁴ that O at E 20.7 and D 5.11, following the talmudic interpretation, forbids speaking God's name לֵאמֹר , i.e. both "uselessly" and "falsely", and then pronounces the severe judgment only on the latter kind of speaking of God's name, i.e. on that spoken לֵאמֹר , "falsely":

Exod. 20, 7 O. u. Deut. 5, 11 O. $\text{לֹא תִשָּׁבַע בְּשֵׁם יְיָ אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְמַעַן לֵאמֹר}$ du sollst nicht schwören bei dem Namen des Herrn deines Gottes zur Nichtigkeit, d. H. sowohl auf unnütze Weise, umsonst (talm. $\text{מְדַבֵּר שֵׁם שְׁמַיִם לְבַטְלָהּ}$ er spricht den Namen Gottes vergeblich aus, d. h. hier: $\text{עַל אֶבֶן אֲבֹן שְׁוֹא אֲבֹן}$ er schwört z. B. auf einen Stein, dass es ein Stein ist, welcher Schwur überflüssig sei, da Jedermann doch sieht, dass es ein Stein ist), als auch auf falsche Weise (עַל אֶבֶן שְׁוֹא z. B. er schwört: עַל אֶבֶן שְׁוֹא auf einen Stein, dass es Holz ist (vgl. Schebuoth 20 fg. $\text{וְשֹׁבַע לְשֹׁנוֹת אֵת הַיָּדוּעַ}$), Tw. לְשֹׁא . Da aber die dabei angedrohte harte Strafe nur auf letztern Fall (näml. f a l s c h e n Eid) Bezug hat, so giebt O das in dem-

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 7.

2. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 729.

2A. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 7.

3. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 514 and Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1626.

4. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 7.

selben Verse zweite לשוא durch קראש wieder...

With this in mind, Dillmann-Ryssel point out how the קראש of the tgg, meaning "falsely" does not at all cover the meanings of the textword לשוא :¹

לשוא) zur Nichtigkeit, zum Nichtigen, Eiteln, Leeren; es deckt sich keineswegs mit קראש zur Falschheit oder Lüge, welche allerdings in לשוא mit enthalten ist...sondern schliesst auch den Begriff des Sündigen (Hi 11, 11. Jes 1, 13. 5, 18 u.ö.) und Unnötigen, Vergeblichen (Ps 127, 1f. Jer 2, 30. 4, 30. 6, 29. 46, 11. Mal 3, 14) in sich, so dass also nicht bloss das unnütze und falsche Schwören (worauf Jos. ant. 3, 5, 5, Pes. u. Targg. es beschränken...), wodurch allerdings der hl. Name Gottes entweiht wird..., sondern jeder sündige (z. B. zu sündiger Verwünschung, Lästerung, Zauberei, Wahrsagerei) und unnötige Gebrauch des Namens dadurch getroffen wird.

Holzinger, though in the light of the verb קראש he interprets לשוא in a wider sense, including "sündig, frevelhaft", says,

...wird von Wellh. Comp. 91 Anm. 1, wie schon von Josephus ant. III 5, 5, Pesch. und Targg., as lügenhaft, falsch verstanden...es würde sich dann um falsches Schwören handeln.³

He thus assumes the meaning of the tgg and the MT to be the same, as opposed to Dillmann.

Against this background we judge the interpretations of the tgg as follows. Beginning with the broad meaning of the verse in the MT, there is indeed the tendency toward particularizing in the tgg. Three stages can be noted in this process. The first one is PJ-N and the second one Par-CG-Nmg. Though

1. Dillmann-Ryssel (KeHbAT, XII), op. cit., p. 233.

2. The expression of the Pesh. is לשוא , from לשוא f--falsehood, untruth, lie; treachery, unfaithfulness, rt. לשוא --to lie. (Payne Smith, ...Dictionary, op. cit., p. 83.)

3. Holzinger (K HC AT, II), op. cit., p. 72.

the second shows a further stage in particularization than the first, it may have developed independently from the first, as a branch of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. The first stage is thus PJ: על מגן... אשתובע and N: על מגן... נבט. The adverb is here "emptily, falsely". We admit with Dillmann-Ryssel that strictly literally this word is narrower in meaning than the MT ארש because it does not specifically contain the "evil" meaning of ארש. However על מגן does literally both include "uselessly" and "falsely", and furthermore occurs both in the phrase forbidding this, and in the phrase pronouncing the punishment. It thus may well have been meant in a wide sense of a "wrong" use of God's name, very similar to the MT. We hold that this first step is therefore no real removal, or at the most a minor removal in the direction of particularization, from the MT. Two traditions are present in this first stage, viz. N which refers to speaking vainly, and PJ, swearing vainly. Admittedly, the latter may be more particular in meaning. In stage two the reading is "swearing falsely", which is a definite interpretation of the MT, and a particularization from stage one. The members in this group all use אשתובע, to swear, and some form of שקר-- to lie, falsehood, or falsely: Par-CG-Nmg. As for Par, its part 1 is composite, and we omit part 1-a for this consideration, because as we have pointed out, it is most surely an insertion in Par of an O reading. We thus have two branches of the Pal. tg tradition, PJ-N and Par-CG. The mgg of N are variants of the second branch as compared with the former. Stage 3 of the

process of particularization, i.e. O, condemns speaking the Lord's name emptily and falsely (אמר...למגנא) and gives punishment to the speaking of His name falsely (אמר...לשיקרא). This rendering is specific and follows the talmudic legal concept which interprets the commandment as forbidding swearing--both useless swearing (that a stone is a stone) and false swearing. (that a stone is wood)--but punishing only the false swearing. Whereas the "false swearing" of stage two permits a wider interpretation than specifically "false oaths" in the sense of the oath that a stone is wood, the rendering in O, specifically speaks of useless and false oaths, as legally understood by talmudic scholarship. Thus O is the third and last stage in development of particularizing the meaning of the commandment. Going back to Par, if a scribe who were acquainted with the specific particularization of O, were copying Par, he would not properly understand the wider meaning of stage two, where "false swearing" is both condemned and punished. Understanding "false swearing" along talmudic lines, this scribe, acquainted with O, would insert a phrase from O in Par, so that both false and useless swearing were condemned. Now it becomes clear, that if Par were a copy of O, then Par would have only used the adv. למגנא in part 1, which in O and talmudic understanding includes both "false" and "useless" swearing. That is the reading in O. As it is Par uses both למגנא, "falsely" and "uselessly" and שקר, "falsely", thus being marked by a clumsy repetition of "falsely". Therefore Par stands with the second stage, one branch of the

Pal. tg tradition (Par-CG-Nmg), and has at this place an insertion from O. Most important for our discussion, is the conclusion of the inter-relatedness of PJ with the Pal. tgg and of the fact that PJ with N stands possibly at a stage in the development of particularization of the meaning, which is closest to the MT, as compared with stage two of Par-CG-Nmg and stage three of O. Surely there can be no doubt on the basis of examples like this one, that PJ is as a matter of fact a representative of the old Pal. Pent. tg tradition, as much as the FT and N are.

We note a minor addition in N, and a longer reading in Par, at E. 20.11.

In "...and (he) rested the seventh day..."', where the verb is MT: וַיָּנַח, N reads: וַיָּנַח שָׁבַע וַיָּנַח קִדְמוֹתָי, "and it was sabbath and he rested before him", perhaps in repetition of verse 10, "...but the seventh day is a sabbath to the Lord your God..."' where PJ, CG, and N read, "...but the seventh day is a sabbath and a rest (N: שָׁבַע וַיָּנַח) to the Lord your God..."' Finally, there is the long addition, concluding this verse in Par:

Established is every appointed time and commandment from all the festivals and desired things of the commandments to the sons of Israel, as instructions. For all who honor the sabbath, compensation I establish as to those who are honoring me, upon the throne of my honor, because as regards to the glory of the sabbath, the sons of Israel shall be strong to the coming age.

In conclusion, we give a full translation of PJ, which is the same as that of CG and N:

My people, sons of Israel, let every man be instructed in the honor of his father and in the honor of

his mother, that your days may be increased upon the land which the Lord your God gives you.

In E 20.12, the usual addition precedes the verse in PJ, CG, Par, and N: My people, sons of Israel (Par: My people, my people, house of Israel). In Par, the second part of the verse, i.e. "...that your days may be long in the land which the Lord your God gives you..." is phrased differently, and reads, "...because everyone who honors his father and his mother, I give to him increasing of days and lengthening of years..." After this, Par closes the verse with the unique addition: "Because on account of the honor of father and mother I strengthen him to the coming age", which addition, explicating the text, is the kind often found in the Pal. tgg tradition.

In E 20.13-16 (Aram.: 13), we have a long addition in PJ, Par, CG, and N into which the verses are woven. We also find one addition in O, who reads at MT: **לֹא תִרְצַח**, "You shall not kill" the following: **לֹא תִיָקְרַל בַּפֶּה**, "You shall not kill life", an addition not found in the other tgg.

Following is the translation of PJ giving the full reading, incorporating the verses. The readings of the Pal. tgg are generally the same, individual differences being noted below:

My people, the sons of Israel, you shall not be murderers; you shall not be companions of or partakers with murderers: in the congregations of Israel there shall not be seen a murderous people; neither shall your sons rise up after you and teach one another to take part with murderers: for on account of the guilt of murder the sword (CG: death) comes forth upon the world.

My people, the sons of Israel, be you not adulterers, nor companions nor partakers with adulterers:

nor in the congregations of Israel shall there be seen an adulterous people, that your sons may not arise after you to teach one another to have part with adulterers: for through the guilt of adultery death (Par: the punishment) comes forth (a) upon the world.

My people, the sons of Israel, you shall not be thieves, nor companions nor partakers with thieves: there shall not be seen in the congregations of Israel a thievish people; that your sons may not arise after you to teach one another to be like thieves (b): for on account of the guilt of theft famine comes forth upon the world.

My people, sons of Israel, you shall not testify against your neighbors a testimony of falsehood, nor be companions of partakers with those who bear false witness: nor shall there be seen in the congregations of Israel a people who testify a testimony of falsehood; neither shall your sons arise after you to teach one another to have part with those who testify falsehood: for because of the guilt of false testimony the clouds go up and the rain comes not down, and dryness comes (c) upon the world. (from "the clouds" to "upon the world" following tgg have variant readings, Nmg: the clouds go up and rain does not come down, N: cattle of the field were held back by the sons of men, Par: the kingdom breaks in upon the sons of men and exile comes upon the world.¹ Cf. the latter reading in PJ at the following verse.)

Minor individual differences are, at (a) PJ: נפיק; Nmg: אַתָּא, Par: אַתִּיא, CG: אַתִּי; at (b) PJ, N: וְיִלְמְדוּ...לְמַהֲרֵי עִם גִּבּוּרִין, "and they teach (one another) to be like thieves"; CG: וְיִלְמְדוּ לְמַהֲרֵי... , "and they teach...to be thieves"; Par: לְמַהֲרֵי עִם גִּבּוּרִין...אֲוֵרָחָא, "to be like thieves, so that they shall not teach...the way of thieves"; Nmg: וְיִלְמְדוּ...אֲוֵרָחָא, "and they shall teach...the way of the sins of thieves"; and at (c) PJ, Par, CG: לְעֵלְמָא; N, Nmg: לְעֵלְמָא. Though in Nmg we find quotations from PJ, Par, and CG in this verse, there are an amazing number of unique renderings, preserving for us variants from other branches of the Pal. tg tradition. To

1. The translation follows in the main that of Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 512f.

name only one, in the phrase "neither shall your sons rise up after you" in each of the four paragraphs, the mg variant of N has: "their sons after them". Relating to our study of PJ, we note that the last mg of N: עָנֹא סִלְקִין רַמְטְרִי לֹא נַחִית, is from PJ: עָנֹבִין סִלְקִין רַמְטְרִא לֹא נַחִית, "the clouds go up and the rain comes not down". PJ surely presents itself here, not as an addition of the verse proper from O to the addition of the Pal. tgg, but rather as integrally related with the Pal. Pent. tgg, as a branch of that tradition.

The additions of E 20.17(14) show PJ to be in the same tradition as Par, CG, and N. Much is in common between these, although both PJ and Par show individual additions.

The addition placed in front of the verse, reads in PJ and N:

My poeple (1), children (2) of Israel,
 you shall not be covetous,
 neither companions nor partakers with the covetous;
 there shall not be seen in the congregations of Israel
 a covetous poeple;
 in order that your sons do not rise up after you,
 to teach one another
 to be a covetous poeple.¹

The addition as a whole occurs in PJ and N. Par and CG have minor omissions, a change and an addition. At (1), Par adds a second, "my people". At (2), "house" is substituted for "children" by Par. Of the eight lines, CG omits lines three, four and five and Par line seven. The simple moral elaboration of this addition upon the verse, surely marks it as part of the

1. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 513 reads for this last line: "to have part with the covetous".

Palestinian tg tradition. But this is moreover borne out by the use of the words. The noun "partaker" in the third line: שִׂבְּתָהּ , is not listed as occurring in O.¹ The same is true for the verb "to teach" used in line seven: לְלַמֵּן .² In the same line, we note the word used for "another": PJ: הַיִּנְיָן , CG and N: אֵינְיָן . Both forms are used by the Pal. tgg, but only the form אֵינְיָן is used by O. The form used by PJ here is the one used by the Pal. tgg, but not by O.³

For RSV, "'You shall not covet'", PJ and Par read, "Not one from among you shall covet," and N reads, "Not one man from among you shall covet." CG simple reads, "He shall not covet." PJ stands with the Pal tgg here.

The verse ends with the following addition, as it reads in PJ:

...because by the sin of covetousness,
 clouds go away and the rain does not come down, (only
 Par.)
 the kingdom (government) attacks
 the possessions of
 the sons of man,
 and the wealthy in possessions are made poor,
 and slavery comes upon the world.

Of the whole, as it stands in PJ, lines four and six are unique to that tg, and line 2 occurs only in Par, showing the individual elements within the Pal tg tradition. All four Pal. tgg have line one, Par omitting lines three and five and N omitting line

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 523.

2. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 335.

3. Dalman, Grammatik etc., op. cit., p. 395, Stevenson, op. cit., p. 15 and Odeberg, op. cit., II, p. 3.

seven.

The lack of the thought of this addition in the talmuds, midrash and other Jewish sources tends to show that this interpretation is one from the Pal. tg tradition, with each tg having grown into its own unique reading. Ginzberg lists the thought as follows, found only in the "Yerushalmi Targumim Ex 20.14"¹:

The content of the tenth commandment is: "O My people Israel, covet not the possessions of your neighbors, for owing to this sin will the government take their possessions from the people, so that even the wealthiest will become poor and will have to go into exile."²

This is further borne out by the use of words. The verb, "to attack" in the Ithpa: אֶתְּנִיחַ as used in the third line by PJ, CG, and N, is in this theme not listed as used by O.³ Again, the word for "possessions": נְיָכְסִי used in line four uniquely in PJ is commonly used in the Jer. tgg, but only once listed by Levy as used in O.⁴ The verb, "to make poor" used uniquely by PJ in the sixth line: אֶתְּפֹקֵם, also is not listed as used in O.⁵ The point is that this addition is the property of the Pal. tg tradition, of which PJ partakes as well as the other

1. Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, Volume VI, Notes to Volumes III and IV, From Moses in the Wilderness to Esther (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 5706-1946), p. 43, ftnt. 234.

2. Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, Volume III, Bible Times and Characters From the Exodus to the Death of Moses. Translated from the German Manuscript by Paul Radin (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 5707-1947), p. 102.

3. Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 153f.

4. Levy, op. cit., II, pp. 110f: O uses this word at D 8.17: אֶתְּנִיחַ אֶתְּנִיחַ, "these goods".

5. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 52.

Pal. tg.

A few additions are present in E 20.18(15) in PJ, and also in Par and CG.

At the beginning of the verse, where RSV reads, "Now when all the people perceived the thunderings and the lightnings ..." PJ reads,

And all the people saw the thunderings
and every one of them was turned around
when he heard them, coming forth from the midst
of the lightnings.¹

The addition does not occur in the other tgg, and has not been found in other sources. Its content is not so much theological, as a vivid picturing of the thunder--the flashes are seen, the thunders are heard coming from the area where the flashes had appeared and the impact of the thunder turns people around as if it were hiding their faces for protection. This is the kind of vivid picturing of a circumstance which one expects from a targum going back to oral tradition. This addition points us to the ancient character of PJ, as part of the Pal. Pent tg tradition.

Following RSV, "...and the sound of the trumpet" only PJ adds, "as it will raise the dead" The sound of the trumpet or as in some midrashic sources, more trumpets, refers to the

1. Etheridge, op. cit., I, p. 513 reads, "And all the people saw the thunders, and were turned back, every one as he heard them coming forth from the midst of the lights". Gins. inserts in the text, "the lightning flashes as" and reads, "...when he heard them--the lightning flashes--as coming forth from the midst of the lightning", with the ftnt. that the ms omits this insertion.

voice or voices of God on Sinai.¹ The trumpets which were to sound at the resurrection were modelled after the voices of God at Sinai.² The eventual interpretation of this passage was that:

"When the Divine voice sounded, all the dead in Sheol were revived, and betook themselves to Sinai; for the revelation took place in the presence of the living as well as of the dead, yea even the souls of those who were not yet born were present."³

Our addition in PJ to the phrase of "the sound of the trumpet" explaining that this would be similar on the resurrection day, is an ordinary comment of description, like the kind found in the Pal. Pent. tg tradition.

An addition is found as to the distance which the people stood "afar off". PJ reads "twelve miles", Par and CG read מַצְלִיִּין, "removed" or "aside". A descriptive addition here is thus found in two Pal. tgg as well as in PJ, putting it with that tradition. The "twelve miles" is thought to be a reference to the length and breadth of the camp,⁴ which "is already

1. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 39, ftnt. 214: *Shab.* 88b and others.

2. *בית המדרש*, ed. Jellinek, (Leipzig, 1853-1857), Vol VI, p. 41, as referred to in Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 39, ftnt. 214, and III, p. 97.

3. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, III, p. 97 and VI, pp. 39f, ftnt 215: *מדרש שמות רבה*, ed. Wilna, 1887, chapter 28, par 6; *מדרש תנחומא*... עם פירוש ענף יוסף ועץ יוסף... לה"ר חנוך ורנדייל *מדרש*, Wilna, 1833, Yitro, par II; *פרקי רבי אליעזר*, Amsterdam, 1709 or Warsaw, 1852, 41; *מדרש לקח טוב המכונה פסיקתא*, Gen and Ex, ed. Euber, Wilna, 1880, Lev, Num, Deut, ed. Padua, Lekah, V, 99.

4. Ginzberg, *op. cit.*, III, p. 95 and VI, pp. 38f, ftnt. 210.

found in very old sources...e.g. Mekilta Bahodesh 2, 62b; 9,7 lb, and in many other passages."¹ Moreover, the word used for "mile": מֵאָה, is one occurring only in the Jer. tgg.² Therefore, we find PJ not only to stand with Par and CG here, but we find its character to be an ancient one.

In E 20.25(22) an addition is made regarding the tool not to be wielded upon the stone of the altar. The word used for this by MT and O is חַרְבִּים, meaning "sword" and "chiseling tool". PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg use מַלְכָּה: "iron". After RSV, "And if you make me an altar of stone, you shall not build it of hewn stones" the following addition occurs in Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg: "because iron, the sword has been made of it." N reads here "because the iron of (from?) the sword has been made." A mg of N reads, "from the sword, death is created to all who use (?) the steel edge, that you should not lift up the sword upon it and should not profane it." PJ has the same addition transposed to follow immediately the word "iron", and therefore not repeating this word in the addition: "because of it, the sword has been made". For "sword" however PJ uses חַרְבִּים also used in the unique addition in Nmg.³ The prohibition of using an iron tool in the building of an altar is also referred to or mentioned in Joshua 8.31; I Sam. 14.32ff; I Kings 6.7, 18.31f. The reason for this prohibition is by men such as

1. Ibid., VI, pp. 82f, ftnt. 445.

2. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 31.

3. This word is also used in O. Cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 161.

Oesterley¹, Robinson Smith and K. Marti² thought to be that such use would drive away the spirits which were felt to live in these stones, especially in the altar stones. J. Israelstam firmly rejects this reasoning and points to "the reason for the banishing of iron tools from the building of the altar or a temple given in Middoth III, 4,"³ as follows:

The stones both of the ascent and of the altar were taken from the valley of Beth Kerem. They dug into virgin soil and brought from there whole stones on which no iron had been lifted, since iron disqualifies by mere touch, though a scratch made by anything could disqualify...The plaster was not laid on with a trowel of iron, for fear that it might touch and disqualify, since iron was created to shorten man's days, and the altar was created to prolong man's days, and it is not right therefore that that which shortens should be lifted against that which prolongs.⁴

This would seem in line with the thoughts in the additions in the Pal. tgg and in PJ here. We see that the addition as in PJ is the same as that of the Pal. tgg, and has elements referred to in Nmg. PJ stands with the Pal. Pent tg tradition here.

Prefixed to E 20.26(23) the Pal. tgg and PJ read most of the following addition:

1. As referred to in The B. Talm., Nezikin VIII, Aboth, op. cit., V, p. 63, ftnt. 6.

2. Robinson Smith, Religion of the Semites, p. 202 and K. Marti, Geschichte der israelitischen Religion, 3. Aufl., 1897, p. 100, both as referred to in Baentsch, op. cit., p. 188.

3. The B. Talm., Nezikin VIII, Aboth, op. cit., V, p. 63, ftnt. 6.

4. The Babylonian Talmud, Seder Kodashim, Temurah, Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices by Rabbi L. Miller, Kerithoth ... by Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein, Ph.D., Me'ilah ... by Rabbi Dr. I. Epstein, Ph.D., Tamid ... by Maurice Simon, M.A., Middoth ... by Maurice Simon, M.A., Kinnim ... by Rabbi Dr. S. M. Lehrman, M.A., Ph.D. (London: The Soncino Press, 1948), Middoth, ch. III, f. 4, p. 13.

And you priests, sons of Aaron ("sons of Aaron om. in PJ)
 who stand and minister
 before me (om. in Bom, CG, and N)
 on my altar (om. in PJ).

We have here a descriptive addition in the Pal. tgg, in which PJ shares.

After RSV, "...you shall not go up by steps to my altar", PJ adds uniquely, "but by sloping bridges", using the word ḥagigah. This word does not occur in O.¹ The fact that an altar had a ramp was a well established one, mentioned in passages dealing with altar sacrifice in the Talm., such as Mo'ed: Hagigah 11a, where Rabbi I. Abrahams describes this in a note as "the inclined plane leading to the altar".² It is also mentioned in the Mishnah, "There was an ascent (incline, ramp) on the south side of the altar, thirty-two cubits (long) by sixteen broad."³ The addition of PJ here is really nothing new. The verse states that the priest is not to go up to the altar lest his nakedness be exposed upon it. PJ explains that the ramp is to be used. Such a point of explanation is common not only to PJ but to the Pal. tradition.

Three unique additions are found in E 21.20, all in PJ. After "manservant" and "maidservant" PJ adds the adj. "Canaanite".

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 157 and Brederick, op. cit., p. 145, Aram. ḥagigah, ḥagigah, and p. 23, Hebrew ḥagigah, ḥagigah.

2. The B. Talm., Mo'ed, VIII, Hagigah, op. cit., 11a, p. 57, ftnt. 8.

3. The B. Talm., Kodashim, Middoth, op. cit., III, 3, p. 12, as also The Mishnah, Kodashim, Middoth, op. cit., 3, p. 594.

Baentsch¹ feels that this passage speaks of slaves in general, both Hebrews and non-Hebrews, especially referring to E 21.2-6, where laws regarding Hebrew slaves are laid down. It is more probable to realise with Dillmann-Ryssel the major distinction to be between Hebrews--whether free or slave--and non-Hebrews, pointing especially to L 25.44-46, hence that here "nur an die Sklaven nichthebräischen Stamms...zu denken ist".² Such is also the interpretation of Mechilta on the authority of R. Eli'ezer.³ This being the general understanding of the passage in the Hebrew OT, PJ is no more than an explicit mention of the understanding already inherent in the Hebr. This kind of popular explication in a word or a phrase, is a mark of the Pal. tgg. Similarly, we can look at the addition, "on that day" which only PJ has after, "and he died". This is even more obviously the meaning in the MT than the above was. For the following verse states, (RSV), "But if the slave survives a day or two, he is not to be punished ...". Hence PJ here explicates verbally the meaning already obvious in the MT, and as we said, this is a mark of the Pal. tgg.

Finally, the addition at the end of the verse, following the verse part, "and he shall be punished", the addition reading, "with the punishment of death by the sword". The MT does not list the punishment for this case. Though the death in such a case would be caused by the flogging, the following verse indica^{t-}

1. Baentsch, (HkAT), op. cit., p. 194.

2. Dillmann-Ryssel, (KgeHbAT), op. cit., p. 256.

3. Mechilta. übersetzt von Winter und Wünsche, op. cit., Mischpatim (Nezikin), 7. Abschnitt, p. 261.

ing that the slave is his owner's property, the owner's money, indicates that this is not premeditated murder. For premeditated murder the lex taliones holds, as is clear from D 19.11-13.¹: death for death. This case is not premeditated murder however, but "accidental death". According to N 35.22-28, in the case of unintentional murder, the murderer could live in one of the cities of refuge, and the avenger dared not harm him, until the death of the high priest, when the (unintentional) murderer could go free to his own land of possession again, quite free and guiltless. Commentators generally feel that the death penalty is not meant for this in our verse, but a lesser fine, pointing to a comparison of penalties for slaves and free men in general:² (a) when two men fight, and one hits the other with as result that the second has to go to bed; if the second rises and walks again, even though with a stick, the first one is clear, except that he has to pay for the loss of time and has to have him thoroughly healed (E 21.18-19). But if this happens to a slave, there is no punishment (E 21.20-21). This case however does not have much weight, inasmuch as a master would pay

1. Cf. also L 24.17, 21b-22; N 35.15-21. Though it is clear from L 24.22 and N 35.15 that this law holds both for the native Israelite and the sojourner or stranger; it is not clear whether it applies both to free men and to slaves. Commentators generally apply these laws of intentional murder to both free men and slaves. So for instance Dillmann-Ryssel, (KgeHbAT), op. cit., p. 256, in referring to these OT passages, "Bei der absichtlichen Tödtung wird allerdings jener Unterschied nicht gemacht, wenigstens nicht von andern Verff."

2. Dillmann-Ryssel, (KgeHbAT), op. cit., pp. 256-257; Baentsch, (HkAT), op. cit., p. 195 and Beer, (HbAT), op. cit., p. 111.

for the healing of his slave anyway, so that the slave may work for him again. (b) if men fight together and hurt a woman with child, so that there is a miscarriage but no hurt (!), then the man shall be fined; but if there is hurt, the lex taliones holds: life for life, eye for eye, etc. (E 21.22-25) If a slave is involved, i.e. loses his tooth, then his master who knocked out his tooth shall let him go free. (E 21.26-27) Here we would comment, that this seems quite a loss for the master: is it not more to lose the slave of thirty shekels of silver than a tooth for the master? (c) when an ox gores and kills a man or woman, it shall be stoned, and its flesh not eaten, i.e. a total loss for the owner. But if the ox had done this in the past, and the owner has been warned, then not only shall the ox be stoned but the owner put to death. (E 21.28-31) No explicit distinction is made between these two possibilities with a slave: in this case the owner of the ox pays thirty shekels of silver to the master of the slave, and the ox is stoned. (E 21.31-32) We feel, though we admit that there was a difference in treatment before the law between slaves and free men, that the difference in treatment of slaves and free men must not be over-estimated. In the cases mentioned above, in (a) the slave too would be healed, (b) the slave gets his freedom, which of course was not possible if this happened between two free men, and (c) unintentional murder is surely thought of, as intentional murder (if the ox had gored before and the owner had been warned) and would here too make the lex taliones applicable. In such a case, the owner

of the slave would not avenge the blood of his slave and kill the killer, but the owner would require the price of a slave from the killer. Whatever the correct interpretation of the punishment in our verse, where the owner of the slave is the killer (unintentionally), some Jewish expositors interpret the punishment to be death: the Talm., Raschi, I Es.¹ The Samaritan Pent. stands in this tradition rendering מרת ימרת. Mechiltha gives as penalty the death by the sword on the authority of Rabbis Nathan ha-Babli (fourth generation Tannaim, second century²) and 'Akiba (second generation Tannaim, died 135³):

Gestraft, gestraft soll er werden, d. i. mit dem Tode. Du sagst: Mit dem Tode, oder vielleicht is es nicht so, sondern mit Geld? R. Nathan sagt: Es heisst hier: נקמה, und es heisst dort (Lev. 26,25) נקמה: "Und ich lasse über euch kommen ein Schwert strafend die Strafe des Bundes", wie dort Schwert, so hier Schwert. R. 'Akiba sagt: Es heisst hier נקמה, und es heisst dort (Num. 31,2) נקמה. "Strafe die Strafe der Kinder Israels", wie dort durch Schwert, so auch hier durch Schwert, wie hier durch Gerichtshof, so dort durch Gerichtshof. (ftnt: Bileam wurde nämlich nach Siphre zu Num. Piska 157 (Lemma: "Und Bileam, der Sohn Beors, mit dem Schwerte") vom Gerichtshof zum Tode verurteilt.)⁴

Hence, the tradition that death of a slave as a result of flogging, is punishable by death of the owner-flogger is an ancient one, going back not only to the time when officially mentioned on the authority of rabbis, i.e. to the early second century,

1. As referred to by Dillmann-Ryssel, (KgeHbAT), op. cit., p. 256.

2. Strack, Introd. to the Talm, etc., op. cit., p. 117.

3. Ibid., p. 112.

4. Mechiltha, übersetzt von Winter und Wünsche, op. cit., Mischpatim (Nezikin), 7. Abschnitt, p. 263.

but surely before that time, and is found in the Samar. Pent. PJ as a targum has this tradition for us, no doubt as it was understood by those who read and heard the Law. That this is not found in the Pal. tgg, would again show the circulation of different branches of a Pal. Pent. tg tradition, without a "received text".

In E 21.25, PJ prefaces the nouns "pain of burning", "wound" and "stripe" by יָדַם , "an equivalent of" or "the value of", as addition. This verb יָדַם --gleich, ähnlich sein, does not seem to occur in O, though the noun אֲדָמָה is recorded as used there.¹ Ginsburger refers for these additions here and in the previous verse to Mechiltha z. Stelle. The latter however simply reads, in translation, "Auge an Stelle des Auges... Brandmal an Stelle von Brandmal..."² This however is not a borrowing from the Mechiltha, but rather a popular exposition of the lex taliones which applies in this case of harm following when men striving together hurt a woman with child and cause a miscarriage. This kind of popular exposition is common in the Pal. tg tradition, which has as its ethos the ordinary folk. PJ stands in that tradition.

Of the additions, one is only in PJ, one only in some Pal. tgg, some are in PJ, and some Pal tgg.

PJ only adds after RSV, "If it is torn..." the phrase,

1. Brederek, op. cit., p. 147, Aram. אָדָם and אָדָמָה and pp. 25f, BH אָדָם and אָדָמָה .

2. Mechiltha, übersetzt von Winter und Wünsche, op. cit., Mischpatim (Nezikin), 8, Abschnitt, Kap 21,24.25, pp. 266f.

"By a beast of the field". The noun "beast": בְּחַיָּוָה is one not used by O.¹ This is an addition quite in line with the meaning of the MT. The MT verb הָרַח as used here, meaning, "to tear, rend" implies "by wild beasts".² Moreover this addition pictures explicitly what was meant here. This is the kind of vivid, explicit description common to the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, in which PJ partakes here.

Par, Bom, and CG add after, RSV, "let him bring", the phrase "of its members". As we have seen above, this is the meaning implicit in the OT, followed by the Sam. Pent., and in the Mechiltha ascribed to R. Josiah of the third generation Tannaim. (ca. 130-160 A.D.) This again is the kind of vivid, explicit explanation of the meaning already implicit in the MT, which is common in the Pal. Tg tradition.

PJ and Bom have, following the verb, "let him bring": הָרַח , perhaps in imitation of the suffix on this verb in the MT, which is translated, RSV, "...let him bring it..." The suffix has to be read as referring to the owner in the context of Bom however, "...let him bring to him from its members (as) evidence ...". With the verb in PJ as a Part., the הָרַח may perhaps be taken as the subject of the Part., simply, "...he shall bring witnesses..."³ However, here is a reading of a Pal. tg and

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 253 and Brederek, op. cit., p.151.

2. Koehler und Baumgarner, op. cit., pp. 356f.

3. Etheridge, op. cit., I, p. 520, translates PJ, "...let him bring witnesses...", and Bom, "...he shall bring of its members...".

of PJ, which are the same, and which is not found in O.

Following PJ's "...he shall bring witnesses..." PJ and Nmg have an addition in common. PJ reads, "or he shall lead him to the carcass", after which the verse follows, "of the torn animal and he shall not make restitution". Nmg reads, "He shall lead him to the carcass (of) the debt of the torn animal and he shall not make restitution". The noun אֲדָמָה, which PJ uses for carcass is one not used by O.¹ As we noted, this interpretation is followed by the LXX and is found in the Mechilta under Rabbi Jonathan's name. (third generation Tannaim, ca. 130-160 A.D.) Nmg is not simply a reading of PJ here, it has distinct differences, but has the same meaning as PJ. Of the addition, the verb for "to lead" and the preposition "to" are the same. A different word is used for "carcass", and the noun "debt" is added in Nmg. We would therefore assume that this rendering was a part of one branch of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. The scribe of N knew or had access to this, and added it in the mg. PJ is that tg in its written form.

In this same addition, we note the insertion of "and" in front of the negative "not" in PJ and Nmg. We noted that this is also done in the Sam. Pent. and the LXX, so that the phrasing of the MT is put one word farther, and the Part. "the torn animal" is taken out of the last phrase, and put into the preceding phrase. Thus PJ in toto reads,

If it has been torn by beasts of the field,

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 131 and Brederek, op. cit., p. 143, no Aram. אֲדָמָה.

he shall bring witnesses,
 or he shall lead him to the carcase of the torn animal;
 and he shall not make restitution.¹

This addition of "and" takes away the doubt that exists in O, Par, Bom, and N, as to which phrase the Part., "the torn animal" is to be put in. As said of the previous addition, this evidence of PJ and Nmg, marks PJ as part of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition.

The additions of L 22.27 may be dealt with in two parts. First there are those additions made in the verse proper and secondly there is the long addition in PJ and the Pal. tgg, preceding our verse. The first class, with which we shall begin, include two additions only in PJ, an addition in both CG and N and most important an addition in all the Pent. tgg, including PJ.

PJ only adds after RSV, "...when...is born"; כאורח

1. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 520, translates PJ: "If it hath been torn by a wild beast, let him bring witnesses, or bring him to the carcase: because for that which is (so) torn he shall not make restitution." This rendering of the last two phrases is to be rejected. The conjunction ו in: או יטען כי לא יעלה עד גופא דחביר ולא יעלה יטען, makes it clear that the ו cannot be taken as a conjunction "because" but must be taken as a genitive construction, as we have translated in the text. *Ibid.*, translates Bom, "If it hath really been killed, he shall bring of its members, as a testimony, and for that which is killed he shall not make restitution". The alternate translation is also possible for both Par and Bom, "...he shall bring (Bom adds: him) of its members as a testimony of the torn animal and he shall not make restitution". The conjunction is not present in the text and is to be supplied by the translator in both cases, which is also the case in the MT. The same cannot be said for O, which *ibid.*, I, p. 395 translates, "...and if it be torn, and he bring witnesses that it was torn, he shall not repay", because it is awkward to render, "...he shall bring witnesses of the torn animal".

עלמא , "...according to the way of the world..." and after RSV, "...with its mother": מטויל די שחמודע דלא מפיל, "for it shall be known that it is not imperfect". The latter addition is also referred to in the Midrash, not attached to the name of any teacher:

THEN IT SHALL BE SEVEN DAYS UNDER THE DAM (XXII, 27). Why seven days? So that it might be examined (ftnt: It is not clear why this should necessitate a wait of seven days. Radal proposes an emendation of the text.); for if the dam gored it, or if any blemish be found therein, it¹ is disqualified, and will be unfit for an offering.

Both additions, which we may compare with the Sifra at this place, are an expounding of the basic text, and do not add anything new to the meaning of it. They are of the kind frequently occurring in the Pal. tgg. Therefore the character of this addition, though only in PJ here, puts PJ with the character of the Pal. tgg.

After, "it shall be (remain)" in RSV, "...it shall remain seven days with its mother..." N adds מתרבֵי, as also CG: ימת(רוב): "growing". Again here we find an addition which explains or makes more explicit the basic meaning of the text, of which we spoke above, and which we find in the Pal. tgg and in PJ.

Next we turn to the last phrase of this verse, where O, as well as the Pal. tgg, has an addition as compared with the

1. Midrash Rabbah, op. cit., Vol IV, Leviticus, Chapters I-XIX translated by Rev. J. Israelstam, B.A., Chapters XX-XXXVII translated by Judah J. Slotki, M.A. (London: Soncino Press, 5 Gower Street, 1939), XXVII, 10 p. 354.

MT. The phrase reads, MT: $\text{יִרְצֶה לְקַרְבַּן אֶשֶׁה לַיהוָה}$, RSV, "...it shall be acceptable as an offering by fire to the Lord." יִרְצֶה is the Niph. Impf. meaning "to be treated as favoured, be accepted", of רָצָה , Qal--"to be pleased with, be favourable to".¹ קַרְבַּן is the most general noun for "offering".² אֶשֶׁה is a noun in its own right, probably *nomen unitas* with BH: אֵש , "fire, fever", and perhaps related to أَشَاءُ , "goods". The usual translation is "offering made by fire".³ In our verse אֶשֶׁה is a noun in the genitive case, upon which the noun קַרְבַּן in the construct state depends: קַרְבַּן אֶשֶׁה , "an offering made by fire". For this compound idea in the MT, לְקַרְבַּן אֶשֶׁה , the tgg have: O: $\text{לְקַרְבָּא קַרְבָּא}$, PJ: $\text{לְקַרְבָּא קַרְבָּנָא}$, Par: $\text{לְמַקְרָבָא יְתִיָּה}$, Bom: $\text{לְמַקְרָבָא יְתִיָּה קַרְבָּנָא}$, CG: $\text{לְמַקְרָבָא יְתִיָּה קַרְבָּנָא}$, and N: $\text{לְמַקְרָבָא יְתִיָּה}$. Beside the addition of "it" in Par, Bom, CG, and N, the tgg have a verb and a noun for the two nouns in the MT. The verb is a Pe. (Par, Bom, CG, and N) or Pa. (O and PJ) Infin., meaning "to offer" or "to be offered"⁴. The meaning of the tgg is thus different from the MT. The MT speaks about a specific kind of offering, namely a fire-offering; the

1. Koehler und Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, p. 906.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 853.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

4. Levy, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 383f., Jastrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 141of. and Dalman, *A.-N. Handwörterbuch*, *op. cit.*, p. 388. For the Pe or Pa themes, cf. discussion below. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 131 translates O, "...it will be acceptable to be offered as an oblation before the Lord..."; PJ (*ibid.*, II, p. 216), "...it is acceptable to be offered an oblation to the Name of the Lord..." and FT (*ibid.*, II, p. 217), "...it shall be fit to be offered as an oblation to the Name of the Lord."

tgg however speak of an offering which is to be offered, the meaning being general. Why does O choose this general meaning, also present in the Pal. tgg and PJ in lieu of the specific meaning of the MI? Though the different kinds of offerings, the different ways of offering, may not have been important at the time of the tgg, surely the different ways were remembered. But in this case O might have simply used לקרבן. Perhaps the fact that לקרבן was not externally in agreement with MI: לקרבן אשה, was a reason that O chose the two words present in PJ and the Pal. tgg. Whatever the reason, this is an addition in all the Pent. tgg. We note the difference between O-PJ (Pa.) and the others (Pe.). The Pa. theme is listed as meaning "to offer"¹, which is not the case for the Pe. The Pe theme generally is rendered "to come near, be near"^{1A}, and it may be an influence from PBH, which renders the Qal often as "to be offered"², that the Aram. Pe. is translated "to be offered" here. It is not necessary however to assume this, because, as Jastrow notes³, the Pa. meanings, "to bring near: to offer" were also used for the Pe. forms, and it is quite understandable that the meanings of the Pe. and Pa. themes were somewhat mixed in common parlance. This means however that the language of Par, Bom, CG, and N re-

1. Levy, op. cit., II, pp. 383f.

1A. Ibid., II, pp.383f.

2. Dalman, A.-N. Handwörterbuch, op. cit., p. 388. In BH (Koehler und Baumgartner, op. cit., pp. 581ff) neither the Qal ("to draw near") nor the Pi. ("to bring near") but the Hiph. ("to bring near") is used for "to offer", although the meaning of the Pi. would also lend itself for the use "to offer".

3. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1410.

presents common parlance, whereas O and PJ have the verb-theme exactly correct. What hence is the relation between O and PJ? It is not likely that O copied the addition from the Pal. tgg (changing the theme), and that it came into PJ from O. It is quite likely however that, as both themes Pe. and Pa. were used for "to offer" in common parlance, one theme happened to be used in the FT, CG and N here (Pe.), another in PJ (Pa.) and that O chose the reading with the Pa. (PJ) rather than the Pe. (Par, Bom, CG, and N). because of its grammatical exactness.¹ We therefore interpret the addition in all the Pent. tgg here as one of the Pal. Pent tg tradition, of which PJ is a part. The addition in O is influence from the Pal. tgg.

Preceding our verse is a long addition in PJ and the Pal. tgg. Its outline is as follows: (1) introduction: the orders of our offerings, (2) the offering of the bull, remembers Abraham, (3) the offering of the lamb, relates to Isaac, (4) the offering of a kid, reminds of Jacob, and (5) conclusion, leading into the verse. This outline is in its main lines present in the Midrash Rabbah²:

Another exposition of the text, WHEN A BULLOCK, OR A SHEEP, OR A GOAT, IS BROUGHT FORTH. The bullock was in allusion to the merit of Abraham, of whom it says, And Abraham ran unto the herd (Gen. XVIII, 7). The sheep was in allusion to the merit of Isaac, of whom it is written, And looked and behold ... a ram

1. That PJ stands with the Pal tgg here, rather than with O, is also shown in the orthography of the noun אֲבִירָה.

2. Midrash Rabbah. IV, Leviticus, op. cit., XXVII, 9a, pp. 353f.

(ib. XXII, 13). The goat was in allusion to the merit of Jacob, of whom it is written, Go now to the flock, and fetch me from thence two good kids of the goats (ib. XXVII, 9).

Thus we may deal with these five sections successively: introduction, the bull, the lamb, the kid, and conclusion, as they occur in the Pal tgg--Par, Bom, CG, and N as well as PJ. Two long mg notes in N also render nearly the whole of the prefixed addition.

The beginning of the introduction reads basically in these five tgg: "The time (1) that you will remind us of (2) our offering(s) (3)." Slight additions exist in each of the tgg at one or more of the numbered places: PJ only adds at (1) "...is to us the righteousness...", thus reading literally, "The time is to us the righteousness that you will remind us of the orders of our offerings", or more freely, "It is a time of righteousness for us when you will remind us of the orders of our offerings".¹ This no doubt was added to link the introduction closer with the passage of the three offerings. As the offerings reminded the people in turn of "the righteousness of" Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, so this time of remembering was a time of righteousness to the people. At (2) PJ, Par, and Bom add, "...the order(s) of..." and CG adds, "...the appointed time of the orders of...". N is the shortest version here, then comes PJ-Par-Bom, while the longest version here is CG.

1. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 215, translates PJ, "What time thou callest to our mind the order of our oblations, as they shall be offered year by year," which is simply impossible from our text, then continuing it with, "being our ex-

The sentence is finished at (3) by N with, "...which we were offering...", by Bom with, "...which we were offering annually ..." and by Par, CG, and Nmg (Nmg begins here) with, "...which we were offering before thee annually...". PJ has no addition here. Hence, for this first part of the introduction, PJ and N are the shortest versions (though a unique addition is found in PJ), Bom is somewhat fuller, followed by Par and CG as the fullest readings and Nmg seems to give the Par-CG fuller reading. The second part of this introduction, consisting of two sentences, does not occur in PJ. The first sentence reads in Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg: "(And) our offerings were atoning for our sins." N has, "And it (the preceding "our offering" is in the sing.) was atoned for our sins...", though a note above the line changes the verb from the Ithpa. to the Pa., "And it (our offering) was atoning for our sins". N is one tradition here, the shorter one, and Par-Bom-CG another, which Nmg seems to quote. A longer sentence finishes the introduction, in Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg: "And when we have sinned, and have not anything which we might offer from the flocks of our sheep...",¹ leading into the second paragraph of the offering of the bull. N only has this in part, adding a reading of its own, "And when we have not anything which we might offer from the flocks of our sheep,

piatory offering for our sins, when on account of our sins (such sacrifices are required), and we have none to bring from our flocks of sheep," which does not occur in Ginsburger's ms of PJ.

1. A more literal translation is, "And at the time when the (our) sins have given occasion, and there is not to us that which we might offer from the flocks of our sheep,...".

it will be atoned for our sins..." In conclusion to this first section, "the introduction", we have seen that PJ is the shortest reading, but that this framework is also in Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg, which have greatly elaborated upon it. The reading of N has this basic passage of PJ, though in a changed form, and not so fully elaborated upon as do the other Pa. tgg. Most important is that the reading of PJ, with the exception of one unique addition, is the central part of the reading of the Pal. tgg, which in turn have greatly elaborated upon it. Therefore, PJ here is an early and true representative of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. In anticipation, we note that this same evidence for PJ is also found in the other parts of this lengthy addition before the verse proper here.

The second section deals with the offering of the bull remembering Abraham. Again here, the main lines of this section are present in PJ and the Pal. tgg, but the Pal. tgg only have the considerably longer version. The section in PJ, the Pal. tgg and Nmg reads in general: "...a bull (1) you shall choose before him (me), in order to remember (CG, N: before me) (2) the elder (3), (4) from the east (5)...". Par adds at (1), "...or a lamb...", which Ginsburger by way of correction omits. At (2) both PJ and N add, "...the righteousness of...", noting the link between PJ and N as Pal. tg tradition. N only substitutes, "the man" for "the elder" at (3). PJ only gives a verb at (4), "who came". At (5) PJ, Bom, CG, and Nmg add the adjective, "sincere altogether", again showing PJ to stand with these

Pal. tgg. Following this, only N adds, "who in his old age was blessed in his fulness". After this, PJ, Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg read, "He offered to thy name a young bull...", which PJ follows immediately by the adjectives, "tender and fat". These adjectives occur as "tender and good" in Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg, and as "fat and good" in N, in the midst of additional material, not found in PJ. So far, in this section of the sacrifice of the bull, we have seen that PJ is very much a part of the Pal. tgg.

The longer addition of Par, Bom, CG, N, and Nmg reads in general, "And he ran (CG: running) to his herd and he took (N: brought) a young (~~N adds: female~~) bull, (Nmg begins here:) tender and good (N: fat and good), and he gave (it) to the boy, and the boy (N: he) hurried to prepare it, (and) unleavened breads (Par, Bom, CG, and N continue: he baked and he gave to eat to) the messengers. And he became worthy to bring (N: and immediately he brought) good tidings (N adds: to Sarah): 'Behold, Sarah will bear Isaac.'" The first part of this, concerning Abraham running to his flock, occurs also at G 18.7¹ and 19.3² in O, PJ and N. The reading in our addition, in PJ, "tender and fat" is that of G 18.7, PJ, whereas the "tender and good" in our addition at Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg, is the same in G 18.7 in O and N. The second part of this, the announcement to Sarah,

1. The corresponding texts of G 18.7; 19.3; 18.2, 10 have been included in footnotes of the Text in Chapter V. Cf. Brederik's translations, *op. cit.*, I, p. 68 for O and p.210 for PJ.

2. Cf. Brederik, *op. cit.*, I, p. 71 for O and p.214 for PJ.

is found in G 18.2 in PJ, Bom, N¹, in G 18.10 in O², PJ, Bom, N³, and in the addition in Par at E 15.18⁴. These additions in Par, Bom, CG, N, and Nmg are insertions of other parts of the Pentateuch in this place, having to do with the circumstances which surrounded Abraham's "sacrifice" of a bull, which he gave to eat to the three "messengers" who told him that he was to have a son by Sarah. So far as this whole second section is concerned, PJ is in the main like the Pal. tgg, showing small unique embellishments, as do also the Pal. tgg at certain places. The passage in N seems in minor details different from that of PJ-Par-Bom-CG; it is the latter tradition which Nmg quotes. In one respect however PJ ("tender and fat") and N ("fat and good") are related, over against the tradition of Par-Bom-CG-Nmg ("tender and good"), showing the relatedness of each of these tgg to the others in a Pal. Pent tg tradition, which for some time was in a state of fluidity partly as oral tradition.

In the third section of the addition, the offering of the lamb is related to the offering of Isaac, in whose stead a lamb was found for sacrifice. The section consists of three parts. The first or basic part is found in PJ and the Pal. tgg, including Nmg. The second part is a long addition, only found in N. Thirdly, there is an addition which begins in Par, Bom,

1. Cf. Brederék, *op. cit.*, I, p. 209f.

2. Cf. Brederék, *op. cit.*, I, p. 71.

3. Cf. Brederék, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

4. In the addition: ארבע לילות כתיבן בספר הזכרונות:
 "Four nights were written in the book of records" under the second night, included in the footnotes in the Text (Ch.V).

CG, and Nmg, and ends in these as well as in PJ. The first or basic part, in PJ, Par, Bom, CG, N, and Nmg, reads in general as follows, "A lamb (CG adds: which) was chosen secondly (N has, in lieu of the previous phrase: And following, thus was chosen a lamb,), in order to remember the righteousness of his son (1), who was sacrificed (so PJ and N; Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg have instead: who sacrificed his body)..." The sentence is concluded by all these tgg with, "upon the altar", which in N is taken up in the long addition, unique only to this tg. Interesting variations occur at (1) describing Isaac who was sacrificed (PJ, N) or was sacrificed (Par, Bom, CG and Nmg) upon the altar. PJ only has, "his son"; Par only has, "Isaac"; Bom only has "his chief one": both CG and Nmg have, "the righteous one"; and only N has, "the only man"¹. One may well speculate why there are five different readings, with reference to Isaac, in six tg documents. We can certainly say, serving the present purpose, that this testifies to the individual uniqueness of each of these tgg, that the individual targums were quite independent streams in the Pal. Pent. tg tradition and that this tradition was at first not a unified whole, with a received text. The second part consists in the unique addition of N:

...upon one from the mountains, as he spoke to the Most High upon the altar, and He liberated him, and in His good love he arranged his sons to be saving and

1. N reads: גורא יחידה. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 236 lists for J 1 (i.e PJ): זכוותיה ודשייה דאתעקו על גבי מינחא, and translates, "die Tugenden seines Lammes (bildl. für Jizchak, s.w.), welches auf dem Altar geopfert wurde."

their lambs of their hand in the time of my distress. Of the fat of the flock I gave at this time, and I heard a voice...?...and I remembered the lifting up of Isaac, our father.

It is not readily clear which the reference is that is inserted here. The insertion of a unique reference does however typify the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. The third section begins in Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg as follows:

Then he stretched forth his neck, for the sake of Thy name (CG adds: o Lord). The heavens declined (CG has instead: lowered) and descended and Isaac saw their beauties. His eyes were dimmed from the heights.

Part of this is also found in Par. at E 15.18, where it reads, "...the heavens came down (different verb) and descended and Isaac saw their beauties and his eyes shed tears (different verb) to the height."¹ The passage continues in PJ, Par, Bom, CG, N, and Nmg:

...because thus (PJ has instead: and) he became worthy and there met him there (PJ omits "there") a lamb under him as a burnt offering.

We cannot but conclude, from our study of this third section concerning Isaac, that PJ is an integral part of the Pal. tg tradition. Within this tradition PJ is closer to Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg, than to N.

Fourthly comes the offering of the kid, which reminded of Jacob. The same evidence is here, that we found in the previous sections. The Pal. tgg of Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg are

1. In the addition ארבע לילות כתיבן בספר דוכרניא:
"Four nights were written in the book of records" under the second night, included in the footnote in the Text (Ch. V).

essentially the same as PJ, but their reading is much fuller than that of PJ. Though N parallels this, it is in a different tradition than PJ-Par-Bom-CG, and it is this latter tradition which Nmg quotes. The passage reads in PJ:

A kid, a young of goats, was chosen thirdly in order to remember the righteousness of the perfect one (1), (2), who prepared a kid, a young of goats: broth. And he brought (it) to his father (3). And he became worthy to receive the order of the blessing (4).

The most important variants are at (1), PJ: the perfect one, Par: the mother, Bom, CG, and Nmg: the upright one, and N: the upright man. Here again we become aware of the variation between the tgg. At (2) N reads in addition: "who put on the inside of his hand skins of kids, the youngs of goats..." Reference is made to this in Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg as well. At (3) and addition is found in Par, Bom, CG, N, and Nmg. The fullest reading, of CG, is as follows: "and he gave his father to eat of his broth and wine he gave him to drink." At (4) Par, Bom, CG, and Nmg conclude the section with:

And he became worthy to receive the order of the blessing (N is present until here) from Isaac his father, to establish the twelve holy tribes to thy name.

PJ is essentially the same as the Pal. tgg here, though the latter have by far the fullest readings.

The conclusion begins in N only with the following words:

These three offerings are the offerings of the three fathers of the world, who are Abraham, Isaac and Jacob...

and is continued in PJ, Par, Bom, CG, N, and Nmg, with the

following words, which we quote from PJ:

...because thus expounded Moses the prophet of the Lord and said, "My people, sons of Israel."

In conclusion, it has become clear that this whole addition prefixed to the verse, in PJ, is in the tradition of the Pal. tgg. We have also seen that the version of PJ is far shorter than that of the Pal. tgg. Furthermore, the PJ reading has stood more with the Par-Bom-CG-Nmg reading than with the N reading, though PJ has also shown marks of relatedness with N. It has become clear that this tradition of the Pent. tgg is not a unified one, but existed in individual streams.

In L 23.29, the first addition is found following "whoever" in RSV, "For whoever is not afflicted on this same day...". The readings, which show individual peculiarities are as follows: PJ: **די יכול לציימא**, N: **תאכל למצום** (mg: **דתיכי**); Par: **די כמסת** **למיצום**, CG: **די כמסת למצום** and Bom: **דכמסת למצום**. The translation of Par, Bom, and CG is, "who is able to fast",¹ and we note that the verb **כְּמִיֶּסֶת** is one used in the Pal. tgg, but not in O.² PJ and N read in translation, "...who will be able to fast...", taking **יכול** and **תאכל** as Impf. forms of **יְכִיל**, meaning "to be able to"³ This addition makes two points.

1. Levy, op. cit., I, p. 368 translates similarly, "Eine Person, die zu fasten vermag..." The translation of Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 220, for the FT, "...who hideth himself from fasting" is certainly to be rejected.

2. Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 368f and Brederick, op. cit., p. 159, no Aram. **כמסת**.

3. Levy, op. cit., I, pp. 33f. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 220, takes our verb to be **אכל**, "to eat" (cf. Levy, op. cit.,

First, PJ stands with the Pal. tgg--Par, Bom, CG, and N, in adding this explanatory thought. Its character is not of adding anything new to the text, but of explicitly stating the meaning, "For whoever is able to fast and does not afflict himself on that same day, shall be cut off from his people." Secondly, there is the individual variant: PJ and N use the verb כִּיל and Par, Bom, and CG use כִּילָה. These individual differences are characteristic of the Pal. Pent. tgg tradition. Hence, PJ surely reads with that tradition here.

The next addition follows "on the day" and together with that, reads: "...on the day of fasting of his atonement." The readings are: Par: בְּיוֹם צוֹם כַּפֻּרִין, Bom: בְּיוֹם צוֹם כַּפֻּרִיהָ (Vat: בְּכַפֻּרִים), N: בְּיוֹם צוֹם דְּכִפּוּרֵיהָ and Nmg: בְּיוֹם צוֹם כַּפֻּרִי. As we have said, this is an addition which formed the reading in one branch of the Pal. Pent. tgg, namely the FT-N branch, and which did not occur in the PJ-CG branch. It is the character of the individually existing streams of the Pal. Pent. tg, which did not have an "authorized" version, that additions occur in some tgg and not necessarily in all. In our case, PJ and CG, which lack the addition, are also representatives of the Pal. tgg.

Finally the addition, "by cruel death"¹ after, "(they)

I, p. 27), translating, "...who eateth in the fast...". Either verb is possible from the verb form, however כִּיל, to be able to, seems the more probable because (1) it is a more understandable variant from Par, Bom, and CG: כִּילָה--to be able to, and (2) the meaning fits better in the passage.

1. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 18 and Jastrow, op. cit., p. 752. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 220 has, "by death".

shall be cut off", only in PJ. It is of the same character as the additions throughout the Pal. tgg: the meaning is already implicit in the MT: the day of atonement is perhaps the most important day of the year for the Jew; anyone who does not observe it as the faith ruled, would be killed. We hence find this addition of PJ to be of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition.

The following additions are present in L 23.32 for consideration. Preceding the phrase, RSV, "...on the ninth day of the month beginning at evening, from evening to evening shall you keep your sabbath..." PJ only has, "...and you shall begin to fast." This is the kind of addition usual to the Pal. tradition, adding nothing new to the MT, but making the meaning more explicit.

An addition is inserted in, "on the ninth of the month", MT: **בַּתְּשַׁעָה לַחֹדֶשׁ**, the noun "days" in PJ, CG, and N, to read (PJ): **בַּתְּשַׁעָה יוֹמִין לִירְחָא/ה**. O only does not have the addition, and reads, **בַּתְּשַׁעָה לִירְחָא**. This is another point of evidence that PJ stands with the Pal. tg tradition.

For, "at evening", MT: **בְּעֶרְבֵי**, O: **בִּרְמֻשָּׁא**, CG: **בִּרְמֻשָּׁה**, only PJ has: **בְּעִידוֹנֵי רְמֻשָּׁא**, "at even time". Here is a unique addition in PJ.

PJ only inserts the modifiers "that" and "next" in the phrase RSV, "from evening to evening" and reads: "from that evening to the next evening...": **מִן רְמֻשָּׁא הַהוּא עַד רְמֻשָּׁא חֹרֵין** O and the four Pal. tgg read: **מִן רְמֻשָּׁא(א/ה) (ו) עַד רְמֻשָּׁא(א/ה)**.

For the MT: **וְשָׁמַרְתָּ שַׁבְּתֶיךָ**, RSV, "...shall you keep your

sabbath..." O has, תנוחתו נישכרו, "...you shall rest your rest..."¹. PJ and the Pal. tgg have two parallel phrases, one of which, probably the first one, has to be seen as an addition. The reading in PJ and the Pal. tgg goes, "...shall you fast your fast and repose in your quietude..."^{1A}. Only minor spelling variations exist between them. PJ reads: תהווון ציימין צומיכרון ושבתין שביכרון. Obviously PJ stands with the Pal. tgg here. The question remains, why O chose the verb and noun from נרם for the MT: תשבתו שבתכם, and not those from שבת, as we find in the Pal. tgg and PJ: תשבתין שביכרון. O's characteristic often appears to be to parallel the MT literally, even to the extent of external equation. Why does O not do that here, inasmuch as O uses this root in other passages.² It may be that O wishes to distantiate itself from the overwhelming evidence of all the Pal. tgg and PJ in favor of this word. At any rate in this translation תשבתין שביכרון for the MT, PJ stands with the Pal. tgg, and not with O. Again, in the addition, preceding this, תהווון ציימין, PJ again stands with the Pal. tgg.

Finally an addition is present at the end of the verse, in Par, Bom, CG, and N: ועבדין זימנין (חגי) מועדיכרון (CG adds: בחורדה, "that you may employ the time of your festivals with joy."³ Etheridge also lists this addition in PJ^{3A}, but it is

1. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 134.

1A. *Ibid.*, II, p. 220.

2. Brederek, *op. cit.*, pp. 118f, Aram: שבת.

3. Etheridge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 220.

3A. *Ibid.*, II, p. 220.

not present in Ginsburger's edition of the British Museum ms. It can be understood as part of popular piety that the day of atonement, the most important religious feast of the year for the Jews of Biblical times, a day with its fasting, abstaining from work and offering, is to be a festival of great joy. This window into the popular religious mind of the time we may gain from the Pal. tgg. And we may assume on the authority of Etheridge that the addition also exists in certain editions of PJ.

L 23.32 shows rather conclusively that the reading of PJ is like that of the Pal. tgg.

In D 27.8 one addition is present generally in the Pal. tgg and in PJ, centered around the words "very plainly". The addition is absent in O. Putting the verse proper in parentheses, the addition reads as follows in PJ:

written engraved (and made clear (1)),
 read in one language (2)
 and interpreted in seventy languages.

As said above, at (1) Par, Bom, and Nmg add, "well" and CG and N add, "properly". The phrase "in one language" at (2) is omitted in Bom and N. The story of the inscription of all the words of the Law upon plastered stones immediately after the crossing of the Jordan into the Promised Land, is present D 27.1-4 and 8. Here the story seems confused with the information of verses 5-7 where it is commanded that an altar be built of unhewn stones on Mt. Ebal. The Mishnah at Sotah 7.5 has the addition of the "seventy languages", which are the total number of languages in the world according to the Rabbis,¹ in which

the Law was to be written, probably inferred from the fact that it was to be written "very plainly". The two stories, of the inscribing of the Law and the building of the altar at Mt. Ebal, have become fused in the account:

And afterward they brought the stones and built the altar and plastered it with plaster. And they wrote thereon all the words of the Law in seventy languages, as it is written, Very plainly. (ftnt.: Deut. 27.8)²

The story is found in the Mishnah in the context of the Blessings and Cursings, pronounced at Mt. Ebal (Deut 27.15-26), which stand among the sections which "must be said in the Holy Language"³.

An explication of the inscribing of the altar in the Gemara is connected with the names of Rabbis Judah and Simeon:

Our Rabbis taught: How did the Israelites inscribe the Torah? --R. Judah says: They inscribed it upon the stones, as it is stated, 'Thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law etc.' After that they plastered them over with plaster. R. Simeon said to him, According to your explanation, how did the nations of that period learn the Torah! (ftnt.2: Since the inscription was covered with plaster.) --He replied to him, The Holy One, blessed be He, endowed them with exceptional intelligence; and they sent their scribes who peeled off the plaster and carried away (a copy of the inscription). On that account was the verdict sealed against them (to descend) to the pit of destruction, because it was their duty to learn (Torah) but they failed to do so. R. Simeon says: They inscribed it upon the plaster and wrote below, That they teach you not to do after all (their abominations). Hence you learn that if they turn in penitence they would be accepted. Raba b. Shila said: What is R. Simeon's reason? --Because it is written, And the peoples shall be as the burnings of lime --i.e., on account of the

1. The B. Talm., Nashim VI, Sotah, op. cit., Ch. VII, f. 32a-32b, p. 159, ftnt. 2.

2. The Mishnah etc., op. cit., Nashim, Sotah, VII, 5, pp. 300f.

3. Ibid., Nashim, Sotah, VII, 2, p. 300.

matter of plaster. And (how does) R. Judah (explain this verse)?--(Their destruction will be) like plaster -- as there is no other remedy for plaster except burning, so there is no other remedy for those nations (who cleave to the abominations) except burning. According to whom (is the following teaching) which has been taught: And thou carriest them away captive -- this is to include Canaanites who reside outside the land (of Israel) so if they turn in penitence they will be accepted. (36a) According to whom is this? --According to R. Simeon.¹

The historical fact remembered is that of writing all the words of the Torah "very plainly" upon the stones, after the crossing of the Jordan into the Promised Land. The understanding of this fact, in the targums, is that the Law, bringing salvation, is not only for the Jewish tribes, written in their Holy Language, but is for all peoples, written in the seventy languages encompassing the whole world. This missionary feeling is completely different from the thought of exclusiveness of the Jewish people over against the despised Gentiles. The former, reveals the belief on the part of the Jewish people that the Lord's Law or Salvation was for all people. The latter, the belief of the exclusiveness of the Jewish People, developed so sharply in later Judaism. The missionary belief not only preceded that of exclusiveness of later Judaism, but it was an attitude which would have been part of the faith of ordinary Jewish people, people who faithfully listened to the explanation of the Torah in the Synagogue from Sabbath to Sabbath. This is the nature of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition: it embodies the belief of the faithful Rabbis and their faithful congregations as opposed to the later and

1. The B. Talm., Nashim, VI, Soṭah, op. cit., Ch. VII, f. 35b-36a, p. 176.

official teaching; it is a relatively early recording of this faith, not corrected by the exclusiveness of later and official Judaism. And of this tradition PJ is organically a part.

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CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

Having analyzed the language and traditions of the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum in its relationship to Targum Onkelos and with reference to the other Pentateuchal targums, we presently come to a systematic summary of the evidence. We will compare the view concerning the relationships between these targums, which we forward on the basis of this evidence, with the views of scholars given in Chapter I. Particular passages of importance, which have not been discussed, will be dealt with here.

Of the verses proper in PJ we can confidently say that generally they read with Par, Bom, CG, and N, and stand in a tradition other than O. We have noted similarities between PJ and O. These similarities, if looked at in isolation of the passages and of the other tgg, as some have done, have been taken as indications of influence of O upon PJ. A different view has emerged however, as we have looked at these similarities within the contexts of the passages in PJ and in the other tgg. The following facts have presented themselves:

(1) There are not only similarities between PJ and O, but also between one or more of the Pal. tgg (Par, Bom, CG, and N) and O.

(2) The verse proper of PJ generally has the same reading as the Pal. tgg, and is different from O. Often how-

ever, there have been more than one reading in the Pal. tgg, distinguished as different branches of the Pal. tg tradition. Many times, in these cases, PJ agrees with one branch of this Pal. tradition, and O with another. If we can speak of influence of O upon the second branch of the Pal. tradition, in these cases, it is clear that PJ is uninfluenced by O and stands fully with the Pal. tradition. It is however equally wrong to speak of the influence of O upon these Pal. tgg, as it is to refer to the influence of O upon PJ in the cases where these last two tgg showed similarities.

(3) A closer look at the similarities between PJ and O, which are invariably small similarities, shows that these minor resemblances are found in PJ in the midst of material which overwhelmingly agrees with one or more of the Pal. tgg.

(4) Such evidence causes us to consider seriously the possibility of coincidental affinities between PJ and O, or between one or more of the Pal. tgg and O.

(5) The possibility also exists that any minor likeness between PJ and O, or between a Pal. tg and O, has come about through the copying of mss. The edd and mss which we have are of a relatively late date. The Cairo Geniza Fragments have been dated from the seventh to the ninth centuries.¹ The edd of the PJ are no earlier than the first Biblia Rabbinica of Bomberg, dated 1515-1517. The codex of

1. Das palästinische Pentateuchtargum etc. ... von Paul Kahle, op. cit., p. 12*.

PJ, preserved as Ms. Brit. Mus. add. 27031, is certainly not older.¹ The codex ms Neofiti 1 of the Vatican Library has been dated by Pater Georg Schelbert as from 1514-1515, though Professor P. A. Diez Macho, who discovered the ms, ascribes it to the fifteenth century:

Der Entdecker des Manuskriptes verlegt es in das 15. Jahrhundert.² ... Wir werden nicht fehl gehen, wenn wir die Bestellung der Abschrift des jerusalemischen Targums durch Egidio in die Jahre 1514/15 verlegen. ... Die untere Grenze dürfte 1516, die obere 1517 sein. Auf Grund des Anfangs 1515 brieflich bezeugten Interesses am Targum, ist seine Bestellung Ende 1514 und seine Vollendung im Adar d. h. Februar/März 1515 die wahrscheinlichste Annahme.³

These mss are all from a late date and must be the result of

1. Pseudo-Jonathan ... von Ginsburger, op. cit.

2. Schelbert, Zur Geschichte und Eigenart des Ms. Vat. Neofiti I, op. cit., Ch. I.

3. Ibid., Ch. II. The "very learned master Egidio" of the colophon of N, has been identified by G. Sacerdote as Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1469-1532). Pater Schelbert follows this judgment. The colophon on p. 435 of the original page numbering of the ms reads:

חוק הכותב: ואמיץ הקורא

בשלם על ידי צעיר המהוקקים מנחם ב' כ' ר' מרדכי
הרופא י' צ' ו' י' ב' כ' ר' משה הרופא ז' ל' ב' כ' מ' ר' מנחם
הרופא אביר הרופאים וכתבתין אל החכם הגדול פיישטרו איידייין
י' ר' ה' כה רומא לחדש אדר הנהדר גבורות א' אשיחה

חוקו ויאמץ לבובכם כל המיחלים ליי'

and is translated by Pater Schelbert (ibid., Ch. I), "Bravo, Schreiber! Und Mutig, Leser! Vollandet vom Jüngsten der Schreiber, Menachem, Sohn des verehrten Arztes Mordechai, 'Es behüte ihn sein Fels und Erlöser', Sohn des verehrten Arztes R. Menachem; und geschrieben habe ich es für den grossen Gelehrten Maestro Egidio, 'hoch sei seine Herrlichkeit,' im prächtigen Monat Adar will ich Gottes Grosstaten künden. Seid tapfer und mutigen Herzens, alle die auf den Herrn vertrauen!"

much copying and recopying of earlier mss. We can be certain that the copyists were well acquainted with mss of O. Undoubtedly many readings from the authorized targum Onkelos were firmly imprinted upon the memory of the copying scribe. It is quite possible that these were written down unconsciously in the copying of a Pal. tgg, or of PJ. Ginsburger already noted that the scribes of the PT mss were familiar with mss of O. In a comparison of passages found in both Par and Vat, he observed that Par often leaves out those words which were identical to O, whereas Vat includes these:

Das zeigt sich besonders da, wo in beiden Hecensionen nur eine fragmentarische Übersetzung vorliegt. Hier ist P. im Allgemeinen insofern genauer, als er solche Wörter die sich auch im Onkelos finden, weglässt, während V. sie beibehält ... hierfür haben wir den Grund darin zu suchen, dass die betreffende Übersetzung im Grossen und Ganzen mit Onkelos übereinstimmt und von P. weggelassen wird.¹

It is quite possible that some readings similar to O found their way into PJ or the Pal. tgg in this way.

With these facts in mind, the general thesis holds true, i. e. that the verses proper of PJ are in the same tradition as those of the Pal. tgg.

With the additions of PJ we can say that most of these are in common with one or more of the Pal. tgg. Unique addi-

1. Dr. M. Ginsburger, "Die Fragmente des Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch," Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Herausgegeben von den Geschäftsführern ... unter der verantwortlichen Redaction des Prof. Dr. A. Fischer (Leipzig: in Commission by F. A. Brockhaus, 1903), LVII. Band (1903), pp. 78f. Cf. also his "Neue Fragmente des Thargum jeruschalmi," in ZDMG, LVIII. Band (1904), p. 377.

tions occur in PJ, as is also the case for the Pal. tgg. Additions are sometimes present in O. These have been clear instances of influence from PJ or the Pal. tgg, or from both, upon O. Usually the longer additions are not found in PJ, but in one of the Pal. tgg. The general character of the additions of PJ and the Pal. tgg is that of explication of the Hebrew text by a shorter or a longer addition. Often, nothing new is added to the Hebrew text, except that the passage is made more vivid. Sometimes definite interpretations are attached to the verses. In some of these instances it has been noted that these interpretations differ from the authoritative traditions of Judaism as found in the Mishna and Talmuds, and that they are thought to be prior to them. In general, the character of the additions of PJ is the same as that of the Pal. tgg.

There are however additions which indicate a late date. To these, insofar as they have not been discussed above, we now turn.

In G 21.21, PJ mentions *KW'7Y* and *ND'WE*, in which a reference has been seen to contemporaries of Mohammed. Geiger refers to these persons as the wives of Mohammed.¹ Seligsohn and Traub ascribe a late date to PJ because of the presence of these names.² There can be no doubt that we have to do

1. Geiger, op. cit., pp. 451f.; cf. above, p. 33.

2. Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 110; cf. above, Ch. I, p. 41.

with contemporaries of Mohammed. They are عائشة, 'Āishah, his wife, and فاطمة, Fātimah, his daughter, married to Ali, the cousin of the prophet. The Aram. is usually pointed כַּוְּרִי and כַּוְּרִי.¹ The ms of PJ wrongly spells out the name of 'Āishah, inserting a 7: 'Ādishah. Ginsburger corrects the כַּוְּרִי of the ms to כַּוְּרִי. The ed reads כַּוְּרִי as well.² The Biblical passage deals with Ishmael, who with his mother Hagar was banned into the wilderness by Abraham. G. 21.21 reads in the RSV, "He lived in the wilderness of Paran; and his mother took a wife for him from the land of Egypt." PJ reads in translation, "And he lived in the wilderness of Paran; and he took 'Ādishah as wife. But he put her away, and his mother took Fātimah for him as wife, from the land of Egypt." The passage does not occur in the FTgg or in CG. O and N simply follow the Hebr. text. There can be no doubt that we have to do here with a very late reading, dating from Mohammed's time, i. e. the seventh century, or later. It would be quite wrong to judge the whole of PJ on the basis of this obviously late addition. We have seen how the tg as a whole stands with the Pal. tgg in tradition. It is therefore likely that a reading like this one was inserted in a ms of PJ by a later scribe at a certain point in the copying and re-copying of these tgg. If we think of PJ as one

1. Levy, op. cit., II, pp. 204, 260, and Jastrow, op. cit., pp. 1044, 1155.

2. Biblia Rabbinica ab Bragadino, op. cit.

representative of the Pal. tg tradition, it would seem normal that this late addition put in one form of the Pal. tradition, never found its way into any of the other mss or edd of this tradition.

A number of late references occur in the tgg at N 24. 19-24, which is a part of Balaam's prophecy. Verses 19, 21-22, and 24 read in the RSV:

19 By Jacob shall dominion be exercised, and the survivors of cities be destroyed!" ... 21 And he looked on the Kenite, and took up his discourse, and said, "Enduring is your dwelling place, and your nest is set in the rock; 22 Nevertheless Kain shall be wasted. How long shall Asshur take you away captive?" ... 24 But ships shall come from Kittim and shall afflict Asshur and Eber; and he also shall come to destruction."

These verses in PJ read in translation:¹

(19) And a prince of the house of Jakob will arise and destroy and consume the remnant that have escaped from Constantina the guilty city, and will lay waste and ruin the rebellious city, even Kaiserin, the strong city of the Gentiles. ... (21) And he looked upon Jethro, who had been made proselyte, and took up the parable of his prophecy, and said: How strong is thy habitation, who hast set thy dwelling in the clefts of the rocks! (22) Yet so is it decreed that the children of the Shalmaia must be despoiled, but not until Sancherib the king of Athur shall come and make thee captive. ... (24) And ships armed for war will come forth with great armies from Lombarnia, and from the land of Italia, conjoined with the legions that will come forth from Constantina, and will afflict the Athuraee, and bring into captivity all the sons of Eber; nevertheless the end of these and of those is to fall by the hand of the King Meshiha, and be brought to everlasting destruction.

1. Etheridge, op. cit., II, pp. 430ff.; the underlining is ours.

We have thus the mention of Lombardy and Italy, and of Rome and Constantinople.

We need not discuss the mention of "Athur" or more correctly of "Assyria" because this occurs at verses 22 and 24 in the Hebrew (אַשּׁוּר), O (אַתּוּר) and the Pal. tgg (Par: אַתּוּרָא, Bom: אַתּוּרָא, N: אַשּׁוּרָא and אַתּוּרָא, and Nmg: אַתּוּרָא), as well as in PJ (אַתּוּרָא). Again, we need not discuss the Shalmaia in PJ at verse 22 for the Hebrew reference to Kain's descendents. The Shalmaites (שְׁלֵמַיִתָּה), an Arabic tribe, are referred to here in verses 21 and 22 in O, Bom, and N, where the Hebrew refers to Kenites. PJ has Jethro in the first instance and Shalmaites in the second. The word occurs in non-Pentateuchal tgg as well as in O at other places (G 15.19)¹.

The mention of Lombardy (לִמְבַרְדִּיָּא) occurs in verse 24 in PJ, Par, Bom, and in a FT quotation in Levita's Methurgenman². The spelling of the FTgg is somewhat irregular (Par: אַרְבֵּרְבֵּנֵיָא, Bom and Levita: לִמְבַרְדִּיָּא), but the same word is meant.

PJ (the ed and not the ms), Par, and Bom mention Italy (מֵאֶרֶץ אִיטַלְיָא)³ in verse 24. This is also the reading

1. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1587; cf. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 489.

2. Basel, 1541; as in Das Fragmententhargum ... von Ginsburger, op. cit., cf. p. 91.

3. The ms of PJ reads for "from Lombardy and from the land of Italy": מִן לִמְבַרְדִּיָּא וּמֵאֶרֶץ אִיטַלְיָא. The addition of אִיטַלְיָא is a correction of Ginsburger. The ed of PJ (Biblia Rabbinica ab Bragadino, op. cit.), reads for this phrase: מִן לִמְבַרְדִּיָּא וּמֵאֶרֶץ אִיטַלְיָא.

of the Vulgate at this point: Venient in trieribus de Italia.¹

The city of Rome (רומי) is mentioned in verse 24 in PJ, Par (2x), Bom, Levita's Methurgeman (2x), and in Aruk². It is also used in verse 19 in Par, Bom, and Levita's Methurgeman. Instead of the "wicked city which is Rome" (כרכא חייבא) of Bom³, PJ reads "the rebellious city of קיסרון, the strong⁴ city of the Gentiles" (כרכא מרודא דקיסרון תקרף) (קרוי עממיא).⁵ Etheridge translates קיסרון as "...the rebellious city, even Kaiserin..."⁶ קיסרון is often used in the Talmuds referring to Caesarea. This city on the coast of Palestine north of the present Jaffa, originally known as Straton's Tower, was rebuilt by Herod the Great ca 25-13 B. C., renamed after Emperor Augustus, and made capital of Palestine ca 13 B. C.⁷ It is also used to refer to the

1. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 432.

2. The edition of Nathan b. Jechiel (Landau, 1818f.): as in Das Fragmententhargum ... von Ginsburger, op. cit., cf. p. 91.

3. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 431, translates Bom: "the strong city". Par reads like Bom here: כרכא חייבא דא היא רומי, as does also Levita: כרכא חייבא דהיא רומי. Biblia Rabbinica ab Bragadino, op. cit., has for מן כרכא: ירושלמי חייבא.

4. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 430 renders the קרוי of PJ as "strong".

5. Ginsburger notes (Pseudo-Jonathan, op. cit., p. 276), that in the ms of PJ the phrase מן קוטטנטיני קרתא חייבא has been crossed out. The ed (Biblia Rabbinica ab Bragadino, op. cit.) reads here: מן קוטטנטיני קרתא חייבא ויצדי ויחרוב כרכא מרודא דקיסרון תקיף קרוי עממיא.

6. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 430.

Caesarea (Philippi) in the north of Palestine.¹ The noun is also used in the Pal. tgg, e. g. at G 14.14 in Bom and N.² The Caesarea of Herod "wurde bekanntlich Kleinrom genannt und galt als die Nebenbuhlerin Jerusalems."³ It is therefore quite understandable that PJ refers to the rebellious little Rome, where the other Pal. tgg refer to the wicked city Rome.

Only PJ cites Constantinople in verses 19 and 24. In verse 19 it is an addition and is mentioned along with Caesarea as guilty and rebellious cities, where the other Pal. tgg mention the wicked city of Rome. In verse 24 it is mentioned with Rome: "...and joined to legions which will come from Rome and Constantinople..." (רִיצָטְרוֹן בְּלִגְיוֹנֵי דִּיפְקוֹן סוֹן) (רומי וקִיסְטַנְטִינֵי).⁴ The noun also occurs in the non-Pentateuchal tgg in Psalms and Lamentations.⁵

We can be sure that either Lombardy or Italy and

7. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 360. Cf. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, Edited by F. L. Cross (London: Oxford University Press; New York, Toronto, 1961), p. 214.

1. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1365.

2. Here Abram pursues his enemies as far as Dan. Bom reads: עַד דָּן דְּקִיסְרִיָּו, "as far as Dan of Caesarea"; The text of N has: עַד קִיסְרִיָּו. The other Caesarea is probably meant here.

3. Levy, op. cit., II, p. 360.

4. Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 432, translates this phrase, "conjoined with the legions that will come forth from Constantina".

5. Jastrow, op. cit., p. 1336.

again either Rome or Constantinople were also mentioned in N, as there are two lacunae at verse 24 in the ms of N, the first one in the place where PJ reads "in Lombardy from the land of Italy" (בלמברניא מארע איטליא) and the second one where PJ has, "from Rome and Constantinople" (מן רומי וקונסטנטיני). Speaking of the censor who made certain changes in ms N when it was at the house of the "College of Neofytes" during the sixteenth century, Pater Georg Schelbert says,

Num 24,24 ist die Nennung Italiens und Roms ausradiert. Diese Ausmerzungen entsprechen in etwa den Regeln, wie sie die Indices expurgatorii, die um diese Zeit zusammengestellt wurden, bieten, von denen sich einer, wie erwähnt unter den Handschriften des Hauses fand.¹

The first lacuna measures two and one half cm and the second two cm. Each lacuna would have contained from two to three words. Therefore we can with certainty say that one name from each of the two groups ("Lombardy ... Italy" and "Rome ... Constantinople"), and perhaps more, was written in N. Judging from the facts that of the first group both words also occur in the FTgg and that the corresponding lacuna of N is the larger, we would say that both these nouns occurred originally in N: "Lombardy ... Italy". We would read the restored text of the first lacuna: בלמברניא מן איטליא. Of the second group only "Rome" occurs in the FTgg. It may be possible to see the faint outline of the ן, the outlines of the

1. Schelbert, Zur Geschichte und Eigenart des Ms. Vat. Neofiti I, op. cit., Ch. IV.

same way in which the late additions of the other Pal. tgg were explained. These are additions made by the relatively later scribes of our late mss. These late additions have to be noted, but they cannot be used as showing the character of PJ or the other Pal. tgg. In general, the character of the Pal. Pent. tgg, of which PJ is one branch, is that of targums which were made and developed locally, which had no one authorized text and existed in many differing forms, and which contain true insight into the religious life and the linguistic tradition of certain Palestinian localities.

We have seen from the evidence in Chapters II and III that the character of the PJ targum is generally the same as that of the Pal. targums. It is therefore quite unjustified to take the FTgg as remains of the Pal. tg tradition and PJ as a compilation of the FTgg and O, as has been done by Frankel, Geiger, Bacher, Bassfreund, Bloch, and Grelot.¹ This does not adequately take into account certain similarities between O and the Pal. tgg, which we have found.

These similarities between O and the Pal. tgg and between O and PJ have led scholars like Jansma, Seligsohn, and Traub to believe that both PJ and the FTgg have been influenced by O, and came into existence after O did.² But there is too

1. Frankel, op. cit., pp. 117 and 120, cf. above, pp. 30 and 32; Geiger, op. cit., pp. 451-480, cf. above p. 35; Bacher, op. cit., p. 60, cf. above, p. 50; Bassfreund, op. cit., p. 145, cf. above, p. 52; Bloch, op. cit., pp. 30 II, cf. above, p. 72; and Grelot, op. cit., p. 60, cf. above, p. 73.

much material in common between PJ and the Pal. tgg which is distinctly different from O. The similarities between any of the Pal. tgg or PJ and O are minor and few. They must be taken into account when the nature of these tgg is determined, but they must be seen within the context of the overwhelming amount of material in common between PJ and the Pal. tgg which differs from O. Zunz rightly points out that both PJ and the FTgg go back to the very old Pal. tg tradition.¹ Yet, Zunz takes the late references in these tgg (the wife and daughter of Mohammed; Rome and Constantinople) as proof that these tgg cannot be dated earlier than the second half of the seventh century. But we have maintained above that these late additions to the tgg, though determining the date of the tg mss and edd, do not give a late date to the particular branch of the tg tradition as found in those mss and edd.

Ginsburger has correctly seen that in addition to the common material between PJ and the FTgg, which is different from O, each tg, PJ and the FTgg, has unique material, differing from O. This has led him to believe that these two tg groups, PJ and the FTgg, go back to two separate branches of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition.² He has correctly seen and em-

2. Jansma, op. cit., pp. 6f., cf. above, p. 28; and Seligsohn und Traub, op. cit., p. 100, cf. above, p. 37.

1. Zunz, op. cit., pp. 78ff., cf. above, p. 26.

2. Pseudo-Jonathan ... von Ginsburger, op. cit., p. XVII, cf. above, p. 57.

phasized that the Pal. Pent. tg tradition does not represent a single and codified whole, but existed in many different forms:

Überhaupt kann nicht genug darauf hingewiesen werden, dass die sogenannten palästinischen Thargumim nicht aus einem Gusse entstanden sind, sondern nach ihren einzelnen Bestandteilen auf ganz verschiedene Verfasser zurückgehen. Wir haben es eben hier mit herrenlosem Gute zu thun, wo ein Jeder sich für berechtigt hielt hinzuzufügen und umzuändern, was er wollte, und wo daher oft unmittelbar neben sehr alte Übersetzungen ganz neue zu stehen kamen. Diese von den meisten Gelehrten zugegebene Thatsache wird besonders bei der Beurteilung des Pseudo-Jonathan'schen Thargum zu berücksichtigen sein.¹

He has also found certain similarities between PJ and O, and between the FTgg and O.² It was his opinion however that a complete study must be made of the content, the grammar, and the vocabulary of each document, before a final decision be made about the relationships of these tgg.³ That study, of which a beginning has been made in this research, is a much more fruitful and possible as well as justified undertaking at present, with the help of additional tgg--the Cairo Geniza Fragments and Ms. Neofiti 1.

Professor Paul E. Kahle has shown that the CG fragments are in the same tradition as the FTgg. Moreover, the discovery of these tg fragments proves that O was not accepted in

1. Ginsburger, ZDMG, LVII (1903), op. cit., p. 80.

2. Pseudo-Jonathan ... von Ginsburger, op. cit., p. XXI, cf. above, p. 56.

3. Ginsburger, MGWJ, XLI (1897), op. cit., pp. 344 f., cf. above, p. 57.

Palestine before the tenth century.¹ Prof. Kahle has also noted that N forms one tradition with these tgg.² He has seen that much material of the same ancient character as the Pal. tgg, occurs in PJ; and has pointed out that a thorough study of PJ must be made before we can accept the hitherto held thesis that PJ is a compilation of O and the Pal. tradition.³

Our research has been to analyze the content and language of PJ in comparison with O, particularly where the important CG fragments and Ms. Par. 110 of the FT are present, in correlation with N and the other mss of the FT. We have found that for the verses proper and for the additions, PJ undoubtedly stands with the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. The realization of this fact for the verses proper has been most important, because the verses proper of PJ were alleged to be borrowed from O. Such a statement can now be categorically denied. The verses proper of PJ are of the same tradition as those of the Pal. tgg. There are minor similarities with O, but not only in PJ but also in the other Pal. tgg. It is furthermore of extreme importance to see that these similarities of PJ and the Pal. tgg with O are minor and do not consistently occur throughout the PJ or Pal. tgg. Therefore we

1. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, op. cit., pp. 194f and 202, cf. above, pp. 66ff.

2. Ibid., p. 195, cf. above, p. 67.

3. Ibid., p. 202, cf. above, p. 69.

cannot think that PJ is a Pal. tg "more or less consistently modified by Onqelos text"¹, as Prof. A. Diez Macho has recently stated:

Nowadays scholars say that Ps is a combination of O with PT. And this is correct. What perhaps is not so correct, what in many cases is liable to discussion, is the common statement that the basic text of Ps was O, to which portions of the PT were added. There are many proofs for the contrary, viz, that a PT was thoroughly revised in accordance with O; in other words, that Ps is a PT more or less consistently modified by Onqelos text.²

These similarities are rather due, as Grelot has said, to the copying of these mss by scribes who knew the authorized targum O.³

Again, we have noted late additions in PJ as well as in the Pal. tgg. These additions have accrued to the particular tg mss during the development of the tg and in the history of its mss. It is of the nature of this targumic tradition, which was permitted to grow and develop, that we find older and newer materials side by side. Such is the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, of which PJ is one form.

Although we have found that N also is a form of this Pal. Pent. tg tradition, we cannot here give a final judgment about the position of N within this tradition. We have, e. g.,

1. A. Diez Macho, "The recently discovered Palestinian Targum: Its Antiquity and Relationship with the other targums," Supplements to Vetus Testamentum. Edited by the Board of the Quarterly, G. W. Anderson, P. A. H. de Boer, G. R. Castellino, Henry Cazelles, E. Hammershaimb, H. G. May, W. Zimmerli (Leiden: E. J. Brill), VII (1960), p. 239.

2. Ibid., p. 239.

3. Grelot, op. cit., p. 63, cf. above, pp. 73f.

noted a number of doublets in the text of N. Furthermore, a study of the mss of N reveals not only readings from the other known Pal. tgg (including PJ) and O, but reveals also many unique readings. Here we have variants from another tg tradition.

We thus find it proper to speak of the individual tgg or tg fragments: PJ, the FTgg, CG, and N as forms or branches of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition. This tradition is different from O, and has been shown to include materials which are prior to O as well as to the authorized traditions of the Mishna and the Talmuds.

It remains that we comment upon the relationships between the Pal. tgg (including PJ) themselves. Generally, these tgg are both interrelated with each other and independent of each other. They are interrelated because their common basis is the Hebrew text, and because they had their inception and further use in Palestine. They are different from each other because they developed independently in separate localities. Though some mss of this tradition (CG) are older than others (Par, Vat, PJ, N, etc.), the evidence does not warrant seeing CG as the basic Pal. tg, N as the first later branch of this tg, upon which PJ depends, and Par as the second (later) branch of this tg, upon which O depends, as does Grelot.¹ It is more justified on the basis of the evidence to take the

1. Grelot, op. cit., p. 85.

different mss and edd as forms or branches of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, though the individual mss of later dates have certainly gone through a longer history of copying.

With PJ as one form of the Pal. Pent. tg tradition, and the discovery of the complete targum Neofiti 1, another form of this tradition, added to the other Pal. Pent. tgg, we have indeed a rich storehouse for the study of the faith and language of Palestinian Jewry of the first centuries of our era. Such a study is indeed of vital importance for the understanding of the New Testament and of the Christian Church.

CHAPTER V

TEXTS

We proceed with the texts in parallel columns of the passages studied.¹ For most verses six texts are present: Targum Onkelos, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Ms Paris 110 of the Fragment Targum, the Fragment Targum as in the Bomberg Bible, the Cairo Geniza Fragments, and Ms Neofiti 1. When an additional targum or Tosefta of importance is present, it has been included in another column.² Significant supplementary parts of the Fragment Targum tradition³ and extended marginal targums of Ms Neofiti 1 are also compared in extra columns. Variants for Targum Onkelos have been found in the editions of Berliner⁴ and Sperber⁵. Variants within the Fragmentary Targums can be found in Ginsburger's work.⁶ Great care has been taken to list all the margins found in Ms Neofiti 1.

1. Cf. above, p. 77.

2. These can be found in The Pentateuch According to Targum Onkelos ... by Sperber, op. cit., pp. 354-357.

3. Ginsburger lists these as "Zusatzthargumim", cf. Das Fragmententhargum ... von Ginsburger, op. cit., pp. 71ff.

4. Targum Onkelos ... von Berliner, op. cit.

5. The Pentateuch According to Targum Onkelos ... by Sperber, op. cit.

6. Cf. above, p. 76, ftnt. 1.

23. 32; דברים 27. 8; 34.10 ויקרא

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1
(23.32) שבא ¹ שבתא הוא ² לכוון ותענון ית נפשתיכון	(23.32) שבא ונייהא הוא לכוון ותענון ית נפשתיכון ותשרון	(23.32)	(23.32)	(23.32) שבת שבתן הוא לכוון ותצימון ביה ית נפשתיכון	(23.32) שבת שבתה היא ¹ לכוון ותצימון ² בה ית נפשתיכון
בתשעה לירחא ברמשא מרמשא עד ³	לציימא בתשעה יומין לירחא בעידוני רמשא מן רמשא ההוא עד	מן רמשא ועד רמשא	מן רמשא ועד רמשא	בתשעה יומין לירחא ברמשה מן רמשה ועד רמשה	בתשעה יומין לירחא מן רמשה ועד רמשה
רמשא תנורחון נייחכון	רמשא חורן תהרון ציימין צומיכון ושבתין שוביכון ¹	תהרון ציימין צומיכון ושבתין שובתיכון ועבדין זימנין מועדיכון בחודה :	תהרון ציימין צומיכון ושבתין שובתיכון ועבדין זימנין מועדיכון בחודה :	רמשה תהרון צימין צומיכון ושבתין שוביכון ועבדין זמן חגי מועדיכון בחודה :	רמשה תהרון צימין צומיכון ושבתין שוביכון ועבדין זמני ³ מועדיכון בחודה :
(27.8) ותכתובן על אבניא ית כל פתגמי אורייתא הדא פריש יאות	(27.8) ותכתובון על אבניא ית כל פתגמי אורייתא הדא כתב חקיק ומפרש	(27.8) ותכתובון על אבניא ית כל מיילי שבח אורייתא הדא כתב חקיק ומפרש שבא מתקרי בחד לישן ומתורגם בשבעין לישן ¹	(27.8) ותכתובון על אבניא ית כל מיילי שבח אורייתא הדא כתב חקיק ומפרש שבאות ¹ מתקרי ² ומתורגם ³ בשבעין ⁴ לישן ⁵	(27.8) ותכתובון על אבניא ית כל פתגמי אורייתא הדא כתב חקיק ומפרש יאות מתקרא בחד לישן ומתורגם בשבעין לשנין :	(27.8) ותכתובון על אבנייה ית כל פתגמי אורייתא ⁴ הדא כתיב ⁵ חקיק ומפרש יאות ומתקרא ⁶ ותורגם ⁷ בשבעים לשן :
(34.10) ולא קם נבייא עוד בישראל כמשה דאתגלי ליה אפיין	(34.10) ולא קם נביא תרב בישראל כמשה ארום חכים יתיה מימרא דהי ממלל כלר קבל ממלל:	(34.10) די חכם יתיה :	(34.10) ולא קם נביא עוד בישראל כמשה די ⁶ חכים יתיה ⁶ מימרא דיי ממלל כל קביל ממלל:	(34.10) ולא קם נבייא עוד בישראל כמשה די חכם יתה ממרה די ⁸ מלל לקבל מלל :	(34.10) ולא קם נבייא עוד בישראל כמשה די חכם יתיה מימרה די ⁸ ממלל כל וקבל ממלל:

1. Complut: שבת. 2. Lis, Freib, Complut: היא. 3. 282: ועד.

1. In Etheridge, op. cit., II, p. 220, the translation of PJ includes the final addition: "...that you may employ the time of your festivals with joy."

1. Ginsb en: לישנין.

1. Vat: טבית; Lips: טבא. 2. Lips: דיתקרי. 3. Vat: ומתורגם. 4. Vat: בשבעין; Lips: בשבעין. 5. Vat: לישן; Lips: לישן. 6. Lips: די חכם יתיה.

1. Mg: הוא. 2. Mg: צבימון (?). 3. Mg: זמנין. 4. Mg: שבה. 5. Mg: אורייתא. 6. Mg: כתב. 7. Ab In: מ between 'טבאות מה'. 8. End of line.

Targum Onkelos

Targum Pseudo Jonathan

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

Fragment Tg Bomberg

גדי בר עיזי אתבחר תליתא¹
בגין מדכר זכות
שלימא

דעבד גדיי בר עזי תבשילין
ואייביל לאברי

רזכה למקבלא סדר
ברכתא

בגין כן פריש משה
ואמר עמי

בני ישראל תור או אימר או גדיא
ארום איתיליד כאורה עלמא ויהי
שבעת יומין בתר אמיה
מטול דישתמודע דלא נפיל ומיזמא
תמינאה ולהלאה יתרעי לקרבא

קורבנא לשמא דהי :
(23.29) ארום כל בר נש די
יכול לציימא ולא יצום בכרן
יומא הדין

וישתיצי במותנא מגו עמיה:

1. Ginsb en; ms: תחותוי.

גדין בר עזין
בגין למדכרא זכותיה¹
דאימא דלבשת יתיה ליעקב
משכין דגדיין

ועבד ואייתי לאברי
תבשילוי וחמר אשקי

יתיה רזכא למקבלא סדר
ברכתא מן יצחק אבוי ולמוקמא
תרין עשר שבטין קדישין לשמך

מן

בכין פריש משה

ואמר עמי עמי
בית ישראל תור או אימר או גדי
ארום איתיליד ויהוי
שובעא יומין בתר אימיה

ומן יומא
תמינאה ולהלאה יהוי כשר למקרבא
יתיה קורבן לשמא דהי :
(23.29) ארום כל נפש
בצמת² למיצום ולא צימת
ביום צום כפורין

1. Ginsb en: זכותה. 2. So ms;
Ginsb en: במסת.

גדי בר עיזין
למידכרא זכותיה
דתמימא דלביש
משכין גדיין

ועבד ואייתי לאברי
תבשילוי וחמר אשקי

יתיה רזכה למתקבלא סדר
ברכתא מן יצחק אבוי ולמוקמא
תרי עשר שבטין קדישין לשמך:

מן

הא

בכין פריש משה נבייא

דיי ואמר עמי
בית ישראל תור או אימר או גדי
ארום דאתיליד ויהי
שובעא יומין בתר אמיה

ומן יומא
תמינאה ולהלן יהוי כשר למקרבא
יתיה קורבנא לשמא דיי:
(23.29) ארום כל נפש
דכמסת למצום ולא ציימא
ביום צום כפוריה

:

תור או אימר או עיז
ארי יתיליד¹ ויהי
שבעה² יומין בתר אימיה
ומיזמא

תמינאה ולהלאה יתרעי לקרבא
קרבנא קדם יוי :

(23.29) ארי כל אנש
דלא יתעני בכרן

יומא הדין
וישתיצי מעמיה:

1. Solg: איתיליד. 2. Ix:
שבועת

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

Fragment Tg Bomberg

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

Margin of Ms Neofiti 1

גדין בר עזין
 בגין למדכרא זכותיה¹
 דאימא דלבשת יתיה ליעקב
 משכין דגדיין
 ועבד תבשילין
 ואייתי לאברי
 תבשילוי וחמר אשקי
 יתיה וזכא למקבלא סדר
 ברכתא מן יצחק אברי ולמוקמא
 תרין עשר שבטין קדישין לשמך

גדי בר עזין
 למידכרא זכותיה
 דתמימא דלביש
 משכין גדיין
 ועבד תבשילין
 ואייתי לאברי
 תבשילוי וחמר אשקי
 יתיה וזכה למתקבלא סדר
 ברכתא מן יצחק אברי ולמוקמא
 תרי עשר שבטין קדישין לשמך:

גדי בר עזין
 בגין למדכרא זכותיה
 דתמימה דלביש
 משכין דגדיין
 ועבד תבשילין
 ואייתי לאברי ואייכל לאברי מן
 תבשילוי וחמר אשקי
 יתיה וזכא למקבלא ית סדר
 ברכתא מן יצחק אברי ולמקמא
 תרי עשר שבטין קדיש לשמך

גדייה בר עזייה
 בגין למדכרה זכותי דגברא
 תמימא דלביש בגורי¹
 ידוי משכין דגדיין בני עזין
 ותבשילין עבד
 ואייכול לאברי
 זכה למקבלה² ית סדר
 ברכתה
 אלין
 תלתי קרבני קרבני תלתי אבהת
 עלמא אינון אברהם יצחק ויעקב
 בגין כדן כתיב ומפרש
 בספר אוריית דיי
 תור אמר או גדי
 ארום יתילד יהוי
 מתרבי שבעה יומין בתר אמיה
 ומן יומא
 תמיגייה ולהל³ יהוי כשר למקרבה
 יתיה קדם ייי :
 (23.29) ארום כל⁴ נפש גברי
 תאכל⁵ למצום ולא^{4,6} בזמן
 יום צומה דכיפורייה⁷
 ותשתיצא⁸ מן גון⁸ עמא:

גדי בר עזין
 בגין למדכרה זכותי
 דתמימה דלביש
 משכין דגדיין
 ועבד תבשילין
 ואייתי לאברי ואייכל לאברי מן
 תבשילוי וחמר אשקי
 יתיה וזכה למקבלה סדר
 ברכתה מן יצחק אברי ולמקמא
 תרי עשר שיבטין קדישין לשמך
 הא
 בכין פרש משה נבייה
 דיי ואמר עמי
 בני ישראל תור או אמר:

בכין פרש משה
 דיי ואמר עמי
 בית ישראל תור או אימר או גדי
 ארום איתיליד ויהוי
 שובעא יומין בתר אימיה
 ומן יומא
 תמינאה ולהלאה יהוי כשר למקרבה
 יתיה קורבן לשמא דהי :
 (23.29) ארום כל נפש
 בצמת² למיצום ולא צימת
 ביום צום כפורין :

בכין פרש משה נבייא
 דיי ואמר עמי
 בית ישראל תור או אימר או גדי
 ארום דאתיליד ויהי
 שובעא יומין בתר אמיה
 ומן יומא
 תמינאה ולהלן יהוי כשר למקרבה
 יתיה קורבנא לשמא דיי :
 (23.29) ארום כל נפש
 דכמסת למצום ולא ציימה
 ביום צום כפוריה :

בכין פרש משה נבייא
 דיי ואמר עמי
 בני ישראל: תור או אימר או גדי
 ארום יתיליד ויהוי
 מת(רב)י שובעה יומין בתר אימיה
 ומן יומא
 תמיגייה ולהל יהוי כשר למקרבה
 יתיה קורבן קודם ייי :
 (23.29) ארום כל (נפש)
 כמסת למצום ולא צימה הך זמן
 יומא הדן
 ותשיצי מן גר עמה:

תור אמר או גדי
 יהוי
 יומין בתר אמיה
 ומן יומא
 יהוי כשר למקרבה
 קדם ייי :
 (23.29) ארום כל⁴ נפש גברי
 תאכל⁵ למצום ולא^{4,6} בזמן
 צומה דכיפורייה⁷
 מן גון⁸ עמא:

בכין פרש משה נבייה
 דיי ואמר עמי
 בני ישראל תור או אמר:

1. Ginsb on: זכותה. 2. So ms; Ginsb on: במסת.

1. Ab ln: בגדוי. 2. Ab ln: לק'.
 3. Ab ln: לון. 4. Mg: בר נש דלא
 ולא. 5. Ab ln: דתיכי. 6. is the end of the line, followed
 by mg ציימהן, underneath which
 is the unidentified כוסת מ',
 perhaps: כזמת מ'. 7. Mg: ביום
 8. Ab ln: מנו. צום כפור'

Targum Onkelos

Targum Pseudo Jonathan

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

Fragment Tg Bomberg

1

1

רכיך ושמיך

ורחש לבקרותיה ונסטיב בר תורין
רכיך וטב ויהב יתיה לרביא
ואוחי רביא למיעבד יתיה ופטיירין
אפה ואייכיל למלאכיא וזכא
למבשרא דהא¹ שרה ילידת
ליצחק¹

ורחש לבקרותיה ונסטיב בר תורין
רכיך וטב ויהב יתיה לרביא
ואוחי רביא למיעבד יתיה ופטיירין
אפה וייכול מלאכין וזכא
¹למיתבשרא דהא שרה ילדה
ליצחק¹

1

1

2

2

2

2

אימרא אתבחר תניין בגין
מדכר זכותא דכריה
דאתעקד
על גבי מדבחא

אימרא איתבחר תניינא בגין
למדכרא זכותיה די יצחק
די עקד גרמיה
על גבי מדבחא²

אימרא איתבחר תנייין בגין
למדברא זכותיה דישייה
דעקד גרמיה
על גבי מדבחא

ופשט

צואריה בגין שמך שמיא מכר
ונחתו וחמא יצחק ית שכלוליהון
וכהיין עינוי ממרומיא² מן
בגין כן זכה ואיזדמן ליה תמן
אימר תחותי לעלתא ותרב
בחר³ תליתאי

ופשט

צואריה בגין שמך שמיא מכר
ונחתו וחמ יצחק ית שכלוליהון
וכהיין עינוי ממרומי מן
בגין כדין זכה ואיזדמן ליה תמן
אימר תחותי לעלתא ותו
זכר תליתאי

וזכה ואיזדמן ליה
אימרא תחותי לעלתא

1. O reads at G 18.7: ולבית תורי והט אברהם ונסטיב בר טורי רכיך וטב ויהב לעולימא ואוחי ועבד להון משטיא ופטייר אפא להון
2. O reads at G 18.10: והא ברא לשרה איתתך

1. PJ reads at G 18.7: ולבקרותא והט אברהם ונסטיב בר טורי רכיך ושמיין ויהב לעולימא ואוחי למעבד ועבד and at G 19.3: יתבשילין
2. להון משטיא ופטיירי אפא להון למטברא
PJ reads at G 18.2: and יתיה דהא שרה ילדה ביר זכר והא בר לשרה אינתתך at G 18.10:

1. Par in E 15.18 reads: ליליא תנינא כד איתגלי ה' על אברהם בן בתריא הוה אברהם בר מאה שנין ושרה אינתתיה בת תשעין שנין למקיימא מא דאמר כתבא אברהם בר מאה שנין ויליד ושרה אתתיה בת תשעין שנין תוליד הלא
2. Par reads at E 15.18: בר תלתין ושבע שנין הוה יצחק בזמן דאיתקרב על גבי מדבחא שמיא ארכיכו ונחיתו וחמא יצחק לשכלוליהון וזלגן עינוי למרומא
3. Ginsb cn; ms: בר.

1. Bom reads at G 18.2: לבשרא לאבונ' אברהם דהא שרה ילדה ליצחק והא בר זכר לשרה איתתך

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

Fragment Tg Bomberg

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

Margin of Ms Neofiti 1

ורחט לבקרותיה ונסב בר תורין
 רכיך וטב ויהב יתיה לרביא
 ואוחי רביא למעבד יתיה ופטיירין
 אפה ואייכל למלאכיא וזכא
 למבשרא דהא שרה ילדה¹
 ליצחק.¹
 אימרא איתבחר תניינא בגין
 למדכרא זכותיה די יצחק
 די עקד גרמיה
 על גבי מדבחא²

ורחט לבקרותיה ונסב בר תורין
 רכיך וטב ויהב יתיה לרביא
 ואוחי רביא למייעבד יתיה ופטיירין
 אפה וייכול למלאכין וזכה
 למיתבשרא דהא שרה ילדה¹
 ליצחק.¹
 אימרא איתבחר תניינא בגין
 למדכרא זכותיה דישייה
 דעקד גרמיה
 על גבי מדבחא

ורחט לבקרותה ונסב בר תורין
 רכיך וטב ויהב יתה לרבייה
 ואוחי רבייה למעבד יתיה פטיירין
 אפה ואייכל למלאכין וזכא
 למתבשרא דהא שרה ילדה
 (ליצחק):
 אימרא דאתבחר תניינא בגין
 למדכרא זכותה דישירא
 ועקד גרמיה
 על גבי מדבחא

1 ורחט לבקרותיה ואייתי² בת תורין
 שמינ וטב ויהב לרבייה
 ואוחי למעבד יתיה ופטיירין
 אפה¹ ואייכל³ למלאכין ומן יד
 4 אתבשר לשרה דהא שרה ילדה⁵
 ליצחק⁴ ומן בתר כדן אתבחר
 אימרא בגין
 למדכרא זכותא דגברא יחידה
 דאתעקד על חד⁶ מן טוריא⁶
 היך אמר לעלה על גבי מדבחה
 ופדה יתיה וברחמיה⁷ טבייה וזמן
 בנוי למהוי מצליין ואמריין דידהון
 בשעת אננקי דדהון עני יתן בהדה
 שעתה ושמע בקל יגלותן ואדכר לן
 עקידתיה דיצחק אבונן

רכיך וטב ויהב יתה לרבייה
 ואוחי רבייה למעבד יתיה ופ
 מלאכין וזכה
 למתבשרה דהא שרה ילדה
 ליצחק
 אמרה איתבחר תניינא בגין
 למדכרה זכותה דישרה
 דעקד גרמי
 על גבי מדבחה

ופשט
 צואריה בגין שמך שמיא מכר
 ונחתו וחמא יצחק ית שכלוליהון
 וכהיין עינוי ממומיא² מן
 בגין כן זכה ואיזדמן ליה תמן
 אימר תחותי לעלתא ותוב
 בחר³ תליתאי

ופשט
 צואריה בגין שמך שמיא מכר
 ונחתו וחמא יצחק ית שכלוליהון
 וכהיין עינוי ממומי מן
 בגין כדין זכה ואיזדמן ליה תמן
 אימר תחותי לעלתא: ותו
 זכו תליתאי

ופשט
 צואריה בגין שמך יי: שמייה אמכר
 (ונחתו וחמא יצחק ית שכלוליהון)
 וכהין עינוי מן ממומייה מן
 בגין (כן זכה ו) איזדמן ליה תמן
 אימר תחותי לעלתה ותובן
 תליתיי

ופשט
 צוארי בגין שמך שמיא מכר
 ונחתו וחמא יצחק ית שכלוליהון
 וכהיין עינוי מן ממומייה מן
 בגין כן זכה ואיזדמן לה תמן
 אמר תחותי לעלתה ותובן
 תליתיי

1. Par in E 15.18 reads:
 ליליא תנינא כד איתגלי ה' על
 אברהם בן בתריא הוה אברהם בר
 מאה שנין ושרה אינתתיה בת
 תשעין שנין למקיימא מא דאמר
 כתבא אברהם בר מאה שנין ויליד
 ושרה אתתיה בת תשעין שנין תוליד
 2. Par reads at E 15.18:
 בר תלתין ושבע שנין הוה יצחק
 בזמן דאיתקרב על גבי מדבחא שמיא
 ארכיננו ונחיתו וחמא יצחק
 לשכלוליהון וזלגן עינוי למרומא
 3. Ginsb on; ms: בר.

1. Bom reads at G 18.2:
 לבשרא אברהם דהא שרה ילדה ליצחק
 והא בר זכר and at G 18.10:
 לשרה אתתך

1. N reads at G 18.7:
 רחט אברהם ונסב בר תורין רכיך
 וטב ויהב לרבייה ואוחי למעבד יתיה
 ועבד להון שרו and at G 19.3:
 ונסב 2. Ab ln: ופטיירין אפה
 3. Ab ln: ואייתי 4. N reads at
 G 18.2:
 למשכרא לאבונן אברהם
 די שרה ילדה (ילדה) לה ית
 והא בר and at G 18.10:
 יצחק 5. Ab ln: ידכר לשרה אתתך
 6. Ab ln: טטוי 7. Ab ln:
 יוהוה ברח'

1. N reads at G 18.7:
 רחט אברהם ונסב בר תורין רכיך
 וטב ויהב לרבייה ואוחי למעבד יתיה
 ועבד להון שרו and at G 19.3:
 ונסב 2. Ab ln: ופטיירין אפה
 3. Ab ln: ואייתי 4. N reads at
 G 18.2:
 למשכרא לאבונן אברהם
 די שרה ילדה (ילדה) לה ית
 והא בר and at G 18.10:
 יצחק 5. Ab ln: ידכר לשרה אתתך
 6. Ab ln: טטוי 7. Ab ln:
 יוהוה ברח'

Targum Onkelos

(22.12) אם איתברא יתבר ייתי
 טהדין
 דתביר לא ישלים:
 (22.14) אם מריה עמיה לא ישלים
 אם אגירא הוא על
 באגריה :
 (22.15) וארי ישדיל גבר בתולתא
 דלא מארטא וישכוב עמה קיימא
 יקימינה ליה לאיתר :

Targum Pseudo Jonathan

(22.12) אין איתברא יתבר מן
 חיות ברא מייתי ליה
 טהדין או ימטיניה עד גופא
 דתביר ולא ישלם :
 (22.14) אין מריה עמיה לא ישלם
 אין אגירא הוא עאל
 פטידיה באגריה :
 (22.15) וארום ישרגג גבר בתולתא
 דלא מארטא וישמש עמה מפרנא
 יפרין יתה ליה לאיתר :
 (22.27) עדאן אית לן זכותא דתידכר
 לן סדרי קורבנינן

תורא
 אתבחר קדמי בגין
 מדכר זכות סבא דאתא
 ממדינחא פטירבולי
 קריב לשמך בר תורין

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

(22.12) ייתי ליה מן אבראי
 טהדין
 טילא¹ לא ישלם :
 (22.14) יזיל אגרא²
 בפסידא :
 (22.15) מפרנסא³
 יפרנס³ יתה :
 (22.27) עידן דתידכר
 לן סדר קורבנינן מא דהוינן
 מקרבין קומך בכל שנא ושנא
 והוון קרבנינן מכפרין לן על
 חובינן וכדו די גרמו חובינן
 ולית לן מא נקרבא מן עדרי
 עאנינן תור⁴
⁵ או אימר⁵ איתבחר קדמי בגין
 למדכרא סבא
 דמדינחא
 קריב לשמך בר תורין

1. Ginsb cn: טהיד קטילא 2.
 Ginsb cn: אגריה 3. Ginsb cn:
 תורא 4. Ginsb cn: מפרנא יפרין
 5. Ginsb cn: om.

Fragment Tg Bomberg

(22.12) אם יתקטלא¹ יתקטיל
 ייתי ליה מן איברוי
 טהיד
 קטילא לא ישלם :
 (22.14) יזיל אגרא²
 בפסידא :
 (22.15) ארום³ ישרגג גבר בתולתא
 דלא ארטא וישמש עמה מפרנא
 יפרין⁴ ליה⁴ לאתא :
 (22.27) עידן דתידכר
 לן סדרי קורבנינן מה דהוינן
 מקרבין בכל שנא ושנא
 הוון קורבנינן מכפרין על
 חובינן וכדו די גרמו חוביא
 ולית לן מה נקרבא מן עדרי
 ענינן תורא
 אתבחר קדמי בגין
 למדכרא סביא
 דמדינחא פטיר כולי
 קרב לשמך בר תורין

1. Vat: אין מתקטלא 2. Vat:
 אין מריה עימיה לא ישלים אין
 אגיר הוא יזיל אגריה בפסדה
 3. Vat: וארי 4. Vat: יתה ליה

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

(22.12) ייתי ליה מן אבראי
 1 סהידין
 טילא¹ לא ישלם :
 (22.14) יזיל אגרא²
 בפסידא :
 (22.15) מפרנסא³
 יפרנס³ יתה :
 (22.27) עידן דתדכר
 לן סדר קורבנינן מא דהוינן
 מקרבין קומך בכל שנה ושנה
 והוון קרבנינן מכפרין לן על
 חובינן וכדו די גרמו חובינן
 ולית לן מא נקרבה מן עדרי
 עאנינן תור⁴
⁵ או אימר⁵ איתבחר קומרי בגין
 למדכרא סביא
 דמדינחא קריב לשמך בר תורין

1. Ginsb cn: סהיד קטילא 2.
 Ginsb cn: אגריה 3. Ginsb cn:
 תורא 4. Ginsb cn: מפרנה יפרן
 5. Ginsb cn: om.

Fragment Tg Bomberg

(22.12) 1 אמ יתקטלא¹ יתקטיל
 ייתי ליה מן איברוי
 סהיד
 קטילא לא ישלם :
 (22.14) 2
 2
 (22.15) ארום³ ישרגג גבר בתולה
 דלא ארסת וישמש עמה מפרנה
 יפרן⁴ ליה⁴ לאתא :
 (22.27) עידן דתדכר
 לן סדרי קורבנינן מה דהוינן
 מקרבין בכל שנה ושנה
 הור קורבנינן מכפרין על
 חובינן וכדו די גרמו חוביא
 ולית לן מה נקרבה מן עדרי
 ענינן תורא
 אתבחר קדמי בגין
 למדכרא סביא
 מדינחא פטיר כולי
 קרב לשמך בר תורין

1. Vat: אין מתקטלא 2. Vat:
 אין מריה עימיה לא ישלים אין
 אגיר הוא יזיל אגריה בפסדה
 3. Vat: גארי 4. Vat: יתה ליה

Cairo Geniza Fragments

(22.12) (אין מתקטלה) יתקטל
 וייתא א.....
 :
 (22.14) (אין) בעלה עמה לא ישלם
 אין אגיר הוא (...)
 באפסדה :
 (22.15) (וארום) ישרגג גבר בתולה
 די לא מארסה וישמש עמה מפרנה
 יפרן (רן) יתה לה לאנתה :
 (22.27) עידן דתתדכר
 לן זמן סדרי קרבנינן דהוינן
 מקרבין קודמך בכל שנה ושנה
 והוון קורבנינן מכפרין לן על
 חובינן וכדון די גרמו חובייה
 לית לן מה נקרבה מן עדרי
 ענינן תורא
 דאתבחר קדמי בגין
 למדכרה סביה
 דמדנחה פטיר כולי
 קרב לשמך בר תורין

Ms Neofiti 1

(22.12) אין מטרפה ויטרף
 ייתון
 1 סהידין
 קטילא לא ישלם¹ :
 (22.14) אמ מריה עמי לא ישלם
² אין אגיר הוא אתקבל
 באגרא³ :
 (22.15) וארום יתפט גבר בתולה
⁴ דלא מארסה⁴ וישמש עמה^{5,6} מפרנה
 יפרן⁵ יתה ליה לאיתו⁶ :
 (22.27) עידן דתדכר
 לן קרבינן⁷ מה⁸ דהוויין
 מקריבין ומתכפר⁹ על
 חובינן וכדון
 דלית לן למקרביה מן עדרי
 ענינן יתכפר על חטאינן תורה
 אתבחר¹⁰ קדמי בגין
 למדכרה קדמי זכותיה דגברה
 מדנחיה דבסיבותיה
 אתברך¹¹ במלה

1. Mg: ימטיניי עד גושמא חיובא
 אגריה 2. Mg: דתבירא ולא ישלם
 3. Mg: מצ כל אגריה הווא כל
 4. Mg: די לא ארסת 5.
 Cn; ms reads: מפרנה יפרן
 6. Mg: מפרנה יפרניה ליה לאיתא
 7. Ab ln: ג 8. Ab ln: דה
 9. Ab ln: ומכ 10. Ab ln: ית;
 this is placed above the n of the text
 so that perhaps 'ית' is meant.
 11. Ab ln: ית; cf. previous ftnt.

Margin of Ms Neofiti 1

(22.27) דהוינן
 מקרבינן קומך כל שנה ושנה
 והווינן קורבנינן מכפרין לן על
 חובינן וכדו די גרמו חובינן
 ולית לן מה נקרבה מן עדרי
 ענינן תורה
 אתבחר קדמי בגין
 למדכרה סביה
 דמדנחה פטיר כולי
 קרב לשמך בר תורין

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1
קדמי לא תבני יתהון פסילן	לשמי לא תבני יתהון חציבין	לשמי לא תבנון יתהון חציבן	לשמי לא תבני חציבין	קדמי לא תבנון יתהון חציבן	לשמי לא תבניו יתהון ¹ חציבין
לא תרים חרבך	דאין ארימת פרזלא דמיניה	ארום פרזלא חרבא מתעביד	ארום פרזלא חרבא מתעביד	ארום פרזלא חרבא מתעבד	ארום פרזלא ² דחרבא מתעבד
עלה ותחלינה	מתעבד סייפא על אבנא אפיסתא	מניה אי עבדת פרזלא	מניה אי עבדת פרזלא	מנה אין פרזלא	עכרת
:	יתה :	עליהון ² אפיסת	עלוי אפיסת	עליהון אפיסת	עליהון ואפיסת
(20.26)	(20.26) ואתון כהניא	יתהון :	יתה :	יתהון :	יתהון ^{3,1} :
ולא תסק בדרגין על	דקיימין למשמשא קדמי	(20.26) ואתון כהניא ובנוי דאהרן	(20.26) ואתון כהניא בנוי דאהרן	(20.26) ואתון כהניא ובנוי דאהרן	(20.26) ואתון כהניא בנוי דאהרן
מדבחי דלא תתגלי	לא תסקון במסוקיין על	דקיימין ומשמשין על גבי	דקיימין ומשמשין על גבי	דקיימין ומשמשין על גבי	דקיימין ⁴ ומשמשין על גבי
ערייתך עלוהי :	מדבחי אלהן בגישריא דלא תתחמי	מדבחי לא תסגון בדרגין על גבי	מדבחי לא תסגון בדרגין על	מדבחי לא תסקון בדרגין על גבי	מדבחי לא תסקון בדרגין על גבי
(21.18) וארי ינצון גברין	עירייתך עלוי :	מדבחי דלא תתגלי	ערייתך עלוי :	ערותך עליו :	ערייתך ⁴ עלוי :
וימחי גבר ית חכריה באבנא או	(21.18) וארום ינצון גוברין	במרתוקא ³ ויטלק לערס	במרתוקא ויטלק לערס	במרתוקא ויטלק לערס	(21.18) וארום ינצון ⁵ גברין
בכורמיזא ולא ימות ויפול	וימחון חד לחכריה באבנא או	מרע :	מרע :	מרע :	וימחי גבר ית חכריה באבן או
לבוטלן :	במרתוקא ולא ימות ויפול	(21.20)	(21.20)	(21.20)	במרתוקא ⁶ ולא ימות ויטלק בערס
(21.20) וארי ימחי גבר ית עבדיה	(21.20) וארום ימחי גבר ית עבדיה	4	4	4	מרעה :
או ית אמתיה	כנענאה או ית אמתיה כנעניתא	מתקנסא יתקניס	מתנקמא יתנקם	ידה מתקנסה יתקנס	(21.20) וארום ימחי גבר ית עבדיה
בשולטן וימות תחות	בשרביטא וימות בההוא יומא תחות	קטילת סייפא :	קטילת סייפא :	קטילת סייפא :	או ית אמהתיה
ידיה אתדנא יתדן :	ידיה איתדנא יתדן	(21.25) דמי צער מחורך חולף	(21.25) דמי צער מחורך חולף	(21.25) דמי צער מחורך חולף	בשרביטה וימות תחות
כואה חלף	כואה חלף	גלופשא ⁵	גלופשא ⁵	גלופשא ⁵	ידיה מתפרע ⁷ מיניה ⁷
פדעא חלף פדעא	פדעא חלף פדעא	1. Ginsb on omits this word.	1. Ginsb on omits this word.	1. Ginsb on omits this word.	כוייה תשלומי
מסקופי חלף מסקופי :	דמי הלכשיש חולף הלכשיש :	2. Ginsb on: אפיסת 3.	2. Ginsb on: אפיסת 3.	2. Ginsb on: אפיסת 3.	כוייה (פדעא) תשלומי פדעא
		3. Ms repeats: ארום	3. Ms repeats: ארום	3. Ms repeats: ארום	כוייה תשלומי פדעא
		4. באבנא או במרתוקא	4. באבנא או במרתוקא	4. באבנא או במרתוקא	רושם תשלומי רושם :
		5. תשלומי רושם 5. בשרביט	5. תשלומי רושם 5. בשרביט	5. תשלומי רושם 5. בשרביט	

1. Mg: חציב ארום פרזלא חרבא מתעבד מניה אין עבדת פרזלא עלוי ארום 2. Ms repeats: ארום מניה אתכרו חרב' 3. Mg: מותא לכולא אסטמו דלא תרים סייפו עבידו 4. Mg: עלי ולא תפליס יתיה כיבשה למדבחה ולא תסקון במסקא 5. Gn; ms reads: אשר לא תגלה ער' 6. End of line in ms. 7. Mg: בקנסא יתקנס

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1	
		מלכותא מתגריא בניא			בבני אינשא	
		אינשא וגלותא אתיא על עלמא:				
	(20.17) עמי בני ישראל לא תהוון חמודין לא חברין ולא שותפין עם חמודין ולא יתחמון בכנישתהון דישראל עם חמודין דלא יקומון בניכון מן בתריכון וילפון לחוד הינון למיהוי עם חמודין ולא יתחמד חד מנכון	(20.17) עמי בני ישראל לא תהוון חמודין לא חברין ולא שותפין עם חמודין ולא יתחמי בכנישתהון דישראל עם חמודין דלא יקומון בניכון מבתריכון ¹ למיהוי עם חמודין ולא יתחמיד ² חד מנכון		(20.17) עמי בני ישראל לא תהוון חמודין (ביתא דחברין) דלא יקומון בניכון מן בתריכון (וילפון) לחוד אינון למיהוי עם (חמודין: לא) יתחמד חד מנכון לאיתתא דחבריה ולא (לעבדיה ולא לאמתיה ולא לתוריה ולא לחמריה ולכל מה דאית לחברך ³ ארום בחובי חמודיא ענגין סלקין ומישרא לא נחית		(20.17) עמי בני ישראל לא תהוון חמודין ולא חברין ולא שותפין עם חמודין ולא יתחמיל בכנישתהון דישראל עם חמודין דלא יקומון ¹ בניכון מן בתריכון ² וילפון לחוד אינון למיהוי עם חמודין לא יתחמד גבר מנכון ביתא דחבריה ולא אתתיה דחבריה ולא עבדיה ולא אמתייה ² ולא תורי ולא חמריה ולא כל מה די לחברך ארום בחובי חמודייה
לא תחמיד בית חברך לא תחמיד איתת חברך ועבדיה ואמתיה ותוריה וחמריה וכל דלחברך	לא תחמיד איתת חברך ועבדיה ואמתיה ותוריה וחמריה וכל דלחברך			מלכותא מתגרייה בבני אנשא	מלכותא מתגרייה בבני אנשא	
		ובצורתא אתיא על עלמא:				
(20.18) וכל עמא חזון ית קליא	(20.18) וכל עמא חמיין ית קליא	(20.18) וכל עמא חזון ית קליא	(20.18) וכל עמא חזון חמיין ית קליא	(20.18) וכל עמא חזון חמיין ית קלייה	(20.18) וכל עמא חמיין ית קלייה	
			רית לפידיא	רית לפדייה	רית למפדיי	
בעוריא רית	קל שופרא רית טורא דתנין וחזא עמא ורעו וקמו מרחיק:	קל שופרא רית טורא חזון וחזא עמא ורעו וקמו מרחיק:	קל שופרא רית טורא עטר וחמיין עמא ורעו וקמו להון מרחיק:	קליה דשיפורא רית טורא תנן וחזון כל עמא ואחד... (וקמון להון מצליין) מן רחיק:	קלא דשיפורי רית טורא תנן וחזון עמא ואזדועזעו וקמו להון מן רחיק:	
(20.25) ואם מדבח אבנין תעביד	(20.25) ואין מדבח אבנין תעביד	(20.25) ואין מדבח אבנין תעבדון	(20.25) ואם מדבח אבנין תעבדון	(20.25) ואם מדבח דאבנין תבנון	(20.25) ואם מדבח דאבנין תבנון	

1. Ginsb en; the phrase is om in the ms.

1. Ginsb adds: וילפון. 2. Ginsb en: יחמיד. 3. Ginsb en: לחבריה

1. Mg: בניהון מן בתריהון. 2. Gn; ms reads: אמתיה. 3. Mg: אתא לעלמי

Targum Onkelos

Targum Pseudo Jonathan

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

דלא יקומון בניכון מן בתריכון
 וילפון לחוד הינון למהוי עם
 גיורין ארום בחובי גיורא
 מותא נפיק על עלמא :
 (20.15) עמי בני ישראל לא
 תהוון גנבין לא חברין ולא שותפין
 עם גנבין ולא יתחמי בכנישתהון
 דישראל עם גנבין דלא יקומון
 בניכון מן בתריכון וילפון
 לחוד הינון למהוי עם גנבין
 ארום
 בחובי גנביא כפנא נפיק על עלמא :
 (20.16) עמי בני ישראל לא
 תהוון מסהדין בתבריכון סהדי
 שיקרא
 ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון דישראל עם מסהדין
 סהדי שיקרא דלא יקומון בניכון
 בתריכון וילפון לחוד הינון
 למיהוי עם מסהדין סהדי שיקרא
 ארום בחובי סהדי שיקרא ענבין
 סלקין ומישראל לא נחית ובצורתא
 אתיא על עלמא

ולא יקומון בניכון בתריכון
 וילפון (לחוד) אינון אורחתכון
 ארום בחובי גיורא
 פורענותא (דמותא) אתיא על עלמא :
 (20.15) עמי עמי בית ישראל לא
 תהוון גנבין לא חברין ולא שותפין
 עם גנבין
 דלא יקומון
 בניכון בתריכון
 למיהוי עם גנבין דילמא
 ילפון בניכון אורח גנבין ארום
 בחובי גנביא כפנא אתיא (א) על עלמא :
 (20.16) עמי עמי בית ישראל לא
 תהוון סהדי
 שיקרא לא חברין ולא שותפין עם
 סהדי שיקרא ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון דישראל עם
 סהדי שיקרא דלא יקומון בניכון
 בתריכון וילפון
 למיהוי עם סהדי שקרא
 ארום בחובי סהדי דשיקרא

דלא יקומון בניכון מן בתרכון
 וילפון לחוד אינון למהוי
 גיורין ארום בחובי גיוריה
 מותא אתי על עלמא :
 (20.15) עמי בני יש' לא
 תהוון גנבין לא חברין ולא שותפין
 עם גנבייה לא יתחמי בכניש'
 דישראל עם גנבין דלא יקומון
 בניכון מן בתרכון וילפון
 לחוד אינון למהוי גנבין
 ארום
 בחובי גנבייה כפנא אתי על עלמא :
 (20.16) עמי בני ישראל לא
 תהוון מסהדין סהדין
 דסקר לא חברין ולא שותפין עם
 מסהדין סהדין דסקר לא יתחמי
 בכנישתכון דישראל עם מסהדין
 סהדין דסקר דלא יקומון בניכון
 מן בתרכון וילפון לחוד אינון
 למהוי סהדין¹

דלא יקומון¹ בניכון מן בתריכון¹
 וילפון לחוד אינון² למהוי עם
 גיורין² ארום בחובי גיורא
 מותנא אתא על עלמא³ :
 (20.15) עמי בני ישראל לא
 תהוון גנבין לא חברין ולא שותפין
 עם גנבין⁴ ולא יתחמי בכנישתהון
 דישראל עם גנבין דלא⁵ יקומון
 בניכון מן בתריכון⁶ וילפון
 לחוד אינון למהוי עם גנבין⁷
 ארום
 בחובי גנביא כפנא אתי לעלמא⁸ :
 (20.16) עמי בני ישראל לא
 תהוון סהדין⁹
 דסקר⁹ לא חברין ולא שותפין¹⁰ עם
 סהדי שקרא¹⁰ ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון דישראל עם
 סהדי שיקרא דלא יקומון¹¹ בניכון
 מן בתריכון¹¹ וילפון לחוד אינון
 למהוי עם סהדי שקרא¹²
 ארום בחובי סהדי שקרא¹³
 13

חיות ברא מתכלה

1. End of folio.

1. Lft mg: מן בתריהון
 2. Lft mg: חובין גיורין
 3. Lft mg: מותא אתא לעלמ'
 4. Lft mg: לוגנביי'
 5. Rt mg: גנבין דלא
 6. Rt mg: בניהון מן בתריהון
 7. Lft mg: אורח' חובין גנבי'
 8. Lft mg: סהדין דסקרא
 9. Lft mg: לסהדא דסקר
 10. Rt mg: בניהון מן בתריהון
 11. Lft mg: אורח' חובין למהוי דסקר
 12. Lft mg: עננא סלקין ומסר' לא נחית

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan
<p>ית : (20.12) יקר אבוך בדיל דיורכון יומך על ארעא דיי אלהך יהיב לך : לא : (20.13) תיקטול נפש : לא : (20.14) תגוף</p>	<p>ית : (20.12) בני ישראל הורו עמי זהירין גבר ביקרא דאבוהי וביקרא דאמיה מן בגלל דיסגון יומיכון על ארעא דהי אלהכון יהיב לכון : (20.13) בני ישראל לא עמי תהרון קטולין לא חברין ולא שותפין עם קטולין ולא יתחמי בכנישתהון דישראל עם קטולין ולא יקומון בניכון מן בתריכון וילפון לחוד הינון למהוי עם קטולין ארום בחובי קטוליא חרבא נפיק על עלמא: (20.14) בני ישראל לא עמי תהרון גיורין לא חברין ולא שותפין עם גיורין ולא יתחמי בכנישתהון דישראל עם גיורין</p>

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

יחסרון בני ישראל לעלמא דאתי
 דכוליה שבתא:
 (20.12) עמי עמי בית ישראל הורו
 זהירין באיקרא
 דאבוכון ובאיקרא דאימכון
 דכל מאן דמיקר אבוי ואמוי (אמיה)
 יהיבנא ליה אריכות יומין וטגיעות
 שנין
 ארום בדיל איקרא דאבא
 ודאימא מחסיננא ליה לעלמא דאתי:
 (20.13) עמי עמי בית ישראל לא
 תהרון קטולין לא חברין ולא
 שותפין עם קטולין ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון (דישראל) עם קטולין
 ולא יקומון בניכון בתריכון
 וילפון (לחוד) אינון למהוי עם
 קטולין ארום בחובי קטוליא חרבא
 נפיק על עלמא:
 (20.14) עמי עמי בית ישראל לא
 תהרון גיורין לא חברין ולא
 שותפין עם גיורין ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון דישראל עם גיורין

1. עמי בני ישראל לא תהרון גיורין.

Fragment Targum Bomberg

יחסרון בני ישראל לעלמא דאתי
 דכוליה שבתא:
 (20.12) עמי עמי בית ישראל הורו
 זהירין באיקרא
 דאבוכון ובאיקרא דאימכון
 דכל מאן דמיקר אבוי ואמוי (אמיה)
 יהיבנא ליה אריכות יומין וטגיעות
 שנין
 ארום בדיל איקרא דאבא
 ודאימא מחסיננא ליה לעלמא דאתי:
 (20.13) עמי עמי בית ישראל לא
 תהרון קטולין לא חברין ולא
 שותפין עם קטולין ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון דישראל עם קטולין
 ולא יקומון בניכון מן בתריכון
 וילפון לחוד אינון למהוי עם
 קטולין ארום בחובי קטוליא חרבא
 נפיק על עלמא:
 (20.14) עמי עמי בני ישראל לא
 תהרון גיורין לא חברין ולא
 שותפין עם גיורין ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון דישראל עם גיורין

Cairo Geniza Fragments

ית :
 (20.12) עמי בני ישראל הורו
 זהירין גבר ביקרה
 דאבויה ובאיקרה דאימיה מן
 בגלל
 דיסגון
 יומיכון על ארעא דיי אלהכון
 יהיב לכון
 :
 (20.13) עמי בני ישראל לא
 תהרון קטולין ולא חברין ולא
 שותפין עם קטוליא ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון דישראל עם קטולין⁴
 ולא יקומון בניכון מן בתריכון⁵
 וילפון לחוד אינון⁶ ולמהוי⁷ עם
 קטולין⁶ ארום בחובי קטוליא חרבא
 נפיק על עלמא⁸:
 (20.14) עמי בני ישראל לא
 תהרון גיורין לא חברין ולא
 שותפין עם גיורין⁹ ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון דישראל עם גיורין¹⁰

Ms Neofiti 1

ית :
 (20.12) עמי בני ישראל הורו
 זהירין גבר ביקרה
 דאבויה ובאיקרה דאימיה מן
 בגלל
 דיסגון
 יומיכון על ארעא דיי אלהכון
 יהיב לכון
 :
 (20.13) עמי בני ישראל לא
 תהרון קטולין ולא חברין ולא
 שותפין עם קטוליא ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון דישראל עם קטולין⁴
 ולא יקומון בניכון מן בתריכון⁵
 וילפון לחוד אינון⁶ ולמהוי⁷ עם
 קטולין⁶ ארום בחובי קטוליא חרבא
 נפיק על עלמא⁸:
 (20.14) עמי בני ישראל לא
 תהרון גיורין לא חברין ולא
 שותפין עם גיורין⁹ ולא יתחמי
 בכנישתהון דישראל עם גיורין¹⁰

1. Rt mg: דבירי המשיא "the fifth word". 2. Rt mg: דבירי. 3. Rt mg: דבני ישראל. 4. Ab ln: קטולין דלא. 5. Rt mg: בניון מן בתריהון. 6. Lft mg: אנה חבון קטלי. 7. A is the end of the line, and is not repeated with the word on the next line. 8. Rt mg: אתי. 9. Lft mg: גיורין לעלמא. 10. Lft mg: דבני ישראל גיורין.

<u>Targum Onkelos</u>	<u>Targum Pseudo Jonathan</u>	<u>Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg</u>	<u>Fragment Tg Bomberg</u>	<u>Cairo Geniza Fragments</u>	<u>Ms Neofiti 1</u>
		וכל מאן דמתקיים עלמא בדיליה טיבו ליה בעלמא הדין ולעלמא דאטי:			
: הוי (20.8) דכיר ית יומא דשבתא לקדשותיה	: בני ישראל הוון עמי (20.8) דכירין יומא דשבתא למקדשא יתיה:	: עמי בית ישראל הוון דכירין ית יומא דשבתא לקדשותיה		: בני ישראל הוון עמי (20.8) דכירין ית יומא דשבתא למקדשא יתיה:	: בני ישראל הוון עמי (20.8) דכירין ית יומא דשבתא למקדשא יתיה:
: (20.9) שיתה יומין תפלוח ותעביד כל עיבידתך :	: (20.9) שיתא יומין תפלוח ותעבדון כל עבידתכון :			: (20.9) שיתא ² יומין תפלוח ותעבדון כל עבדתכון ⁴ :	: (20.9) שיתא ² יומין תפלוח ותעבדון כל עבדתכון ⁴ :
: (20.10) ויומא שביעאה שבתא קדם יי אלהך לא תעביד כל עיבידא את וברך וברתך עבדך ואמתך ובעירך וגיורך דבקירוך :	: (20.10) ויומא שביעאה שבא ונייח קדם ה' אלהכון לא תעבדון כל עבדתא אתון ובניכון ובגתיכון ועבדיכון ואמהתיכון וגיוריכון די בקירויכון :			: (20.10) ויומא שביעאה ⁵ שבא ונייח קדם יי אלהכון לא תעבדון כל עבדה אתון ובניכון ובגתיכון ועבדיכון ואמהתיכון ובעירכון וגיוריכון די בקירויכון ⁶ :	: (20.10) ויומא שביעאה ⁵ שבא ונייח קדם יי אלהכון לא תעבדון כל עבדה אתון ובניכון ובגתיכון ועבדיכון ואמהתיכון ובעירכון וגיוריכון די בקירויכון ⁶ :
: (20.11) ארי שיתה יומין עבד יי ית שמיא וית ארעא ית ימא וית כל דבהון ונח שביעאה על כין בריך יי ית יומא דשבתא וקדשיה	: (20.11) ארום בשיתא יומין ברא ה' ית שמיא וית ארעא ית ימא וית כל מה דאית בהון ונח שביעאה בגין כן בריך ה' ית יומא דשבתא וקדיש יתיה	: (20.11) ארום שיתא יומין עבד ה' ית שמיא וית ארעא וית כל דבהון ונח שביעאה על כן בריך ה' ית יומא דשבתא וקדיש יתיה קמאי הוא לכל מועדיא וחמור מכל זימניא ומריגוג דחמירתיה לבני ישראל אוריתיה וכל מאן דמיקר שבתא דמי קמאי כמאן דמיקר לי על כורסי יקרי ארום בדיל איקרא דשבתא		: (20.11) ארום לשתא ⁷ יומין ברא ⁸ יי שמיא וית ארעא ית ימיה וית כל מה דבהון והוה שבא ונייח קדמי ביומא ⁹ שביעאה ¹⁰ בגין כדין בריך יי ¹⁰ ית יומא דשבתא וקדש יתיה	: (20.11) ארום לשתא ⁷ יומין ברא ⁸ יי שמיא וית ארעא ית ימיה וית כל מה דבהון והוה שבא ונייח קדמי ביומא ⁹ שביעאה ¹⁰ בגין כדין בריך יי ¹⁰ ית יומא דשבתא וקדש יתיה

1. Perhaps a scribal error for זכירין

1. Rt mg: דבירא ובעיה 2. Ab ln: באשת 3. The yodh is probably a waw. 4. Ab ln: עבד 5. Lft mg: ויומ' שוב' 6. Ab ln: שיתה 7. Rt mg: בקירי' 8. Lft mg: דאי' בהן 9. Rt mg: וועמל מימרי מן 10. Lft mg: ואתניה ביום בגין כן בריך בריך יי

Targum Onkelos

Targum Pseudo Jonathan

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

Fragment Tg Bomberg

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

בנין מרדין על דר תליתי ועל דר רביעי לסנאי כד משלמין בניא למחטי בתר אבהתהון

בנין מרדין על דר תליתאי ועל דר רביעיי לשנאי:

בנין מרדין על דר תליתאי ועל דר רביעי לשנאי כד משלמין בניא למחטי בתר אבהתהון על דמרדר

בנין מרודין על דר תליתיי ועל דר רביעיי לסנאיי

בנין מרדין על דר תליתאי ועל דר רביעיאוי לשנאי כד יהרון במיא משלמין בחטאה בתר אבהתהון¹ להון אנה קרא שנאיי

(20.6) ועביד וטיבו לאלפי דרין לרחמי ולנטרי פיקודי (20.7) לא תימי בשמא דיי אלהך למגנא ארי לא יזכי

(20.6) ונטיר חסד¹ וטיבו לאלפין דרין לרחמי צדיקיא ולנטרי פקודיי ואורייתיי: (20.7) עמי בני ישראל לא ישתבע חד מנכון בשום מימריה דהי אלהכון על מגן ארום לא מזכי

(20.6) ברם אנא נטר וטיבו לאלפי דרין לרחמי צדיקיא ולנטרי פיקודיי ואורייתיי: (20.7) עמי בית ישראל לא תימי בשמא דהי אלהך למגנא ולא תשתבע בשמי ותשקר

(20.6) ברם נטר אנא חסד וטבו לאלפין דרדין לרחמי צדיקיה ולנטרי מצותה דאורייתיי: (20.7) עמי בני ישראל לא ישתבע חד מנכון בשם מימרה דיי אלהיה שבועה דשקר ארום לא מזכי יי ית חיבייה ביום דינה רבה כל מן דמשתבע בשמה ומשקר

(20.6) ברם נטר אנא חסד וטיבו לאלפין דרדין לרחמי צדיקיא² ולנטרי פיקודיא³: (20.7) לאתשא עמי בני ישראל לא יסב גבר מנכון ית שמה דיי אלהה על מגן ארום לא מזכי ביום דינא⁴ רבא יי ית מן די יסב שמה דיי⁵ אלהיה על מגן⁵

דיימי בשמיה לשיקרא ית

הי ית כל מאן דמשתבע בשמיה על מגן

דאנא הוא הי אלהכון רבא פרען דעתיד לאתפרעא ממאן דמשקר בשמי ארום בשמי רבא אתברי עלמא וכל מאן דמשתבע בשמי ומשקר גליא קדמי דבחובוי אחריבנא ליה וכל מאן דמנטר נפשיה ולא משתבע לשקרא גליא קדמי דבזכותיה מתקיים עלמא

כל מן דמשתבע בשמה ומשקר

יי ית מן די יסב שמה דיי⁵ אלהיה על מגן⁵

1. Ginsb: Zu streichen; vgl. mein Fragn.

1. The letter ב after the space following on אבהתהון finishes a line of the ms. We suggest that בניא is meant, although the word is not spelled out at the beginning of the next line, as is the usual practice. The next line begins with the next word להון. 2. Lft mg: לרחמי. 3. Lft mg: מצותה דאורייתא. 4. Rt mg: ישתבע חד ממכון בשם ממריה דיי אלהיכון לשקר ארום לא מזכי יי. 5. ית חוביכון דחיבי ביום דינא די משתבע בשמי לשקר. Lft mg:

Targum Onkelos

Targum Pseudo Jonathan

Ms ar 110 Fragment Tg

Fragment Tg Bomberg

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

לך אילה אוחרן בר מיני

לכון¹ אלהא אוחרן בר מיני²

לך אלהא אוחרן בר מיני ארום
כמא דאנא יחידאי בריתי ית על
עלמא ולא הרה אוחרן בהדאי תדין
לא תסגדון לאלה אוחרן אלא לאן
דיליה גבורתא:

לכון אלו אוחרן בר מיני

לך אלה אחרא בר מיני

:
(20.4) לא תעביד לך אילה
וכל דמו דבשמיא מלעילא
ודבארעא מלרע
ודבמיא מלרע לארעא

:
(20.4) לא תעבדון לכון צלם וצורה³
וכל דמו דבשמיא מלעיל
ודי בארעא מלרע
ודי במיא מלרע לארעא

(20.4) לא תעביד לך צלם
וכל דמו די בשמיא מלעיל
ודי בארעא מלרע (לארעא)
ודי במיא מלרע לארעא
ארום כלהון בריתי בשיתא

:
(20.4) לא תעבדון לכון צלם וצורה
וכל דמו דאית בשמייה מן לעל
ודאית בארעא מן לרע
ודאית במייה מן תחות לארעא

:
(20.4) לא תעבדון לכון ()¹
וכל דמות² די בשמיא מלעיל³
ודי בארעא⁴ מן לרע⁵
ודי במיא מן תחות לארעא מן
תחות

יומין ואינן מזדעזעין מן קדמי
כד אי.. נפקין ומסגדין קדמי
בדחל(ת)א רבא כן אתון תסגדון
קדמי בדחלא רבא:

:
(20.5) לא תסגוד להון ולא
תפליחיןון ארום אנא
יי אלהך אל קנא

:
(20.5) לא תסגדון להון ולא
תפליחון קדמיהון ארום אנא
הי אלהכון אלה קנאן ופורען
ומתפרע בקינא

(20.5) לא תסגוד להון ולא
תפליחיןון ארום אנ
הי אלהכון אלה קנא ופרן
ומתפרע בקנא דאנא עתיד למיגי¹
מן כל דסגיד להון (למסגד קדמי¹
וארף מנהון אעביד דינא על דסגוד
להון ברייתא דאנא הוא אלהא מסר
חובי אבהן רשיעין על

:
(20.5) לא תסגדון להון ולא
תפליחון לטע(ורתהון)ן ארום אנא
הוא יי אלהכון אלהא קנא ופורען
ומתפרע בקנא

:
(20.5) לא תסגדון להון ולא
תפליחון קדמיהון ארום אנא
יי אלהכון אלה קניי ופורען⁶
ומתפרע בקנא

מסער חובי אבהן על

מדכר חובי אבהן⁴ רשיעין על

מד(כר) חובי אבהן רשיעין על

מן רשיעיא על

1. Spätere Ausg. = Onk. 2. Ginsb: Msc. fe. This phrase is also missing in the Biblia Rabbinica ab Bragadino, where ישראל of verse 3 is immediately followed by the לא תעבדון of verse 4. 3. Ginsb: Zu streichen; vgl. mein Frgm. But now that we know its occurrence in CG and N, there is no reason for its omission. This is a reading of the Pal. tg. 4. Ms: אבהתן; ed. pr: אבהת.

1. Nach Ginsbergers Ansicht zu streichen.

1. Lacuna of ca. 10 spaces; obviously צלם וצורה has been erased. 2. Ab ln: דמו. 3. Lft mg: מן. 4. Lft mg: בארעיה. 5. Rt mg: מלרע. 6. A scribal error for ופורען.

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Per Ms 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1
	על משירייתהון	אזיל ואקיף על משריתהון			בני ¹ וחזר ומקף על משריותיהון
	דישראל וחזר ומתחקק על לוחי	דישראל חזר ומתחקק על לוחי			דישראל וחזר ומתחקק על לוחי
	קיימא דהרון יהיבין בכף ידוי	קיימא			קיימא
	דמשה ומתהפיך בהון מן סטר לסטר	ומתהפך בהון מסטר לסטר			
	ובכין	וכד ¹			
	צורח ואמר עמי בני	הוה צורח ואמר: עמי עמי בית		ואמר עם בני	הוה צורח ואמר ³ עמי בני
אנא יוי אלהך	ישראל אנא הוה ה' אלהכון די	ישראל אנא ה' אלהכון		יש' אנא הוה יי אלהכון די	ישראל ² אנא הוה יי אלהכון די
דאפיקתך	פרקית ואפיקית יתכון	דאפיקית יתכון ופרקית		פרקית ואפיקית יתכון	פרקת ואפקת יתכון
מארעא	פריקין מן ארעא	יתכון ²		פריקין מן ארעא	פריקין מן ארעא ⁴
דמצרים		ומשעבודא דמצרים כד הויתרון פלחין		דמצ' דמצרים	דמצרים
מבית עבדותא	דמצראי מן בית שיעבוד	תחות ידהון דמצראי בבית שעבוד		מן בית שעבוד	מן בית
	עבדיא :	עובדיהון :		עבדייה ¹ :	עבדי :
	(20.3) דבירא תניינא כד הוה נפיק	(20.3)		(20.3) ¹	(20.3) דבירא תניינא כד הוה נפיק
	מן פום קודשא יהי שמיה מברך הי				מן פום קודשא יהא שמה מברך היך
	כזיקין והי כברקין והי כשלהוביין				זיקין והיך ברקין והיך למפדין
	דנור למפד דנור מן ימיניה ולמפד				דנור למפד דנורא מן ימינה ולמפד
	דאישא מן שמאליה פרוח וטייס באויר				דאשא מן שמאלה פרוח וטייס באויר
	שמיא חזר ומתחמי				שמיא וחזר וכל ישראל חמיין יתיה
					ודחלין והוה חזר ומתחקק על תרין
					לוחי קיימא ואמר עמי בני וחזר
					ומקף על משריותיהון דישראל וחזר
					ומתחקק על לוחי קיימא
					וכל ישראל
					חזיין יתיה וכן הוור צורח ואמר
					עמי בני ישראל לא יהווי
					עמי בני ישראל לא יהווי

1. Ms missing.

1. Ginsb en: וכדין . 2. Ginsb en: מן ארעא .

1. Kahle ftnt: " דבירה תניינא (a. R.). כד הוה נפק מן פום קודשא

1. As ftnt 8, p. 420. 2. Ft mg: וכן הוור צד (צוח?) צורח ואמר וכל ישראל חזין יתיה כד הוה צוח ואמר וכן 3. Lft mg: עמי בני ישראל הוה צוח ואמר וכל ישראל חזיין הוה צוח ואמר . 4. Ab ln: יתיה כד .

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Par Ms 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1
19.19 (19.19) והיה קל שופרא אזיל ותקיף לחדא משה ממליל ומן קדם ה' מתעני ליה בקל	19.19 (19.19) והיה קל שופרא אזיל ותקיף לחדא משה הוה ממליל ומן קדם ה' הוה מתעני נעים ומשבח ונעימתא בקל	19.19 (19.19) והיה קליה דשיפורא אזיל ותקיף לחדא משה הוה ממליל ומן קדם ה' מתעני ליה בקל בסים ובנעימתא ¹ קלא	19.19 (19.19) והיה קליה דשיפורא אזיל ותקיף לחדא משה הוה ממליל ומן קדם ה' מתעני ליה בקל בסים ובנעימתא ¹ קלא	19.19 (19.19) והיה קליה דשיפורא אזיל ותקיף לחדא משה הוה ממליל ומן קודם יי הוה מתעני בקל בסם ונעים	19.19 (19.19) והיה קלא דשיפורא אזיל ותקיף לחדא משה הוה ממליל בקול נעים ומן קדם יי הוה מתענה ליה בקל
19.20 (19.20) ואתגלי יוי על טורא דסיני בריש ¹ טורא וקרא למה לריש טורא וסליק משה:	19.20 (19.20) ואתגלי ה' על טורא דסיני על ריש טורא וקרא למה לריש טורא וסליק משה:	19.20 (19.20) ואתגלי מימרא דה' על טורא דסיני לריש טורא וקרא ליה דברא דה' למה מן ריש טורא וסליק משה:	19.20 (19.20) ואתגלי מימרא דה' על טורא דסיני לריש טורא וקרא ליה דברא דה' למה מן ריש טורא וסליק משה:	19.20 (19.20) ואתגליית יקר שכינתיה דיי על טורה דסיני על ראש טורה וקרא מימריה דיי למה על ראש טורה וסלק משה:	19.20 (19.20) ואתגליית איקר שכינתא דיי ¹ על טורא דסיני על ריש טורא וקרא מימריה דיי למה מן טורא וסלק משה:
19.21 (19.21) ואמר יוי למשה חות אסהיד בעמא דלמא יפגרון קדם יוי למחזי ויפול מנהרן רב דנהרן	19.21 (19.21) ואמר ה' למשה חות אסהיד בעמא דילמא יכוונון קדם ה' לאיסתכלא ויפיל מנהרן רב דנהרן	19.21 (19.21) ואמר מימרא דה' למשה חות אסהיד בעמא דלא ידחקון קדם ה' למחמי דלא יפול מנהרן אוכלוסין סגייעין:	19.21 (19.21) ואמר מימרא דה' למשה חות אסהיד בעמא דלא ידחקון קדם ה' למחמי דלא יפול מנהרן אוכלוסין סגיין ³ :	19.21 (19.21) ואמר מימריה דיי למשה חות אשהד בעמא דלא ידחפון קודם יי למחמי ויפול מנהרן אוכלוסין סגין:	19.21 (19.21) ואמר ² יי ² למשה חות אסהיד בעמא דלא ידחקון קדם יי למיחמיה ויפול מנהרן אוכלוסין סגין:
19.22 (19.22) ואף כהניא דקריבין לשמשא קדם יוי יתקדשון דלמא יקטול ² בהון יוי:	19.22 (19.22) ואף כהניא דקריבין לשמשא קדם ה' יתקדשון דילמא יקטול בהון ה':	19.22 (19.22) ולחוד כהניא דקימין ומשמשין קדם ה' יתקדשון דילמא יתקוף בהון רב רגוז אמ ² מן ³ קדם ה':	19.22 (19.22) ולחוד כהנייה דקיימין ומשמשין קודם יי יתקדשון דלא יתקוף בהון רגוז מן קודם יי:	19.22 (19.22) ולחוד כהנייה דקיימין ומשמשין קודם יי יתקדשון דלא יתקוף בהון רגוז ⁵ מן קודם יי:	19.22 (19.22) ולחוד כהניא דקיימין ³ ומשמשין קדם יי יתקדשון דלא יתקוף בהון רגוז ⁵ מן קודם יי:
19.23 (19.23) ואמר משה קדם יוי לא	19.23 (19.23) ואמר משה קדם ה' לא	19.23 (19.23) ואמר משה קדם ה' לא	19.23 (19.23) ואמר משה קודם יי לא	19.23 (19.23) ואמר משה קודם יי לא	19.23 (19.23) ואמר משה קודם יי לא ⁶

1. 2228-2230, 84, 282, Solg, Ix, Lis, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2: יתקוף. 2. Complut: לריש.

1. So ms; Ginsb cn: ובנעימת. 2. Nach Ginsbs' Ansicht zu streichen. 3. Ms om; Ginsb cn.

1. Vat: והיה קליה דשיפורא אזיל ותקיף לחדא משה הוה ממליל ומן קדם ה' הוה מתעני ליה בקל נעים ואיתגלי מימרא דה' על טורא דסיני בריש טורא וקרא דבריה דה' מן ריש טורא וסליק משה ואמר מימריה דה' למשה חות אסהיד בעמא דלא ידחקון קודם ה' למיחמי ויפיל מנהרן אוכלוסין ולחוד כהניא דקיימין ומשמשין קודם ה' יתקדשון דלא יתקוף בהון רגוז מן קודם ה' ואמר משה קודם ה' לא יכלין עמא למיסוק לטורא דסיני ארום את אסידת בן למימר אתחיים ית טורא וקדש יתיה.

1. Lft mg: ואתגליית ממריי דיי. 2. Lft mg: מימרי דיי. 3. Lft mg: דקריבין. 4. Lft mg: יתקוף. 5. Lft mg: ותקוף בהן רגוז. 6. The line begins here in the ms; the end of the previous line, being the end of the previous verse is mistaken for the beginning of this verse.

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1
<p>(19.15) ואמר לעמא הרו זמינין לתלתה יומין לא תקרבו לצידי איתתא :</p> <p>(19.16) והוה ביומא תליתאה במהוי צפרא והרו קלין וברקין ועננא תקיף על טורא וקל שופרא תקיף לחדא וזע כל עמא דבמשריתא :</p> <p>(19.17) ואפיק משה ית עמא לקדמות מימרא די ימי מן משריתא</p>	<p>(19.15) ואמר לעמא הרו זמינין לתלתי יומין לא תקרבו לתשמיש דעריס :</p> <p>(19.16) והוה ביומא תליתאה בשיתא בירחא בעידוני צפרא והוה קלין דרעים וברקין ועננא תקיף קטיר על טורא וקל שופרא תקיף לחדא וזע כל עמא די במשריתא :</p> <p>(19.17) ואנפיק משה ית עמא לקדמות שכינתא דהי מן משריתא ומן יד תליש מארי עלמא ית טורא וזקפיה באוריא והוה זייג הי כאספקלריא ואיתעדרו תחותי טורא :</p> <p>(19.18) וטורא דסיני תנין כוליה מן בגלל דארכין ליה שמיא ואתגלי עלוי באישא מצלהבא וסליק קוטריה הי כקוטרא דאתונא וזע כל טורא לחדא :</p>	<p>(19.15) ואמר לעמא הרו זמינין לתלתא יומין לא יקרבו גבר מנכון לתשמיש דערס :</p> <p>(19.16) והוה ביומא תליתאה בעידני צפרא והרו קלן וברקין וענן תקיף על טורא וקליה דשיפורא אזיל ותקיף לחדא ואזדעזעו כל עמא די במשריתא :</p> <p>(19.17) ואפיק משה ית עמא לקדמותיה דמימרא דהי מן משריתא</p>	<p>(19.15) ואמר לעמא הרו מזמנין לתלתא יומין לא תקרבו לתשמיש דערס¹ :</p> <p>(19.16) והוה ביומא תליתיה בעידוני צפרא והוה קלין וברקין וענן תקיף על טורא וקליה דשיפורא ותקיף לחדא וזע כל עמא דאית במשריתא :</p> <p>(19.17) ואפיק משה ית עמא לקדמותיה דשכינתיה די מן משריתא</p>	<p>(19.15) ואמר לעמא הרו זמינין לתלתה יומין לא יקרבו מנכון³ לתשמיש דערס :</p> <p>(19.16) והוה ביומא תליתיה בעידוני צפרא⁴ והוה קלין וברקין וענן תקיף על טורא ושופרא ותקיף לחדא ואזדעזעו כל עמא די במשריתא :</p> <p>(19.17) ואפיק משה ית עמא לקדמות איקר שכינתא די מן משריתא⁶</p>	<p>(19.15) ואמר לעמא הרו זמינין לתלתה יומין לא יקרבו מנכון³ לתשמיש דערס :</p> <p>(19.16) והוה ביומא תליתיה בעידוני צפרא⁴ והוה קלין וברקין וענן תקיף על טורא ושופרא ותקיף לחדא ואזדעזעו כל עמא די במשריתא :</p> <p>(19.17) ואפיק משה ית עמא לקדמותיה דשכינתיה די מן משריתא⁶</p>
<p>בשפולי טורא :</p> <p>(19.18) וטורא דסיני תנין כוליה מן קדם דאתגלי עלוהי יוי באישתא וסליק תנביה כתננא דאתונא וזע כל טורא לחדא :</p>	<p>בשפולי טורא :</p> <p>(19.18) וטורא דסיני תנין כוליה מן בגלל דארכין ליה שמיא ואתגלי עלוי באישא מצלהבא וסליק קוטריה הי כקוטרא דאתונא וזע כל טורא לחדא :</p>	<p>בשפולי טורא :</p> <p>(19.18) וטורא דסיני הוה תנן¹ כוליה מן קדם דאתגלי עלוי יקר שכינתיה דהי בשלהובית דאישא וסליק תנביה כקוטרא תננא דאתונא ואזדעזעו כל טורא לחדא :</p>	<p>(19.18) וטורא דסיני עטר כוליה מן קדם דאתגלי⁴ עלוי יקר שכינתא די מן⁵ בשלהבא דאשתא :</p>	<p>בשפולי דטורא :</p> <p>(19.18) וטורא דסיני הוה תנן ועטה כוליה מן קודם די אתגליית עלוי יקר שכינתיה די מן⁸ בשלהבית דאשה וסלק תנביה כקוטרא תנן אתונא ואזדעזעו כל טורא לחדא :</p>	<p>בשפולי דטורא :</p> <p>(19.18) וטורא דסיני הוה תנן כוליה מן בגלל דאתגליית עלוי איקר שכינתיה די מן⁸ באשתא וסלקת תננא כתננא דאתונא⁷ ואזדעזעו כל טורא לחדא⁸ :</p>

1. עטר כוליה : ל' and 'ע' .

1. Vat: דערס. 2. Vat: והוה ביומא תליתיה בעידין צפרא והוה קלין וברקין וענן תקיף על טורא וקליה דשיפורא תקיף לחדא וזעו כל ואפיק : 3. Vat: משה ית עמא לקדמות יקר שכינתא דהי . 4. ואיתעדרו בשפולי דטורא בשלהבי : 5. Vat: די איתגליית : 6. דאשא וסליק תנביה כתנן אתונא וזעו כל עמא דאית במשריתא .

1. Ab ln: זמינין . 2. Ab ln: לתלתה יומין . 3. Lt mg: מן דכון . 4. Rt mg: בעד' . 5. Lt mg: דצ' . 6. Ab ln: משריתא . 7. Rt mg: ואתגלי עלוי יקר שכינתיה די . 8. וסלק קוטריה הי כקוטרא דאתונא בשלהובא דאשא וסלק תננא : Lt mg: כקוטרא תנן אתונא וזעו כל עמא דאית במשריתא .

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1
<p>ותזמינינון יומא דיין ולמחר ויחוררון לבושיהון: 19.11) ויהון זמינין ליומא תליתאה ארי ביומא תליתאה מתגלי¹ י'י לעיני כל עמא על טורא דסיני:</p>	<p>ותזמינינון יומא דיין וימחרא ויחוררון לבושיהון: 19.11) ויהון זמינין ליומא תליתאה ארום ביומא תליתאה יתגלי ה' לעיני כל עמא על טורא דסיני:</p>	<p>ותקדיש יתהון יומא הדין ולמחר ויחוררון לבושיהון: 19.11) ויהויין¹ מזומנין ליומא תליתאה ארום ביומא תליתאה יתגלי מימרא דה' לקבל כל עמא על טורא דסיני:</p>	<p>19.11) (1) ותקדש יתהון יומא הדין ולמחר ויחוררון לבושיהון: 19.11) ויהרון מזומנין לתלתה יומין ארום ביומא תליתיתא יתגלי מימ' דיי' לקבל כל עמא על טורא דסיני:</p>	<p>ותקדש יתהון יומא הדין ולמחר ויחוררון לבושיהון: 19.11) ויהרון מזומנין לתלתה יומין ארום ביומא תליתיתא יתגלי מימ' דיי' לקבל כל עמא על טורא דסיני:</p>	<p>ותקדש יתהון יומא הדין ולמחר ויחוררון לבושיהון: 19.11) ויהרון מזומנין ליומא תליתיתא ארום ביומא תליתיתא¹ תתגלי איקר שכינתא דיי' לעיני כל¹ עמא על טורא דסיני:</p>
<p>19.12) ותתחם ית עמא סחור סחור למימר אסתמרו לכוון מלמיסק² בטורא³ ולמקרב בסופיה כל דיקרב בטורא אתקטלא יתקטיל:</p>	<p>19.12) ותתחם ית עמא ויקרמון חזור חזור לטורא למימר הו זהירין מלמיסק בטורא¹ ולמיקרב בסייפיה כל דיקרב בטורא אתקטלא יתקטיל:</p>	<p>19.12) ותתחם ית עמא חזור חזור למימר איזדהרו לכוון דלא למסוק בטורא ודלא למקרב בשיפולוי² כל דיקרב לטורא יתקטלא יתקטיל:</p>	<p>19.12) (2) ותתחם ית עמא חזור חזור למימר אזדהרו לכוון דלא למסוק לטורא ולא למקרב בשיפולוי כל די יקרב בטורא מתקטלא יתקטיל:</p>	<p>19.12) ותתחם ית עמא חזור חזור למימר אזדהרו לכוון דלא למסוק לטורא ולא למקרב בשיפולוי כל די יקרב בטורא מתקטלא יתקטיל:</p>	<p>19.12) ותתחם ית עמא חזור חזור למימר אזדהרו לכוון דלא למיסק² לטורא ודלא² למקרב בשיפולוי כל³ דיקרב לטורא יתקטיל³ יתקטיל:</p>
<p>19.13) לא תקרב ביה יד ארי אתרגמא יתרגם או אשתדאה יתדרי אם בעירא אם אנשא לא יתקיים במיגד שופרא אנון מרשן למסק בטורא⁴:</p>	<p>19.13) לא תקרב ביה ידא ארום איתרגמא יתרגם באבני ברדא או גירין דאשא יזריקון ביה³ אין בעירא אין אינשא לא יתקיים ברם במיגד קל שופרא הינון מרשן למיסק בטורא:</p>	<p>19.13) לא תיקרב ביה ידא דקטלא ארום איתרגמא יתרגם ³ או גומריין דאישא יזדרקון ביה³ אין בעיר אין בר נש לא יחי במתקע שיפורה משה ואהרן אינון יהון רשאין למסוק בטורא:</p>	<p>19.13) לא תקרב³ ביה יד אנש ארום מתרגמא יתרגם או גירין דאשא יתקשטון ביה⁴ אי⁴ בעיר אי⁴ גבר לא יחי כמתקעא דשיפורה אינון⁵ יסקין לטורא:</p>	<p>19.13) לא תקרב³ ביה יד אנש ארום מתרגמא יתרגם או גירין דאשא יזדרקון ויתקשטון בה' אן בעירא אן ברנש לא יחי במתקעא דשיפורה אינון ומשה ואהרן יהון רשיין למסוק בטורא:</p>	<p>19.13) לא תקרב ביה⁴ ידא דאנש ארום מתרגמא יתרגם או גירין דאשה יגדר ⁵ יזדרקון ביה⁵ אן בעיר אין גבר לא יחי⁶ כמתקע שופרא משה ואהרן אינון יהון רשיין למיסק לטורא⁶:</p>
<p>19.14) ונחת משה טורא לות עמא וזמין ית עמא וחוררו לבושיהון:</p>	<p>19.14) ונחת משה ביומא ההוא² מן טורא² לות עמא וזמין ית עמא וחוררו לבושיהון:</p>	<p>19.14) ונחת משה מן טורא לות עמא וקדיש ית עמא וחוררו לבושיהון:</p>	<p>19.14) (6) ויהון רשיין למסוק בטורא: 19.14) ונחת משה מן טורא לות עמא וקדיש ית עמא וחוררו לבושיהון:</p>	<p>19.14) ונחת משה מן טורא לות עמא וקדיש ית עמא וחוררו לבושיהון:</p>	<p>19.14) ונחת משה מן טורא לות עמא וקדיש ית עמא וחוררו לבושיהון:</p>

1. 2228-2230, 282, 84, Solg, Lis, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2: למיסק; Ix: אהולי; יתגלי.
3. Complut: לטורא. 4. Freib, Complut, Sab: לטורא.

1. Ginsb cn; the ms has בהר.
2. Ginsb completion; the phrase is missing in the ms.

1. Ms; Ginsb cn: ויהון. 2. ע': תלתייה ארום ביומא תלתייה יתגלי מימרא דה' חמיין כל עמא על טורא ותתחם ית עמא דסיני חזור חזור למימר איזדהרו לכוון דלא למיסק בטורא ולא למיקרב בשייפוי כל דיקרב בטורא מתקטיל יתקטיל. 3. Vat: תקרוב. 4. Vat: ונחת משה מן טורא לות עמא וקדיש ית עמא וחוררו לבושיהון.

1. Vat: ויהון מזומנין ביומא תלתייה ארום ביומא תלתייה יתגלי מימרא דה' חמיין כל עמא על טורא ותתחם ית עמא דסיני חזור חזור למימר איזדהרו לכוון דלא למיסק בטורא ולא למיקרב בשייפוי כל דיקרב בטורא מתקטיל יתקטיל. 3. Vat: תקרוב. 4. Vat: ונחת משה מן טורא לות עמא וקדיש ית עמא וחוררו לבושיהון.

1. Lft mg: אהולי מימרי דיי'. 2. Rt mg: בטורא ולא יתמיין כל. 3. Rt mg: דיקרב בטור מתקטיל. 4. The rt mg has an unidentified reading between the line beginning here in the ms and the next line: מסוק בשייפוי. 5. Lft mg: כמתקעא. 6. Rt mg: יתקשטין ביה ידשופרא הינון יסקון לטורא.

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1
דיילי ארי כל ארעא:	דעל אפי ארעא :	ארום ארום דהי	ארום לשמא דיי	ארום לשמיה (דיי)	ארום ¹ די
19.6) ואתון תהוון קדמי מלכין קשירי כלילא וכהנין משמשינ ועם קדיש אילין פתגמיא דתמליל עם בני ישראל :	19.6) ואתון תהוון קדמי מלכין קשירי כלילא וכהנין משמשינ ועם קדיש אילין פתגמיא דתמליל עם בני ישראל :	19.6) ואתון תהוון קדמי מלכין וכהנין קדישא אילין שבח דיבריא דתמליל עם בני ישראל :	19.6) ואתון תהוון לשמי מלכין וכהנין קדישא אילין דיבריא די ¹ תמליל :	19.6) ואתון תהוון לשמי מלכין וכהנין קדישה אילין דיברייא די תמליל משה עם בני יש :	19.6) ואתון תהוון לשמי מלכין וכהנין קדישא אילין פתגמיא ² די תמליל עם בני ישראל :
19.7) ואתא משה וסדר קדמיהוון ית כל פתגמיא האלין דפקדיה ירי :	19.7) ואתא משה ביומא ההוא וקרא לסבי עמא וסדר קדמיהוון ית כל פתגמיא האלין דפקדיה ה :	19.7) ואתא משה וקרא לחכימא עמא וסדר קדמיהוון ית כל שבח דיבריא האילין דפקיד יתיה מימרא דהי :	19.7) ואתא משה וקרא לחכימא דישראל וסדר קדמהוון ית כל דיבריא האילין דפקיד יתיה מימרא דיי :	19.7) ואתא משה וקרא לחכימי עמא (וסדר קדמיהוון ית כל שבח דיבריייה) האלין די פקד יתיה מימ' דיי :	19.7) ואתא משה וסדר קדמיהוון ית כל פתגמיא די פקד יתיה יי :
19.8) ואתיברו כל עמא כחדא ואמרו כל דמליל ה נעביד ואתיב משה ית פתגמי עמא לקדם ירי :	19.8) ואתיברו כל עמא כחדא ואמרו כל דמליל ה נעביד ואתיב משה ית פתגמי עמא קדם ה :	19.8) ועניין כל עמא כחדא ואמרו כל דמליל מימרא דהי נעביד וחזר משה ית מליהוון דעמא בצלו קדם ה :	19.8) ועניין ² כל עמא כחדא בלבהוון ³ שלימה ואמרו ⁴ כל ⁵ די ⁶ מליל מימרא דיי נעביד וחזר משה ית פתגמי עמא בצלו קדם יי :	19.8) (וענון כל עמא כחדה) בלבה שלמא ואמרין כל מה די מליל ממרה דיי נעב(יד וחזר משה ית) פתגמי עמא בצלו קדום יי :	19.8) ועניין ⁴ כל עמא כחדא בלבא שלמא ואמרי כל מה דמליל יי נעבד וחזר משה ית מליהוון ⁶ דעמא ⁵ בצלו קדם יי :
19.9) ואמר ה למשה ביומא תליתאה הא אנא מתגלי עלך בעיבא דענונ יקרא מן בגלל דישמעון עמא במללותי עמך ואף בכ יהימנון לעלם ותני משה ית פתגמי עמא קדם ה :	19.9) ואמר ה למשה ביומא תליתאה הא אנא מתגלי עלך בעיבא דענון יקרא מן בגלל דישמעון עמא במללותי עמך ואף בכ יהימנון לעלם ותני משה ית פתגמי עמא קדם ה :	19.9) ואמר מימרא דהי למשה הא ¹ מימרי מתגלי לך בתוקפיה דענונא מן בגלל דישמעון עמא במללותי עמך ולחוד בנבואתך משה יהימנון לעלם ותני משה ית מליהוון דעמא בצלו קדם ה :	19.9) ואמר מימרא דיי למשה הא מימרי מתגלי עלך בעביא ⁶ דענונא מן בגלל דישמעון עמא במללותי עמך ולחוד ⁷ בכ מילי ⁷ נבואתך משה עבדי יהימנון לעלם ותני משה ית פתגמי עמא בצלו קדם יי :	19.9) ואמר ממרה דיי למשה הא מימרי מתגלי עלך בעבייה ¹ דענונא מן בגלל דישמעון עמא במללו(תי) עמך ולחוד ² בנבואתך משה עבדי יהימנון לעלם ותני משה ית פתגמי עמא בצלו קדם יי :	19.9) ואמר ⁷ יי למשי הא ממרי מתגלי עלך בתקפא דענונא מן בגלל דישמעון עמא במללותי עמך ונבואתך משה עבדי יהימנון לעלם ותני משה ית מליהוון דעמא קדם יי :
19.10) ואמר ירי למשה איזיל לרת עמא	19.10) ואמר ה למשה ביומא רביעאה איזיל לרת עמא	19.10) ואמר מימרא דהי למשה איזיל לרת עמא	19.10) ואמר ⁸ יי למי אזיל לרת עמא	19.10) ואמר ⁸ יי למשה איזיל לרת עמא	19.10) ואמר ⁸ יי למשה איזיל לרת עמא

1. 282, Solg, IX, Freib, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2, Sab: קדם.

1. Ginsb on: הא.

1. Vat: תמליל עם בני ישראל. 2. Vat: וענון. 3. Vat: בלבא. 4. Vat: כל מה די. 5. Vat: ואמרין. 6. Vat: לחוד מלי. 7. Vat: בעמיה. 8. Vat: ואמר מימריה דהי למשה. 8. Vat: איזיל לרת עמא ותקדיש יתהוון יומא הדין ולימחר ויחווון לבושיהוון:

1. Kahle: "corrigiert in 'בתוקפה', which is the reading of Par and N. 2. Kahle cn; the ms has ולחוד.

1. Rt mg: לשמא דיי היא כל. 2. Rt mg: קדישא אילין דיבריא די. 3. Lft mg: לחכימי דיי. 4. Ab ln: דיבריי. 5. Lft mg: וענון. 6. Lft mg: פתגמי עמ. 7. Lft mg: מימרי דיי. 8. Lft mg: יי.

Targum Onkelos

Targum Pseudo Jonathan

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

Fragment Tg Bomberg

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

ואד עזער

ורעדת כל פלטינ

1 ואזדעזע כל פלטינ

חשב יהודה בליביה

ביה בשעתא

2 ענה יהודה

ואמר

אמר יהודה אילולי דהיה

2 ואמר דלמה דהא גבורתא

דין חילא

עלע מן בית

3 מן דבית 3 אבה היא ודן חיילא 1

מן דבית

אבא לא הוה כשר למתעבדא

רבא על דהוא מן עילעא

אבא הוה בגין כן שרי

כן בכדין שרי יהודה

דין ב.... (....)

דאבה אין לא הוה כשר למעבד

מרכיך במילוי

מרכיך במילוי

לממלא מלין דשלם (קדם) אחרי

4 מן בגין כדן 4 שרי יהודה

ואמר

ואמר

5 מממך במילוי 5

ואמר

מילין מכיכן

6 רבונני שאל ית עבדוי למימר

הא אית לכוני אב או אח :

19.1 בירחא תליתא 7 בזמן

אפיקתהון 7 בבני ישראל פריקין

8 מן ארעא 8 דמצרים היך זמן יומא

הדין עלו למדברא

דסיני :

19.2 ונטלו 9 מן רפידיים 9 ואתון

למדברא דסיני ושרון במדברא

(ד)רבונני שאל (ית עבדוי) למימר

הא־אית־לכוני אב או־אח :

19.1 בירחא תליתא לזמן

אפיקתהון) דבני יש' פריקין

מן ארעה דמצרים היך זמן (יומא

דין) עלו למדברא

דסיני :

19.2 ונטלו מן רפידיים ואתון

למדברא דסיני ושרון במדברא

1. Vat: בירחא תליתא במפוקתהון בני ישראל פריקין מן מצרים היך זמן יומא הדין עלו למדברא דסיני

1. Rt mg: וזעזע יתיה חשב יהודה 2. Ab ln: בלוביה ואמר דן חייליה ואמר יהוד' בליביה of the preceding phrase in Par. 3. Ab ln: מדבית 4. Repeated in rt mg slightly above here. 5. Rt mg: 6. Repeated in lft mg. 7. Rt mg: במפוקתהון 8. Rt mg: מא' 9. The line ends with מרפי, but the following line repeats the full spelling: מן רפידיים

רבונני שאל ית עבדוהי למימר האית לכוני אבא או אחא: 19.1 בירחא תליתא למפק בני ישראל מארעא דמצרים ביומא הדין אתו למדברא דסיני: 19.2 ונטלו מרפידיים ואתו למדברא דסיני ושרו במדברא

רבונני שאל ית עבדוי למימר האית לכוני אבא או אחא: 19.1 בירחא תליתא לאפקות בני ישראל מארעא דמצרים ביומא הדין בחד לירחא אתו למדברא דסיני: 19.2 ונטלו מרפידיים ואתו למדברא דסיני ושרו במדברא

רבונני שאל ית עבדוי למימר האית לכוני אב או אח: 19.1 בירחא תליתא לזמן אפיקתהון דבני ישראל פריקין מן ארעא דמצרים היך זמן יומא דיין עלו למדברא דסיני: 19.2 ונטלו מרפידיים ואתו למדברא דסיני ושרון במדברא

רבונני שאל ית עבדוי למימר האית לכוני אב או אח: 19.1 בירחא תליתא לזמן אפיקתהון) דבני יש' פריקין מן ארעה דמצרים היך זמן (יומא דיין) עלו למדברא דסיני: 19.2 ונטלו מן רפידיים ואתון למדברא דסיני ושרון במדברא

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

Tosefta

Fragment Tg Cod Ox 2305

1 ואזדעזע כל פלטינ

ורפפיה דיהכלא
מתקורף ותב יהודה
רוגזיה.

ורפפיה דהיכלא

2 ענה יהודה

2 ואמר דלמה דהא גבורתא
3 מן דבית אבה היא ודן חיילא
רבא על דהוא מן עילעא
דאבה אין לא הוה כשר למעבד
כדין 4 מן בגין כדן 4 שרי יהודה
5 ממכך במילוי 5

ורפפיה דיהכלא
ורפפיה דיהכלא
למלא בחננא קדם
שליטא דארעא ואמר:
ימלל כען עבדך פתגמא קדם רבוני.
ולא יתקוף רוגזך בעבדך. ארי
כפרעה כן את:

ורפפיה דיהכלא
1 מתפיסין מליה
ואמר כבעו רבוני
ימלל כען עבדך פתגמא קדם רבוני
ולא יתקוף רוגזך בעבדך ארי
כפרעה כן את:

ואמר

מילין מכיכן

6 רבוני 6 שאל ית עבדוי למימר
הא אית לכוון אב או אח :
19.1 בירחא תליתיא 7 בזמן
אפיקתהון 7 בבני ישראל פריקין
8 מן ארעא 8 דצמרים היך זמן יומא
הדין עלו למדברא
דסיני:

ורפפיה דיהכלא
ורפפיה דיהכלא
למלא בחננא קדם
שליטא דארעא ואמר:
ימלל כען עבדך פתגמא קדם רבוני.
ולא יתקוף רוגזך בעבדך. ארי
כפרעה כן את:

ורפפיה דיהכלא
1 מתפיסין מליה
ואמר כבעו רבוני
ימלל כען עבדך פתגמא קדם רבוני
ולא יתקוף רוגזך בעבדך ארי
כפרעה כן את:

9 מן רפידיים 9 ואתון
למדברא דסיני ושרון במדברא

1. Rt mg: זעזע יתיה חשב יהודה
2. Ab בלוביה ואמר דן חייליה
ln: ואמר יהוד' בליבניה
preceding phrase in Par. 3. Ab
ln: מדנית 4. Repeated in rt mg
slightly above here. 5. Rt mg:
6. Repeated in lft mg.
7. Rt mg: במפוקתהון
8. Rt mg: מא' 9. The line ends with
מרי, but the following line
repeats the full spelling:
מן רפידיים

1. Ginsb ftnt: "Man erwartet:
"מתפיס במליה"

....
דין ב....
לממלא מלין דשלם (קדם) אחוי

(ד) רבוני שאל (ית עבדוי) למימר
הא אית לכוון אב או אח :
19.1 בירחא תליתיא (ליתא) לזמן
אפיקתהון) דבני יש' פריקין
מן ארעא דצמרים היך זמן (יומה
דין) עלו למדברא
דסיני:

9 מן רפידיים ואתון
למדברא דסיני ושרון במדברא

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

Fragment Tg Bomberg

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

Tosefta

Fragment Tg Cod Ox 2305

חרבך אתכינה לצוארך: אמר ליה
 יהודה: כען אפתח פומי ואבלע
 יתך: אמר ליה יוסף: אם תפתח
 פומך. אסתום יתיה באבנא הוא:
 אמר ליה יהודה: נורא ושכם דליק
 בלבי: אמר ליה יוסף: בנורא
 דתמר כלתך אנא מטפי: אמר ליה
 יהודה: כען אצבע ית ארעא דמצראי
 בדמא: אמר ליה יוסף: צבעין אתון
 מיומיכון. כמא דעבדתון לכיתונא
 דיוסף אחוכון. דנכסתון צפיר בר
 עיזין ושבלתון יתה בדמא.
 ואתיתון לות אבוכון ואמרתון ליה.
 אשתמודע כען. הכתונא דברך הוא
 אם לא: בכן צווח יהודה צוחתא
 רבתא. עד דאתבהילו כל מצראי.
 ונפל כל ולדא ממעי אמיה. ונפל
 פלגות שורא מארעא דמצרים:

¹והרה

²כד חמא יוסף חביבא ויקירא

דסלקות גבורתיה דיהודה אחוי

ועוד חמא דנפקין שערתייה

מלכיה ובזעו לבושיה בההיא שעתא

ואתבהל³ וארתת יוסף³ מן קדמוהי

דיהודה ורמז יוסף למנשה²

ברה

וטפח ברגליה על פלטיין

1. Preceded by: אדני שאל indicating the beginning of vs. 19.

2. Rt mg: כיון דחמא יוסף

3. Ab ln: דחלקית רמז למנשה. מן קדמוי וארתת יוסף

כיון דחמא יוסף
 דסלקת כוליתיה דיהודה אחוי
 ונפק סעריה דליביה
 ובזעון לבושיה בה שעתא

כד חמא יוסף חביבא ויקרא
 דיטליקת גבורתיה דיהודה אחוי
 ונפקין שערתייה דלביה
 ובזעו לבושיה ביה בשעתא

רמז יוסף למנשה

רמז יוסף למנשה

בריה

בוכריה

וטפח ברגליה בגו פלטיין

ורפט ברפס במסאניה

בכן

בההיא שעתא

אתבהל יוסף

קם יוסף

ורמז למנשה

בריה ומשש ידיה על כתפיה: בכן

בעט יוסף בעמודא

לעמודא

וחמא

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

דעברו תרין אחיי שמעון ולוי
 בכרכא דשכמ די עלו
 בגווה לרוחצן וקטלו בה כל דכרין
 לפתגם דחרב על די טאיבו ית דינה
 אחתנא

על אחת כמה וכמה
 בנימן דקא מתמני עמן
 בפלוגא דארעא עם שבטיא ומקבל חלק
 ואחסנא בפלוגא דארעא
 ואנא

דחיילי קשי מן תריהון
 דערבית ית שליטא
 מן לורת אבא למימר
 אין לא איתית יתיה לורתך
 ואקמית יתיה קדמך ניהוי
 לך הייב ומנודה מן שאלית
 שלמיה דאבא¹ כל יומיא
 הלא לא אשתמע לך ולא אתני לך
 ארום מלכין ושליטין אנן דכמתך
 בארעא דכנען

Fragment Tg Bomberg

דעברו תרין אחוי שמעון ולוי דעלו
 לכרכא דשכמ דהוה יתיב בשלוח
 וקטלו כל דכורה
 לפתגם דחרב על ידי דסאיבו לדינה
 אחתהון דלא הויא מתמניא
 בשבטיא ולא מקבלא חולקא ואחסנא
 עמן בפלוגא דארעא על חד כמה וכמה
 דבנימין אחונן מתמני עמן
 בשבטיא ומקבל חולק
 ואחסנא עמן בפלוגא דארעא
 ואנא

דחיילי קשי מדידהון
 דערבית לשליטא
 מן ידוי דאבא ואמרית ליה
 אין לא איתית יתיה לורתך
 ואקמית יתיה קדמך ניהוי
 חטי לך ומרחק מן שאילת
 שלמך כל יומיא או
 דילמא דלא אשתמע לך ולא אתני לך
 ארום מלכין ושלטונין אנן כותך
 בארעא דכנען:

Cairo Geniza Fragments

ולא עו(ד אילא) דערבית ית(שליטא)
 מן ידוי דאבא (ואמרית) ליה
 אילא (איתית י) תיה לורתך
 (ואקמית) יתיה קדמך ניהוי
 חטאי(לאבא (מרחק) מן שאלת
 (שלמה) (כ) ל (יו) מיה
 ארום
 היך מה דפרעה
 רבך רב ושליט בארעא דמצרים
 (יתיב בב) יבניה כדין
 (אבא רב ו) שליט (בארעא דכנען

Ms Neofiti 1

עברו תרין אחיי שמעון ולוי
 בכרכא דשכמ דהוה בשלווה ועלו
 בגווה וקטלו כל דכורא
 לפתגם דחרב על די טאבו¹ לדינה
 אחתן² דלא הווי מתמני עמן מן
 שבטיא ולא מקבלה עמן אחסנייה
 על חד כמה וכמה² על
 אחונן דהוה מתמני עמין
 מן שבטיא ומקבל חולק
 ואחסנא עמן בפלוגא דארעא ועל חד
 כמה וכמה דאנה קשה מינהון ועד חד
 כמה דחיילי קשי מן דידהון
 וערבית ית שליטא
 מן לורת אבה ואמרי ליה למימר
 אין לא אייתת יתי לורתך
 ואקמית יתיה קדמך ניהוי
 מרחק מן³ שאלת
 שלמה³ דאבה כל יומיא⁴ או⁵
 דילמא דלא אשתמע לך ולא אתני לך
 ארום מלכין ושליטין אנן כורתך
 בארעא דכנען היך מה דאת ופרעה
 רבך שליטין בארעא דמצרים
 כן אנה ויעקב
 אבה שליטון בארעא דכנען

1. Ginsb on: שאילת שלמך.

1. Ab ln: דסאיבו. 2. Rt mg:
 ולא הוה מתמני עמן לא בקלניא
 עמן חולק ואחסני בפלוגא דארעא עד
 למשאל. 3. Rt mg: חז. כמ' כמ'
 4. Ab ln: משאילת. 5. Lft mg: אוף.
 בשלמא יומוי

Cairo Geniza FragmentsMs Neofiti 1ToseftaFragment Tg Cod Ox 2305

עבדו תרין אחיי שמעון ולוי
 בכרכא דשכם דהור בשלווה ועלו
 בגורה וקטלו כל דכורא
 לפתגם דחרב על די סאבו¹ לדינה
 אחתן² דלא הווי מתמניי עמן מן
 שבטיא ולא מקבלה עמן אחסנייה
 על חד כמה וכמה² על
 אחונן דהוא מתמני עמין
 מן שבטיא ומקבל חולק
 ואחסנא עמן בפלוג ארעא ועל חד
 כמה וכמה דאנה קשה מינהון ועד חד
 כמה דחילי קשי מן דידיהון
 וערבת ית טליא
 מן לורת אבה ואמרי ליה למימר
 אין לא אייתת יתי לורתך
 ואקמית יתיה קדמך נהוי
 מרחק מן שאלת³
 שלמה³ דאבה כל יומי⁴ או⁵
 דלמא דלא אשתמע לך ולא אתני לך
 ארום מלכין ושליטין אנן כוותך
 בארעא דכנען היך מה דאח ופרעה
 רבך שליטין בארעא דמצרים
 כן אנה ויעקב
 אבה שליטון בארעא דכנען

ולא עו(ד אילא) דערבית ית(טליא)
 מן ידוי דאבא (ואמריית) ליה
 אילא (איתית י) תיה לורתך
 (ואקימית) יתיה קדמך נהוי
 חסאי לאבא (מרחק) מן שאלת
 (שלמה) (כ) ל (יו) מיה

ארום

היך מה דפרעה
 רבך רב ושליט בארעא דמצרים
 (יתיב בב) יניניה כדין
 (אבא רב ו) שליט (בארעא דכנען)

1. Ab ln: דסאיבו. 2. Rt mg:

ולא הוה מתמניא עמן לא בקלניא
 עמן חולק ואחסני בפלוג ארעא עד
 למשאל. 3. Rt mg: חן כמ' כמ'
 4. Ab ln: משאילת. ab ln: בשלמא
 5. Lft mg: אוף. יומוי

בההיא שעתא קם יהודה ונהם עליהון
 כאריא

אמר ליה יוסף: אם תשלוף

ברם אבא יקיר כוותך ואבא יקיר
 כוות פרעה רבך דאת אמר
 ביה
 משתבענא אבא בחיי רישיה דאבא
 הכמא דאת משתבע בחיי ראשיה
 דפרעה רבך דאין
 שרי אבא חרבא מן תיקא לית
 אבא מחזר יתה לתיקא עד
 נמלי כל ארעא דמצרים קטולין
 ועד
 נעבד כל ארעא דמצרים צדו מן
 בני אינש מינך אבא מתחיל
 ומן פרעה רבך אבא
 מחסל
 הלא
 אשתמע¹ לך והלא אתני לך מא

ארום יקיר אבא כוותך ואבא יקיר
 כוות פרעה רבך דאת יימי
 ביה הלא
 אבא משתבע בחיי רישיה דאבא¹
 ולית אבא משקר דאין
 שליף אבא חרבי מן גו תיקא לית
 אבא מחזר יתה לתיקא עד זמן
 דנימלי כל ארעא דמצרים קטולין
 לית אבא מחזר יתה לתיקא עד זמן
 דנעבד כל ארעא דמצרים צדו מן
 דיור מינך קדמוי אבא משרי
 ומפרעה רבך אבא
 מחסיל על מנת מיעבר
 כורחיה דאבא או דילמא דלא
 אשתמע לך ולא אתני לך מה

1. Vet: דאברהם.

תריהון
 אשלוף חרבי
 יתה לתיקא עד די
 אקטול כל מצראי בך אבא
 מתחיל ובפרעה אבא מסיים

אין

לא אתיב
 יתה לתיקא עד די
 אקטול כל מצראי בך אבא
 מתחיל ובפרעה אבא מסיים

1. Kahle fnt: "Zur Ergänzung vgl. den Text, den Ginsburger, Fragmententhergum, S. 73 aus der Oxforder Hs. Nr. 2305 abdruckt."

ואבא חיליה תקיף מן
 חילהון דשמעון ולוי בשבועתא
 אם
 אשלוף סיפי מן תיקא לא אתיבנא
 לגוה¹ עד זמן
 דקטיל כל מצראי מינך אבא
 משרי² ובפרעה רבך אבא מסיים
 ארום יקיר אבא כוותך ואבא
 כוות פרעה רבך ארום דאת ימה
 מה משתבע ימ בה את
 משתבע אבא לך בחיי רישיה דאבא
 היך מה דאת משתבע בחיי רישיה
 דפרעה רבך דאין
 שליף אבא חרבי מן גוה תיקא לית
 אבא מחזר יתה לתיקא עד זמן די
 ימלי כל ארעא דמצרים קטולין
 לית אבא מחזר יתה לתיקא עד זמן
 דנעבד כל ארעא דמצרים צדו מן
 דיור מן אבא משרי
 ומן פרעה רבך דאת ימי ביה אבא
 מחסל כל מנת למעבר מעבר על
 כורחיה דאבא הא לא
 אשתמע לך ולא אתני לך מה

1. Rt mg: עד זמן די יעבד כל עד זמן; ארעא דמצרי; דימלו כל ארעא דמצרים קטולין; also: דינמלו כל ארע; 2. Lft mg: ובפרעה רבך אבא מסיים הלא לא אשתמע.

ואבא חילי תקיף מן
 חיליהון דשמיעון ולוי בשבועתא
 אם
 אשלוף סיפי מן תיקי לא אתיבנא
 לגוה עד זמן
 דקטיל אבא כל מצראי מןך אבא
 משרי ובפרעה רבך אבא מסיים

ואבא בחילי תקיף מן
 מתרויהון:
 חי יהוה אלהא דישראל: אם
 אשלוף חרבי מתערה לא אתיבנא
 ריקנון לברתיקה. עד
 דאקטול כל מצראי: בך אבא
 מתחיל. ובפרעה רבך אבא מסיים

1. Ginsb en: אשתמע .

Cairo Geniza FragmentsMs Neofiti 1Margin of Ms Neofiti 1ToseftaFragment Tg Cod Ox 2305

(ואנה) בחילי ק¹ שי מן
 תריהון
 אשלוף חרבי לא אתיב
 יתה לתיקה עד די
 אקטול כל מצראי בך אנה
 מתחיל ובפרעה אנה מסייף

ואנא חיליה תקיף מן
 חילהון דשמעון ולוי בשבועתא
 אם
 אשלוף סייפי מן תייקא לא אתיבנא
 לגורה ¹עד זמן
 דקטיל כל מצראי מינך אנה
 משרי ²ובפרעה רבך אנה מסיים
 ארום יקיר אנה כרותך ואנה
 כות פרעה רבך ארום דאת ימה
 מה משתבע ימ בה את
 משתבע אנה לך בחיי רישיה דאנא
 היך מה דאת משתבע בחיי רישיה
 דפרעה רבך דאניי
 שלף אנה חרבי מן גורה תיקא לית
 אנה מחזר יתה לתיקה עד זמן די
 ימלי כל ארעא דמצרים קטילין
 לית אנה מחזר יתה לתיקה עד זמן
 דנעבד כל ארעא דמצרים צדו מן
 דיור מןך אנה משרי
 ומן פרעה רבך דאת ימי ביה אנה
 מחסל כל מנת למעבר מעבר על
 כורחיה דאנא הא לא
 אשתמע לך ולא אתני לך מה

ואנה חילי תקיף מן
 חילהון דשמיעון ולוי בשבועתא
 אם
 אשלוף סייפי מן תייקי לא אתבינא
 לגורה עד זמן
 דקטיל אנה כל מצראי מןך אנה
 משרי ובפרעה רבך אנה מסיים

ואנא בחילי תקיף
 מתרויהון:
 הי יהוה אלהא דישראל: אם
 אשלוף חרבי מתערה לא אתיבנא
 ריקנון לברתיקה. עד
 דאקטול כל מצראי: בך אנה
 מתחיל. ובפרעה רבך אנה מסיים

פתגמא דנפיק מן פומך ומה תרין
 מנבא אחריבו ית שכם ואצדיאו יתה
 כל שכן דאנא בחילי תקיף
 מתרויהון
 חי הי אלהא דישראל אבא אם
 אשלוף חרבי לא אתיב
 יתה לתערה¹ עד
 דאקטול כל מצראי בך אנה
 מתחיל ובפרעה רבך אנה מסיים

1. Kahle ftnt: "Zur Ergänzung vgl. den Text, den Ginsburger, Fragmententhargum, S. 73 aus der Oxfordter Hs. Nr. 2305 abdruckt."

1. Rt mg: עד זמן די יעבד כל
 עד זמן ארעא דמצריי;
 דימלו כל ארעא דמצרים קטולין
 also: דינמלו כל ארע' mg:
 ובפרעה רבך אנה מסייף הלא
 לא אשתמע

1. Ginsburgers Verbesserungsvorschlag: "לתיקה?".

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

Margin of Ms Neofiti 1

Tosefta

Fragment Tg Cod Ox 2305

הלא
 אשתמע לך ולא אתני לך מה
 דעבדו שמעון ולוי אחיי
 ...²
 ...¹
 וקטילו כל-
 דכורא לפת(גם) דחרב על-די
 (סאיבו) לדינה אח(תנן)
 דלא הוות מתמ(ניה עמן) מן-
 שבטיא ול(א הוות) מקבלא
 חלק וא(חסנה) עמן בפלוג
 ארעא על(חד-כמה) וכמה בנימין
 דהו(ה) מתמני עמן מן-
 שבטיא ומקבל-חולק
 ואחסנה (עמן) בפלוג ארעא

לא אתאמר לך או דילמא לא
 אשתמע לך מה
 דעבדו שמעון ולוי תרין אחיי
 בכרכה דשכם דעלו
 בגורה
 וקטלו בה כל
 דכורא¹ מן בגלל
 דסאיבו בגורה ית דינה אחתן
 דלית היא ממנין
 שבטיא ולית לך
 חולק ואחסנא בפילוג
 ארעא כל דכן בגלל בנימן
 אחונן דהוא ממנין
 שבטיא ואית ליה חולק
 ואחסנא בפילוג ארעא

לא אתאמר לך או דילמא לא
 אשתמע לך מה
 דעבדו שמעון ולוי תרין אחיי
 בכרכה דשכם דעלו
 בגורה
 וקטלה בה כל
 דכור מן בגלל
 דסאיבו בגורה ית דינה אחתן
 דלית היא ממנין
 שבטיא ולית לה
 חולק ואחסנא פילוג
 ארעא כל דכן בגלל בנימין
 אחוני דהא ממנין
 שבטיא ואית ליה חולק
 ואחסנא בפילוג

הלא אידכר לך
 אשתמודע לך.
 דעבדו תרין אחי
 שמעון ולוי.
 על קרתא דהמור
 אבוהי דשכם. דקטלו כל
 דכורא כדיל
 דינא אחתנא.
 דליתתהא ממנין
 שבטיא ודלית לה
 חולק ואחסנא עמנא בפלוג
 ארעא: על אחת כמה וכמה בנימן
 אחונא. דהוא ממנין
 שבטיא. ודאית ליה חולק
 ואחסנא עמנא בפלוג ארעא:
 ובארעיה תשרי שכינתא ובאחסנתיה
 תתבנה מקדשא:

הלא אדכר לך
 אשתמודע לך
 דעבדו תרין אחי
 שמעון ולוי
 בקרתא
 אבוהי) דשכם כד קטלו כל
 דכורא כדיל
 דינה אחתנא
 דלית היא ממנין
 שבטיא ולית לה
 חלק ואחסנא בפילוג
 ארעא הא בנימין
 אחונה דהוא ממנין
 שבטיא ואית ליה חולק
 ואחסנא בפלוג ארעא

כל (דכן דאחי²)
 יתיה להתנסבא³ לדבורתא ואת מבעי
 ליה לאחונא לשעבודא: ואתיב יוסף
 ואמר ליה ליהודא חמינא לכוון
 דסבירין (רחיצין) אתון למעבד
 כמצרים מה דעבודתון ביכם אמר
 ליה יהודה ליוסף שמעין אזנך

1. Ginsb ftnt: "So am Bende".
 2. Ginsb ftnt: "Im Msc. ist nach ein freier Raum, dann folgt דאחי, was ich als Fehler beschte für דאחי. Der Sinn wäre demnach: um wie viel mehr hat er (Gott) ihn am Leben erhalten etc". 3. Ginsb ftnt: "Am Band: להתנסבא".

1. We complete this to: שמועון ולוי בכרכה דשכם די; לרוחצון below: עלו בגורה לרוחצון וקטלו ועלו. Cf. also O (Berl) at G 34.25: על קרתא דיתנא לרוחצון וקטלו dealing with the same story. 2. Cf. ftnt 1 of p. 409.

1. לית דינה אחתנא.

Targum Onkelos

Targum Pseudo Jonathan

Ms. Par 110 Fragment Tg

Fragment Tg Bomberg

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

וּקְרִיב לֹוֹתִיָּה יְהוּדָה (44.18)

וּקְרִיב לֹוֹתִיָּה יְהוּדָה (44.18)

וּקְרִיב לֹוֹתִיָּה יְהוּדָה (44.18)

וּקְרִיב לֹוֹתִיָּה יְהוּדָה¹ (44.18)

וּקְרִיב לֹוֹתִיָּה יְהוּדָה (44.18)

וּקְרִיב לֹוֹתִיָּה יְהוּדָה¹ (44.18)

וְאָמַר בְּבֹעַר
רְבוּנִי יִמְלִיל
כַּעַן עֲבֹדְךָ פִּתְגָמָא קִדְמָא

וְאָמַר בְּמִטְוָא
רְיִבְרוּנִי יִמְלִיל
עֲבֹדְךָ פִּתְגָמָא בְּמִשְׁמַעִיָּה

וְאָמַר בְּבֹעַר
מִיִּנְךָ רְבוּנִי יִמְלִיל
כַּעַן עֲבֹדְךָ פִּתְגָמָא בְּמִשְׁמַעִיָּה

וְאָמַר בְּבֹעַר¹
מִיִּנְךָ רְיִבְרוּנִי יִמְלִיל
כַּעַן עֲבֹדְךָ פִּתְגָמָא בְּמִשְׁמַעִיָּה

וְאָמַר (בְּבֹעַר)
מִיִּנְךָ רְבוּנִי יִמְלִיל
כַּעַן (עַן) עֲבֹדְךָ פִּתְגָמָא בְּמִשְׁמַעִיָּה

זַעַף בְּמַלְיָן וּמְדַכְרֵךְ
בְּלִישְׁנָא נְהָם כְּאֲרִיָּה וְאָמַר בְּבֹעַר
מִיִּנְךָ רְבוּנִי יִמְלִיל
כַּעַן עֲבֹדְךָ פִּתְגָמָא בְּ²

רְבוּנִי וְלֹא יִתְקַף רוּגְזֶךָ בְּעֲבֹדְךָ
אֲרוּם מִן שַׁעֲתָא
דְּאֲתִיבְנֵן לֹוֹתְךָ הֹוֹת¹ אָמַר
לֵן מִן קִדְמָא הִי אֲנָה דְּחִיל וּכְדֹוֹן
חֲזֵרוֹן דִּינִיךָ לְמַהוּי מְדַמִּיָּן
אֲרִי כְּפִרְעָה כִּי

דְּרִיבְרוּנִי וְלֹא יִתְקַף רוּגְזֶךָ בְּעֲבֹדְךָ
אֲרוּם מִן שַׁעֲתָא
דְּאֲתִיבְנֵן לֹוֹתְךָ הֹוֹת¹ אָמַר
לֵן מִן קִדְמָא הִי אֲנָה דְּחִיל וּכְדֹוֹן
חֲזֵרוֹן דִּינִיךָ לְמַהוּי מְדַמִּיָּן
לְדִינְוִי דְּפִרְעָה

דְּרִיבְרוּנִי וְלֹא יִתְקַף רוּגְזֶךָ בְּעֲבֹדְךָ
הִלָּא מִן זִימְנָא קִדְמִיָּא
דְּאֲתִיבְנֵן לֹוֹתְךָ הֹוֹת¹ אָמַר
לֵן מִן קִדְמָא הִי אֲנָה דְּחִיל וּכְדֹוֹן
חֲזֵרוֹן דִּינִיךָ לְמַהוּי מְדַמִּיָּן
דִּינִיךָ לְדִינְוִי דְּפִרְעָה רִבְךָ

דְּרִיבְרוּנִי וְלֹא יִתְקַף רוּגְזֶךָ בְּעֲבֹדְךָ
הִלָּא מִן זִימְנָא קִדְמִיָּא
דְּנַחְתְּבֵן לֹוֹתְךָ לְמַצְרִים הֹוֹתָא אָמַר
לֵן מִן קִדְמָא יִי אֲנָה דְּחִיל וּכְדֹוֹן
חֲזֵרוֹן דִּינִיךָ לְמַהוּי מְדַמִּיָּן
לְדִינְוִי דְּפִרְעָה רִבְן
דָּאֵת יִימֵי בֵּיה

הִלָּא מִן זִימְנָא קִדְמִיָּא דְּהֹוִיבְנֵן
נַחְתִּין לֹוֹתְךָ הֹוֹתָא אָמַר
לֵן מִן קִדְמָא יִי אֲנָה דְּחִיל וּכְדֹוֹן
חֲזֵרוֹן דִּינִיךָ לְמַהוּי (מְדַמִּיָּן)¹
לְדִינְוִי דְּפִרְעָה רִבְךָ ...

הִלָּא מִן זִימְנָא קִדְמִיָּא
דְּאֲתִיבְנֵן לֹוֹתְךָ הֹוֹתָא אָמַר
לֵן מִן קִדְמָא יִי אֲנָה דְּחִיל וּכְדֹוֹן
חֲזֵרוֹן דִּינִיךָ לְמַהוּי מְדַמִּיָּן
לְדִינְוִי דְּפִרְעָה רִבְן:³
וְאָמַר הָא כַּעַן
רְבוּנֵן הָא בְּזִמְנָא קִדְמָא דְּאֲתִיבְנָא
אָמַרְתָּ לֵן מִן קִדְמָא יִי
דְּחִיל וּכְדֹוֹן אֵת אָמַרְתָּ מִן
פִּרְעָה אֲנָה דְּחִיל

את:

1. Gins cn: הוית

1. Gins cn: הוית; this is also the reading of Cod. Par. 75.

1. Vat: וקרבו לוותיה יהודה. הכאריא

1. Kahle ftnt: "Ergänzt nach TJ der Rabb.-Bibel, das allerdings hier viel ausführlicher ist."

דילמא

1. Mg: ואמר בועי רבון. 2. End of line; mg: ולא. 3. Lft mg: ארום יושחנע.

Cairo Geniza Fragments

Ms Neofiti 1

Margin of Ms Neofiti 1

Tosefta

Fragment Tg Cod Ox 2305

(44.18) (וקריב לוותיה יהודה)
 ואמר (בבעו)¹
 מינך רבוני ימלל²
 כ(ען) עבדך פ(תגם) במשמעיה
 דרבוני ולא יתקוף רוגזך בעבדך
 הלא מן זמנא קדמיה דהוינן
 נחתין לותך הוית אמר
 לן מן קדם יי אנה דחיל וכדון
 חזרו דיניך למהוי (מדמיין)¹
 לדינוי דפרעה רבך

(44.18) וקרב לוותיה יהודה¹
 זעף במלין ומדכרך
 בלישנא נהם כאריה ואמר בבעו
 מינך רבוני ימלל
 כען עבדך פתגם ב²
 ורבוני לא יתקוף רוגזך בעבדך
 הלא מן זמנא קדמיה
 דאתינן לותך הוויית אמר
 לן מן קדם יי אנה דחיל וכדון
 חזרו דינך למהווי מדמיין
 לדינוי דפרעה רבן:³
 ואמר הא כען
 רבוני הא בזמנא קדמיה דאתינא
 אמרת לן מן קדם יי
 דחיל וכדו את אמרת מן
 פרעה אנה דחיל

(44.18) ואמר בבעו
 רבוני
 הא
 בזמנא קדמיה דאתינא
 אמרת לן מן קדם דיי אנה
 דחיל וכדו את אמרת מן
 קדם פרעה אנה דחיל

(44.18) וקריב לוותיה יהודה
 תקיף ומתגבר
 כאריה ואמר
 שמע מני מלכא:¹
 הא
 בזימנא קדמיתא דאתינא
 לותך אמרת לנא
 מן
 קדם פרעה אנה דחיל: ומלילתא עמנא
 בתסקופי מלין. ופתגמי קשיא.
 ויהבתנא כמאללי ארעא. ואסרתנא
 בבית מטרא תלתא יומין. וביומא
 תליתאה אמרת לנא. מן קדם יהוה
 אנה דחיל. שבוקר עמי חד מנכון.
 עד דתיתאור ית בנימן אחוכון.
 וית שמעון אחונא אפרישתא מננא.
 ואסרתיה בבית מטרא לעיננא:
 ועבדנא כפתגמך ואיתינא לך ית
 בנימן אחונא. ושוייתא כלידך
 בטועניה. למסב יתיה עבדא: ¹

(44.18) וקריב לוותיה יהודה
 תקיף מתגבר
 כאריה ואמר
 שמע מני מלכא:¹
 הא
 בזימנא קדמיתא דאתינא
 לותך את אמר(ת) מן קדם הי אנה
 דחיל הא עדנא תימר
 מפרעה אנה דחיל

1. Kahle ftnt: "Ergänzt nach TJ der Rabb.-Bibel, das allerdings hier viel ausführlicher ist."

1. Mg: ואמר בבעי רבוני. 2. End of line; mg: במשמעה דרבוני ולא. 3. Lft mg: ארום יושטבע.

דילמא

1. The verse (18) proper is at the close of verse 19; cf. below.

1. The verse (18) proper is at the close of verse 19; cf. below.

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1
לאה ועיני (29.17) יאין	לאה הוון ועיני (29.17) צירנייתן דבכיא	ועינהא דלאה הוון (29.17) רכיכן על דהוות בכיא ומצליא דלא תסוק	ועיני ¹ דלאה הוון (29.17) רכיכן ^{1,3} על דהוות בכיא ומצלא ⁴ דלא תיסוק ⁵	ועייניה דלאה (הוון) (29.17) רכיכן) על דהוות בכייה ומצלייה דלא תסוק	ועיני דלאה הוויין (29.17) בצלו ¹ זקיפן בעיא
ורחל הות שפירא בריוא ויאיא בחזוא :	ורחל הות יאיא ושפירא בחיזוא :	ורחל הות שפירא בריוה ושפירא בחיזוה :	ורחל הות ⁶ לייא ⁷ ושפירא בחזוא ⁶ :	ורחל הות יאיה ושפירא בחזוה :	למיסבא יעקב צדיקא ורחל ¹ הות יאיה ² בדיבורה ³ ושפירא בחזוה :
(43.14) ואל שדי יתין לכון רחמין קדם גברא ¹ ויפטר לכון ית אחוכון אוחרנא וית בנימין ואנא כמא	(43.14) ואל שדי יתן לכון רחמין קדם גברא ויפטר לכון ית אחוכון חורנא וית בנימין ואנא	(43.14) ואל שדי יתן לכון רחמין קדם גברא ויפטר לכון ית אחוכון חורנא וית בנימין ואנא	(43.14) ואל שדי יתן לכון רחמין קדם גברא ויפטר לכון ית אחוכון חורנא וית בנימין ואנא	(43.14) ואל שדי יתן לכון רחמין קדם גברא ויפטר לכון ית אחוכון חורנא וית בנימין ואנא היך מה	(43.14) ואל שדי יתן לכון רחמין קדם גברא ויפטר לכון ית אחוכון חורנא וית בנימין ואנא היך מה
דלתכוליה ² תכולית ³ :	איתכלית על יוסף איתכל על בנימין :	דילא תכלית על יוסף ברי כין לא אוסיף למתכלא לא על שמעון ולא על בנימין :	די לא תכלית על יוסף ברי כן לא אוסיף למתכלא לא על שמעון ולא על בנימין :	אתכלית על יוסף ברי לא (אוסיף למתכ) לא לא על שמעון ולא על בנימין :	דלא תכלת על יוסף ברי לא אוסיף למתכלה על בנימין :
(44.15) ואמר להון יוסף מא עובדא הדין ⁴ דעבדתון הלא ידעתון ⁵ ארי בדקא מביק גברא ⁶ דכרותי :	(44.15) ואמר להום יוסף מה עובדא הדין דעבדתון הלא ידעתון ארום מטיירא יטייר גבר דכרותי :	(44.15) ואמר להון יוסף מה עובדא הדין דעבדתון הלא ידעתון ארום מטיירא יטייר גבר דכרותי :	(44.15) ואמר להון יוסף מה עובדא הדין דעבדתון הלא ידעתון ארום מקסום הוה קסים גבר רב דכרותי :	(44.15) ואמר להון יוסף מה עובדא הדין דעבדתון הלא ידעתון ארום מקסם יקסם רב ושלט די דכרותי :	(44.15) ואמר להון יוסף מה עובדא הדין דעבדתון הלא ידעתון ארום מקסם יקסם רב ושלט די דכרותי :

1. 2228-2230 and 84: גברא. 2. Solg (secunda manus), Ven 1, Ven 2: דאתכלית; Lis: דאתכלית; 1285, 1411: דתכלית. 3. Solg (secunda manus), Ven 1, Complut: תכלית; 1285, 1411: אתכלית. 4. Lis, Complut: הדין. 5. 2228-2230, 84: ידעתון. 6. 2228-2230, 84: גברא.

1. עי: ועיני לאה הוון רכיכין. 2. רכיכין. 3. וועיינא/ה. 4. Vat: ומצלייה; Lips: ומצלייא. 5. Lips: תיסוק. 6. Vat: יאיא. 7. Lips: בחזוא ושפירא בחזוא יאיה.

1. Beginning of folio.

1. Rt mg: וכיכן על דהוות בכייה ומצלייה דלא תסוק במזליה דעשו ורחל. 2. Lft mg: ייא. 3. Ab ln: צבידתא. 4. Mg: בריוה. 5. Mg: חכמתון. 6. Mg: דעבדתון.

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1
על יו"י רוחא	ה' רוח רחמין על	רוחא דרחמין- ¹	י"י רוחא דרחמין ¹	ממריה דאדני רוח דרחמין על	י"י ¹ רוח דרחמין על
ארעא ונחו מיא:	ארעא ואשתדכו מיא:	:	:	ארעא ושדכו מיא:	ארעא ושדכו ² מיא:
גבר (9.20) ושרי נח	גבר (9.20) ושרי נח למיהוי גבר	גבר (9.20) ושרי נח	גבר (9.20) ושרי נח	גברה (9.20) ושרי נח	גבר ³ (9.20) ושרי נח
פלח בארעא	פלח בארעא	צדיקא למהוי	צדיקא למהוי	צדיקה למוי פלח בארעה	צדיקא למפלח ⁴ בארעא:
ונצב ¹ כרמא	ראשכה גופנא דמושכיה נהרא מן גינרניתא דעדן ונצביה לכרמא וביה ביומא אניצת ובשילת ענבין ועצרינן:	ונצב ² כרמא	ונצביב כרמא	ונצב לה כרם	ונצב כרם ⁵
:	:	:	:	:	:
ודחיל ואמר מא דחיל (28.17)	ודחיל ואמר מה דחיל (28.17)	ודחיל ואמר מא דחל (28.17)	ודחיל ואמר מא דחל (28.17)	ודחל ואמר מה דחיל (28.17)	ודחל ואמר מה דחיל (28.17)
אתרא הדין לית	אתרא הדין לית	הוא אתרא הדין ³ לית	הוא אתרא הדין ³ לית	הוא אתרא הדין ^{6,7,8} לית	הוא אתרא הדין ^{6,7,8} לית
דין אתר הדיוט	דין אתר הול ארום	אתרא הדין אתר הדיוט ³ ארום	אתרא הדין אתר הדיוט ³ ארום	אתר הדיוט ארום ⁶	אתר הדיוט ארום ⁶
אלהין אתר דרעוא ביה	אלהין אתר דרעוא ביה	אילהין מכורון לבית	אילהין מכורון לבית	אלאהן אתר מזומן לבית	אתר ⁹ מזומן
מן קדם יו"י ודין תרע	בית מקדש לשמיה דה' ודין כשר לצלר	צלר הוא	צלר הוא	צלר הוא	מן קדם י"י והדן תרעא
קביל שמיא	מכורון כל קביל תרע שמיא	תרע מכורון עד צית שמיא	תרע מכורון עד צית שמיא	דמכורון עד צית שמייה	תרעא דצלר מזימן עד ⁸ צית שמיא ⁷
:	משכלל תחות כורסי יקרא:	:	:	:	:
ואמר לבן ליעקב (29.15)	ואמר לבן ליעקב (29.15)	ואמר לבן ליעקב הא מן (29.15)	ואמר לבן ליעקב הא מן (29.15)	ואמר לבן ליעקב (29.15)	ואמר לבן ליעקב (29.15)
המדאחי את	המדאחי את	קושטא אחי את לא שפר	קושטא אחי את לא שפר	המדאחי את	אחי את לית ¹⁰ אפטר ¹¹
ותפלחינני מגן חר	ותפלחינני מגן תני	ותפלח קדמי מגן תני	ותפלח קדמי מגן תני	ותפלוח גבי מגן תני	ותפלח קדמי מגן תנה
לי מא אגרך :	לי מן יהי אגרך :	לי מא הו אגרך :	לי מא הו אגרך :	לי מה יהי אגרך :	לי ¹¹ כען מה הוא אגרך :

1. Solg, Ix, Lis, Freib, Ven 1, Complut, Ven 2: ונצב.

1. Cf. ftnt 2, p. 406. 2. ע' , 3. שדך, ל', שדך: ושדכו מיא ל': ולית דין אתר הדיוט

1. End ftnt 5 of p. 406.

1. Mg: ממריה די'. 2. Mg: ונצב. 3. Mg: גברה. 4. Mg: פלח. 5. Mg: למהוי. 6. Ab ln: לית. 7. Rt mg: דין אתר הול אלהן אתר בית מקדשא לש' ודין היכלא מכורון תרע בית ולית. 8. Lft mg: מקדש' דיכשמייה דין אתרה אתר הדיוט ברם אלהן אתר מזמן לבית צלו הוא והדן תרעא. 9. Ab ln: אלהן. 10. Lft mg: מן קושטין אחי ולית. 11. Rt mg: תפלוח גבי מגן חורי ל'.

4.10, 16; 7.10; 8.1 בראשית

Targum Onkelos	Targum Pseudo Jonathan	Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg	Fragment Tg Bomberg	Cairo Geniza Fragments	Ms Neofiti 1
<p>עבודת (4.10) ואמר מא קל דם זרעין דעתידין למפק מן אהוך קבלן קדמי מן ארעא:</p> <p>(4.16) ונפק קין מן קדם ירי ויתיב בארעא¹ גלי ומטלטל דהות עבידא עילוהי² מלקדמין³ בגינתא דעדן</p> <p>(7.10) והוה לזמן שבעה⁶ יומין דמתושלח חמא ה' והא לא תהו בני נשא ומוי דטובענא הרו נחתין רתיחין מן שמיא עילוי ארעא:</p> <p>(8.1) ודכיר ירי ית נח וית כל חיתא רית כל בעירא דעימיה בתיבותא ואעבר</p>	<p>(4.10) ואמר מה קטילת קטילת אהוך דאיתבלעו בגרבישתא צורחין קדמי מן ארעא:</p> <p>(4.16) ונפק קין מן קדם ה' ויתיב בארעא¹ טלטול גלותיה דהות עבידא עילוהי מלקדמין כגיננותא דעדן</p> <p>(7.10) והוה לזמן שבעא יומין מן בתר דשלים איבליה דמתושלח חמא ה' והא לא תהו בני נשא ומוי דטובענא הרו נחתין רתיחין מן שמיא עילוי ארעא:</p> <p>(8.1) ודכיר ה' במימריה וית נח וית כל חיתא רית כל בעירא בתיבותא ואעבר</p>	<p>(4.10) ואמר מא הו די עבודת הא קל אדמהון דאוכלוסין צדיקין דהרון עתידין למיקום מן הבל אחוך צוחין עלך קדמי מן ארעא:</p> <p>(4.16) ונפק קין מן קדם ה' ושרא בארעא גלי ומטלטל מן מדנח לגינתא דעדן והוה קד' עד לא קטל קין להבל אחוי הות ארעא מרביא ליה פירין כפירי גינתא דעדן מן דחטא וקטל להבל אחוי חזרת ליה מרביא כובין ודרדרין:</p> <p>(7.10) והוה לסוף שובעת ימי אבליה דמתושלח ומוי דמבולא הרוין על ארעא¹:</p> <p>(8.1) ואדכר -ברחמוי טביא² עימיה² דאית</p>	<p>(4.10) קל אדמהון¹ דאוכלוסין צדיקא דהרון עתידין למיקום מן הבל אחוך</p> <p>(4.16) ונפק קין מן קדם יי ויתיב² בארעא גלי² ומטלטל מן מדנח לגינתא דעדן והוה קד' עד לא קטל קין להבל אחוי הות ארעא מרביא ליה פירין כפירי גינתא דעדן מן דחטא וקטל¹ להבל אחוי חזרת ליה מרביא³ כובין ודרדרין:</p> <p>(8.1) ואדכר⁴ טביא⁴ עימיה ית נח ואעבר</p>	<p>(4.10) ואמר מה היא דא דעבודת קל אדמהון דאוכלוסין סגין צדיקין דהרון עתידין למיקום מן הבל אחוך צוחין עלין קדמי מן ארעא:</p> <p>(4.16) ונפק קין מן קדם אדני ושרא בארעא גלא ומטלטל מן מדנח לגנתא דעדן והוה עד לא יקטול קין ית הבל אחוי הות ארעא מרביא ליה פירין כפירי גנתא דעדן וכיון די קטל¹ להבל אחוי חזרת ליה מרביא קדמו כובין ודרדרין:</p> <p>(7.10) והוה לסוף שבעת⁴ יומין קלילין דמתושלח ומוי דמבולא הרוין על ארעא:</p> <p>(8.1) ואדכר⁵ ברחמוי טביא ית נח וית כל חיתא רית כל בעירא די עימיה בגרתיבותא ועבר</p>	<p>(4.10) ואמר מה היא דא דעבודת קל אדמהון¹ דאוכלוסין צדיקין דהון עתידין למיקום מן הבל אחוך צורחין עלך² קדמי מן ארעא:</p> <p>(4.16) ונפק קין מן קדם יי ושרא בארעא גלי ומטלטל מן מדנח לעדן³ והוה עד לא קטל להבל אחוי הות ארעא מרביא קודמוי היך פירי גנתא דעדן ומן דחטא וקטל להבל חזרת ליה מרביא קדמו כובין ודרדרין:</p> <p>(7.10) והוה לסוף שבעת⁴ יומי אבלא דמתושלח ומוי דמבולא הרוין על ארעא:</p> <p>(8.1) ואדכר⁵ ברחמוי טביא ית נח וית כל חיתא רית כל בעירא די עימיה בתיבותא ועבר</p>

1. Complut adds: דנוד 2. Complut om phrase. 3. Complut: לקדמא 4. Ix: Complut om. 5. Freib: שבעת.

1. Gins en: בארע

1. ל', חוך, ב: והרכי שמיא 2. Ftnt in Ginsb. p. 8, "Die beiden ersten Trennungsstriche rühren von mir her, an Stelle des dritten hat unser Ms. die Worte: רוח על הארץ."

1. Vat: אדמהון 2. Vat: בארע 3. Vat: למיסקא גלי 4. Lips: ברחמוי טבייה 5. ית נח וית כל חיתא רית כל בעירא דעימיה בתיבותא ועבר דה' וית נח וית כל חיתא רוחא דרחמין ואעבר ה' רוחא דרחמין

1. End of folio. 2. Beginning of new folio.

1. Mg: קדמי 2. Mg: דם 3. Mg: ושרא מן מדנח 4. Mg: ומוי 5. Mg: דעין 6. Mg: דאית

Targum Onkelos Targum Pseudo Jonathan

עלמא
 וכפירי עובדין שבין הוא מדבר
 ומסב אפין לית בדינא ועל דהור
 פירי עובדיי שבין מדידך
 וקדמין לדידך אתקבל קרבני
 ברעוא

ברחמין אתברי
 עלמא
 וכפירי עובדין שבין הוא מדבר
 ומסב אפין לית בדינא ועל דהור
 פירי עובדיי שבין מדידך
 וקדמין לדידך אתקבל קרבני
 ברעוא

עני קין ואמר להבל לית
 דין ולית דיין ולית עלם אחרן
 ולית למיתתן אגר טב לצדיקיא
 ולית למתפרעא מן רשיעיא עני
 הבל ואמר לקין אית דין ואית
 דיין ואית עלם אחרן ואית למיתן
 אגר טב לצדיקיא ואית למיתפרעא
 מן רשיעיא ועל עיסק
 פתגמא האילין הור
 מתנצייין על אנפי ברא וקם
 קין על הבל אחוהי ושבע אבנא
 במיצחיה וקטליה :
 (4.9) ואמר ה' לקין אן
 הבל אחוך ואמר לא ידענא
 דלמא נסיר אחי אנא :

קין בהבל¹ אחוהי
 וקטליה :
 (4.9) ואמר יוי לקין אן
 הבל אחוך ואמר לא ידענא²
 הנטר אחי אנא :

1. Freib, Sab: להבל; Ix, Lis, Complut, Reg, Walt: על הבל. 2. Complut: ידעית.

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg

ואית מתן אגר טב לצדיקיא
 ולמתפרעא מן רשיעיא¹

וברחמין אתברי
 עלמא וברחמין הוא מדבר
 על דהור
 פירי עובדיין שבין מן דיך
 אתקבל קרבני מיני
 ברעוא ומינך לא אתקבל
 ברעוא

והורן תרויהורן
 באפי ברא וקם
 קין על הבל אחוי
 וקטל יתיה:
 (4.9) ואמר מימרא דה' לקין אן
 הבל אחוך ואמר לית אנא ידע
 הנטורא דאחי אנא :

Fragment Tg Bomberg

ואית מתן אגר טב לצדיקיא¹
 ולאתפרע מרשיעיא¹

וברחמין אתברי
 עלמא וברחמין הוא מדבר ברם
 בפירי עובדין שבין הוא מדבר
 על דהורן
 עובדיי תקנין² מן דיך
 אתקבל קרבני מיני
 ברעוא ומינך לא אתקבל
 ברעוא

והורן תרויהורן³
 באפי ברא וקם
 מנצין⁴ קין על הבל אחוי
 וקטל יתיה:
 (4.9) ואמר מאמרה דאדני לקין אן
 הוא הבל אחוך ואמר לית-אנה ידע
 הא-נטוריה דאחי אנה :

1. Vat: להיתפרעא רשיעיא. 2. Vat: שבין. 3. Vat: תרוהורן. 4. מתנצייין.

Cairo Geniza Fragments

מא-דאין-
 דא דברחמין אתברי
 עלמא וברחמין הוא-מדבר ברם-
 בפירי עובדין שבין הוא מדבר
 על-דהורן
 עבדי תקנין מן-דיך
 אתקבל קרבני מני
 ברעוא ומינך לא-אתקבל
 ברעוא

מדינין תרויהורן
 באפי ברא וקם
 קין על-הבל אחוי
 וקטל יתה :
 (4.9) ואמר מאמרה דאדני לקין אן-
 הוא הבל אחוך ואמר לית-אנה ידע
 הא-נטוריה דאחי אנה :

Ms Neofiti 1

מסתכל אנא די ברחמין איתברי
 עלמא ועל
 פירי עובדין שבין הוי מדבר
 ועל דהור
 עובדיי שבין² מן דיך³
 אתקבל קרבני מני
 ברעוא קרבני מינך לא אתקבל
 ברעוא: עבה קין ואמר להבל לית
 דין ולית דיין ולית עולם חורן
 לית מתן⁴ אגר טב לצדיקיא
 ולית מתפרעה מן רשיעיא עני
 הבל ואמר לקין אית דין ואית
 דיין ואית עלם אחרן ואית מתן⁶
 אגר טב לצדיקיא ואית מתפרעה⁷
 מן רשיעיא לעלמא דאחי על עסק
 פתגמא הדין הורן תרויהור
 מדיניין⁸ באפי ברא וקם
 קין אל הבל אחוי
 וקטל יתיה:
 (4.9) ואמר ייני⁹ לקין הן
 הוא הבל אחוך ואמר לית אנא¹⁰ ידע
 הא נטורא דאחי אנה :

1. Ab In, before word: פירי. 2. Ab In: שביא. 3. Mg: וקדמין. 4. Mg: לדידך אתקבל ברעוא קרבני וקוב. 5. Mr: למיתן. 6. Mg: למי. 7. Mg: למי. 8. Mg: מדניין. 9. Mg: ממניה די. A later hand added אלקים. 10. Mg: ה.

Ms Neofiti 1 (N)

(4.7) הלא אן תטיב עובדך
 בעלמא¹ הדין ישתביק לך
 בעלמא² דאתי ואין לא תיטב
 עובדך בעלמא הדין ליום דינא רבא
 חטאך נטיר

ועל תרע לבה חטאך רביע
 ובידך מסרת² ושיתיה דיצרא בישא
 ואת תהוי שלט
 בה בין לימזכי ובין למחטי :
 (4.8) ואמר קין להבל אחוי
 איתה³ ונפק תרינן לאפי ברא
 והוה כיון⁴ דנפקו תריהון באפי
 ברא ענה קין ואמר להבל
 מסתכל אנה

⁵ ולא ברחמי איתברי עלמא
 ולא על פירי עובדין
 טבין הוה מדבר ומיטב אפין אית
 בדינא מן בגלל מה איתקבל קרבנך
 ברעוא וקרבני מני לא אתקב
 ברעוא: ענה הבל ואמר לקין⁶

1. Mg: בעלמא. 2. Mg: ובו ידך. 3. Mg: ונפוק תרינן באפי. 4. Mg: מסרת ברא וקם קין על הבל אחוי וקטל יתיה; note the end of the verse. 5. Mg: כד נפ. 6. Mg: מסתכלנא די. 7. Mg: ברחמי איתברי עלמא כפרי עובדין ומסר אפין לית בדינא ועל.

Cairo Geniza Fragments (CG)

(4.7) הלא אין תטיב עובדך
 בעלמה הדין ישתביק לך
 לעלמה דאתי ואין לא תיטב
 עבדיך בעלמה הדין ליום דינא
 חטאך נטיר

על תרע לבא חטאה רביע
 ובידך מסרת ושותיה דיצרא בישא
 ואת תהוי שליט
 עלוי בין למיחב ובין למיזכי:
 (4.8) ואמר קין להבל אחוי
 אתא ונפוק תרינן לאפי ברא
 והוה כד² נפקו תריהון לאפי
 ברא עאני קין ואמר להבל
 חמי³ אנה

דברחמין אתברי עלמה
 וברחמין
 הוא מדבר
 מן בגלל מה אתקבל קרבנך
 מינך ברעוא ומיני לא אתקבל
 ברעוא עאני הבל ואמר לקין

1. Vat: תטיב. 2. Vat: וניפוק. 3. Vat: למיחב. 4. Vat: למיפועא. 5. Vat: מימדבר. 6. Vat: om. 7. Vat, Nor: ברעוא.

Fragment Tg Bomberg (Bom)

(4.7) הלא אין תטיב עובדך
 בעלמא הדין ישתביק לך
 לעלמא דאתי ואין לא תיטב¹
 עובדך בעלמא הדין ליום דינא רבא
 חטאך נטיר

ועל תרע לבא רביע ברם
 בידך מסרת ושותיה דיצרא בישא
 ואת תהוי שליט
 ביה בין למזכי בין למחטי :
 (4.8) ואמר קין להבל אחוי
 איתא ונפיק לאפי ברא
 והוה כד² נפקו תריהון לאפי
 ברא עני קין ואמר להבל אחוי
 לית דין ולית דיין
 וליי עלם אוחרן ולא למתן³ אגר
 טב לצדיקיא ולא לאתפרע⁴ מן
 רשיעיא ולא ברחמין אתברי עלמא
 ולא ברחמין
 הוא מדבר⁵
 מן בגלל מה אתקבל קרבנך
 מינך ברעוא⁶ ומני לא אתקבל
 ברעוא עני הבל ואמר לקין אית
 דין ואית דיין ואית עלם אוחרן

1. Vat: תטיב. 2. Vat: וניפוק. 3. Vat: למיחב. 4. Vat: למיפועא. 5. Vat: מימדבר. 6. Vat: om. 7. Vat, Nor: ברעוא.

Ms Par 110 Fragment Tg (Par)

(4.7) הלא אין תטיב עובדך
 בעלמא הדין ישתביק לך
 לעלמא דאתי ואין לא תיטב
 עובדך בעלמא הדין ליום דינא רבא
 חטאך נטיר

ועל תרע ליבך חטאך¹ רביע
 ובידך מסרת ושותיה דיצרא בישא
 ואת תהוי שליט
 עלוי בין למזכי בין למחטי :
 (4.8) ואמר קין להבל אחוי
 איתא ונפיק² תרינן לאפי ברא
 והוה כד נפקו תריהון לאפי
 ברא עני קין ואמר להבל
 לית דין ולית דיין
 ולית עלם אוחרן ולית מתן אגר
 טב לצדיקיא ולא לאתפרע מן
 רשיעיא ולא ברחמין אתברי עלמא
 ולא ברחמין
 הוא מדבר
 מן בגלל מה אתקבל קרבנך
 מינך ברעוא ומיני לא אתקבל
 ברעוא עני הבל ואמר לקין אית
 דין ואית דיין ואית עלם אוחרן

1. Gins on: חטאה. 2. Gins on: ונפוק.

Targum Pseudo Jonathan (PJ)

(4.7) הלא אם תיטיב עובדך
 ישתביק לך
 חובך ואין לא תיטיב
 עובדך בעלמא הדין ליום דינא רבא
 חטאך נטיר

ועל תרעי לבך חטאה רביע
 ובידך מסרת ושותיה דיצרא בישא
 ולורתך יהי מתויה ואנת תהא שליט
 ביה בין למזכי בין למחטי :
 (4.8) ואמר קין לות הבל אחוהי
 איתא וניפוק תרוינן לברא
 והוה כד נפקו תרוייהון
 לברא עני קין ואמר להבל
 מסתכל אנה

דברחמין אתברי עלמא
 אבל לא כפירי עובדין
 טבין הוה מידבר ומטב אפין אית
 בדינא מן בגלל מה אתקבל קרבנך
 ברעוא וקרבני מני לא אתקבל
 ברעוא עני הבל ואמר לקין

Targum Onkelos (O)

(4.7) הלא אם תוטיב עובדך
 ישתביק לך
 ואם לא תוטיב
 עובדך ליום דינא
 חטאה¹ נטיר עניד לאתפרע מינך אם
 לא תתוב ואם תתוב ישתביק לך

ועל תרעי לבך חטאה רביע
 ובידך מסרת ושותיה דיצרא בישא
 ולורתך יהי מתויה ואנת תהא שליט
 ביה בין למזכי בין למחטי :
 (4.8) ואמר קין להבל אחוהי
 והוה כד נפקו תרוייהון
 לברא עני קין ואמר להבל
 במהויהון
 בחקלא

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