

A Jewish Targum in a Christian World

Edited by

Alberdina Houtman

Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman

Hans-Martin Kirn

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A Jewish Targum in a Christian World

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About the Contributors

Élodie Attia

Ph.D. (2008, École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV^e section, Paris, France), is currently post-doc researcher at the Collaborative Research Center 933 of Heidelberg University and an associate researcher of the Equipe ‘Saprat’ (EPHE, Paris). She has published on Jewish culture and knowledge in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period.

Stephen G. Burnett

Ph.D. (1989, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA), is professor of Religious Studies at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln (USA). His research focuses on Christian Hebraism in the Reformation era, Jewish printing and portrayals of Judaism in the Reformation era. His most recent book is *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era* (2012).

Yaacov Deutsch

Ph.D. (2005, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel) is the head of the History Department at David Yellin College and adjunct lecturer in the history department at the Hebrew University. He has published a monograph and articles on Christian-Jewish relations in the Medieval and Early Modern period, and especially on Christian Hebraism.

Alberdina Houtman

Ph.D. (1995, Utrecht University, the Netherlands), is lecturer of Semitic Languages and extraordinary professor of Jewish studies at the Protestant Theological University Amsterdam/Groningen, location Amsterdam. She has published extensively on rabbinic literature, especially Targum.

Hans-Martin Kirn

Ph.D. (1989, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, Germany), is professor of Church History at the Protestant Theological University Amsterdam/Groningen, location Groningen. He has published monographs and many articles on the history of the Reformation, Pietism and Enlightenment, with special attention to Jewish-Christian relations.

Peter Sh, Lehnardt

Ph.D. (2006, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer-Sheva, Israel), is lecturer of Medieval Hebrew Literature at the Ben-Gurion University focusing in his research on Hebrew liturgical poetry and Hebrew *belles lettres* in pre-modern Christian Europe.

Geert W. Lorein

Ph.D. (1997, University of Groningen, the Netherlands), is professor of Old Testament at the Evangelische Theologische Faculteit, Leuven (Belgium). He has published on the early interpretations of the Old Testament.

Hans van Nes

lic. (2007), is lecturer of Hebrew and Ph-D student at the Evangelische Theologische Faculteit, Leuven (Belgium). He is preparing a dissertation on Targum in the early Rabbinic Bibles.

Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

Ph.D. (1995, Cambridge, UK) is professor of Hebrew Manuscript Studies at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne, Paris and an associate researcher at the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, CNRS, Paris. Her main research interests include Hebrew palaeography, codicology, and medieval Christian Hebraism.

Hector M. Patmore

Ph.D. (2008, University of Durham, UK), is lecturer in Classical Hebrew and Judaism at the University of Cardiff (UK). His research and publications focus on the translation, transmission, and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Late Antiquity, particularly in the Targums.

Jesús de Prado Plumed

M.Phil (2006) is the Maurice Amado Foundation fellow for the year 2013–14 at the Herbert D. Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (USA). He has published on the manuscripts and printed cultures of Christian Hebraism in Iberia and in Spanish colonial America.

Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman

Ph.D. (2002, Protestant Theological University Kampen, the Netherlands), is assistant professor of Old Testament at the VU University Amsterdam. She has published on Targum Samuel, both regarding theology and the history of manuscripts, as well as on other Old Testament topics.

Johanna M. Tanja

M.Div (2008), is Ph-D student at the Protestant Theological University Amsterdam/Groningen, location Amsterdam. She is preparing a dissertation on the Sephardic text tradition of Targum Samuel.

Glossary

aggadah/aggadic	Narrative biblical interpretation.
Amidah	Central prayer of the Jewish liturgy, also called <i>Shmoneh Esreh</i> ('The Eighteen') in reference to the original number of constituent blessings.
Ashkenaz/Ashkenazi	(Culture of the Jews of) Northern and Central Europe.
atzeret	Lit. 'gathering', concluding feast.
bimah	Elevated platform in the synagogue at which the reading of the Torah takes place.
beit midrash	'House of study', institute for Torah learning.
Chumash	Hebrew word for the Pentateuch.
Converso	Jew who converted to Christianity in Spain or Portugal, particularly during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or one of their descendants.
derash	Method of exposition of Scriptural verses. In the Middle Ages, probably under the influence of Rashi's Bible commentary, <i>derash</i> came to be used for homiletical exposition in contrast to <i>peshat</i> , the literal interpretation.
genizah	Storage area in a Jewish synagogue or cemetery designated for the storage of worn-out Hebrew-language books and papers on religious topics.
gezerah shawah	Argument by analogy, a hermeneutical rule.
haftarah, plur. haftarot	Selection from the Prophets, publicly read in synagogue. The haftarah reading follows the Torah reading on each Shabbat and on Jewish festivals and fast days. Typically, the haftarah is thematically linked to the Torah reading that precedes it.
Hebraica Veritas	Latin for 'Hebrew Truth', a favourable Christian designation for the Hebrew Bible.
Hoshanas	Special prayers recited during the festival of Sukkot.
Kaddish	Aramaic hymn of praises to God found in the Jewish prayer service. The central theme of the Kaddish is the magnification and sanctification of God's name. In the liturgy different versions of the Kaddish are used functionally as separators between sections of the service.
kapparot	Lit. 'atonements'. A ritual practiced by some Jews on the eve of Yom Kippur ('Day of Atonement'). The person swings a live chicken over one's head three times, symbolically transferring one's sins to the chicken.

Kedushta	Composition of liturgical poetry accompanying the public recitation of the Amidah prayer.
Kriyat Shema	Recitation of the Shema prayer (Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one).
Mahzor, plur. mahzorim/mahzors	Prayer book used by Jews on the High Holidays of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Many Jews also make use of specialized mahzorim on the three pilgrimage festivals of Pesach, Shavuot, and Sukkot.
Masorah	System of notes and signs used to preserve the text of the Hebrew Bible.
Masorah Magna	'Large' Masorah, notes given in the lower and upper margins of the Bible text.
Masorah Parva	'Small' Masorah, brief notes on the side margins or between the columns of the Bible text.
Megillot	Lit. 'scrolls'. Five biblical books read on specific festivals: Song of Songs (Pesach), Ruth (Shavuot), Lamentations (Ninth of Av), Ecclesiastes (Sukkot), and Esther (Purim).
Meshallesh	Third part of the Kedushta, containing an acrostic of the author's name.
meturgeman	Interpreter, translator. Specifically a designation of the person translating the liturgical readings into Aramaic.
midrash/midrashic	Method of Bible interpretation.
Midrash, plur. midrashim	Body of biblical homiletic stories by rabbinic sages.
Mikra	Hebrew Bible, especially recitation of Scripture from a text.
minyan	Quorum of ten Jewish male adults required for certain religious obligations.
mitzvah, plur. mitzvot	Biblical or traditional precept.
Morisco	Muslim who converted to Christianity in Spain or Portugal, particularly during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or one of their descendents.
naqdan	Scribe who adds the vowel points to biblical texts.
Pandect	a treatise or similar work that is comprehensive as to a particular topic. A Bible in one volume.
parashah, plur. parashot	Section of a biblical book. The appointed scriptural readings for Shabbats and festivals according to the annual reading cycle.
paratext/paratextual	Textual and non-textual elements that are added to a text, such as prologues, section markers and headings, notes, etc.

peshat	Biblical hermeneutical method aiming at the plain, literal meaning (cf. <i>derash</i>).
Peshitta	Syriac Bible translation.
petuchah, plur. petuchot	Lit. 'open'. Paragraph in the Hebrew Bible marked by an open space reaching till the end of the line, and the Hebrew character <i>pe</i> . Petuchot often seem to reflect the beginning of a new topic or a major subdivision within a biblical book (cf. <i>setumah</i>).
piyyut	Liturgical hymn.
plene	Hebrew spelling of words that uses certain characters (<i>matres lectionis</i>) to indicate the pronunciation of vowels.
privilegio	Portuguese word derived from Latin <i>privilegium</i> , law concerning a specific individual; privilege.
quire	Four sheets folded once to make eight leaves.
Reconquista	Spanish technical term for the Christian conquest of the Iberian peninsula.
seder, plur. sedarim	Section of biblical book. Sometimes used as synonym for <i>parashah</i> . It mostly occurs as the appointed scriptural readings for Shabbats and festivals according to the triennial reading cycle.
Sepharad/Sephardi	(Culture of the Jews of the) Iberian peninsula.
setumah, plur. setumot	Lit. 'closed'. Paragraph in the Hebrew Bible marked by an open space within the line, and often the letter <i>samekh</i> . Closed portions seem to reflect smaller units or minor subdivisions (cf. <i>petucha</i>).
shamta	Curse, ban.
siddur, plur. siddurim/siddurs	Jewish prayer book for the daily prayers.
Simchat Torah	'Rejoicing of the Torah'. Jewish holiday that celebrates and marks the conclusion of the annual cycle of public Torah readings and the beginning of a new cycle.
sofer	Hebrew scribe.
Sukkot	Feast of Tabernacles, biblical Jewish holiday.
Tammuz	Tenth month of the civil year and the fourth month of the ecclesiastical year on the Hebrew calendar.
Tevet	Fourth month of the civil year and the tenth month of the ecclesiastical year on the Hebrew calendar.
Tosafist	Medieval Talmud commentator.
Tosafot	Medieval commentaries on the Talmud.

Tosefta, plur. toseftot/toseftas	Within the context of Targum this designates an addition to the literal translation.
Tafsir	Within the context of the Bible this designates the Arabic translation by Saadiah Gaon.
Tsahir	North-African Arabic loanword, used to designate a document that comprises regulations and customs.
Yom Kippur	Day of Atonement.

Introduction

When we started thinking in 2007 about a new research project for the Targum team of the Protestant Theological University (PThU), Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman came up with the idea to examine the position of Targum in Christian Europe. In previous research projects our team had studied many of the medieval European Targum manuscripts and early printed editions (see www.targum.nl), including copies that were edited by converted Jews for a Christian audience. These manuscripts raised several questions, such as how the Targums, having originated in Aramaic speaking Jewish communities, functioned in medieval and early modern Europe where Aramaic was never a spoken language; and when and why Christians started to become interested in these Jewish Targums. Moreover, our textual analysis of Targum Jonathan had shown that Western Jewry, mainly living in Christian surroundings, had a text that deviated in several ways from that of the Jews in the Islamic world. There were more variant readings and the manuscripts sometimes contained midrashic elaborations, so-called Tosefta Targums.

We supposed that the textual variation of the manuscripts and the way in which the material was presented could reveal something about the public and cultural circumstances in which they were produced and could possibly shed light on the way the texts were used in the different communities, Jewish as well as Christian. We decided to look anew at the European manuscripts and early editions with an eye to this assumption. Instead of studying the texts as witnesses of their time of origin, as we had done before, we decided now to focus on the innovations vis-à-vis the oriental textual witnesses, regarding both the textual variants and the form in which the texts were presented. This called for an interdisciplinary approach. Accordingly, we put together a team consisting of linguists, Old Testament scholars and church historians. For practical reasons we decided to concentrate our research on Targum Samuel. In the course of previous projects we had collected much material concerning this Targum, such as microfilms of the extant manuscripts, a bibliographical database, and relevant scholarly literature. Moreover, the deviser of the plan, Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman, was an expert on Targum Samuel, having written her dissertation on the subject, as well as having produced a bilingual concordance on the same Targum. This good infrastructure and the available expertise would give our ambitious and demanding project a head start.

We designed five subprojects, to be executed by four scholars, two PhD students and two postgraduate scholars: 1. Targum Samuel in Sepharad (Johanna M. Tanja, PhD student PThU); 2. Targum Samuel in Ashkenaz and

Italy (Dr Hector M. Patmore, postgraduate PThU); 3. Targum Samuel in the Rabbinic Bibles (Hans van Nes, PhD student Evangelical Theological Faculty [ETF], Louvain); 4. The Latin translations of Targum Samuel and 5. an edition of the source materials (both by Dr E. van Staaldvine-Sulman, VU University Amsterdam). The church historians Professor Hans-Martin Kirm (PThU) and Professor Andreas Beck (ETF) supervised the historical part of the project, while the Judaic scholar and Semitist Professor Alberdina Houtman (PThU) was responsible for the supervision of the project as a whole.

The strength of such a project lies in good teamwork. Although the sub-projects have a worth in themselves, each subproject also profits from the work of the others. Therefore we worked from the start towards publications that would bring the different lines together alongside the specialist output. We presented our work to each other in regular study meetings, gave joint presentations at seminars and congresses and worked in pairs on scholarly articles. A first joint publication from our team appeared in 2012, as a special issue of the journal *Aramaic Studies*.

While working on this project we became well aware of our strengths, but also of our weaknesses. We discovered the important role of codicology for a project like ours, and of specialist knowledge about the trade of bookmaking. We also realized that our choice to focus on Targum Samuel as one of the official Targums brought along unjust neglect of the other targumic works. In the present study—which for the moment serves as conclusion of the project—we complement therefore our work with papers of other experts in the field so that it can serve as a broader overview of the Jewish Targum in Christian Europe. We thank the colleagues concerned for their willingness to cooperate with us in this book.

The book consists of three parts, focused on key themes: 1. uses and functions of Targum in Europe; 2. editing Targums and their Latin Translations; 3. Targum and Christianity. The first part, entitled *Uses and Functions of Targum in Europe*, opens with a survey by Eveline van Staaldvine-Sulman of the different kinds of Targum texts that were in use in our period of investigation, presenting the process of describing, naming and categorizing all the encountered phenomena. Then Peter Lehnardt introduces the reader to the role of the Targum in European Jewish liturgy, concentrating on Targum Samuel. He points out the methodological problems involved in detecting traces of Targum in liturgical works and illustrates this with the analysis of a fragment of the *Kedushta* of Yannai to the Seder. Apparently, in the Middle Ages only remnants of the tradition of translating the scriptural readings in Aramaic survived in the Targum to the seventh day of Pesach and the first day of Shavuot. It is conceivable that there was a difference in transmission between the texts

that were used regularly in liturgy and those that were not. Therefore Hector Patmore and Johanna Tanja investigated if there are any differences between the text of the haftarah for the seventh day of Pesach, i.e. 2 Samuel 22, in liturgical manuscripts as compared to continuous manuscripts, and if there are distinctions to be noted between the various geographical textual branches. In a cultural environment where knowledge of Aramaic was no longer natural, and the Targum had lost an important part of its original function, it is likely that the role of the Targum in education also changed. On the basis of halakhic discussions and contemporary descriptions of curricula Alberdina Houtman describes the role of the Targum in Jewish education in the talmudic period and in medieval Europe. The last contribution in this section is a paper by Elodie Attia that shows how the codicological study of Targum manuscripts can help to reveal issues of use and transmission.

The second part deals as said with *Editing Targums and their Latin Translations*. In our period of investigation the Vulgate was the standard in Europe against which other versions, like the Targum, were judged. In sixteenth-century Spain Alfonso de Zamora used the Vulgate as the base text for his Latin translation of the Targums for the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Therefore Geert Lorein opens this section with a paper about the Latin versions of the Old Testament, in which he presents an overview of the story of the Vulgate together with its upcoming competitors. Next comes a paper of Jesús de Prado Plumed that deals with the professional relationship of the aforementioned Alfonso de Zamora and his co-worker in the work for the Complutensian Polyglot, Pablo Núñez Coronel. Johanna Tanja and Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman discuss the paratextual elements in the manuscripts of Alfonso de Zamora, which prove to be an odd mixture of Jewish and Christian elements. In 1517, the same year in which the Complutensian Polyglot Bible was published in Alcalá de Henares, in Venice, the first Rabbinic Bible appeared on the market. Hans van Nes and Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman describe the differences and similarities between these two enterprises. The final article in this section deals with one of the central questions that moved us to start this research project, namely why Christians were interested in the Targums. Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman and Johanna Tanja investigated and listed the Christian arguments for including Jewish Targums in the Polyglot Bibles. This article serves as a bridge to the third and final part of this book.

The first articles in the section on *Targum and Christianity* discuss the study of Targum by Christian scholars. The beginnings of the study of Jewish Aramaic language and literature in Western Europe are frequently associated with the theological and intellectual developments of the Renaissance. However, in the opening article of this section, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

shows evidence of much earlier interest in Aramaic in English works of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Stephen G. Burnett contributes an instructive survey of the Targum in Christian scholarship to 1800. Hans-Martin Kirn analyzes the indirect and direct traces of Targum reception and their relevance in the work of the Christian theologian Martin Luther. Finally, Yaacov Deutsch deals with an interesting example of Jewish-Christian tensions in an early medieval Targum. Within the corpus of targumic literature, the so-called Targum Sheni (second targum) on Esther is a stranger, looking more like a midrash than a translation. This Targum includes a unique list of ceremonies and customs that shows the author's perception of how outsiders assessed his religion.

Because this book aims at a broad readership of theologians, medievalists, linguists, Semitists, Judaists, and church historians, we have added a glossary of technical terms that may not be generally known.

Of course this book does not give the last word on the subject. The more the work advanced, the more we became aware of the desiderata for future research. In the field of Early Modern (church) history more systematic and comparative research on the reception of the Targum and its function in the evolving confessional cultures should be done, starting with comprehensive studies in the field of Christian Hebraist exegesis and theological debate. In the field of codicology systematic research is needed on the relation between form and function. At the same time more research should be devoted to medieval Jewish discourses on the subject of Targum, both in liturgy as well as in education. With regard to the text, the line of research that has been launched in the article by Hector M. Patmore and Johanna M. Tanja to differentiate between the several strands of targumic tradition should be further pursued.

Specialist research is the heart of every scholarly publication, this one being no exception: but it got flesh and bones through the generous help of the following institutions and persons. The research was financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). We thank this organisation for its generous support. The PThU funded part of the costs of books, microfilms, travel, congresses and publications, for which we are grateful. The Evangelical Theological Faculty in Louvain was very cooperative and supported the project practically and financially wherever it could. VU University of Amsterdam agreed to partly free Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman of other duties to participate in this project. The Netherlands School for Advanced Studies in Theology and Religion (NOSTER) financed the study meetings of the Dutch and Flemish participants of our project. These days proved to be very fruitful. Gottfried Reeg of the Freie Universität in Berlin and Thomas Kollatz of the Salomon Ludwig Steinheim Institute in Duisburg-Essen gave us indispensable assistance in

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On behalf of the editors,

Alberdina Houtman

PART ONE

Uses and Functions of Targum in Europe

∴

A Variety of Targum Texts

Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman

Introduction

The team of *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* set out to investigate the history of the Targum in Europe. It concentrated on the Targum of Samuel, because the translation techniques, the theological sources and most manuscripts of that book had been studied before (Van Staalduine-Sulman 2002 and 2009). Understanding the text and having assembled most of its textual variants seemed a firm foundation for the investigation of the manuscripts and variants in their historical context. The focus would lie on the study of the actual manuscripts, some of which had been thoroughly described (Kroeze 2007). The investigations have resulted in a vast amount of observations. The researchers saw manuscripts by ‘conservative’ copyists, who had tried not to add to or leave out anything in the text. There were also manuscripts with many minor variants, somewhat larger additions and several notes, either within the running text or in the margins. We saw very sloppy manuscripts, packed with errors and missing elements from the Targum text. And we included the early editions in order to see what happened to the Targum text in the early printing period. The content of the manuscripts and editions differed, from only the Targum text to the Targum accompanying the Hebrew text and different commentaries. Manuscripts even exist with Targum and an accompanying Ladino, Turkish or Latin translation. All these phenomena had to be described, named, and categorized in order to compare them with each other—and that naming and categorizing alone gave rise to serious problems.

The dichotomy of manuscripts versus editions appeared to be too crude, for it does not take into account the variety within the two categories. The dichotomy of continuous versus liturgical is likewise inadequate, because both categories seem to appear in one and the same manuscript. To mention one example: ms Ebr. 608 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome) contains the Hebrew and Aramaic text of the Torah—each parashah followed by the matching haftarah and corresponding parts of Rashi’s commentary to both the parashah and the haftarah—and the Hebrew text of the Writings. This means that the Targum text appears to be ‘liturgical’ for the Torah—although as complete as a ‘continuous’ text, and ‘liturgical’ in the haftarot—although definitely not complete. The final part, however, provides a Hebrew ‘continuous’ text of the Writings and is not especially linked to the liturgy, because it is not restricted

to the Megillot. Moreover, Rashi's commentary contains parts of the Targum text in the form of quotations, which are, of course, neither continuous nor liturgical. Besides, there are manuscripts and books that provide Targum texts, which are neither continuous nor liturgical. An extra complication is the fact that many fragments are so small that it is impossible to determine whether they originally provided a complete biblical book or only a fragment.

In the end, the best approach seemed to be to categorize textual units rather than entire manuscripts, in the case of MS Ebr. 608 the continuous text of Targum Onkelos, the *capita selecta* from Targum Jonathan, and some quotations from Onkelos and Jonathan in Rashi's commentary.

This article has two aims: (1) to present the results of describing, naming and categorizing all the manners, in which the Targum texts are handed down, including their direct context and paratexts; and (2) while doing so, to present the most interesting phenomena encountered. In order to understand the characteristics of European manuscripts, this article first describes manuscript features from all over the world and later draws conclusions on specific European characteristics.

Continuous Texts

The first category of handing down Targum consists of continuous texts, that is to say, an Aramaic translation of an entire Biblical book. The way in which the Targum is presented within a continuous manuscript or edition varies. A vast majority of the manuscripts including a continuous Targum text provide this text together with the Hebrew original.

Traditionally, Hebrew-Aramaic texts were used to study the readings from the Torah and the Prophets at home, or to prepare these readings for the synagogue service. Some manuscripts, from Babylonian fragments to full medieval Ashkenazi manuscripts, display cantillation signs in their Aramaic text. 'Such manuscripts would not have been permitted in the synagogue, but would be of great help for rehearsing' the text in order to chant it in the service (Smelik 2003, 49).

The Targum functioned as the authoritative translation of the Hebrew or as the oldest commentary on the Hebrew text (cf. Smelik 2003, 67). The latter function becomes especially visible in those manuscripts that give the Targum in separate columns and also provide one or more commentaries. In these manuscripts the Targum has a dual function: first as the translation of, and commentary on, the Hebrew text and second as the base text from which several commentators quote. The added commentaries show that continuous

Hebrew-Aramaic manuscripts were also meant for biblical studies. Targum was traditionally part of Jewish education:

Mikra leads to *targum*,
 which leads to *mishnah*,
 which leads to *talmud*,
 which leads to performance,
 which leads to the fear of God.
 (Sifre Deut. 161; cf. Fleisher & Chilton 2011, 320)¹

There are at least seven ways of presenting a continuous targumic text (cf. Smelik 2003, 71–72):

1. *Hebrew and Aramaic alternating.* The Hebrew and Aramaic text alternate verse by verse. This type of presenting Targum is the predominant sub-category (Smelik 2003, 73; cf. Klein 1992, x). There are several variations:
 - *Hebrew, Aramaic and Tafsir.* Manuscripts with three alternating languages were produced in the Middle East. When Arabic became the vernacular, Saadiah Gaon produced an Arabic translation of the Hebrew Bible, the so-called Tafsir. This translation is written in Hebrew letters. Its appearance alongside the Targum text means that many readers felt the need to consult a Bible translation in their own language, effectively downgrading the function of the Targum as a translation.
 - *Hebrew, Aramaic and Judaeo-Arabic translation of the Targum.* Eastern manuscripts of Canticles sometimes provide the Judaeo-Arabic translation of the Targum, such as MS Sassoon 367 (Sassoon Collection, Letchworth). MS Or. 4to 958 (12/2b; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin) provides Targum Esther Sheni with a Judaeo-Arabic translation.
 - *Hebrew, Aramaic and commentaries.* There is one manuscript in the Cairo Genizah collection that alternates Hebrew, Aramaic and the two commentaries of R. Shlomo b. Yitzhak (Rashi) and R. David Kimchi (MS T-S C7.132). It is written in a Sephardi handwriting, which suggests that at least the copyist was not from Cairo itself. This manuscript shows that the text was studied verse by verse. Also

1 See further on education, A. Houtman, 'The Role of the Targum in Jewish Education in Medieval Europe' in this volume.

the Ashkenazi MS Israel Museum 180/94 alternates Hebrew, Aramaic and Rashi's commentary verse by verse in the Torah section.²

- *With separate commentaries.* Most alternating manuscripts with commentaries provide the commentaries in the margins or in separate columns. The Ashkenazi MS Opp. 14 (Bodleian Library, Oxford) contains an alternating text in the Torah section, and places the commentary of Rashi in the margins.
 - *With separate commentaries and an extra Hebrew column.* At least two manuscripts provide the Targum text alternating with the Hebrew text, but nonetheless put the Hebrew in a separate column. MS Nr. 2 (Rentamt Rothenburg ad Nr. 513; VOHD VI/2, 494; Staatsarchiv, Nuremberg) and MS Ebr. B 135 (The First Firkovitch Collection, Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, St. Petersburg) both have three columns of (1) Torah and Onkelos alternating, (2) Rashi's commentary and (3) Torah alone. The Hebrew-Aramaic alternation was apparently felt to be distracting.
2. *Hebrew and Aramaic in parallel columns.* The Hebrew and Aramaic texts stand next to each other in columns. In this case it is possible to read the Aramaic text as a separate text. This text, however, is mostly given in a smaller column and in smaller script than the Hebrew text, indicating its lesser importance.
- *Hebrew and Aramaic columns.* MS Parma 3187 (Biblioteca Palatina, Parma) is such a manuscript with the Hebrew text in two columns on the page, with two very narrow columns of Targum in its left and right margins. The Targum text is written in a small script. The *mise en page* gives the impression that the Targum functions as a kind of commentary to the Hebrew text.
 - *Hebrew and Aramaic pages.* A variant to this option is displayed in manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah, where Hebrew and Aramaic texts are placed on facing pages (Smelik 2003, 72, cf. Klein 1992, x).
 - *Columns with commentaries.* Some manuscripts contain one or more commentaries on the Hebrew text besides the Targum. The commentaries are usually placed in the margins, written in a smaller, semi-cursive handwriting. Sometimes, it is clear that the manuscript was a product of Jewish scribes from different backgrounds. MS Can. Or. 62 (Bodleian Library, Oxford) provides the Hebrew and

2 On this manuscript, see Elodie Attia, 'Targum Layouts in Ashkenazi Manuscripts' in this volume.

Aramaic text in Italian square script, but the commentaries are written in Sephardi semi-cursive (Torah) and in Ashkenazi semi-cursive script (Megillot).

- *One commentary.* Manuscripts that add one commentary to the Hebrew and Aramaic text mostly provide Rashi; in a few cases scribes chose to include R. David Kimchi or R. Abraham ibn Ezra alone. Manuscripts with one commentary were mostly produced in Germany, France, Belgium and Northern Italy, and from the fifteenth century onward also in Yemen. Ms Add. 26,879 (British Library, London) is such an Ashkenazi manuscript with three columns: the middle column gives the Hebrew text in square script, a smaller column in the inner margin consists of the Targum in smaller square script and the outer margin provides the commentary of Rashi on the text. The latter is written with semi-cursive letters, and shaped in geometric forms.
 - *Several commentaries.* Manuscripts that add more commentaries are found in the regions just mentioned, but also in Sepharad and Yemen. Yemenite scribes chose commentaries other than European ones, because they favoured Arabic commentaries besides Rashi. Ms Kennicott 5 [85] (Bodleian Library, Oxford) provides three commentaries on the Hebrew text. It divides all the texts into two large columns for the Hebrew text, two smaller columns left and right of the Hebrew columns for the Targum, while the commentary of Rashi is placed in the upper margin, that of David Kimchi in the upper and outer margins and that of Levi ben Gershon in the inner and lower margins. This *mise en page* looks much like the Medieval Christian Bibles with all the *glossaria* surrounding the Bible text.
 - *Aramaic column among others.* In some Christian polyglot Bibles a Targum text is incorporated within a series of columns: the Hebrew original is the first column, followed by several translations of it. Agostino Giustiniani published his *Octapulus Psalterii* (OP) in 1516, a polyglot edition of the Psalter. And Elias Hutter edited the Nuremberg Polyglot Bible in 1599, with columns of ancient and modern languages of some Hebrew biblical books.
3. *Targum with Hebrew lemmas.* The Hebrew text is only indicated with the first word, or the first few words, of the verse—followed by the entire Aramaic verse.

- Some manuscripts only provide the first words of the Hebrew verse before each Targum verse, probably for economic reasons (Smelik 2003, 73). For instance, MS hébreu 75 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) has the first one to four words of the corresponding Hebrew verse preceding the Targum text.
 - This subcategory also contains manuscripts with two translations, such as MS T-S B11.113 (University Library, Cambridge), a fragment consisting of Genesis 35:1–10 in Aramaic and Judaeo-Arabic, each verse indicated by Hebrew lemmas (see also below, no. 7).
4. *Targum alone.* A small group of manuscripts simply present the Targum text without any reference to the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Most of them were written in Sephardi handwriting.
- An example is MS Kaufmann A 13 (Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest), a Sephardi manuscript of Targum Jonathan to the Latter Prophets from the thirteenth or fourteenth century.
 - A few manuscripts present the Targum text in an extracted or abbreviated form. These manuscripts are only produced in the Middle East. Most of them are preserved in the Cairo Genizah collection (8 extracts and 3 abbreviated MSS). Extracts provide the most important words of the targumic verses. Abbreviated manuscripts provide the first letters of each word. These forms suggest that the reader knew the rest of the verse by heart. They were an aid for the *meturgeman* in his memorisation of the Targum text (Smelik 2003, 63) and are a witness of a live tradition of Targum recitation in the synagogue service.
5. *Targum and more Targum.* A special constellation of text is provided by the Ashkenazi MS Parm. 2867 (Biblioteca Palatina, Parma). It primarily provides Targum Onkelos in square script, but adds in the margins of the last folios the Targum to the Megillot in semi-cursive script, although not entirely complete. In other margins the haftarot to Pesach and Shavuot with their Targum translations are added in a different hand, while at least two other hands have added Rashi's commentary to the Torah in the margins. Yet another hand added explanations of difficult words culled from Kimchi's *Sefer ha-Shorashim*.
6. *Targum and Tafsir.* This subcategory is similar to the manuscripts with Hebrew, Targum and another translation, but lacks the Hebrew text.

These texts are only produced in the Middle-East. Especially in the Cairo Genizah, fragments of manuscripts are found that only give Targum and Saadiah Gaon's Arabic translation of the Hebrew Bible, e.g. MS T-S B11.116 (University Library, Cambridge). Hebrew lemmas sporadically occur in this manuscript (Klein 1992, 26; in contrast to the manuscripts above, no. 4).

7. *Targum and its translation into another language.* The Targum was considered worthwhile enough to translate it into another language. Jews translated parts of it into Arabic, Ladino—especially the haftarot, see below—and Hebrew, while Christians—or converted Jews—provided it with a Latin translation.
 - *Targum with an Arabic translation.* Unlike those manuscripts that provide the Hebrew text with both Targum and Saadiah Gaon's Tafsir, these manuscripts give an Arabic translation of the Targum text next to the text itself. For example, MS Heb. f. 56, fols. 105–119 (Neubauer 2821/32; Bodleian Library, Oxford) displays parts of Targum Canticles with its Arabic translation.
 - *Targum with a Latin translation.* A new tradition arose in Spain, where Christian Hebraists started—during and after the production of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible—to copy the Targums with an accompanying Latin translation, both in the polyglot Bible and in separate manuscripts. They made the Targums available and accessible for Christian scholars through these texts and translations. In the polyglot Bibles the Targums functioned as one of the ancient versions of the Hebrew Old Testament.³
9. *Translation of Targum text only.* Some translations of Targum texts are presented in a manuscript without the Targum text itself.
 - *Arabic translation of Targum.* Manuscripts exist providing only the Arabic translation of Targum Canticles (e.g. MS X 893.1 BC P 435, Columbia University, Butler Library, New York) or Targum Kohelet (e.g. MS 198, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, Warsaw).
 - *Hebrew translation of Targum.* Some Hebrew(!) translations of Targums to the Writings exist. A 'translation' of the Targums to the Megillot into Hebrew is worthwhile, since some of the Targum Megillot are very paraphrastic in nature. The Italian MS parm. 2554

3 See further E. van Staaldoune-Sulman & J.M. Tanja, 'Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles' in this volume.

(Biblioteca Palatina, Parma), dated c. 1600, contains the Hebrew translation of the Targums to the Megillot.

- *Hebrew and Turkish translation of Targum*. The Turkish MS 2829 (Heb. f. 52; Bodleian Library, Oxford) provides the Hebrew text of Canticles, alternating with a Turkish and Hebrew translation of its Targum, without giving the Aramaic text itself.

Liturgical *Capita Selecta*

This category consists of two subcategories, namely the textual units that provide a cycle of liturgical readings from the Prophets and those that only provide some readings for the festivals. These manuscripts gave an easier access to the texts used in synagogue services than the continuous manuscripts of the Prophets. According to BT Ber 8a, 'a man should always complete his *para-shah* with the congregation, twice in [Hebrew] Scripture and once in Targum' (transl. Fleisher & Chilton 2011, 232). Accompanying commentaries in some manuscripts show that this not only consisted of reading the texts, but also of studying its meaning.

Since it was permitted to skip verses in the prophetic reading (Meg 4:4), most likely in order to avoid long services, long haftarot were not always read in full. This phenomenon is visible in various manuscripts, e.g. in the reading of 2 Samuel 22. Local customs probably played a decisive role in the exact number of verses included in various liturgical books. While Italian *mahzorim* preserve the complete text of 2 Sam 22, Ashkenazi and Sephardi sources only contain the first verses (1–14, 1–17, 1–19, or 1–25) and the last two (50–51).⁴

1. *Haftarot*. The first subcategory includes various collections of haftarot, the sections from the prophetic books that were selected to be read in the synagogue service (cf. Elbogen 1993, 143–149). In Eastern manuscripts the contents of these texts do not differ from the continuous texts.⁵ There are at least two types.

4 See further H.M. Patmore and J.M. Tanja, 'Initial Observations Concerning the Text of Targum 2 Samuel 22 As Preserved in European Liturgical Manuscripts' in this volume.

5 For Western manuscripts, see H.M. Patmore and J.M. Tanja, 'Initial Observations Concerning the Text of Targum 2 Samuel 22 As Preserved in European Liturgical Manuscripts' in this volume.

- Haftarat collections adhering to the triennial cycle (cf. Elbogen 1993, 132f.): although mostly preserved in Europe these collections were in use in the Middle East. They are in Oriental or Yemenite scripts.
- Haftarat collections adhering to the annual cycle: the vast majority of the haftarat collections display the annual reading cycle, both outside and within Europe.

Within the latter haftarat collections there are the same subcategories as in the continuous manuscripts: alternating, Targum with Hebrew lemmas, Targum alone, Targum with Tafsir or with commentaries. There are also manuscripts that provide the Hebrew and Aramaic text alternating, surrounded by commentaries. For example, MS Judah Nahum 43b (The Judah Levi Nahum Collection, Holon) provides the haftarat with parts from the *midrashim*, the commentaries of Rashi and some later commentaries.

Some special phenomena among this subcategory are:

- *Three verses, one verse.* A variant of alternating Hebrew and Aramaic is found in several festival collections of the Targum. They start with the first three verses in Hebrew, followed by their corresponding verses in Aramaic, but afterwards alternate by verse. The start of three verses is a reminder of the prescription in Meg 4:4 to read three verses from the prophets before the *meturgeman* could give his translation (cf. Flesher & Chilton 2011, 287), but already the *tosefot* (to Meg 24a) allow the reading of only three verses at the beginning, continuing with one verse at a time so that the translator will not err (Smelik 2003, 57–58; Houtman 2012, 9).
- *Haftarat with Ladino translation.* There are haftarat with an Aramaic and a Ladino translation. Some of these late manuscripts (eighteenth or nineteenth century) provide Aramaic and Ladino alternating verse by verse and one manuscript contains Hebrew, Aramaic and Ladino. Just like the manuscripts with an Arabic translation alongside the Targum, this phenomenon supports physical evidence of the discussion as to whether the Aramaic Targum was obligatory in each situation or a vernacular translation would suffice.⁶

6 See further A. Houtman, 'The Role of the Targum in Jewish Education in Medieval Europe' in this volume.

- *Haftarot with Hebrew and Turkish translation of the Targum.* The oriental MS X 893 J 749 (Columbia University, Butler Library, New York), dated 1838, contains the Hebrew translation of the richly expanded Targum of the haftarot for the first, seventh and eighth day of Pesach. The Turkish MS 2829 (Heb. f. 52; Bodleian Library, Oxford) gives the haftarot for the eighth day of Pesach with a Hebrew and a Turkish translation of the Targum of the haftarot.
2. *Prayer Books.* The second subcategory consists of parashot, haftarot and other targumic texts within prayer books, also called *siddurim* or *mahzorim*. Ashkenazi Jewry differentiates between the terms, using *siddur* for prayer books with the regular prayers for the whole year and *mahzor* for the prayer books that only contain prayers and *piyyutim* for the festivals (*EJ* 11, col. 731; *EJ* 13, col. 985). Most of these texts do not differ substantially from the continuous texts, but there are indications that Italian *mahzorim* provide a somewhat extended text of 2 Samuel 22 and that Ashkenazi *mahzorim* contain a richer text of Targum Exodus 20 (Kaufman & Maori 1991). This richness—together with the presence of *piyyutim*—may mean that the Targum also functioned to brighten up the festival services. Judah ben Barzillai made a comment in the beginning of the twelfth century that cantors contributed Palestinian Targums with many aggadic additions and ‘argued that it was allowed to recite [the enriched Targum] in the synagogue, because it was a commentary’ (transl. Smelik 2003, 67). There are several subcategories.
- Targum texts within a prayer book containing a set order of daily readings and prayers. An example is MS Cod Add. 374/3 (University Library, Cambridge), an Italian prayer book from the fourteenth or fifteenth century containing prayers, haftarot and Aramaic *piyyutim*.
 - Targum texts within a prayer book for the festivals, including extra *piyyutim*. An example is MS Can. Or. 49 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), which among many other texts contains haftarot with Targum Jonathan for Pesach and Shavuot.
 - Targum texts in a *tsahir* for Pesach. MS Valmadonna 89 (Valmadonna Trust Library, London) may serve as an example. This manuscript from the nineteenth(!) century contains prayers and readings for Pesach, including the corresponding Targum text of 2 Samuel 22, as well as stories and poems—all according to the Moroccan tradition.
 - The book of Canticles with its Targum and the book of Esther with both Targum Esther Rishon and Shenit are present in MS

Valmadonna 257 (Valmadonna Trust Library, London), an Italian collection of aggadic and ethical texts for festivals, called מחברת לילה ('booklet for the middle of the night'), composed in Ferrara 1836 (Richler 1998, 264).

All subcategories are found in both manuscripts and editions, except for the haftarat of the triennial cycle that are extant in manuscripts only.

Anthologies of Targumic Material

A few anthologies of targumic texts are known, of which the so-called Fragmentary Targum is the most famous. These texts do not form an integral part of the official Targums, Onkelos and Jonathan, but stem from the Palestinian Targums. Some continuous and liturgical Targum texts include (part of) this material, others give selections in the margin under headings such as 'Jerushalmi' or 'Tosefta'. Most of them, however, do not contain any of this material. The separate anthologies must have been intended to preserve this extra material: while the official Targums were conservative and close to the Hebrew text, the extra material was considered too valuable and interesting to be lost completely.

1. *Fragmentary Targum*. Collections of the Fragmentary Targum (FT) are known from the Cairo Genizah (Klein 1980, no. 6), but such collections were also copied in Europe. Some were copied as a separate manuscript, others were part of a larger entity.
 - A fine example of FT as a part of a larger manuscript is MS Vaticanus Ebr. 439–440, providing all kinds of Targum texts and concluding with an FT collection. A collection of FT was published in the first (Venice 1517) as well as in the second Rabbinic Bible (Venice 1525) (Klein 1975). After the latter Rabbinic Bible found its way to Yemen, its FT collection was copied in Yemenite manuscripts, e.g. in the seventeenth century MS Sassoon 264 (Sassoon Collection, Letchworth) (Klein 1980, 7).
 - Ms hébreu 110/1 (Ancien Fonds 58; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) is an example of a separate collection of the FT. It is headed: תוספתות וחילופין תרגום ירוש' לתורה, 'Additions and variants to Targum Jerushalmi to the Torah' (Klein 1980, no. 1). The manuscript provides a richer text than all other FT collections (Kaufman & Maori 1991).

- Also MS T-S B12.20 (University Library, Cambridge) contains a separate collection of the FT, but it sporadically inserts the Judaeo-Arabic translation alongside the verses (Klein 1992, no. 345).
2. *Toseftot collections.* Although toseftot usually appear in the margin or in the main text of Sephardi manuscripts, there are also separate collections of toseftas (cf. Houtman & Sysling 2009, 54 n. 76). Examples of such an independent collection are MSS T-S NS 182.69, 184.81 and 182.2 (University Library, Cambridge), together forming a small booklet of six pages with 21 toseftot to Genesis, Exodus and Leviticus. It is headed 'Jerushalmi', although the second line states that it contains 'Targum Jonathan ben Uziel' (Gleßmer 1995, 172). It is striking that most of the toseftot in this manuscript belong to a reading connected to one of the festivals (Gleßmer 1995, 174). Something similar is true for toseftot in continuous or liturgical manuscripts: most of them display a liturgical link, either with the annual or with the triennial cycle (Smelik 2003, 67).

Sample Texts

A number of targumic texts are found in books other than Bibles, haftarat collections or prayer books. The usual strong link between the Hebrew original and the Targum as its translation is abandoned in this type of texts. Moreover, in most cases these sample text have no direct connection with the liturgical reading cycle. The Targum is quoted as an independent source confirming some theological points, as a piece of literature in an anthology or as an Aramaic sample text. There are several types, which all have in common that the Aramaic portion is too big to have been quoted by heart. The texts must have been copied from an original manuscript or early edition.

1. *Proof text.* These Targum texts are part of a commentary—or in one case a selection of *piyyutim*—that provide Hebrew or Aramaic portions of Tenakh, upon which comments or poems are made.
 - One example is MS C123 (Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg), the main text of which is Kimchi's commentary on the Prophets. In some chapters it shows the Targum of Samuel in the margin, although incomplete at first sight. If one combines the quotations in Kimchi's commentary with the marginal text itself, the result is a complete Targum text. The Targum is written in a semi-cursive script, which is normally used for commentaries.

- Ms Cod. hebr. 5 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich; dated 1233) provides Rashi's commentary on the Torah, the haftarot and some Writings. Among the chapters from Samuel the Aramaic text of Hannah's Prayer is given (Tg 1 Sam 2:1–10), the separate verses indicated by Hebrew lemmata.
 - Another example is a nineteenth-century Yemenite manuscript, MS 2/1 (Collection Hubara, Jerusalem), with Rashi's commentary on Genesis and Exodus. At the beginning and at the end some portions of Scripture with their accompanying Aramaic translation are given: 1 Sam 1:2–9 and Gen 21:17–23.
 - Ms 287 (The Gross Family Collection, Tel Aviv) contains a selection of *piyyutim*, written down in Acrila 1905. One *piyyut* concerns the story of Genesis 24 and is therefore accompanied by the Aramaic version of the section, to which the *piyyut* refers.
2. *Selections in theological works.* Some theological or ethical works quote large parts of the Targum to support their line of thought. The Targum here functions as the authoritative interpretation of Scripture. It was apparently not enough to quote the Hebrew text; the interpretation of the Targum brought home their point.
- Ms Guenzburg 1020/7 (Russian State Library, Guenzburg Collection, Moscow, Russia) is a philosophical work on the nature of Jewish Law. It contains a small part of Targum Onkelos of Genesis.
 - A fine example is the Sephardi MS Urbinati Ebr. 31/3 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome). It contains works of a kabbalistic nature and ends with the Targum of Ezekiel 1:3–12, an important text within kabbalah.
 - MS T-S K25.35 is a Cairo Genizah fragment that contains a composition on the symbolism of the Menorah and ends with Targum Jonathan to Zech 4:2, which describes a vision of the Menorah (Klein 1992, no. 443).
3. *Other anthologies.* Some manuscripts consist of collections of works or of extracts. In these cases the Aramaic version functioned as a separate piece of literature. The examples show how varied these can be.
- The Sephardi MS Opp. Add. 8vo, 22 (Bodleian Library, Oxford) consists of a selection of prayers, not related to a liturgy. Among them Hebrew Psalms, but also the Targum version of Psalm 122.
 - The first fourteen folios of MS Valmadonna 267/1 (Valmadonna Trust Library, London) contain extracts from various works in Italian

script. Among them a few verses from Targum Lamentations. The Aramaic translation is quite extensive and contains derogatory references to Christianity which were erased by the censors (Richler 1998, 267).

- Ms Cod. hebr. 341 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich) is a collection of various works. One of them is the remnant of a Hebrew text of Genesis with an Italian interlinear translation, of which Gen. 1:1–6:9 is preserved. After Gen. 1:5 Targum Onkelos is given on these five verses, followed by the peculiar remark קפטל שני, ‘second chapter’. The rest of the manuscript does not provide any more Targum.
4. *Educational tool.* Every text can be used for learning how to read and write. Biblical texts are especially used because they are part of the normal curriculum of Jewish education. The Targum texts were used both for reading and writing, as well as for learning Aramaic.
- Selections from Targum texts are found as children’s exercises, probably for learning Aramaic and writing at the same time. Two fragments of the Cairo Genizah collection display biblical verses by an untrained hand, viz. MSS T-S A24.112.4 and T-S K25.160, categorized by Klein as children’s exercises (Klein 1992, nos. 8 and 445).
 - Some selections from the Targum text serve as an educational tool for learning Aramaic. Sebastian Münster in his grammar provides Aramaic texts from various sources, amongst which are Targums, as tools for students (Münster 1527) and so does Johannes Buxtorf (Buxtorf 1615). The Targum functioned in these cases not only as a means of learning Aramaic, but also of introducing the student to the genre of Targum. Christian Hebraists in these centuries were very interested in the Targum as interpretation of the Hebrew Bible.

Quotations

The fifth category of targumic texts consists of short quotations. Like the previous category, these texts appear in other, often religious, works, but they are short—short enough to wonder whether they are copied from a written *Vorlage*, originate in oral transmission or are quoted by heart. It is therefore impossible to establish whether a quote that cannot be found in the extant Targum manuscripts, really once existed in a manuscript or whether it was

misquoted. The same doubts can be expressed in the subcategory of variant readings, which regularly appear in European manuscripts and editions. Some are headed 'אָט 'אָ, 'there are some who say', which could refer to some oral tradition (Patmore 2012, 73).

1. *Quotations* from the Targum appear in all kinds of literature, in Talmud, dictionaries, commentaries, even in other Targums (Houtman & Sysling 2009, 155–230) and on magic bowls (Smelik 2003, 61). Targum quotations can also be found in Christian works.⁷
2. *Marginal variant readings.* In several manuscripts the margins are used—either by the original scribe or by a corrector—for corrections of, and alternative readings to, the Targum text. These were presumably 'quoted' from other manuscripts.
 - An example of corrective variant readings is MS hébreu 18 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). It contains a running text of Torah, Prophets and Writings with their Targums, copied in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century (perhaps earlier, cf. Ho 2009, 57). It also contains several notes, placed in the margins of the manuscripts in 1512, according to the colophon of the corrector, Menachem ben Peretz Trabot. This corrector lived in Italy, in the cities of Governolo and Mantua, where he worked for Joseph Galiko, the man who bought the manuscript in the same year 1512. Apparently, the new owner was not completely satisfied with his purchase and ordered the scribe to correct the text. The notes stem from all kinds of sources: Italian, Ashkenazi and Sephardi. So the corrector must have known and/or consulted several manuscripts. Indeed he tells the reader in his colophon that he had 'accurate books' in his possession (Ho 2009, 57).
 - An example of a manuscript providing additional and alternative readings is Codex Reuchlinianus No. 3 (Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe), dated 1105/6. It provides all kinds of marginal notes, varying from alternative readings from other manuscripts and alternative interpretations of the Hebrew source to additional, aggadic material from Palestinian sources. It is unclear whether the compiler found all his variants in written sources (Patmore 2012, 78). They were not primarily intended to correct the text, but

7 See the contributions of H.-M. Kirn and S. Burnett in this volume.

to provide as many interpretations of the Hebrew as possible—an encyclopaedic aim. The scribe Zerah bar Judah states in his colophon that the manuscript is for study and teaching, referring to Joshua 1:8, where Joshua is encouraged to study and to practice the words of the Torah (cf. Ho 2009, 39).

Targum Texts as Prompters

This category especially concerns the Targums of Samuel and Kings, which were used as prompters for the Aramaic translation of Chronicles (Flesher & Chilton 2011, 257). The compiler would take the existing Targums, change the translation where necessary in line with the Hebrew text of Chronicles, and adapt it to his own interpretation of the text. To mention one example: Tg 2 Sam. 23:8 gives a poetical description of King David on his throne, surrounded by heroes, prophets and elders. Tg 1 Chron 11:11, which could have adopted exactly this same description because the Hebrew *Vorlage* is just about identical, expands the text in order to introduce King David as rabbi and musician—in accordance with some talmudic ideas (Van Staalduine-Sulman 2002, 683–85). Some examples of expansions are:

Tg 2 Sam 23:8 (partly)	Tg 1 Chron 11:11 (partly)
<i>dignified with the holy anointing oil...</i>	<i>dignified with the holy anointing oil: when he went out to battle, he was supported from above and when he returned to the Law School, the teaching came out according to his opinion...</i>
<i>a hero in heroism,</i>	<i>a hero in heroism, the head of the Law School, sweet of voice,</i>
<i>head of the heroes.</i>	<i>a master in the art of singing, commander over all the heroes.</i>

Targum Chronicles is only present in four extant manuscripts from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, all written in Ashkenazi script. A fifth manuscript from fourteenth-century Italy was destroyed during World War II (Kroeze & Van Staalduine-Sulman 2006, 196 n.15; against Flesher & Chilton 2011, 257). This purely European spread as well as its complete absence in talmudic and medieval Jewish works makes one suspect that Targum Chronicles was made in medieval Europe, which is confirmed by the forthcoming book on the subject by Leeor Gottlieb.

The Spread of Targum Texts

Of the abovementioned manifestations of Targum texts, the first three categories are systematically gathered in our rough database, although not all categories are fully incorporated in the web database. It is, however, impossible to include all the theological works that contain a large sample of a Targum text, so category 4 is definitely not complete. Category 5, small quotations in other books, are hopefully present in other catalogues (e.g. Houtman & Sysling 2009) and category 6, the text of Targum Chronicles, is mentioned in our database.

Categories 1 and 2 comprise Targum Onkelos, Targum Jonathan and Targum Writings, except for Daniel and Ezra/Nehemiah—of which there is no Targum. The spread of Onkelos, Jonathan and Targum Writings is as follows. The numbers about the Cairo Genizah stem from the introduction of Klein 1992. For all the categories it must be reckoned that a manuscript containing the entire Bible occurs in all three categories.

TABLE 1 *Distribution of Onkelos, Jonathan and Targum Writings*

	Targum Onkelos	Targum Jonathan	Targum Writings	
Cairo Genizah	1,000 (63%)	400 (25%)	180 (12%)	1,580
Eastern script excluding CG	332 (43%)	330 (43%)	103 (14%)	765
Total Eastern script	1,332 (57%)	730 (31%)	283 (12%)	2,345
Ashkenazi script	252 (65%)	95 (25%)	40 (10%)	387
Italian script	61 (54%)	40 (36%)	11 (10%)	112
Sephardi script	57 (47%)	47 (38%)	18 (15%)	122
Total Western script	370 (60%)	182 (29%)	69 (11%)	621

The table shows that the number of manuscripts found in the Cairo Genizah is enormous, although most ‘manuscripts’ only consist of a small fragment. The Cambridge Cairo Genizah collection represents more manuscripts than all the other libraries and archives together. The table also shows that Targum Onkelos is by far the most important part of the Aramaic translation, both in the Western and in the Eastern tradition. The interest in Targum Jonathan appears to be relatively great, but one must consider that most of these texts are in haftarot collections (in the East) or in prayer books containing only two haftarot (in the West). The following table therefore provides a better overview, although the Cairo Genizah collection could not be included, because it is mostly unclear whether a fragment with Targum Jonathan stems from a continuous text or from a liturgical selection.

TABLE 2 *Distribution of continuous Targum texts and capita selecta*

	Targum Onkelos continuous	Targum Onkelos <i>capita selecta</i>	Targum Jonathan continuous	Targum Jonathan <i>capita selecta</i> (whole year)	Targum Jonathan <i>capita selecta</i> (festivals)	Targum Writings (incl. Megillot)	Targum Megillot only	
Eastern script	325 (42%)	7 (1%)	101 (13%)	209 (27%)	20 (3%)	13 (2%)	90 (12%)	765
Ashkenazi script	237 (61%)	15 (4%)	38 (10%)	5 (1%)	52 (13%)	20 (5%)	20 (5%)	387
Italian script	46 (41%)	15 (13%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	37 (33%)	4 (4%)	7 (6%)	112
Sephardi script	55 (45%)	2 (2%)	20 (16%)	2 (2%)	25 (20%)	13 (11%)	5 (4%)	122
Total	298 (48%)	32 (5%)	60 (10%)	8 (1%)	114 (18%)	37 (6%)	32 (5%)	621
Western script								
unknown provenance	101	0	15	4	9	6	13	148

A few things not shown in this table need to be mentioned first. Most of the manuscripts in Eastern script are of Yemenite origin, just as most of the Western manuscripts are Ashkenazi. The manuscripts from the East are on average more recent than those of the West: the database contains quite a few Yemenite manuscripts from the nineteenth or even twentieth century, while there are only a few Western manuscripts dating after the sixteenth century. Furthermore, Eastern manuscripts tend to give smaller portions than Western manuscripts. It is quite normal for an Eastern manuscript to provide Torah with Onkelos or the haftarot with Jonathan or even the haftarot for the festivals with Jonathan only. Complete Bibles are mostly found among the Ashkenazi manuscripts, either in the form of Torah with Targum Onkelos + Prophets + Writings or in the form of Torah with Onkelos + haftarot with Jonathan for the seventh day of Pesach and the first of Shavuot + Megillot. Moreover, most Yemenite collections of Megillot only provide the Targums to Canticles, Ruth, and Kohelet (e.g. MSS A 4, A 7, A 27 and A 28 of the Spertus College Library, Chicago), while European collections also contain Lamentations and Esther.

Ashkenazi manuscripts are the biggest, regularly more than 400 mm high up to 630 × 480 mm (cf. Kroeze & Van Staaldoune-Sulman 2006, 198). They could easily be used by several people at the same time for biblical studies. Moreover, Ashkenaz is the only region where Targum Chronicles is found. So, the term Targum Writings means something different in other regions than Ashkenaz, and even in Ashkenaz itself the term varies.

Some Eastern and Western manuscripts include *Megillat Antiochus*, an Aramaic rewriting of the first few chapters of 1 Maccabees. It was regularly used as the festival scroll for Purim and the Aramaic version seems to be part of the Targum collection. Eastern and Sephardi manuscripts provide the Aramaic text, while Italian sources give its Hebrew translation (Gaster 1925–1928, 177–179). The Italian provenance of this Hebrew translation parallels the Italian origin of the Hebrew translation of the five *Megillot* (MS parm. 2554; Biblioteca Palatina, Parma). Finally, only Ashkenazi and Sephardi manuscripts sometimes give an Aramaic version of the *Dream of Mordecai* or the *Prayer of Mordecai*.

This table leads to the following conclusions. First of all, almost all categories exist in all regions. There is hardly a category that is ‘purely Western’ or ‘typically Eastern’. Second, library catalogues are too concise and regularly lack important information about the provenance of the manuscript. About 148 manuscripts lack all data on provenance. Third, the interest in Targum Onkelos is indeed greater than that in Targum Jonathan; the interest in Jonathan greater than that in Targum Writings. The interest in Targum Writings differs, however, between West and East. While the East mainly produced manuscripts with Targum Megillot—in most cases only Canticles, Ruth and Kohelet without

Esther and Lamentations—the West showed some interest in all the Targums of the Writings. Fourth, the amount of haftarat collections for the whole year in the East concurs with our knowledge that Targum Jonathan is still in use in Yemenite synagogues. The amount of haftarat for only two festivals in the West suggests that Targum Jonathan was no longer used in European synagogues, except for Pesach and Shavuot. The small number of Targum Jonathan texts in the Cairo Genizah makes one wonder whether the reading of Targum Jonathan in the services stopped at some point of the history of the Cairo synagogue. Fifth, there are differences within Europe. Manuscripts in Italian script are mostly connected to the liturgy: Onkelos, liturgical parts of Onkelos and Jonathan, and the Megillot. Manuscripts of Sephardi provenance are more interested in continuous texts, giving the highest percentages for continuous texts of both Targum Jonathan and the Targums of the Writings. Were the Targums connected to the synagogue services for longer in Italy than in other regions? And were Jews in Sepharad more interested in general biblical studies? Or is it just a coincidence that these manuscripts survived and do the percentages provide no historical data at all?

Conclusions

Targum texts were read and copied in almost every country where Jewish communities lived, from very early times on. Quotations in early Jewish literature prove its early, authoritative status. Most biblical manuscripts do not contain Targum, but enough manuscripts including it have survived to show its worldwide and lasting influence. Even in times when Aramaic became extinct, boys in Eastern countries were encouraged to learn Aramaic and to memorize the official Targums in order to recite them in the synagogue (cf. Goitein 1971, 176, 206).

Units of Targum texts are found in a variety of contexts, almost each with their own purpose. Although Rashi in his commentary on Meg 21b seems to have a specific view on the origins of the Targum—claiming it was only meant for ignorants and women (Smelik 2003, 55)—the most outstanding aim of Targum manuscripts was biblical studies, leading to an understanding of the Hebrew text in order to practice Torah and to revere God. These studies could be done using continuous texts, but also using *capita selecta* in combination with the synagogue service. The Jewish man was supposed to read the Hebrew and Aramaic text, and could study the accompanying commentaries.

The fact that the majority of the haftarat collections are Eastern, and that almost all the complete haftarat collections are of Eastern origin, shows that

Jews there continued to use the Targum in the synagogue service. European Jewry reduced the Targum to special haftarah readings during the festivals of Pesach and Shavuot, and reduced it even further by skipping large passages from these haftarot.

Targum was not only used to accompany the service, but sometimes to enhance the service, especially during festivals. For that purpose additional texts that were not part of the authoritative Targums were preserved in separate collections and in prayer books. Preservation of the rich Targum tradition was also the aim of those manuscripts that were accompanied by variants and additional readings in their margins. Such a wealthy collection of variants was not restricted to the correction of the text; it rather points to an encyclopaedic mind-set.

An overwhelming majority of the manuscripts indicate the Targum should 'function in tandem with the Hebrew original, and that it cannot be properly read without that text' (Smelik 2003, 72). Alternating manuscripts—and likewise manuscripts with Hebrew lemmas—split up the Targum into verses, not allowing the reader to study it as a whole or as a separate literary work. The Hebrew Bible could be studied separately, because only a small number of manuscripts add the Targum to the Hebrew original—only 6% in the Cairo Genizah collection of Cambridge (Klein 1992, ix). Things were different in those manuscripts that provide Hebrew and Aramaic in separate columns. The manuscripts providing Targum alone, the anthologies in which Aramaic chapters are incorporated, as well as the Christian manuscripts delivering Targum and its Latin translation show that the Targum at some time started to function as an independent piece of literature.

Over the centuries, commentaries on the Hebrew text became more important. The Targum seems to function as one of the commentaries in manuscripts that provide the Hebrew text in a separate column with Targum and one commentary—mostly Rashi, both in Western and Eastern manuscripts—or more commentaries in the margin. The choice of the commentaries besides Rashi points to the place of the manuscript's origin in most cases. The roles of Targum and commentaries sometimes swapped. Instead of copying a commentary in semi-cursive script next to the Hebrew text and its Aramaic translation, some compilers of manuscripts turned the Targum into the 'paratext', in semi-cursive script, of a commentary.

The observation that the Targum is sometimes accompanied by another translation coincides with the fact that Aramaic no longer functioned as the vernacular, neither in the East (Judaeo-Arabic, Turkish) nor in the West (Ladino). Hebrew translations in Italy confirm that Hebrew was better known there than Aramaic. In the East, however, boys were still trained to recite the

Targum, as can be inferred from Cairo Genizah documents and from actual Yeménite services (cf. Goitein 1971, 158, 175). In places where the Targum was actually recited in the service, one could rehearse the text by using abridged manuscripts or extracts and by following the cantillation signs.

The Latin translations do not fall in any category, because they were made in a Christian context for a Christian readership. They testify to the intense interest of Christian Hebraists from the sixteenth century onward.

In other books where the Targum is cited, it functions as an authoritative interpretation of the Hebrew text and a step towards theology or ethics. Jewish authors quote words or phrases to show a certain interpretation, or even entire paragraphs to bring home their theological or ethical point. Christian authors used it sometimes to gain a better understanding of the Hebrew text. The Targum left quite a trail in Europe, mostly in Jewish contexts, but from the twelfth century onward also in Christian theology.

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The Role of Targum Samuel in European Jewish Liturgy*

Peter Sh. Lehnardt

Introduction

The recitation of canonical texts, as part of a liturgy within a framework of statutory prayers, is one of the central features of the religious and cultural heritage of Second Temple Judaism to the monotheistic religions around the Mediterranean. In many cases, however, the significance of canonical texts is derived from their original local and historical linguistic settings, the ‘then and there’, so to speak. This challenges the continuous use of these texts in the liturgy since such usage is premised on the understanding that the texts remain relevant for new generations, or even, as a result of monotheistic belief, for communities who do not share the same ethnic or language identity. In Judaism, the option of adapting a text by rephrasing or rewriting (or even suppressing) became obsolete the moment an ancient text claiming religious authority had become public. A social institution defined as keeper of the textual heritage, with the authority to introduce changes into the text or to rewrite it, was from then on limited in its power since the text was already widely disseminated, well known, and in some sense canonical.

In Antiquity, the option of ‘framing’ a text by writing a commentary, a solution to the stalemate between the competing authorities of text and institutions of learning, developed initially in the Mediterranean at literary centres such as Alexandria, but was based on the culture of a library rather than a cult with a limited number of books. The process of canonization of the biblical text which excluded the option of adaption of the text to changing circumstances and needs (Tal 2001), and the loss of Hebrew as vernacular because of historical developments and geographical dispersion, gave rise in Judaism to the creation of a multilingual liturgy, giving a literary or oral translation in the vernacular alongside the original text.

Even once the choice had been made to present the canonical text through translation, a decision had to be taken as to the mode of translation:

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Either in favour of a *replacing translation*, which has the aim of creating a new, authoritative, and largely independent text in another language, adhering to the grammatical and stylistic conventions of the target language. This approach aims to substitute an existing text in an unfamiliar language either for the benefit of a (new) audience, or to enable its dissemination in areas where the original language is not understood.

Or in favour of a *concomitant translation* intended for a multilingual culture language arena, like the (medieval) synagogue. The coexistence of the translation alongside the source text even makes it possible to offer a kind of interlinear translation reflecting much of the lexicon, grammar and style of the source language. A translation of this type is not intended to stand alone in the target language in terms of its language, register, or literary style, as is the case with a replacing translation. Rather its aim is to refer the listener to the authoritative source text. If one aspect of a concomitant translation is its commitment to the source text, in some cases the very presence of the source text provides the opportunity for free translation. A deviating translation read in conjunction with the authoritative source text makes possible the use of *double entendre* or irony, intended to challenge the audience, but not acts of redaction or falsification as might be the case with a replacing translation.

Or in favour of a *cultural translation*, which might involve anything from the simple localization or actualization of unfamiliar elements in a text, such as place names, redundant practices, etc., through to the transfer of a written text into an entirely different medium, such as a visual medium. Even when the text is recast into a new format, some formal elements of the source text, such as its poetic metre or verse order, may be retained. The aim of such a translation is to bridge the cultural divide that has arisen between the text and its audience, in other words to transfer some aspects of the text from one cultural *spelsfeer* (sphere of play)¹ to another by a process of *oikotypification* (Honko 1981). Examples of *cultural translation* include Josephus' retelling of the biblical story and the history of the Jewish people for his Roman overlords,² and—beyond

1 Cf. Huizinga 1950, esp. 148 (a faithful English translation from the Dutch is still a desideratum) and the concept of *Sprachspiel* (and not of language *game* but much more play) in Wittgenstein 1958, 5/5* (§ 7) and 51–52/51*–52* (§ 66).

2 Cf. Josephus, *Antiquities* to the story of Cain and Abel, in which he blends the biblical narrative with Herodotus' concept of the *Ages of Mankind*, a theme that would have been known to anybody literate in the Roman world. Cf. his characterization of Cain (Κάις. *Ant.* 1.52–58) against the background of well-known 'school material' of his days from Hesiod on the ages of the early history of mankind (Hesiodotos, *Erga/Opera et dies*, lines 106–201) and cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoseon*, lines 89–150.

the medium of text—the use of, for example, contemporary dress and vernacular architecture in the depiction of biblical scenes in religious art.³

After a few generations, Greek, Aramaic-Syriac or Latin texts of the Bible became replacing translations, later on becoming more and more revised to the standards of the target language, whether in the Hellenistic Jewish communities or in the early Christian congregations. Works belonging to the genre of rewritten Bible for some biblical narratives and books were a common feature in the Second Temple period and were distributed to a broad spectrum of Jewish target audiences up to Josephus's attempt to show the honourable *vetustas* of the defeated Jewish nation, mentioned above. Both genres of translation were banned from Jewish liturgy in late Antiquity as Hebrew began to develop from the preferred language of prayer to almost the only choice, as was the case in medieval Judaism. If, in the wake of this choice, much of the translation literature from Antiquity became lost to Jewish culture, the modes of replacing translation and especially of cultural translation were now to be found in passages of the wide-ranging spectrum of evolving Targum literature.

The quest to preserve not only the text of the Bible but also the hierarchy of the texts, meant that the concomitant Targum, which became obligatory in Jewish liturgy in late Antiquity after the reading of the Hebrew original, became formally limited in its authority. Targum was not to be read in public from a written *Vorlage* but orally performed; thus especially the Targum tradition to the Pentateuch in Eretz Yisrael remained quite dynamic in phrasing until the Middle Ages. In other regions, such as Babylonia, and for other biblical texts, we find other kinds of balances between the aim to underscore the authority of the biblical text and the obvious usefulness of a precisely phrased concomitant translation as an effective, consistent reconsideration of the content of the biblical text. Using the approach just mentioned, a Targum could become written and afterwards canonized in content and wording in a similar way to its source text. In this way the language of the Targum could become more literary through time.

The translation of biblical texts for liturgical purposes in Judaism, in general, and in particular in the Targum, which was concomitant to the Hebrew text, evolved a mix of the modes outlined above and displays in detail all three modes side by side: sometimes a translation into another literary language, sometimes a translation striving for exactness for those wanting to study the text, and sometimes a translation well aware of its concomitant mode,

3 See, for example, the murals of Dura-Europos from the first half of the 3rd century with Moses presented in the image of a Hellenistic lawyer-philosopher. See e.g. the descriptions of Weitzmann & Kessler 1990, 34–38, 52–55.

paraphrasing wherever necessary in order to overcome the possible strangeness of a biblical expression if heard or read in the target language.

The Presence of the Books of Samuel and Their Targums in the Jewish Liturgical Tradition

The biblical text is foundational in the world of Jewish prayer (see e.g. the different aspects in Kugel 2006): whether read as Bible lections on Shabbat, festivals, appointed times and special weekdays, cited as part of prayer in the *Kriyat Shema* (see Heinemann & Petuchowski 1975, 15–28) or of the benedictions (Elizur 2008, 2009a),⁴ or serving in general as model and mould for the formulation of prayers and liturgical poetry. The process of canonization had led to stable and well-known texts which could be cited or alluded to in Jewish liturgy. Other than the reading of the complete books of the Megillot (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther) and some Minor Prophets (Obadiah and Jonah), liturgical readings on Shabbat, festivals and special days are generally selections from the Pentateuch with a haftarah, from a prophetic book like Samuel, in conclusion.

This is the most obvious and clearest aspect of the presence of the Books of Samuel in Jewish liturgy, although we must bear in mind that in the first centuries CE, the liturgical cycles of Scripture reading underwent a process of development, with two rival systems, a so-called Palestinian and a so-called Babylonian one. Later on, during the last two centuries of the first millennium CE, the move towards the hegemony of the one associated with the authority of the Babylonian talmudic leadership was especially relevant for the Jewish diaspora in Christian Europe.

In the early rabbinic period the choice of readings for special occasions was made from passages in the Pentateuch close to the cultic matter of the day. The haftarah readings were primarily chosen from texts with a strong associative connection to the Pentateuch lection, especially in the opening lines.⁵ In Amoraic times the statutory prayers and biblical verses cited during the liturgy

4 Both articles radically change perceptions of the relation between biblical verse and prose prayer in early rabbinic liturgy, so it now seems that at this stage prose prayer compositions were still embellished by biblical verses and not by poetry, the form predominantly attested in medieval sources.

5 See as early as Thackeray 1921, 43–46. Even if it is doubtful whether we can make such a retrojection to pre-talmudic times, the identification of this basic feature for the choice of the haftarah is still valid.

already covered the cultic matter connected to festivals and it was not necessary that the Torah reading or the haftarah should deal with this specifically too.⁶ Though in theory haftarot readings could have been chosen now that were related in a more general way to the liturgical topic of the day, the associative connection between the Torah reading and haftarah remained still predominantly focused on the opening lines.⁷ Thus, the choice of the haftarah seldom reflects subjects from the main part of the Torah portions or from the concluding matters of the Torah reading, even if the selection from the Prophets was intended to be read directly after it. This rhetorical-redactional inclination normally makes it quite difficult to demonstrate the presence of a haftarah portion (and its Targum) from the prophetic books in texts, prayers, liturgical poetry, and even sermons for a liturgical occasion beyond the very first verses.

With the consolidation of traditions concerning the haftarah for the seder portions from the Torah for Shabbats and for the special readings for festivals and appointed times, we find in Byzantine Eretz Yisrael another medium that attests to the shift from the *ad hoc* association of haftarah, to a fixed association between haftarah readings and seder portions: the Midrash literature.⁸ This vast corpus of rabbinic literature from late Antiquity preserved the early liturgical tradition from Eretz Yisrael linked to the so-called triennial cycle even when the annual cycle promoted by the Babylonian authorities generally prevailed in medieval Jewish liturgical rites. Midrash was still a major subject in the syllabus of Jewish learning in Christian Europe, and thus references, allusions, and interconnections between Pentateuch verses and the Books of Samuel found in a liturgical context may more closely reflect the order of learning in the *Beit ha-Midrash*, the house of study, than the actual agenda from the house of prayer, the synagogue, especially from the twelfth century onward.

The use of the Books of Samuel for liturgical readings on Shabbat and the festivals can be reconstructed from biblical manuscripts, lectionaries and

6 Cf. e.g. the introduction of readings in Amoraic times for the first day of Rosh ha-Shanah, such as the Binding of Isaac (Gen 22) and the story of Hannah (1 Sam 1:1–2:10), which deal with the question of divine providence rather than directly with cultic matter. See on this topic the chapters of Elbogen 1993, 129–151, 420–427, still relevant—100 years after their formulation—thanks to his skillful blend of pointing to the sources of our knowledge and a *literaturgeschichtlich*-oriented narrative.

7 This because it seems that in early rabbinic times the length of the passage, especially of the haftarah reading, was *ad libitum* of the congregation, see Elbogen 1993, 145, 426.

8 See the major study on this subject, Mann 1940–1964, and the evaluation by Wacholder 1971.

halakhic discussions⁹ as well as from countless attestations from liturgical material. We must be aware, however, that the use of the Hebrew pericope does not automatically mean the use of Targum for the haftarah, too. We must check the liturgical texts for those occasions when the haftarah was chosen from the Books of Samuel and prove or demonstrate it as probable that the liturgical texts alluding to the relevant portion from the Books of Samuel were based not on the Hebrew text alone but on the use of the Targum, thereby showing its actual presence in different places and times in the different rites. And again, even in these cases, we have to take into account that the Bible was studied by the means of Targum (reproducing a basic literal understanding with confined references to traditions of applied meaning) and Midrash (the syllabus of applied meaning) in adult education in the rabbinic world of late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, and any reference to Targum traditions might be 'academic' rather than liturgical, especially in the Middle Ages and in Christian Europe. In confronting the difficulties associated with proving the use and the presence of Targum, rather than looking for Midrash traditions in Targum as is usually done, we must pinpoint *vice versa* reflections of distinctive motifs and expressions from Targum in (so-called later) Midrash compilations, which were arranged to serve as syllabi for sermons according to the liturgical cycle, or in the corpus of liturgical poetry.

It goes without saying that much exploration concerning the corpus and method must still be carried out before we can hope to achieve this task. As a first step, we must reconstruct the use of readings from the Books of Samuel in the liturgical rite. Then we must assemble the Midrash collections or the Piyyut compositions that are connected to the liturgical occasion in question, and after that carefully analyze text by text in search of testimony of the presence of the Targum of Samuel.¹⁰ Let us work this out in a test case.

9 See the summary and bibliography in Van Staaldvine-Sulman 2002, 59–62; and Offer 1989, 169–185.

10 For such a catalogue of opportunities to look for attestations in liturgical poetry according to the so-called Palestinian rite for sabbatical readings, cf. Gen 25:1—2 Sam 5:13 (attested by Shimeon BiRebbi Megas), Gen 27:1—1 Sam 4:15 (attested by Shimeon BiRebbi Megas), Gen 29:31—1 Sam 1:2 (by Shimeon but not by Yannai), Exod 32:15—2 Sam 22:10 (Yannai). And just to show that evidence from lectionaries and midrash literature is not always consonant with the evidence found in liturgical poetry, cf. Num 16:1—1 Sam 11:1—a case where we have no piyyut evidence other than Hos 10:2, or Deut 32—where we have no piyyut evidence other than Isa 1:2.

Test Case

The following specimen that may serve us as a methodological example is part of a fragment of the *Kedushta* of Yannai to the seder, the portion of the Torah according to what is termed the Palestinian reading cycle, which begins with Exod 32:15. The *Kedushta* was the most important composition of liturgical poetry for the public recitation of the *Amidah* prayer in Byzantine Eretz Yisrael for Shabbat and festival days. Yannai, the foremost developer and promoter of this genre, signed his name in acrostic only in the third part, the *Meshallesh*, as if to stress its special importance as an expression of hope for redemption while referring to the haftarah, the prophetic reading of the day (Lieber 2010, 35–64, esp. 46–50):

משלש יְרִידָתְךָ [ד] עָלֶיךָ, מוֹרִיד וּמַעֲלֶה, בְּ[י/ל] ע[ד] מָרוֹם תְּ[-- -- --] לָהּ
 בְּשִׁאֲלָהּ / שִׁאֲלָהּ: 'מִי עָלָה שָׁמַיִם וַיֵּרֵד?' — מִשְׁ[ה] עָלָה וְאַחֲרַיִן בֵּן [יֵרֵד]
 'דוֹד[וֹן] / יִדּוֹדוֹן \ הַחֲרִיד וְעוֹז / וְכַבּוֹד \ לְעַמּוֹ הוֹרִיד וְלַעֲתָ [--] חֲזוֹמָהּ הִיִּרְאָה
 הַיּוֹד [וְ] הָ[דָר] / עַל הָהָר \ כְּנִרְאָה בִּי נוֹטָה שָׁמַיִם הִיטָה שָׁמַיִם וַיֵּרֵד
 יְקָר נִחַלְקָ לּוֹ בָּעֵת אֲשֶׁר יֵרֵד בְּעֵת אֲשֶׁר יֵרֵד
 [בכתוב: 'ויט שמים וירד וערפל תחת רגליו (שמ"ב כב 10).
 ונאמר: ---]

ואתה קדוש יושב תהילות ישראל¹¹

Translation:

Your descent an ascent, / the One who casts down and lifts high, /
 [--] up to the heights / [-- -- --]
 A question was posed: / 'Who has ascended heaven and came down?'—/
 Moses ascended / and afterwards came down
 He scared those who are constantly moving / and strength and honour he
 brought down to his people /
 And for the time [--] showed a wall / splendour and glory on the
 mountain as was seen
 He got his share in honour / in the time when he came down /
 because the One who spread the skies / BENT THE SKIES AND CAME DOWN.

¹¹ The text according to Cambridge University Library T-S 10 H 7.5 as displayed at the Friedberg Genizah Project Website (www.genizah.org) as FGP No C279329. For an edition see Rabinovitz 1985, p. 356. The following commentary is intended to aid the reader in understanding the dimension of intertextuality as the major literary device of early Piyyut.

[Like it is written: He BENT THE SKIES AND CAME DOWN, thick cloud beneath His feet (2 Sam 22:10).

And it is said:—

But You are the Holy One, enthroned upon the praises of Israel].

Commentary: 1 YOUR DESCENT: an appeal to God, cf. ‘The LORD came down upon Mount Sinai, on the top of the mountain, and the LORD called Moses to the top of the mountain and Moses went up’ (Exod 19:20). THE ONE . . . HIGH: for the payyetic metonymy for God, cf. biblical phrases such as ‘The LORD deals death and gives life, casts down into Sheol and raises up’ (1 Sam 2:6). Probably the second half of the line offered another contrast in the vertical dimension, for the expression cf. ‘Your beneficence—up to the heights (of heavens), O God’ (Ps 71:19), and for the stress on the vertical movement compare the contemporary midrashic tradition: ‘“Then the LORD said unto Moses: Hold out your arm toward the heavens [. . .]” (Exod 9:22)—This text is related (to) “<Our God is in the Heaven>, He has done whatever He pleased” (Ps 115:3). The Holy One said: “The heavens are heavens belonging to the LORD <but the earth He gave over to the children of Adam>” (Ps 115:16). To what is this matter comparable? To a king who uttered a decree for the children of Rome not to go down to Syria and for the children of Syria not to go up to Rome. Like that it is with the Holy One. When He created (the beings on high, He said): “The heavens are heavens belonging to the LORD <but the earth He gave over to the children of Adam>” (ibid.). When the Holy One wished to give the Torah to Israel, He repealed the first decree and said: let those below ascend to those on high and those on high descend to those below. And I will be the one who begins. Thus it is stated: “And the LORD came down” (Exod 19:20)’ (*Tanhuma-Buber, Wa’era*, 19 (to Exod 9:22) [ed. Buber, 34, cf. transl. Townsend, 48] parallels: *Tanhuma, Wa’era*, 15 [ed. Warszawa, 200–201, transl. Berman, 379], *ExodR* 12:3 [ed. Shinan, 246–247 with bibliography]). 2 A QUESTION WAS POSED: referring to the Bible, but in a typical rabbinic phrase. Cf. ‘This question was already stated some time ago by R. Tarfon and the elders, when they were sitting in the shade of a dove-house in Javne: “With their camels . . .”’ (Mek, *Massekhta DeWaYehi (BeShallah)*, 5 [ed. Lauterbach (2004), 156]). WHO HAS ASCENDED . . . DOWN: according to the line-up of rhetorical questions on limitations of human deeds in Prov 30:4 as used analogously in a *Petirah-Midrash* about the death of Moses: “Who has ascended to heaven and come down? Who has gathered up the wind in the hollow of his hand? Who has wrapped the waters in his garment? Who has established all the extremities of the earth? What is his name or his son’s name, if you know it” (Prov 30:4). “Who has ascended to heaven?”—This is the Holy one, as it is written: “God ascended amidst acclamation” (Ps 47:6); “and came

down”—“The LORD came down upon Mount Sinai” (Exod 19:20); “Who has gathered up the wind?”—“In His hand is every living soul <and the breath of all mankind>” (Job 12:10); “Who has wrapped the waters?”—“He wrapped up the waters in His clouds” (Job 26:8); “Who has established all the extremities of the earth?”—“The LORD deals death and gives life” (1 Sam 2:6); “What is his name?”—*Zur* (the rock) is His name, *Shadday* is His name, the Lord of Hosts is His name; and what is “his son’s name?”—“Israel is My first-born son” (Exod 4:22)—this is his name. [...] Another matter: “Who has ascended to heaven”—this is Moses, as it is written about him: “and Moses went up to God” (Exod 19:3); “and come down”—“and Moses came down from the mountain” (Exod 19:14); “Who has gathered up the wind?”—“As I go out of the city <I shall spread out my hands to the Lords; the thunder will cease and the hail shall fall no more>” (Exod 9:29); “Who has wrapped the waters”—“the water stood like a waterskin” (Exod 15:8); “Who has established all the extremities of the earth?”—this is the Tent of Meeting, like it is said: “On the day Moses finished establishing the Tabernacle” (Num 7:1), that the world was established with it. [...] “What is his name or his son’s name, if you know it” (Prov 30:4) (PRK, *Wa-yehi be-yom kallot* (1), 4 [ed. Mandelbaum, 9, cf. transl. Braude-Kapstein, 12–13]). Yannai condensed in the first two lines the two alternative *Petirah-Midrashim* into a rhetoric of contrast between the movements of God and Moses. 3 HE SCARED THOSE WHO ARE CONSTANTLY MOVING: Moses scared the angels, the payyetic metonymy according to ‘The kings and their armies are in headlong flight’ (Ps 68:13); for the relevant rabbinic traditions of the confrontation between the angels and Moses before the giving of the Torah, see Schäfer 1975, 111–159. AND STRENGTH AND HONOUR: compare (in reverse order) ‘ascribe to the LORD glory and strength’ (Ps 29:1). AND FOR THE TIME [–] SHOWED A WALL: compare ‘So the people remained at a distance, while Moses approached the thick cloud where God was’ (Exod 20:18). SPLENDOUR AND GLORY: compare ‘splendour and glory are before Him’ (Ps 96:6). ON THE MOUNTAIN: compare ‘and a dense cloud upon the mountain’ (Exod 19:16). 4 HE GOT HIS SHARE IN HONOUR: Moses received the Torah (and the sign of honour for the people of Israel). HE GOT HIS SHARE: cf. Ps 68:13 (above to line 1). HONOUR: for this payyetic metonymy compare ‘and honour is nothing but the Torah, as it is said “The wise shall inherit honour” (Prov 3:35)’ (MAvot 6:3). THE TIME HE CAME DOWN: according to the opening verse of the weekly portion (seder), ‘Thereupon Moses turned and went down from the mountain bearing the two tablets of the Pact’ (Exod 32:15). THE ONE WHO SPREAD THE SKIES: God, the payyetic metonymy according to ‘Who spreads out the skies like gaze’ (Isa 40:22). BENT THE SKIES AND CAME DOWN: the transition to the opening verse of the haftarah (2 Sam 22:10) for the mentioned seder (Exod 32:15); thus Yannai

established a midrashic syllogism (*gezerah shawah*) between *wa-yerad*—came down in Prov 30:4 (above, line 2) and the same term in 2 Sam 22:10. The concluding catena citing the verse is not preserved in the only manuscript attesting the text and the reconstruction according to the form of the genre is given in square brackets.

The piyyut is constructed as a lyrical bridge connecting the opening verses of the weekly seder, Exod 32:15, and the traditionally proposed haftarah in 2 Sam 22:10, revealing the potential latent in their associative connection through the affinities of the formulations:

Thereupon Moses turned AND CAME DOWN (*va-yered*) from the Mountain bearing the two tablets of the Pact (Exod 32:15)

He bent the skies AND CAME DOWN (*va-yerad*), thick cloud beneath His feet (2 Sam 22:10).

The parallel is not only in the term ‘and came down’ but also that the first action in both verses describes a change in direction (turned *va-yifen* / bent *va-yet*).¹² But this is only the starting point of this—despite its fragmentary preservation—lucid example of the jewelled style of poetry from Late Antiquity with its density of literary devices such as *figurae*, *tropoi* and challenging intertextuality.¹³ The focus is on highlighting the paradox of the necessity for opposed movements to reach the aim. On this point, Yannai, as a religious thinker and liturgical poet, shows close affinities to the rhetoric of Romanos Melodos, the Syro-Greek poet, whose poetry deals with the puzzling if not paradoxical elements in Christian belief.¹⁴ One has to come down (God to Sinai) so another one has the opportunity to ascend (Moses to Sinai), this one now has to come down that the other may be recognized in His highness. This kind of interweaving of spatial elements (*Verschränkung*)—here the dramatic realization of the potential of the ‘in-between’ twist God and Man—becomes the climax of condolence if seen as typology for the downfall of Israel (under Christian rule in the days of Yannai) that will serve only as background, a kind of dark age, before an age of glory begins with the restitution of Israel.

12 Cf. for a similar formulation Ps 144:5 and for a similar intertextual relation to the revelation on mount Sinai: *Haggadat shema Yisra'el* (166) and in a Aramaic proem for the Targum of the Torah for Shavuot, *Arkhin Adonay shemaya le-Sinay ve-amar le-Moshe meheymane ta soq* (The Lord bent the sky to Sinai and said to Moses, His trusted one: Stand up and go up) (Sokoloff & Yahalom 1999, 110).

13 For the term ‘jeweled style’ concerning Latin poetry from Late Antiquity, see Roberts 1989.

14 See the exemplary analysis of the rhetoric of a corpus of liturgical poetry by Hunger 1984.

The two opening lines repeat with almost every possible literary device the adverse movements of up and down. Therefore, the change in direction from 'thick cloud beneath His feet' (2 Sam 22:10) to 'And for the time [--] showed a wall' in the description of the meeting of Moses and God on Mount Sinai is puzzling. Yannai adds to the vertical dimension of revelation the horizontal one: the cloud beneath—the wall (before) God. And while he does not expand his picture of the situation to other dimensions in space, time, ethics, or light and darkness,¹⁵ we may suppose that the motivation for this shift in direction may be found in the change formulated by the Targum, substituting the biblical *taḥat raglav*—beneath His feet in 2 Sam 22:10 with the targumic *qodmohi*—'before Him' (see Van Staaldoune-Sulman 2002, 178, 648). As in other instances of applied dramatizations of biblical scenes in Midrash and the darshanik story, here the presence of the Targum may have caused, obviously by avoiding an almost dead but still anthropomorphic metaphoric form of expression, the change of direction in the spatial imagination so essential for the poetic re-creation of Yannai. The concomitant Targum influenced, contaminated so to speak, the lyrical visualization of revelation from vertical to horizontal, as though the audience in the synagogue were not standing below Moses but behind him.

This example from the classical Piyyut of Byzantine Eretz Yisrael only shows that a simple rereading of liturgical poetry will not be enough to demonstrate dependence on the Targum of Samuel even in the best dated and preserved artefacts from Jewish liturgical tradition, the Piyyut. Even if we know the time and place of a specific piyyut's composition as well as its affinity to a distinct liturgical rite, and even if we can be quite sure that the formulation of text is close to its original phrasing, we nonetheless have to admit that the identification of the presence of Targum Samuel in liturgical poetry is most probably only possible after a full evaluation and interpretation of this type of complex Hebrew poetical text. Much work is still to be done until we have a sufficient number of examples to prove beyond reasonable doubt the presence in liturgical poetry of a motif from the Targum. Nonetheless, the fact that it is difficult to detect its presence in liturgical poetry challenges the thesis that Targum functioned as the bridge between Midrash—the literature of a literary elite—and the more common synagogue audience (cf. Houtman & Sysling 2009, 49–50). The authors of liturgical poetry were highly aware of the co-texts to their texts in the surrounding service, and were trying to interconnect in their compositions between all kinds of readings relevant for the occasion. Moreover they

15 Cf. the categories of dimensions in *Sefer Yešira*, §7 in the edition of Hayman 2004, 76–77.

were very attentive to the rhetoric in these texts. Thus especially the rhetorical elaborated motifs of Targum literature should reappear in Hebrew liturgical poetry. It seems there was not too much awareness of the possibility of this kind of interconnection in the literature of the synagogue until quite recently.

Even if Yannai's work was known in Europe (see Davidson 1919, xlvii–xlvi), we have almost no evidence from Christian Europe for the existence of analogous Piyyut cycles according to the division of weekly portions for the regular Shabbat according to the Babylonian rite (e.g. Parashat *Shemini* Lev 9:11–2 Sam 6:1; *Korah* Num 16:1–1 Sam 11:14; *Haazinu* Deut 32:1–2 Sam 22:1). Thus, we are limited in our search for reflections of Targum Samuel in Hebrew liturgical poetry in this area almost exclusively to the liturgies of those festivals and appointed days with haftarah readings from the Books of Samuel: the first day of Rosh ha-Shana (1 Sam 1:1) and the Seventh Day of Pesach (2 Sam 22:1), the special Shabbats, e.g. Shabbat *Zakhor* (1 Sam 15:1/2).¹⁶

Yet, while the number of relevant pieces of liturgical poetry decreases to a few dozen, the methodological problems associated with an unambiguous attestation of the use of the Targum of Samuel only increase: Not only is the Targum often identical with the Hebrew source text, but the majority of its deviations, which might be detectable as motifs in their retranslation into the register of Hebrew liturgical poetry, are also found in Midrash and thus seldom constitute clear-cut evidence. But even when a tradition is not found in Midrash, it is still not clear where the author of the piyyut learned this targumic tradition: in the house of study or from the targumic co-text, meaning, from last year's service in the synagogue? But if the first step is the methodological awareness of the possibility of Targum tradition feeding into liturgical poetry, a case I tried to make with the example from the work of Yannai, we need as a second step meticulous editions and commentaries of targumic texts, which might enable us to recheck the liturgical poetry from Christian Europe with the goal of uncovering hints attesting to the presence of Targum Samuel, for example, in the sphere of Jewish liturgy in Christian Europe.

16 Cf. the summary in Van Staaldoune-Sulman 2002, 61, where the distinction between annual cycle and triennial cycle subsumes the (annual) festival readings under the first, the Babylonian one. There were also, however, distinct festival readings in the so-called Palestinian rites, cf. Fleischer 1980, and for an almost complete compilation of all attested variations of haftarah readings, see Fried & Editorial 1961.

Liturgy Seen through the Kaleidoscope of the Evolving Comprehensive Prayer Book

After this complex and quite perplexing inquiry into the subtleties of reflections of the use of Targum in Byzantine Eretz Yisrael, one might ask the obvious question: why not use the direct attestation in liturgical manuscripts from Christian Europe? But again, the history of the comprehensive Jewish prayer book, the *Mahzor*,¹⁷ is more complex than it seems in light of late medieval manuscripts and printed editions from Ashkenazi zone. Ismar Elbogen, on the basis of his intimate knowledge, in the main, of printed prayer books of the rites in Christian Europe, succinctly summarized the issue in his chapter 'Translation of the Reading': 'The Jews of Europe never seem to have used the Aramaic translation [in liturgy]. [...] In Germany and France, the Targum was used only for the two most solemn readings: the splitting of the Red Sea on the seventh day of Passover (Exod 13:17–26), and the revelation on Mt. Sinai (Exod 19 and 20) on Pentecost' (Elbogen 1993, 154). The Targum of the *haftarah* is found in a slightly augmented way in the earliest sources we have for the rite of Rome and the old rite of France¹⁸ only for all the days of Pesach and Shavuot but surprisingly not for the third pilgrim festival, the festival of Sukkot (as already stated by Elbogen 1993, 155). The question arises whether these rather marginal appearances of a liturgical use of the Targum of the Prophets in Christian Europe are a vestigial feature of a once ample use throughout the liturgical year, or the other way round, the sole instances where a widespread tradition from the Orient was implemented.¹⁹ Until new textual evidence is found, the answer to this question depends on our view of the development of synagogue literature in Christian Europe.

17 Here not in its specific Ashkenazi connotation as prayer book for the festivals, cf. Fraenkel 2007, 2–3 (Hebr.).

18 See, for example, ms London, British Library Add. 11639 (Margoliouth 1056), North French Hebrew miscellany (ca. 1280), ff. 138v–142v (en bloc without proems as copied from a quire for liturgical use); this manuscript is an excellent example of a raw copy on the way towards the comprehensive prayer book in Christian Europe.

19 See the differentiation already in the question of whether or not to read the Targum of the *haftarah* as part of Babylonian liturgy in Amoraic time in BT Meg 23b; see also the use of this precedent as the basis for the rite in Ashkenaz/Šarfath in 12th/13th centuries: 'They did not reattest it except concerning places where there is no reader of the Targum [of the *haftarah* into Aramaic]: on the basis of this [fact that the Sages already referred to an option that the Targum was not read] we support [our practice] of not reading the Targum of the *haftarah* portions for all days of the year and likewise for the weekly parashot' (Tosafot to BT Meg to 23b *Lo Shannu*).

In the age of Hebrew literarization of European Jewry in the 9th and 10th centuries, the liturgical books were still arranged in different scrolls and booklets. The siddur, a book of halakhic instructions detailing the proper way to use the right texts in prayer, evolved only in the tenth century,²⁰ and this book was intended for study and not for recitation of prayers. Up until that point, the Torah scrolls, biblical codices and scrolls of other parts of the liturgical readings, and a number of books and booklets containing cycles of liturgical poetry by genre and purpose were found in the synagogue. Thus, up to the eleventh century and in the Islamic hemisphere for a few centuries more, we find in the world of Jewish prayer—as richly attested in the Cairo Genizah—the use of different books for different liturgical situations, by category according to the kind of text and ‘locations’ in the liturgical space: the *Bimah*, a reading pulpit, the place of the choir, etc. Even if the booklets grew from a few quires to books, e.g. haftarah codices or liturgical poetry codices for the festivals (later on called Mahzor in the Ashkenazi rite), some very important intermediate stages and more than a dozen generations were required to reach the fully developed, comprehensive Jewish prayer book, usually called a Mahzor, with an attribution designating its particular rite, such as Mahzor Roma, Mahzor Vitry or Mahzor Catalonia, etc. (cf. Reif 2005). Only in this comprehensive prayer book for the synagogue and the Jewish home from the thirteenth century onward do we find prayers and instructions, liturgical poetry and the portions from the Torah and the Prophets arranged more or less completely and approximately in the order of the liturgical agenda of the daily, weekly, yearly, and life cycles. The relatively late redaction of the liturgical sequence is still attested even in the earliest of the magnificent, elaborate, and sometimes illuminated liturgical manuscripts, in which some parts continue to reflect the former booklets (e.g. the Megillot together or the services for fast days one after another, or collections of liturgical poetry according to author or genre), to give the cantor a choice of when to use them.²¹ Awareness of the slowly growing coalescence of the comprehensive Mahzor from different books into one unit offers two possible explanations of the sparse attestation of the liturgical use of the Targum of the Prophets in Christian Europe. One possible explanation is that there had been ample usage of the Targum of the haftarah but this became obsolete

20 Cf. the inclusion of the discussion on the prayer book edited by Saadiah Gaon in the chapter ‘The Halakhic Monographs’ by Brody 1998, 252–255; for a further characterization of this revolutionary project on traditional matter, see Brody 1992.

21 See my first reflections on this subject in Lehnardt 2010, revised and elaborated in idem 2013, chap. 7 (Hebr.). And cf. *mutatis mutandis* for the Islamic hemisphere of the Mediterranean the analysis for the Aleppo rite by Elizur 2009b.

because of the audience's shift from Aramaic to European languages and Hebrew. This resulted in the booklets of Targum of the haftarah—competing with other texts—not being included in the developing Mahzor, leaving the transmission of the Targum for the books of the Prophets to the study codices or the new format of the Atlantic Bibles (cf. Maniaci & Orofino 2001; Kroeze & Van Staalduine-Sulman 2006). An alternative explanation would be that at an early stage some quires from the beginnings of the literary tradition for two of the three pilgrim festivals referred to the Targum of the haftarah or transmitted it and found their way into eleventh/twelfth-century Jewish prayer books in Christian Europe. This might be compared to those cases where alternative wordings of festival prayers were holistically transmitted together with the liturgical poetry. This might explain the obvious inconsistency in the absence in the European rites of the Targum of the haftarah for the festival of Sukkot or for the New Year Festival and Yom Kippur or other similar instances, in an age where the Babylonian sources of authority, in the name of Rav Hay bar Sherira Gaon, still demanded its implementation.²²

The Blossoming of the Genre of Proems in an Age of Decline in Use of the Targum of the Haftarah

If the second option, namely, that the Targum of the haftarah was introduced to the liturgy of European Judaism by liturgical transmission in booklets for the liturgy of some festivals, for example Pesach and Shavuot, is true, we would expect to find the text of these pericopes as a distinctive branch in the stemma of textual attestation of e.g. Targum Samuel in its European context.²³ There are, however, no distinctive differences between the transmission in manuscripts for liturgical use and those for study. We can exclude the possibility that this is the result of a consistent secondary revision of the liturgical tradition on the basis of a study copy for the different rites in Christian Europe. We must therefore conclude that the tradition of reading the Targum of the haftarah in Europe is an implementation—albeit very partial—of the requirement

²² Cf. 'And I found in the name of Rav Hay Gaon of blessed memory that you posed a question: is it obligatory to recite the Targum in the Synagogue for [what] the reader [read] in the Torah scroll and for the haftarah or not? And he gave the response: It is surely a commandment (to do so) primarily since it is a ruling inherited from the days of the Prophets' (Zedekiah Ben Abraham, *Shibolei Haleket Completum*, Shabbat, §78, ed. Mirski, 304 and see the references to the parallels noted there).

²³ See the paper by Hector M. Patmore and Johanna M. Tanja in the present volume.

imposed by the growing influence of Babylonian halakhah on the Jewish communities in Christian Europe during the 10th and 11th centuries.

We must await the results of textual research on the transmission of Targum Samuel, which might provide us with a paradigmatic argument for the type of relation between liturgical and 'academic' transmission of the text of Targum of the Prophets that might help us decipher the earliest developments of Jewish liturgy in Christian Europe. In the meantime I would like to present two additional aspects connected to the transmission of the Targum of the Prophets, in addition to the one offered above concerning reflections of the Targum in liturgical poetry, that might offer directions to future research.

The first aspect concerns the fact that in Jewish tradition the reading of Scripture becomes an act of liturgy only if framed by benedictions. Reading the verses of *Shema Yisrael* (Deut 6:4–9), or a Psalm, or the pericope of the day might be an act of study; biblical verse does not become prayer when recited during a service unless framed by the benedictions according to the classical concept of rabbinical statutory prayers. The rabbinic concept of framing parts of the ceremony by a text from another category to make it a distinct part of the agenda became a key feature in the further development of Jewish liturgy. Beside the classical statutory elements, other important parts of the liturgy later became framed as well, be it the special interpolations on the matter of the day (*Inyana de-yoma*) or be it a statutory prayer with devotional verses.²⁴

According to the rabbinical prescriptions, the liturgical reading of the Targum of the Torah as well as, it seems, of the Prophets was to be performed responsively, or verse by verse, or three verses by three verses in the case of the Prophets, as a single unit framed by the respective benedictions. Thus the performing of the Targum was not opened by a special benediction. Later on, in Geonic times, during the 9th and especially the 10th centuries, with growing awareness of the different roles of those who contributed to performing the liturgy, it became customary to honour the one who recited the Targum with a proem, just like the precentor or performers of other parts of the service.²⁵

But, again, even the transmission of these proems—and here we shall deal only with those which could most probably have been said before Targum

24 Cf. the verses before and after the Amidah prayer, Ps 51:17, and the devotional prayer *Elohay nezor leshoni me-ra* with Ps 60:7 and Ps 19:5 respectively.

25 For the development of the *Reshut*, the proem as genre in liturgical poetry, and its growing commonness during 10th and 11th centuries, see Fleischer 1977. For a very early example, from 10th century Babylonia, with this new sensibility for the social aspects of the ceremony of reading the pericope see Hayyim Al-Baradani, *E'alleskha hathan be-virkath milluli*, published by Beeri 1997, 30.

Samuel—seems to reflect the history of the comprehensive prayer book in Christian Europe as sketched above. After the earliest period of development of the genre and its rhetoric for which there is only sporadic evidence,²⁶ we have a more comprehensive source from the beginning of the twelfth century. Towards the end of one of the important early codices of the Targum to the books of the Prophets from Christian Europe, the so-called Codex Reuchlinianus (dated 1105/1106, f. 383r–v),²⁷ we find a small collection of tenth/eleventh century proems for opening the recitation of the Targum of the Prophets and a choice of prose formulas for closing this part of the ceremony.²⁸ The proems presented in the Codex in such a way that the reader may choose between them, divided by the rubric *horan* (another), are

- (1) Josef, *Enqoṭ be-resh harmana mi-qammeh raḥmana*²⁹
- (2) Avraham ha-Kohen, *Eftah pumiya be-tushbeḥatha de-mare di-Shemayya*³⁰
- (3) Meshullam, *Mehermon gibbara ve-naṣḥan qervayya*³¹
- (4) Shelomo, *Shema' u shuthe ravrevayya ve-zuṭrayya*³²
- (5) Shelomo, *Awwul eysav heremon mi-mare alma*³³

26 See Klein, 1993/2011, 43–56, 167–176 for the following two texts with English translation: *Eyssav reshut min kullekhon / min ravrevaneykhon u-min ze'ireykhon* (Klein 1993/2011, 47–49, 170–172; see below the booklet preserved in Mahzor Vitry, § 167)

Me-reshut melekh malkhayya u-mara dinaya (Klein 1993/2011, 49–52, 172–174).

And see for another specimen from the Oriental tradition

Agbera ḥassina ve-yaqira min kol gibarin (edited by Kasher 1996, 69).

27 Cf. Van Staalduiene-Sulman 2009, 30. For a facsimile edition of the manuscript Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Reuchlin 3, see Sperber 1956. The text was published by Lagarde 1872.

28 Published by Lagarde 1872, 490–493; Bacher 1873.

29 Last edition Fraenkel 1993, 655–656, cf. Bacher 1873, 222–223; Lagarde 1872, 490–491.

30 Partial edition Fraenkel 1993, 611 and the edition should be completed according to the note of Ginsburger 1900, 119–120 (with the complete text in the Codex Reuchlinianus, see Bacher 1873, 223–224; Lagarde 1872, 491 and Zunz 1865, 90.

31 See Bacher 1873, 224–225; Lagarde 1872, 491–492 who identified the author mistakenly with Gershom after misunderstanding the prosody and acrostic of the poem.

32 See Bacher 1873, 225–226; Lagarde 1872, 492. Again both editors mistakenly suggested a possible authorship of Shime'on.

33 See Bacher 1873, 226–227; Lagarde 1872, 492–493. Bacher suggested to identify the author Shelomo with Shelomo Bi-rebbi Yehuda, known later in the Ashkenazi tradition as Shelomo ha-Bavli, because of the more elaborated rhetoric of this poem, but see the refutation by Fleischer 1973, 370. For an analysis and commentary of the text against the background of the rhetoric of the genre in Southern Italy, see Lehnardt 2013, chap. 5.

This appendix to the so-called Codex Reuchlinianus already points to one of the shortcomings of this genre for research into the early liturgy in Christian Europe. Even if we know from here that the proems for the Targum of the haftarah were not only a genre inherited from the Orient but also a focus of creative response, the above listed proems give us no hint as to the liturgical occasions on which the Targum of the haftarah was performed in the Middle Ages. The choice of the general tenor for these proems made it possible to say them on any occasion before performing the Targum of the haftarah.

This impression becomes even more pronounced when looking at a similar booklet incorporated in a manuscript of Mahzor Vitry, in its (most) augmented redaction, as preserved in MS London, British Library Add. 27200–27201 (Margoliouth 655), which dates from the first half of the thirteenth century and has been published by Simon Hurwitz (Hurwitz 1897, 158–162):³⁴

- § 167 *Eyssav reshut min kullekhon / min ravrevaneykhon u-min ze'ireykhon*³⁵
 § 168 Nathan ha-Mekhiri (of Magentsa), *Nizhan qeravayya u-mare malkhayya*³⁶
 § 169 Shemu'el bar Re'uven me-Zartres (Chartres), *Atha ve-dugma be-ribbota u-qedushthakh be-rivevata*³⁷
 § 170 *Illu fumi ve-khol nimi beni insha rishshome*³⁸
 § 171 Eli'ezer bi-rebbi Shimshon, *Izgad meturgemana ba'e harmana*³⁹
 § 172 Ya'aqov bar Me'ir (Rabenu Tam), *Iy yamemayya u-mayya ki meylanin*⁴⁰
 § 173 *Aru shutha be-la reshutha perishutha le-ḥakima*⁴¹
 § 174 Ya'aqov bar Me'ir (Rabbenu Tam), *Yazziv pitgam le-at u-dgam be-rivo rivevan irin*⁴²

34 For a new edition based on manuscripts attesting to earlier and less augmented redactions of Mahzor Vitry, see Goldschmidt 2004–2009, II, 584–593, but for this section he uses, for the sake of completeness, mainly the same London manuscript used by Hurwitz; for the variae lectiones for some of the proems, see the editions of Jonah Fraenkel referred to below.

35 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 158; last edition Fraenkel 1993, 631.

36 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 159; last edition Fraenkel 1993, 652–654.

37 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 159–160; last edition Fraenkel 1993, 634–637.

38 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 160; last edition Fraenkel 1993, 648.

39 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 160–161; last edition Fraenkel 2000, 580–586.

40 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 161; Fraenkel 1993, 651–652; last edition Meiseles 2012, 42–44.

41 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 161–162; last edition Fraenkel 1993, 643–645.

42 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 162; Fraenkel 1993, 632–634; last edition Meiseles 2012, 51–54.

- § 175 Shelomo bi-rebbi Abbun, *Shadday ovadohi ma hawey sagyan*⁴³
 § 176 Shelomo bar Menaḥem, *Shefar yishpar milki qadam mari deykh*⁴⁴
 § 177 Shelomo bi-rebbi Shemu'el, *Alaha mi-qamma ba'eyna reshutha*⁴⁵
 § 179 Yiṣḥaq (bar Shemu'el me-Dampiyer [Dampierre, Aube]), *Allimu ke'an de-minkhon keziz*⁴⁶

Looking at the names of the authors, it becomes clear that the creative response to the first impulse by anonymous authors from the Orient that began in Southern Italy continued with verve in Western Ashkenaz and especially in France in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. They provided for the one who performed the Targum of the Prophets on (the Seventh day of) Pesach and on Shavuot quite a wide choice of mainly traditional, unspecific proems for their now—by elimination of alternative occasions—quite defined liturgical setting in the evolving Ashkenazi-French rite.

From the existence of separate books in the liturgical sphere to the incorporation of complete booklets en bloc into comprehensive liturgical manuscripts, we may now follow the next stage of development in the redaction of the comprehensive prayer book in Christian Europe: fixing the distribution in the cycle of the year of those elements whose placement had been the choice of the performers in the synagogue service at earlier stages of the liturgical development. Having checked a significant number of manuscripts, in this instance for the poetical content for the Seventh day of Pesach, we found in addition to reoccurrences of the above listed proems, one that is dedicated especially to the matter of the day, the crossing of the Red Sea:

Abbun, *Alaha de-mi-le-qadmin ve-hu qayyam le-'almin*⁴⁷

But even in this unique poem of its kind we find no hint to the haftarah of the day or its Targum from 2 Sam 22.

Today, almost all of these poetic riches have fallen out of liturgical use: archived in manuscripts or academic editions, they are now merely silent witnesses to what seems to have been a rearguard battle by a halakhically-minded literary elite. Only those with a talmudic education were able to compose in Aramaic and, moreover, might have been interested in fostering a ceremonial focus to reward the performer of the Targum and to endear the community

43 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 162; last edition Fraenkel 1993, 657–658.

44 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 163; last edition Fraenkel 1993, 646–647.

45 Hurwitz 1897/1923, 163 (with commentary); last edition Fraenkel 1993, 649–650.

46 Hurwitz, 1897/1923, 164–165; last edition Fraenkel 1993, 638–643.

47 Ms Bernkastel-Kues, St. Nicholas Hospital, Cod. Hebr. 313, Mahzor of the French rite (Ashkenaz, 14th/15th cent.), edited by Fraenkel 1993, 632.

to the tradition of its performance. The earliest examples of creativity in this genre are attested by the Codex Reuchlinianus from Southern Italy; the genre subsequently flowered into the western Ashkenazi rite, apparently especially in the days of the Tosafists in France. Only a fraction of these embellishments of the ceremony reached the printed editions in the Ashkenazi rites and they vanished completely in Italy, even though here the Targum for the haftarah for Pesach and Shavuot was still printed in the first editions and later on in the prayer book of the *editio majoris* format (Piatelli 2012).

Making the Targum of the Haftarah Performable in Liturgy— A Specimen of Targum of Samuel

As in the Orient, early liturgical manuscripts in Christian Europe were not vocalized, since systematically vocalized texts developed at the earliest only in the 8th but mainly during the 9th and 10th centuries in Eretz Yisrael and Babylonia. Though liturgical manuscripts were among the earliest ones to be vocalized to improve performance, considering the shortcomings of Semitic scripts in representing unfamiliar words, especially in the field of poetry with its extended lexica, figurative speech, enhanced morphology, and less predictable syntax, most of the liturgical texts were transmitted, until the High Middle Ages, without vocalization or with only partial or irregular vocalization (see e.g. the variety attested in Cairo Genizah fragments: Yahalom 1997). In Christian Europe, early and basic systems of vocalizing remained in vogue until the thirteenth century (see e.g. Eldar 1985; Eldar 1979) when finally a few skilled *naqdanim* (vocalizers) undertook the task of revising the liturgical material, a process of extermination of ‘primitive’ traditions that continued until the seventeenth century in Poland (see e.g. Reif 1979) and the nineteenth century in Germany.⁴⁸ In the High Middle Ages however everyone who wished to strengthen tradition and to improve its educational value for the knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic texts in the Jewish diaspora, had to offer a vocalized text e.g. of the Targum Samuel for liturgical performance. Codices with the Tiberian vocalization system of the Hebrew fully implemented on the Aramaic text of the Targum were not accessible everywhere, so the earliest manuscripts often lack vocalization of the Aramaic portions or it was added at times secondarily, when vocalizers had already learned somehow how to cope with Aramaic.

⁴⁸ Cf. the corrected editions of the prayer books of Wolf Heidenheim and Seligman Baer up to the ‘corrected’ edition of the bible, known as the Koren Bible, Jerusalem 1965.

One of the peculiarities of the Rite of Rome is that even if we have early tenth-twelfth century manuscripts from Italy of rabbinic texts, most, if not all, liturgical manuscripts became 'academic', if not obsolete for practical use in the synagogue, in the wake of a sweeping liturgical reform starting from the new centre in Rome in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Thus the earliest manuscripts of the Rite of *Benei Roma* originate from the end of the thirteenth century and are quite homogeneous in their redaction and content (Lehnardt 2010). This uniformity of the rite facilitated movement, where necessary or enforced, between the sometimes very small communities and enabled small communities from time to time to engage the services of skilled performers of liturgy from elsewhere. The Targum of the haftarah for the Seventh day of Pesach according to the earliest Italian Mahzor codices may serve as specimens of how to maintain a living, performable tradition in small dispersed communities, in general, even without help from precentors from the centres of learning.

As far as can be ascertained from the present state of the mapping of the textual witnesses,⁴⁹ the basic manuscript is from one of the local rites of the southern branch of the Italian rites and still reflects the stage of the integration of a booklet with all Targum pericopes for Pesach one after the other and not their arrangement according to the liturgical agenda day by day. The variant readings are given from the other earliest manuscripts of the rite of the Italian communities known to me:⁵⁰

49 Trying to build stemmata of Hebrew manuscript traditions in Christian Europe is a tricky business. Copying was done by learned people who interpreted, adapted and redacted their *Vorlage* according to their knowledge, mainly because keeping and reproducing manuscripts was done privately, and central institutions with reference libraries were exceptional and short-lived.

50 M = ms Modena, Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, α.F.10.13 (Bernheimer 30), Mahzor according to the Italian rite (13th/14th century), ff. 139v–140v ('ומפסיר בשמואל וידבר דוד' (שמואל, vocalized);

Q = MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 2828 (Sacerdote 83), Mahzor according to the Italian rite (13th/14th century), ff. 95v–97v ('יום שביעי שלפסח | אמיר דאיתאמר על ידי' (שמואל נביא);

R = MS Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 3066 (Sacerdote 69), Mahzor according to the Italian rite (13th/14th century), ff. 75rv ('ומפסירין בשמואל וידבר דוד | ומתרגמיהן | אמיר' (דאתמר בנבואה על ידי שמואל נביא);

For a rough estimation of the number of relevant sources still to be checked: among the more than 600 liturgical manuscripts for the Rite of Rome, especially from the 14th century onward, in general only copies comprising more than 100–120 folios contain the Targum of the haftarah for Pesach and Shavuot but not even all of them. Thus we have to check them all, even if we are supposed to find 'only' up to 100 relevant copies as

Ms Oxford, Bodleian Library Heb. E. 86 (Neubauer-Cowley 2895), Mahzor according to the Italian rite (thirteenth/fourteenth century), ff. 81rv, 84r–87r [= A]:

א [81א] וגומר הקורא קריאתו | ע"ד 'כי אני יי רופאך' (שמ' טו 26) | ואומר קדיש עד 'לעילא' | ומחזירין ספר תורה | למקומו ומוציאין ספר | שיני וקורא בו המפטיר | 'והקרבתם' (במ' כח 19–25) ומפטיר בשמואל | 'וידבר דוד' (שמ"ב כב 1–50) ומתרג' מין | אותה 'שבח דוד' | והיא כתובה לפנים עם הפטרות החגים [81ב] אל חנון ורחום יסייעני | לכתוב הפטרות תרגום | אמן | הפטרת יום ראשון שלפסח ... [84א] הפטרת יום ראשון שליושע | אמיר דאיתאמר על ידי דוד נגידה

Translation: [f. 81a] And the reader concludes his pericope with 'for I the LORD am your healer' (Exod 15: 26) | and he recites the Kaddish up to 'Le-ella' (above)' and they return the Torah scroll to its place and take out a second book and the final reader reads in it 'You shall present an offering' (Num 28:19–25) and he finishes in the book of Samuel 'And David spoke' (2 Sam 22:1–50) and they translate (= perform the Targum of) it (sc. the haftarah) | 'And David praised' | and it is written below with the haftarah pericopes for the festivals [f. 81b] The compassionate and merciful God shall support me | to write the Targum of Haftarah pericopes | Amen | Haftarah for the first day of Pesach [...] [f. 84a] The haftarah for the first day of *Va-yosha* (= the seventh day of Pesach) | The word said by David the leader (of the flock):

1 וידבר דוד: וְשָׁבַח דָּוִד בְּנוֹאֶה קֹדֶם יי ית פִּתְגָמִי תוֹשְׁבַחְתָּא הָדָא עַל כָּל יוֹמֵיִא דְשִׁיזִיבִי² יי יְתִיה וְיִתְּ³ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִדְּ כָּל בְּעָלִי דְבְּרִיהוֹן וְאָף לְדוֹד שִׁיזִיבִי מִחֻרְבָּא דְשָׂאוֹל.
2 ויאמר: וְאָמַר יי תוֹקְפִי וְרוּחְצִנִי וּמְשִׁיזִיב⁴ לִי. 3 אלהי: אֱלֹהָא דְאִתְרַעִי⁵ בִּי קִרְבְּנִי⁶ לְדַחֲלִיתִי תוֹקְפִי דְמֹן קְדָמוֹהִי מִתִּיבִי⁷ לִי תוֹקֹף וּפּוֹרְקֹן לְאִיתְגַּבְרָא⁸ עַל בְּעָלִי דְבְּרִי⁹ רוּחְצִנִי דְעַל מִימְרִיה הֵינָא רְחִיץ בְּעִידָן עָקָא מְגִיזִי¹⁰ עֲלִי¹¹ מִבְּעָלִי דְבְּרִי¹² וְאָמַר לְאַרְמָא קֳרָנִי בְּפוֹרְקָנִיה סוּמְכְנִי דְהֵנָּה מִימְרִיה סְמִיךְ לִי כִּד הֵוִיתִי עָרִיק מִן קֹדֶם רְדִפִּי¹³ שִׁיזִיבִי מִן שְׁנֵאֵי¹⁴ וְאָף מִיֵּד כָּל חֲסוּפִין שִׁיזִיב יְתִי וּמִיֵּדָא דְשָׂאוֹל מְלָכָא הָוָה פְּרִיק לִי¹⁵. 4 מהולל: אָמַר דָּוִד בְּתוֹשְׁבַחְתָּא אָנָּא פִּתַּח פּוֹמִי וּמְצִלִי קֹדֶם יי דְבָל [84ב] עִידָן עָקָא¹⁶ מִבְּעָלִי דְבְּרִי¹⁷ הוּה פְּרִיק לִי. 5 כִּי: אָרִי אֶקְפֹּתִנִי עָקָא כְּאִיתְתָּא דִּיתְבָּא עַל מִתְבָּרָא וְחִיל לִית בָּה לְמִילָד וְהִיא מִסְכְּנָא לְמַמַּת סִיעַת שְׁקָרִין¹⁸ בִּיעֵתָת¹⁹ יְתִי. 6 חבלי: מְשִׁירִת²⁰ רְשִׁיעֹן אֶקְפֹּנִי עֲרֻעֹנִי דְמוֹזִינִן בְּמֵאנִי קְטוֹל. 7 בצר: אָמַר דָּוִד בְּתוֹשְׁבַחְתָּא²¹ אָנָּא פִּתַּח פּוֹמִי וּמְצִלִי קֹדֶם יי וְקֹדֶם אֱלֹהִי אָנָּא מְצִלִי וּמִתְחַנֵּן וּמִקְבֵּל מִהִיכְלִיה צְלוּתִי וּבְעוּתִי קְדָמוֹהִי מִתְעַבְדָּא בְּעִידָן צְלוּתִי. 8 ויתגעש: וְאִיתְרַגְּלִיתָ וְאִיתְרַגְּלִישְׁתָּ וְאִידְעוּתָתָ²² אָרְעָא וְשְׁכָלוּלִי שְׁמִיא זְעו וְאִידְעוּתָתָ²³ טוֹרִיא וְאִיתְהַפִּיכוּ²⁴ עִמָּקִי יָמָא אָרִי תְקִי²⁵

text witnesses for the pericopes of the Targum or of the Targum of the haftarah in Italy between the 13th and 16th centuries.

רוֹגֵזָא²⁶ דְּאֵלֶהָ חַיָּא וְקִימָא. 9 עלָה עֶשֶׂן: סָלִיק דְּזוֹנִיָּה דְפָרְעָה רְשִׁיעָא כְּתֻנָּא
 בְּאַפּוֹתֶיהָ²⁷ בְּכִין²⁸ שְׁלַח רוֹגֵזָה כְּאִישָׁא²⁹ בַּעְרָא דְמִן³⁰ קְדָמוּהִי מְשִׁינָא³¹ וּמְזוּפִיתֶיהָ
 כְּגוֹמְרִין דְּנֹור דְלָקוּן מִמִּמְרִיָּה³². 10 וִיט שְׁמִים: וְאֶרְכִין שְׁמֵא [א85] וְאִתְגַּלִּי³³ יְקָרִיהָ
 בְּגִבּוֹרֶתֶיהָ וְעַן אֲמַסְתָּא כְּבִשׁ³⁴ קְדָמוּהִי. 11 וִירַכֵב: וְאֲשֶׁרִי שְׁכִינְתֶיהָ עַל כְּרוּבִין קָלִילִין
 וְאִתְגַּלִּי³⁵ בִּיקָר וְדָבָר בְּתַקּוּף עַל גְּדַפִּי³⁶ רוּחָא. 12 וִישַׁת: וְאֲשֶׁרִי שְׁכִינְתֶיהָ בַּעֲרַפְלָא³⁷
 וְעַן יְקָר סַחֹר סַחֹר לִיה מַחִית מִיין תְּקִיפִין מִרְגַּפֶּת³⁸ עֲנִין קָלִילִין בְּרוּם עֲלָמָא. 13
 מְנוּגָה: וּמִזִּין יְקָרִיהָ דְּאֵלֶהָ חַיָּא וְקִימָא מְבַהֲקִין שְׁמֵא וְשְׁמֵי שְׁמֵא³⁹ וּמְזוּפִיתֶיהָ
 כְּגוֹמְרִין דְּנֹור דְלָקוּן מִמִּמְרִיָּה⁴⁰. 14 יִרְעִם: אֲכָלִי מִן שְׁמֵא⁴¹ יִי וְעִלְאָה אֲרִים קָלִיהָ.
 15 וִישַׁלַח: וְשְׁלַח מַחֲתִיָּה בְּהוֹן כְּגִידִין וּבְדִרְיָנוּן כְּבָרְקִין וְשִׁגְשִׁינָוִן⁴². 16 וִירָאוּ: וְאִית־
 חֲזִיאֻ⁴³ עֲמָקִי יִמָּא וְאִתְגַּלִּיאֻ⁴⁴ שְׁכוּלוּלִי תָבֵל בְּמִזּוּפִית רוּחַ מִן קֶדֶם יִי מִמִּמְרַתְּקוּף
 רוֹגֵזָה. 17 יִשְׁלַח: וְשְׁלַח נְבִיאֻהִי מֶלֶךְ תְּקִיף דִּיתִיב בְּשְׁכִינְתֶיהָ⁴⁵ בְּשִׁמִּי מְרוּמָא דְבָרְנִי
 שִׁיזְבְּנִי מַעֲמָמִין סְגִיאִין. 18 יִצִּילִנִי: שִׁיזְבְּנִי מִן שְׁנָאִי⁴⁶ אֲרִי תִקְפוּנִי וּמִבְעֵלִי דְבָבִי אֲרִי
 אִיתְגַּבְרוּ עָלַי. [א85] 19 יִקְדָּמוּנִי: עֲרֻעֻנִי יִקְדָּמוּנִי⁴⁷ כִּיּוֹם טִלְטוּלִי⁴⁸ וְהוּהוּ⁴⁹ מִמִּרָא⁵⁰
 דִּי סְמִידָא לִי. 20 וִיוּצָא: וְאִפִּיק לְרוּחָא יְתִי שִׁיזְבְּנִי אֲרִי אִיתְרַעִי⁵¹ בִּי. 21 יִגְמַלְנִי: אִמָּר
 דּוּד יִגְמַלְנִי יִי כְּזוֹתִי כְּבִרְיוֹת דִּי⁵² יְתִיב לִי. 22 כִּי: אֲרִי נְטָרִית אוּרְחָא⁵³ דְּתִקְנִין קֶדֶם
 יִי וְלֹא הִלְכִית בְּרִשָׁע קֶדֶם אֱלֹהֵי. 23 כִּי: אֲרִי כָל דִּינִי⁵⁴ רַעוּתִיהָ⁵⁵ גִּלְן [כד] לְקַבְלִי
 לְמִיעֲבָדְהוּ⁵⁶ וְקִימָמוּהִי לֹא עֲדִית מִנְהוֹן. 24 וְאִהִיהָ: וְהִיתִי⁵⁸ שְׁלִים לְדַחֲלֶתֶיהָ וְהִיתִי
 נְטָר נְפִשִׁי מַחוּבִין. 25 וִישַׁב: וְאִתִּיב יִי לִי כְּזוֹתִי וְכְבִרְיוֹתִי קֶדֶם מִמְרִיָּה. 26 עִם
 חֲסִיד: אֲבָרְהָם דְּאִישְׁתַּכַּח⁶⁰ חֲסִיד קְדָמָךְ בְּכֹן אֲסִיגְתָּא לְמִיעֲבָד⁶¹ חֲסִידָא עִם זֶרְעִיהָ
 וְיִצְחָק דְּהוּה שְׁלִים לְדַחֲלֶתְךָ⁶² בְּכֹן אֲשַׁלְמֶת⁶³ לְמִיעֲבָד⁶⁴ רַעוּתְךָ עִימָה. 27 עִם נֹבַר:
 יַעֲקֹב דְּהִלִּיף בְּבִרְיוֹתָא קְדָמָךְ בַּחֲרַת⁶⁶ בְּנוֹהִי⁶⁷ מִכָּל עַמֻּמָּא⁶⁸ וְאַפְרִישָׁתָא זֶרְעִיהָ
 מִכָּל פְּסִילָא פְרָעָה וּמִשִּׁירִיתֶיהָ⁶⁹ דְּחִשְׁבִּין מַחֲשָׁבִין בִּישׁוֹן⁷⁰ עַל עַמָּךְ בְּלַבְלִיתִינוּן⁷¹ [א86]
 בְּמַחֲשַׁבְתָּהוֹן. 28 וְאֵת עִם: וְהוּהוּ עַמָּא⁷² בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל דְּמַתְקַרְיִין⁷³ בְּעֲלָמָא הִדִּין עִם
 חֲשִׁיף אֵת עֲתִיד לְמִיפְרָק⁷⁴ יְתָהוּן וְלִמִּיקְרִי⁷⁵ לְהוֹן עִם חֲבִיב דְּבָכֵל⁷⁶ עִידִן עִידִן בְּמִכְיָי
 רוּחָא מַתִּינִיתָא⁷⁷ וּבְמִמְרַתְּ תִקְפִּיא⁷⁸ דְּמַתְגַּבְרִין עֲלֵיהוֹן תִּמְאִיף. 29 כִּי אַתָּה: אֲרִי אֵת
 הוּא מְרִי נְהוּרָא דִּישְׁרָאֵל { } יִי וְיִי⁷⁹ אֲפִקִי⁸⁰ מַחֲשׁוֹכָא לְנְהוּרָא וְאֲשִׁירִינִי⁸¹ בְּעֲלָמָא
 דְּעֲתִיד לְמַתִּי לְצִדִּיקָא. 30 כִּי בִד: אֲרִי בְּמִמְרַתְּ אֲכַנְשִׁי⁸³ מִשִּׁירִין אֲכַבְשִׁי⁸⁴ וְאִית־
 בְּרִי⁸⁵ כָּל כְּרִכִּין תְּקִיפִין. 31 הָאֵל: אֱלֹהָ דְכִיּוֹנָא אוּרְחָה⁸⁶ אוּרְתָא⁸⁷ דִּי בַחֲרָא הִיא
 תְּקִיף הוּא לְכָל דְּמַתְרַחֲצִין עַל מִמְרִיָּה. 32 כִּי: בְּכִין⁸⁹ עַל גִּיסָא וּפֹרְקָנָא דְאִיתְעִבִיד⁹⁰
 לְמִשְׁיחָךְ וְלִשְׁאָרָא דַּעֲמָךְ דְּאִישְׁתַּאֲרוּן⁹¹ יוֹדוּן⁹² כָּל עַמֻּמָּא אוּמָא וְלִישְׁנָא⁹³ וְיִמְרוּן לִית
 אֱלֹהֵי⁹⁴ אֱלֹא יִי אֲרִי לִית בְּרִי מִינָךְ וְעַמָּךְ יִמְרוּן לִית אֱלֹהֵי⁹⁵ אֱלֹא⁹⁶ אֱלֹהֵנָא. 33 אֱלֹהִים (!):
 אֱלֹהָ דְסַעֲיד לִי בַחֲלִילָא וּמִתְקִין⁹⁷ שְׁלָמָא אוּרְחִי. 34 מִשׁוּה: [א86] מִשְׁוֹה (!) 98 רְגִלִּי⁹⁹
 קָלִילִין כְּאִילָתָא וְעַל בֵּית תּוֹקְפִי וְקִימִינִי. 100 מִלְמַד: מִלִּיף יְדִי לְאַנְחָה¹⁰¹ קְרָבָא
 וְכַבְרָא¹⁰² עַמֻּמָּא דְתִקְפִּין קַשְׁשָׁא דְנַחֲשָׁא דְרַעִי. 36 וְתַתָּה לִי: וְהִבַּת לִי סַעֲיד וּפִרְקַתְנִי
 בְּתוֹקְפִי וּבְמִמְרַתְּ אֲסִיגְתִּי. 37 תִרְחִיב: אֲסִיגְתָּא פְסִיעִתִי קְדָמִי¹⁰³ וְלֹא אִיזְדַּעְעָא¹⁰⁴
 כְּרֻבָתִי. 38 אֲרַדְפָּה: רְדִפִּית בְּתֵר שְׁנָאִי¹⁰⁵ וְשִׁיעִיתִינוּן וְלֹא תְבִית¹⁰⁶ מִנְהוֹן עַד דְּגִי
 מִרְתִּינוּן. 39 וְאִכְלָם: וְשִׁיעִיתִינוּן¹⁰⁷ וְגַמְרִתִּינוּן וְלֹא יִכִּילוּ לְמִיקָם וּנְפְלוּ קְטִילִין תַּחוּת
 פְּרִסָּת רְגִלִּי. 108 40 וְתִתְזַרְנִי (!): וְסַעֲדְתִּנִי בַחֲלִילָא לְמִיעֲבָד¹⁰⁹ קְרָבָא עִם¹¹⁰ עַמֻּמָּא
 דְּתִקְפִּין דְּקִימִין לֹאֲבָשָׁא¹¹¹ לִי תְבַרַת תַּחוּתִי. 41 וְאוּבִי: וְסַנְאִי¹¹² מִסְרַת קְדָמִי מַחוּרִי
 קָדֵל וּבְעֵלִי דְבָבִי וְשִׁיעִיתִינוּן. 42 יִשְׁעוּ: בְּעִין¹¹³ סַעֲיד וְלִית לְהוֹן פְּרִיק מְצֵלָן קֶדֶם יִי
 וְלֹא מַתְקַבְּלָא צְלוּתְהוֹן. 43 וְאִשְׁחַקֵּם: וְדִשְׁשִׁתִּינוּן¹¹⁴ כַּעֲפָרָא דְאַרְעָא כְּסוֹן שְׁוֹקִין¹¹⁵

בְּעֵשִׂית מִיָּהוּן¹¹⁵ רַפְסָתִינוּן. וְחַפְלָטִי: וְשִׁיבְתִּי¹¹⁷ [87] מִפְּלוּגָת עֲמָמִיא¹¹⁸ תִּמְנִינִי
לְרִישׁ¹¹⁹ עֲמָמִיא עֲמָ דְלָא יְדַעִית יִפְלֹחוּנִי. 45 בְּנִי: בְּנִי עֲמָמִיא [---]. 46 [---]¹²⁰
יִסְפֹּון וְיִזְעוּן וְיַעֲדוּן¹²¹ מִבִּירְנִתְהוֹן. 47 חֵי יִי: בְּכִין¹²² עַל גִּיסָא וּפֹרְקָנָא דְאַיְתַּעְבְּד¹²³
לְמַשִּׁיחָ דְּלִשְׁאָרָא¹²⁴ דַּעֲמֹךְ דְּאִישְׁתָּארוּן¹²⁵ יִשְׁבַּחוּן וְיִדְוּן וְיִמְרוּן קִיִּים הוּא¹²⁶ אֱלֹהָ
חַיִּיא רַבָּא¹²⁷ גִּיבְרָא וְדַחִילָא וּבְרִיד תְּקִיף דְּמֹן¹²⁸ קְדָמוּהִי מִתִּיבָא¹²⁹ לִי תְּקוּף וּפּוֹרְקֹן
וּמְרוּמֹם¹³⁰ אֱלֹהָ תְּקוּף פּוֹרְקָנָא.¹³¹ 48 הָאֵל: אֱלֹהָ דַּעֲבַד¹³² פּוֹרַעְנוּתָא לִי וְתִבְר
עֲמָמִיא דְּתִקְפִּין כְּקִשְׁתָּא דְּנַחֲשָׁא תַּחוּתִי.¹³³ 49 וּמוֹצִיא: וּמַשִּׁיבִי מִן שַׁנְאִי¹³⁴ וְאִף¹³⁵
עַל דְּקִימִין לְאַבְשָׁא¹³⁶ לִי תִשִּׁיבִינִי¹³⁷ מִן גֹּזַג וּמִן מִשְׁרִיין¹³⁸ עֲמָמִין חֲטוּפִין דְּאַתֹּ
לְאַגָּחָא¹³⁹ עֲמִי¹⁴⁰ תִשִּׁיבִינִי.¹⁴¹ 50 עַל כֵּן: עַל כֵּן אֹדְהָ¹⁴² קְדָמְךָ יִי¹⁴³ וְלִשְׁמֹךְ אִמְר
תּוֹשְׁבָתָא.¹⁴⁴ 51 מַגְדוּל: מִסְּגִי לְמִיעַבַד¹⁴⁵ פּוֹרְקֹן עִם מַלְכִּיהָ וְעַבִּיד טִיבּוֹ לְמַשִּׁיחִיהָ לְדוּד
וְלִזְרַעִיהָ עַד עֲלָמָא.¹⁴⁶ עַל דָּא יִתְבָּרַךְ וְיִשְׁתַּבַּח שְׁמָא¹⁴⁷ דְּאֱלֹהָ רַבָּא וּקְדִישָׁא לְעֵלָם
וְלְעֵלְמִי עֲלָמִיא. אִמְ".¹⁴⁸ ס

Q. ומשזיב ⁴ R. Q ית M corr. [יִתְּיָה וְיָת ³ Q. דשזיב ² Q. פתגמי ¹ Variae lectionis: דבביי ¹² Q. עלי ¹¹ M Q R. מן ¹⁰ Q. דבבי ⁹ R. לאתגברא ⁸ R. מתייהב ⁷ Q. קרבני ⁶ Q R. דאתרעי ⁵ [עידן עקא ¹⁶ M. Q. om.] ומידא דשאול מלכא הך פריק לי ¹⁵ M. Q. שנאי ¹⁴ R. רדפי ¹³ M. Q. כד עייקא לי ²¹ R. משריית M. Q. משריית ²⁰ M. Q. בעתת ¹⁹ R. חייבי ¹⁸ M. Q. דבבי ¹⁷ om M. M. Q. R. ואתהפיכו ²⁴ M. Q. R. ואודעזעו ²³ M. Q. R. ואתרגפת ואתרגשת ואודעזעת ²² M. Q. R. משציאי ³¹ M. Q. R. מן ³⁰ M. Q. R. כאשא ²⁹ Q. R. בכן ²⁸ Q. R. באפוי ²⁷ M. R. רוגזיה ²⁶ R. תקוה ²⁵ M. R. כנפי ³⁶ M. Q. R. ואתגלי ³⁵ R. כייבש ³⁴ Q. R. ואתגלי ³³ M. Q. R. מן מזמירה ³² Q. R. משציין M. R. שמיא ⁴¹ R. מממריה M. מררי ⁴⁰ Q. שמיא ³⁹ M. מרגפת ³⁸ M. Q. בערפילא ³⁷ Q. אפי R. M. דשכנתיה בשמיה [דִּיתִּיב בְּשִׁכְנֵיהָ בְּשָׁמִי ⁴⁵ M. ואתגליאו ⁴⁴ Q. R. ואתחזיאו ⁴³ Q. ושגשינו אתרעי ⁵¹ Q. R. מימריה ⁵⁰ M. Q. והות ⁴⁹ M. Q. טלטולי ⁴⁸ M. Q. ומקדמוני ⁴⁷ M. Q. R. שנאי ⁴⁶ והות ⁵⁸ M. Q. מנהן ⁵⁷ Q. R. למעבדהן ⁵⁶ M. (!) דעותיה ⁵⁵ Q. דינו ⁵⁴ M. ארחן ⁵³ Q. R. ידי ⁵² R. M. Q. R. אשלימתא ⁶³ M. Q. R. בדחלתך ⁶² Q. למעבד ⁶¹ Q. R. דאשתכח ⁶⁰ Q. ממריה ⁵⁹ M. Q. ומשרייתיה ⁶⁹ R. עממיא ⁶⁸ Q. R. בניו M. בבנוה ⁶⁷ Q. R. בחרתא ⁶⁶ M. Q. עמיה ⁶⁵ Q. R. למעבד ⁶⁴ דמיתקן M. R. דמתקן ⁷³ Q. R. עמד ⁷² Q. R. בלבי לתינון M. בבלתונן ⁷¹ Q. R. Om ⁷⁰ Q. ומשרייתא R. ויי [וְ יִי וְיִי ⁷⁹ M. תקפיא ⁷⁸ M. Q. מתותבא ⁷⁷ Q. ובכל ⁷⁶ M. Q. ולמקרי ⁷⁵ M. Q. למפרק ⁷⁴ Q. די M. אגביש ⁸³ R. על צדיקיא M. Q. על צדיקא ⁸² M. Q. R. ויחויני ⁸¹ M. Q. R. יפקיני ⁸⁰ M. Q. R. אורייתא ⁸⁷ M. Q. ארחיה ⁸⁶ R. ואתבר Q. ואתנר M. ואתנר ⁸⁵ Q. R. אכבש ⁸⁴ R. אכנש Q. כבש דישתארון Q. די שתארון M. דאשתארון ⁹¹ R. דאתעביד ⁹⁰ M. Q. R. בכן ⁸⁹ Q. ממריה[על מִימְרֵיהָ ⁸⁸ Q. R. ומתקין ⁹⁷ M. Q. R. אלא ⁹⁶ Q. R. אלהא ⁹⁵ Q. R. אלהא ⁹⁴ M. Q. ולישנא ⁹³ M. Q. R. וידוך ⁹² R. Q. לאגרויה(!) = לאג רו(=ח)יה(=) M. לאנח ¹⁰¹ M. Q. R. יקיימני ¹⁰⁰ M. R. גרלי ⁹⁹ M. Q. R. משוי ⁹⁸ Q. R. וְלֹא תִבֵּית ... 93. וְשִׁי- ¹⁰⁶ Q. R. שנאי ¹⁰⁵ M. Q. R. אודעזעא ¹⁰⁴ R. קדמי ¹⁰³ M. Q. R. ותבר ¹⁰² M. Q. R. למעבד ¹⁰⁹ M. רגלין ¹⁰⁸ M. Q. R. (M) ודשציתינון ¹⁰⁷ om M (homoioteleuton). [צִיתִינון ודשישתינון ¹¹⁴ M. Q. R. בען ¹¹³ R. ושנאי Q. M. ושנאי ¹¹² M. Q. R. לאבשא ¹¹¹ om. M. Q. R. [עם ¹¹⁰ R. וזשבתני ¹¹⁷ Q. R. בהן M. יתהון ¹¹⁶ M. כיסוין Q. כסוין M. נסיט שווקין [בְּסוֹן שווקין ¹¹⁵ M. Q. R. Q. (!) ולשמא ¹²⁴ R. דאתעביד Q. דיתעבד M. דיתעביד ¹²³ M. Q. R. בכן ¹²² Q. R. ויצדון ויועון M. ויצדון ויועון ¹²⁹ M. מן ¹²⁸ om M. Q. R. [רבא ¹²⁷ om. Q. R. הוא ¹²⁶ M. Q. R. דישתארון ¹²⁵ Q. R. ומשזיב ⁴ R. Q ית M corr. [יִתְּיָה וְיָת ³ Q. דשזיב ² Q. פתגמי ¹ Variae lectionis: דבביי ¹² Q. עלי ¹¹ M Q R. מן ¹⁰ Q. דבבי ⁹ R. לאתגברא ⁸ R. מתייהב ⁷ Q. קרבני ⁶ Q R. דאתרעי ⁵ [עידן עקא ¹⁶ M. Q. om.] ומידא דשאול מלכא הך פריק לי ¹⁵ M. Q. שנאי ¹⁴ R. רדפי ¹³ M. Q. כד עייקא לי ²¹ R. משריית M. Q. משריית ²⁰ M. Q. בעתת ¹⁹ R. חייבי ¹⁸ M. Q. דבבי ¹⁷ om M. M. Q. R. ואתהפיכו ²⁴ M. Q. R. ואודעזעו ²³ M. Q. R. ואתרגפת ואתרגשת ואודעזעת ²² M. Q. R. משציאי ³¹ M. Q. R. מן ³⁰ M. Q. R. כאשא ²⁹ Q. R. בכן ²⁸ Q. R. באפוי ²⁷ M. R. רוגזיה ²⁶ R. תקוה ²⁵ M. R. כנפי ³⁶ M. Q. R. ואתגלי ³⁵ R. כייבש ³⁴ Q. R. ואתגלי ³³ M. Q. R. מן מזמירה ³² Q. R. משציין M. R. שמיא ⁴¹ R. מממריה M. מררי ⁴⁰ Q. שמיא ³⁹ M. מרגפת ³⁸ M. Q. בערפילא ³⁷ Q. אפי R. M. דשכנתיה בשמיה [דִּיתִּיב בְּשִׁכְנֵיהָ בְּשָׁמִי ⁴⁵ M. ואתגליאו ⁴⁴ Q. R. ואתחזיאו ⁴³ Q. ושגשינו אתרעי ⁵¹ Q. R. מימריה ⁵⁰ M. Q. והות ⁴⁹ M. Q. טלטולי ⁴⁸ M. Q. ומקדמוני ⁴⁷ M. Q. R. שנאי ⁴⁶ והות ⁵⁸ M. Q. מנהן ⁵⁷ Q. R. למעבדהן ⁵⁶ M. (!) דעותיה ⁵⁵ Q. דינו ⁵⁴ M. ארחן ⁵³ Q. R. ידי ⁵² R. M. Q. R. אשלימתא ⁶³ M. Q. R. בדחלתך ⁶² Q. למעבד ⁶¹ Q. R. דאשתכח ⁶⁰ Q. ממריה ⁵⁹ M. Q. ומשרייתיה ⁶⁹ R. עממיא ⁶⁸ Q. R. בניו M. בבנוה ⁶⁷ Q. R. בחרתא ⁶⁶ M. Q. עמיה ⁶⁵ Q. R. למעבד ⁶⁴ דמיתקן M. R. דמתקן ⁷³ Q. R. עמד ⁷² Q. R. בלבי לתינון M. בבלתונן ⁷¹ Q. R. Om ⁷⁰ Q. ומשרייתא R. ויי [וְ יִי וְיִי ⁷⁹ M. תקפיא ⁷⁸ M. Q. מתותבא ⁷⁷ Q. ובכל ⁷⁶ M. Q. ולמקרי ⁷⁵ M. Q. למפרק ⁷⁴ Q. די M. אגביש ⁸³ R. על צדיקיא M. Q. על צדיקא ⁸² M. Q. R. ויחויני ⁸¹ M. Q. R. יפקיני ⁸⁰ M. Q. R. אורייתא ⁸⁷ M. Q. ארחיה ⁸⁶ R. ואתבר Q. ואתנר M. ואתנר ⁸⁵ Q. R. אכבש ⁸⁴ R. אכנש Q. כבש דישתארון Q. די שתארון M. דאשתארון ⁹¹ R. דאתעביד ⁹⁰ M. Q. R. בכן ⁸⁹ Q. ממריה[על מִימְרֵיהָ ⁸⁸ Q. R. ומתקין ⁹⁷ M. Q. R. אלא ⁹⁶ Q. R. אלהא ⁹⁵ Q. R. אלהא ⁹⁴ M. Q. ולישנא ⁹³ M. Q. R. וידוך ⁹² R. Q. לאגרויה(!) = לאג רו(=ח)יה(=) M. לאנח ¹⁰¹ M. Q. R. יקיימני ¹⁰⁰ M. R. גרלי ⁹⁹ M. Q. R. משוי ⁹⁸ Q. R. וְלֹא תִבֵּית ... 93. וְשִׁי- ¹⁰⁶ Q. R. שנאי ¹⁰⁵ M. Q. R. אודעזעא <

130 Q R. 131 M Q R. 132 M Q R. 133 M Q. 134 Q R. 135 וְאֵף R. 136 M. 137 M. 138 R. 139 M. 140 M. 141 R. 142 M. 143 R. 144 Q. 145 M. 146 Q R. 147 Q. 148 R. 149 M Q R.

A first glimpse at the variant readings of four manuscripts—out of a few dozen—reveals that almost anything that could happen to a text during its transmission in a liturgical context happened to this pericope of the Targum of Prophets from the age of literarization of European Jewry to the end of the thirteenth century. A second look shows us that in most of the cases the differences are based on the distinction between *plene* and defective spelling. Even the vocalized basic text of the Oxford manuscript reflects *plene* spellings, obviously from a stage of transmission before the text became vocalized.⁵¹ But the vocalization itself is far from that of a study text (*Mustercodex*) or a studied text augmented by corrections or variant readings in the margins. All its inconsistencies point to an overall strategy in producing the text for liturgical purposes: Just as the lemma before each verse of the Targum from the Hebrew source text of the haftarah was to enable the reader to carry out his task of performing the Targum, alternating with each verse of the pericope,⁵² *plene* writing was introduced to help the reader who was unfamiliar with Aramaic. Not only was this first stage of ‘copyediting’ the text to produce a text written *plene* intended to facilitate the performance of the Targum, but so was the second stage, which produced an ungrammatical, but essentially sound-orientated vocalization of the text. Thus many of the Targum pericopes in the liturgical transmission in Christian Europe have the janus-headed appearance of a vocalized *plene* text. The form of the text, which was transmitted in thirteenth/fourteenth-century Italy in the mostly small Jewish communities, shows signs of a tradition at the limits of the possibilities for it to be performed in an appropriate manner, mainly because of inconsistent, if not misleading, vocalization

51 Cf. the text history of the famous Mishnah manuscript from Southern Italy: ms Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Kaufmann A 50 (11th/12th cent.), which was vocalized secondarily; cf. Birnbaum 1985.

52 See the devastating omission in A and M in verses 45 and 46 caused by jumping from the first *בני עממיא* to the one in the following verse, leaving the performer of the Targum with one verse missing. This might be a hint to an *en bloc* reading of the Targum of the haftarah in some Italian communities instead of the traditional alternating performance with the biblical text, but this needs further inquiry.

or due to crucial omissions and other effects of corrupting transmission.⁵³ Even the literate elite of these communities, who were engaged in producing these early copies of a comprehensive prayer book in Italy, did not have enough knowledge of reading and writing Aramaic nor, as an important factor in the field of liturgy, in performative aural memory—to reproduce a pericope of the Targum of the Prophets properly. If, in Christian Europe, Jewish liturgy maintained a living connection between the Hebrew letter and its sounds over hundreds of years, the specimen from Targum Samuel for the Seventh Day of Pesach presented above shows, on the one hand, that it is hard to indicate the same level of success concerning the Aramaic letter and sound correlation. On the other hand, this was one of the few opportunities from the twelfth century onward for a broader audience in the communities, after abandoning the use of Targum in most instances, to listen to any text in Aramaic. Until the reintroduction of Aramaic into European Jewish culture of Europe as a result of mystic traditions in the Age of Baroque, the Kaddish and the few pericopes of Targum left for the spring festivals were the few chances most of the members of the Jewish communities had to hear Aramaic, until someone entered the *Beit ha-Midrash*, where the study of Talmud and Midrash and even Targum promoted an intensive use of Aramaic.

Summary

The basic choice in Rabbinic Judaism for the use of a concomitant translation to Aramaic in Jewish liturgy became a model as well as a challenge for Judaism in Christian Europe during the Middle Ages. While in the Orient in Late Antiquity, the translation into Aramaic could have a function as part of the liturgy by elaborating the matter of the day for the Aramaic-speaking audience and as such have an influence on its co-texts such as liturgical poetry, in Christian Europe performing the Targum of the haftarah was reduced by the twelfth century to a ceremonial embellishment for the services of Pesach and Shavuot. At this time they were preceded, especially in the Western Ashkenazi

53 See the graphic misspellings e.g. in verse 35 from לאגרויה to לאגרויה by dividing the letter *het* into *resh* and *waw* and the letter *alef* into *yud* and *he* or in verse 51 from למיעבד to למיעס by taking the vertical line of the *dalet* to close the *bet* to the letter *samekh* in M. It is clear that such misreadings have almost nothing to do with the history of the text (as in the German philological term *Textgeschichte*) as tools to restore an *Urtext* but with the cultural history of a text and its alleged place in confronting the realities of Jewish literary education in Christian Europe.

and the French rite—in what seems to have been a rearguard battle by a halakhic literary elite—by proems, some of which were even newly written in Aramaic. However, in general, it seems that the Targum had changed its place from the synagogue to the house of study or to the home of the learned as early as the 13th century, especially if we consider the evidence of its very problematic text transmission in those liturgical manuscripts intended for use among the smaller communities as in Italy.

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Initial Observations Concerning the Text of Targum 2 Samuel 22 as Preserved in European Liturgical Manuscripts

Hector M. Patmore and Johanna M. Tanja

Introduction

The text of Targum Jonathan to the Prophets is fairly stable, as might be expected from a text that had an almost canonical status. Nevertheless, small changes crept into the text in the process of its transmission through the ages and in different cultural surroundings. Not all of Targum Jonathan was used in the same way; for example, only selected chapters, the so-called haftarot, had a place in the weekly liturgical service. It is conceivable that those parts of the text that were used regularly, such as the haftarot, changed more in the process of transmission than texts that were used only for study. As part of the preparations for a new critical edition of Targum Samuel, which will be produced by our colleague Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman, we decided to examine this possibility.

The initial stemma of the manuscripts of Targum Samuel, which was produced by Van Staalduine-Sulman and which has given our current research project its basic structure (Van Staalduine Sulman 2009, 22–79), incorporated a selection of Yemenite haftarot collections. The relationship between those Yemenite haftarot collections and the continuous texts of the Eastern groups (Yemenite and Babylonian) proved to be so close that Van Staalduine-Sulman was able to conclude that within this subgroup there exists ‘no textual division between continuous and liturgical texts’ (Van Staalduine-Sulman 2009, 43). But since her sample did not include European liturgical texts, she recommended that a broad stemma of 2 Sam 22 be made, including liturgical texts of the Western tradition (*ibidem*). A comparison between the liturgical texts and the continuous texts of the Western tradition will allow us to determine whether or not the liturgical and continuous texts in the Western tradition represent distinct textual traditions. To this end we have collated the text of the Targum to Samuel from a sampling of liturgical manuscripts. We have also collated the best extant European manuscripts of the continuous text of Targum Samuel, so that a comparison between liturgical and continuous texts from culturally contiguous zones is now possible.

Our aim in this paper is to provide some initial observations concerning the text of 2 Sam 22 (i.e. the haftarah for the 7th day of Pesach) in the liturgical

manuscripts, in particular its character, the relationship between the witnesses of the liturgical text, and its relation to the continuous text of Targum Jonathan. However, because not all the examined liturgical sources record the entire chapter (see further below) we restrict our comparison to the first 14 verses, which are included in all sources.

A brief note on terminology is necessary before we proceed. We employ the term 'liturgical manuscripts' broadly to include not only liturgies *sensu stricto*, for example mahzorim (festival prayer books), which reflect a usage of Targum during the synagogue liturgy, but also collections of haftarot whose purpose was study.

The Sources

All known extant manuscripts containing the continuous text were included in our research, except MS Par. 3187–89 (Bibliotheca Palatina, Parma) and MS Add. 9403 (British Library, London) because of the poor quality of their text. Van Staaldvine Sulman created a stemma of the manuscripts using a sample survey of sixty-five verses drawn from throughout the two books of Samuel, including some haftarah readings (Van Staaldvine Sulman 2009, 13–21). The result was a stemma based solely on similarities and differences in the text, rather than external factors, such as the script, codicology, provenance (if known), etc. While the resulting textual families broadly correspond to distinct geographical and cultural zones (e.g. all Yemenite manuscripts belong to one text family), this is not always the case. The 'Mixed Western' group, for example, contains two manuscripts of Italian provenance, five of Ashkenazi provenance, and one Sephardi manuscript (see further Patmore 2012a, 23–29). One possible explanation of this phenomenon is that the high degree of contact between Jews across regional borders and the frequently itinerant nature of medieval European Jewish existence resulted in a high degree of cross-fertilisation between textual traditions (Patmore 2012a, 27–29, 51).

The manuscripts containing the continuous text are as follows. The numbers in square brackets are the sigla used in our project (www.targum.nl Standard List of Sigla).

Mixed Western Family

- Ms Reuchlinianus 3, Badische Hof- und Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe, Germany (Italian, 1105/1106 CE or 1107/1108 CE) [t705i];
- Ms Or. 72, Biblioteca Angelica, Rome (Frascati, 1326 CE) [t701i];

- Ms Urbinati Ebreo 1, Vatican (Germany? 1294 CE) [t2i];
- Ms Barberini Or. 161–164, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican (Ashkenaz, 1297 CE) [t3i];
- Ms Laud Or. 326, Oxford, United Kingdom (Ashkenaz, twelfth century?) [t718i];
- Mss B.H. I–VII, Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genova, Italy (France or Germany? 1467 CE) [t7i];
- Ms hébreu 75, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France (Unknown provenance, but Sephardi script. Fourteenth-fifteenth century) [t232i/s].

Ashkenazi Family

- Ms Add. 26879, British Library, London, United Kingdom (Ashkenaz, thirteenth century) [t720a];
- Ms El. fol. 6, Universitätsbibliothek, Jena, Germany (Ashkenaz, thirteenth-fourteenth century) [t713a];
- Ms Or. fol. 3, Berlin, Germany (Ashkenaz, fourteenth century) [t5a];
- Ms 11 Stiftsbibliothek, Götting, Germany (Ashkenaz, fourteenth century) [t725a];
- Ms Hébreu 18, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France (Ashkenaz, fourteenth-fifteenth century) [t6a].

Sephardi Family

- Ms H. 116 (Montefiore 7), formerly London School of Jewish Studies, London, United Kingdom, present whereabouts unknown [t702s]
- Ms M1–3, Biblioteca General Histórica, Salamanca, Spain (Alcalá de Henares, 1532) [t703s]
- Ms 7542, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Spain (Castile, 1533) [t704s]
- Ms Opp. Add. 4to. 75 (Neubauer 68), Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom (Soria/Toledo, early thirteenth century) [t706s]
- Leiria edition (Lisboa, 1494) [t734s]
- Antwerp Polyglot Bible (Antwerpen, 1568–1572) [t12s]
- Paris Polyglot Bible (Paris, 1629–1645) [t16s]

The number of known liturgical manuscripts is vast. A selection therefore had to be made from among these manuscripts to provide a representative sample study. In order to be able to draw historical conclusions from the comparison, where possible we selected manuscripts whose date and provenance could be established. The format of the materials in each group (i.e. whether mahzorim or collections of haftarat, etc.) was largely dictated by the materials

themselves. With few exceptions, the only liturgical sources of Italian provenance containing the relevant section of Targum were mahzorim. Among the Ashkenazi sources, on the other hand, the Targum text is found only in haftarot collections, often appearing at the end of a codex containing Torah and Megillot, with the exception of a few (though not all) mahzorim following the French rite. In Sepharad sections of the Targum to 2 Samuel 22 were found in both haftarot collections and liturgies. This suggests that the text of Targum 2 Samuel 22 was read customarily in Italy as well as in parts of the Sephardic region. In Ashkenaz, however, this was not the custom except among some French communities; elsewhere in Ashkenaz the text was simply an object of study.¹ The following texts have been studied:

Italian Sources

The following are all mahzorim adhering to the Roman rite (with some minor variations). They include the Targum to the haftarot for Pesach and Shavuot

- Ms Parm. 3008 (De-Rossi 959), Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Italy (Perugia, 1400 CE) [t1601i]
- Ms Opp. Add. fol. 11 (Neubauer 1057), Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom (San Severino, 1424 CE) [t1639i]
- Ms Sassoon 405, Sassoon Collection, Letchworth, United Kingdom (Perugia, 1415 CE) [t1679i]
- Ms Rossiana 437, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Lucca, 1447 CE) [t1647i]
- Ms Parm. 3132 (De-Rossi 61), Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Italy (Macerata, 1403 CE) [t1618i]
- Ms Vaticani Ebr. 545, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (Ortona, 1419/20 CE) [t1621i]

Ashkenazi Sources

The following manuscripts contain the Torah, Haftarot, and the Megillot. The Targum is preserved for Pesach and Shavuot.

- Ms Levy 19 (Kennicott 380), Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg, Germany (1309 CE, Oxford?) [t159a]
- Ms Hébreu 44, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France (1303 CE, Paris) [t99a]

¹ See also the paper 'Targum Layouts in Ashkenazi Manuscripts. Preliminary Methodological Observations' by Elodie Attia in this volume.

- Ms Valmadonna 1 (Sassoon 282; Richler 1), Valmadonna Trust Library, London, United Kingdom (1189 CE) [t133a]
- Ms Or fol. 1214 (Kennicott 603; Erfurt 4), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany (thirteenth century) [t63a]

Five mahzorim and one siddur following the French rite were checked,² of which the following two were found to contain the Targum to 2 Samuel 22:

- Ms Abt. 701, Nr. 759, 5, 6 Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, Germany (thirteenth-fourteenth century) [t1631a]
- Ms Parm. 2894 (De-Rossi 1198), Biblioteca Palatina Parma, Italy (thirteenth century) [t1614a]

Sephardi Sources

Four of the Sephardi liturgical texts used in this article come from haftarot collections, one text appears in a siddur (daily prayer book), one in a Haggadah and the last mentioned text is of unknown origin.

Haftarot Collections

- Ms Vaticani Ebr. 21 (Kennicott 483), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City (fourteenth century) [t181s]
- Ms Parma 2817 (De-Rossi 476), Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Italy (fifteenth century) [t79s]
- Ms Parma 2520 (De- Rossi 688), Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Italy (fifteenth century) [t1104s]
- Ms Or 9916, British Library, London, United Kingdom (eighteenth century) [t1188s]

Siddur

- Ms Sassoon 1017 (Sassoon, *Ohel David*, 1017), Letchworth, United Kingdom (fifteenth century) [t1611s]

Haggadah

- Ms Add. 14761 (Margoliouth 605), British Library, London, United Kingdom (Catalonia, second half fourteenth century) [SBH]

² We are grateful to A. Houtman, who checked the microfilms of these manuscripts at the National Library of Israel and made an initial collation of the relevant texts on our behalf.

Unknown Origin

- Ms Marsh 116 (Neubauer 576), Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom (early fourteenth century) [t2596s]. This is a manuscript of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*. The page containing 2 Sam 22 can be found on a (most probably recycled) sheet used to separate the first and second part of the manuscript. This is possibly a non-continuous text, as no parts of the preceding or following verses of 2 Samuel are visible.

Relationship between Witnesses to the Liturgical Text

Italian

The Italian liturgical texts form a distinct textual family discrete from the continuous text tradition. All the Italian liturgies share a number of common pluses, which are not found in other sources.³ For example:

As the texts recorded by Martínez Borobio (1987) appear to be the best representatives of the original Targum Samuel we take them as our starting point (Van Staaldune 2009, 25). In this edition 2 Sam 22:3 reads: '[...] *He redeemed me* [or 'my redemption'] *from my enemies* (פרקני מבעלי דבבי) *and also from the hand of all robbers He saved me* (שייב)!' This reading is followed universally in the continuous texts with minor variations. By contrast all the Italian liturgies preserve the following plus at the end of the verse: '[...] *and from the hand of Saul, the king, He redeemed me*' (ומידא דשאל מלכא הוה פריק לי).

In 2 Sam 22:7 all Eastern manuscripts read: '[...] *and before my God I am pleading for favour* (מתחנן) [...] *and my request is done before Him*.' Although there is some variation among the Western texts at this point (see further below), all the Italian liturgies share the following pluses, which do not appear in other text traditions: '[...] *and before my God I am praying* (מצלי) *and pleading for favour* [...] *and my request is done before Him in the time of my prayer*.'

Occasionally, however, a plus is found in only some of the Italian liturgies. For example, in 2 Sam 22:4 all continuous texts, with only insignificant variations, read: *I am praying before the LORD who always (דבכל עדן) redeems me from my enemies!* The Italian liturgies have a fuller text. Mss t1601i, t1679i, and t1621i read: *'I open my mouth (פתיח פומי ומצלי) and pray before the LORD that in every time of distress (דבכל עידן עקא) He may deliver me from my enemies (הוה*

3 The text of a number of Italian mahzorim, including its vocalization, is presented and discussed in Peter Lehnardt's article 'The Role of Targum Samuel in European Jewish Liturgy', in this volume.

פריק ל' (פריק ל'). Mss t1639i, t1647i, t1618i also contain this longer text, but without the reference to 'distress' (עקא). The plus, 'I open my mouth [...],' occurs again in 2 Sam 22:7 in all the Italian liturgies, with the exception of t1621i and t1639i.

Again, in 2 Sam 22:8 all the continuous texts, with only insignificant variants, read: 'The earth was shaken and stirred up; the foundations of the heavens quaked and were bent down because of the strength of His anger.' All Italian liturgies, on the other hand, read: 'The earth was shaken and stirred up and trembled, and the foundations of the heavens trembled, and the mountains trembled, and the depths of the sea were overturned because of the strength of His anger (t1601i, t1679i: 'strength of the anger').'

In addition to these pluses, the text of the Italian liturgies is distinguished from the continuous text tradition by a number of cases where a word or expression has been substituted with an alternative in all or most of the Italian liturgies. In 2 Sam 22:3, for example, t1601i t1679i, t1647i, t1618i, and t1621i read '[...] He saved me from those who hate me (שיזבני מן שנאיי) ...' while all continuous texts (with a couple of exceptions) read '[...] He redeemed me [or 'my redemption] from my enemies (פרקני מבעלי דבבי) ...' Ms t1639i combines the two readings: שיזבני מן שנאיי פירקני מבעלי דבבי, perhaps showing the influence of the continuous text tradition.

Further examples include the readings 'a band of liars (סיעת שקרין) [terrified me]' of t1601i, t1679i, t1647i, and t1621i instead of 'a band of sinners (סיעת חייבין)' as we find in the continuous text (2 Sam 22:5); and the substitution of 'He was revealed in His might (ואתגלי בגבורתיה) on swift cherubs ...,' the reading of the continuous texts, with 'He caused His Shekinah to rest (ואשרי) upon swift cherubs ...,' the reading of the Italian liturgies (2 Sam 22:11). The expression 'He caused His Shekinah to rest' in fact begins the following verse in all text traditions; that the Italian liturgies repeat the phrase here may be a product of their oral transmission.

In the example from 2 Sam 22:14, the alternative reading found in the Italian liturgical texts, namely 'the Most High lifted up His voice (קליה),' more closely reflects the underlying Hebrew (קולו), whereas all the Eastern witnesses and the majority of the remaining Western witnesses read "the Most High lifted up His Memra" (see also below).

Ashkenazi

In contrast to the Italian liturgies, the Ashkenazi sources—both mahzorim and haftarot collections—contain a text that is basically the same as the continuous text tradition. There are only a few possible exceptions that may represent readings distinct to the liturgical text-form. In one case, namely 2 Sam 22:14,

an Ashkenazi mahzor (i.e. t1631a) shares the reading of the Italian mahzorim noted above, namely 'His voice' instead of 'His Memra.' One Ashkenazi haftarot collection, t99a, may combine the two readings at this point (on 'combined readings' see Smelik 2003a, 262–66; Smelik 2003b, 77): t99a reads *'the Most High exalted the voice of His Memra'* (קל מימריה). It is quite possible, however, that the underlying Hebrew has influenced the text here (see Patmore 2012a, 37–51). If that is the case, then the resemblance between the Targum texts may be coincidental.

A second such case might be 2 Sam 22:1, where all the continuous texts read *'David praised in prophecy before the LORD the words of this hymn [...]*' Two of the Ashkenazi haftarot collections (i.e. t99a, t133a) read *'all the words of this hymn [...]*' The same reading is offered by one Sephardi haftarot collection (t188s), and also by some manuscripts that were not included in this study because of an ambiguous origin, i.e. MS Can. Or. 49, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom (Roumanian rite), MS Parm. 2573, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Italy (Roman rite), MS Valmadonna 89, formerly Valmadonna Trust Library, London, United Kingdom, present whereabouts unknown (Moroccan tradition), MS Mich. Add. 3,4,5,6, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom (rite of Avignon, but in Sephardi script type). This reading does not appear in the continuous text tradition (so far as this has been preserved), so this may point to a specifically liturgical text tradition, though not one that is confined to the Ashkenazi zone. This remains nothing more than a possibility, however, since the evidence is far from decisive.

The Ashkenazi haftarot collections are otherwise marked by the fairly frequent occurrence of readings unique to one manuscript, a feature that one equally finds in Ashkenazi continuous texts. These variants are mostly of little significance. For example, in 2 Sam 22:1 t133a reads מידא דכל ('from the hand of all...'), while all other witnesses read מיד כל (except t99a and t713a, which read מידא כל, an error); and at 2 Sam 22:6 t133a reads משיירין רשיען סגיאן 'many wicked camps', while the remainder lack סגיאן. Only in the Mahzor t1631a do we find a variant with a hint of an exegetical character: the text reads *'Therefore the King sent forth His anger like burning fire'* (בכין שלח מלכא רוגזיה כאישא בערא) (2 Sam 22:9), where all other texts read simply *'He sent.'* The appellation of God as king is common in the Prophets (Isa 6:5; 33:22; Jer 10:7 etc.), though the current example may be inspired by Tg 2 Sam 22:17.

Several of these unique readings ostensibly originated in scribal error. For example, at 2 Sam 22:3 t159a reads קדמוי instead of the expected קדמך; at 2 Sam 22:3 t133a omits the clause סמך לי בעדן עקא 'in the time of distress... [His Memra] supports me' (the phrase מגן עלי 'He protects me' is

transposed to later in the verse where it replaces פרקני 'He redeemed me/my redemption') and the text between the two occurrences of קדמוהי 'before Him' in 2 Sam 22:9, evidently by parablepsis; 2 Sam 22:9, where t159a reads כתננא דמן 'like smoke that is from before Him', the remaining manuscripts reading without דמן (the expression דמן קדמוהי is taken over in error from later in the verse); and t99a reads עננין עננים 'clouds' at 2 Sam 22:12, clearly a Hebraism.

The text of Mahzor t1614a, in particular, has become quite corrupted in transmission. For example, 'burning' (בערא) is omitted after 'like fire' (באישא) in 2 Sam 22:9; verse 2 Sam 22:14 is omitted altogether; and the phrase 'and before my God I am pleading for favour' (וקדם אלהי אנא מתחנן) is inserted into 2 Sam 22:4 after 'I am praying before the Lord' (אנא מצלי קדם יי), evidently as the result of the use of this formulation (i.e. 'I am praying before the Lord and before my God I am pleading for favour') in 2 Sam 22:7. Similarly, at the end of 2 Sam 22:1, t1614a reads מיד כל בעלי דבביות ויתיר ואף יד דוד שויב מחרבא דשאול 'from the hand of all their enemies and excessively(?) and also the hand of David He saved from Saul's sword.' The form ויתיר is left unvocalized, indicating a correction, but even excluding ויתיר, the reference to David's hand here is nonsensical.

Sephardi

Within the Sephardic text tradition of 2 Sam 22—both continuous and liturgical—some variant readings in the form of pluses and minor rephrasing occur. However, there are no specific liturgical pluses as we find in the Italian texts. The continuous and liturgical texts are more or less the same with minor variations occurring in both text types. The situation can be summarised as follows:

1. There are no variants which are shared by all liturgical texts of 2 Sam 22
2. Some variants are found only in (certain) liturgical texts
3. Other variants are found only in (certain) continuous texts
4. Several variants are attested in some of the liturgical texts as well as in some of the continuous texts

Ms t1188s attests a variant in 2 Sam 22:1 that is shared with some Ashkenazi liturgies 'David praised in prophecy before the LORD all the words of this hymn [...]' adding the word all (כל).

In some of the liturgical versions of verse 3 the verb פרק is used instead of שזב 'and He saved me' (פרק יתי). This is the case in t1104s, t79s and SBH.

An example of a variant occurring in a liturgical text as well as in a continuous text, can also be seen in 2 Sam 22:3 a variant reading attested by both liturgical (t1104s, t181s, t79s, t2596s) and continuous (t706s) texts. These texts read

'God', while the other liturgical (t1188s, t1611s) and continuous texts read '*my God*'. All Italian and Ashkenazi liturgical texts read 'God' as well, the Eastern tradition reads '*my God*'.

Relationship of Liturgical Texts to Continuous Texts

As will be evident from the preceding analysis the Italian liturgies preserve a text that is quite distinct from the continuous text tradition, while the text preserved in the Ashkenazi liturgies is essentially that of the continuous text tradition, with few variants that belong only to liturgical texts (though we cannot exclude the possibility of happenstance, given the relative paucity of manuscripts). The Sephardi text is somewhat in-between. Some variants only occur in liturgical texts, but these variants do not necessarily occur in all the liturgical texts. Other variants are attested in some of the liturgical texts as well as in some of the continuous texts. Moreover, within the Sephardi text family, some variants only occur within a specific group of continuous text, more precisely within the texts produced by Christians.

All of the liturgical texts, however, reflect to a greater or lesser degree their transmission in the West. That is to say that we find a significant number of examples in which the same reading appears in Western liturgical texts and Western continuous texts, but not in the Eastern texts. There are several examples of this phenomenon:

2 Sam 22:1

The Babylonian tradition according to Martínez Borobio reads:

David praised in prophecy before the LORD the words of this hymn concerning all the days that the LORD saved Israel from the hand of all their enemies and also David from Saul's sword.

Twenty five of the thirty six Western manuscripts and printed editions examined for this study, both continuous and liturgical texts, read the verb 'to save' (שיׁב) again at the end of the clause. Ms t1601i, for example, reads '[...] *and also David He saved* (שיׁב) *from Saul's sword*.' All the Italian and Ashkenazi liturgical manuscripts used in this article read the verb 'to save' (שיׁב), just as most of the continuous texts from these two text families do (only t6a, t720a, t232i and t705i follow the Eastern text in reading without this verb). Two of the Sephardi liturgical texts (t1104s, t2596s) and the majority of the Sephardi continuous texts (t12s, t16s, t703s, t704s, t706s) follow the Eastern text tradition

in not reading this verb again at the end of the clause. The form of the verb differs somewhat between the Western witnesses (e.g. lacking object pronoun t99a, t63a, t1614a, t701i, t718i, t1611s, t181s, t79s; participle t1631s, t159a משייב), but such slight variations are quite common among the Western manuscripts so that the basic textual affinity between the Western textual witnesses is not obfuscated.

In the same verse two of the Ashkenazi liturgies (t159a, t133a) and four Sephardi liturgies (t79s, t1611s, t2596s, SBH) introduce David as a direct object into the phrase ‘concerning all the days that the LORD saved Israel,’ reading ‘concerning all the days that the LORD saved him and (יתיה וית) Israel (or: me and Israel t159a).’ This reading is also found in continuous texts of the Ashkenazi (t6a, t713a, t720a), Mixed Western (t232i, t7i, t718i), and Sephardi (t702s) text families.

2 Sam 22:6

The Babylonian tradition according to Martínez Borobio reads:

Camps of wicked people surround me, those armed with deadly weapons met me (קדמוני).

With the exception of t1639i all the Ashkenazi and Italian liturgical texts read ערעוני ‘they met me’ (some with the alternative spelling ארעוני). Six Sephardi liturgical texts (t181s, t79s, t1104s, t1611s, t2596s, SBH) read ערעוני or ארעוני. One Sephardi liturgical text shares the reading of the Eastern tradition, קדמוני (t1188s), but the manuscript is late (eighteenth century) in comparison to those reading ערעוני or ארעוני, which were written during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. So the reading קדמוני in this late manuscript may also be the result of the process of standardization that took place under the influence of the Rabbinic Bibles that have the same reading. The reading ערעוני is shared by a number of manuscripts of the continuous text from both Ashkenazi and Italian text families (i.e. t6a, t720a, t232i, t718i, t7i), but none of the Sephardi continuous texts attests this reading.

2 Sam 22:9

The Babylonian tradition according to Martínez Borobio reads:

The insolence of Pharaoh went up like smoke before Him . . .

All the liturgical texts in the Italian and Ashkenazi traditions read ‘wicked Pharaoh (פרעה רשיעא).’ This is the common reading shared by many of the

Western textual witnesses examined in this study (e.g. of the continuous texts in the Ashkenazi and Mixed Western families: t5a, t6a, t713a, t720a, t725a, t2i, t3i, t718i, t7i). Interestingly, the Sephardi textual witnesses present us with three different readings in this particular verse. Four textual witnesses read '*wicked Pharaoh* (פֶּרַעַה רָשִׁיעָא)' (t181s, t702s, t1188s, SBH), six follow the Eastern tradition (t79s, t703s, t704s, t706s, t743s, t1104s, t2596s) and two have a shorter version '*the smoke of his anger went up like a burning fire* (סֶלֶק תַּנְנַת רִגְזִיהּ כְּאִישָׁא)' (t12s, t16s). Among the texts reading '*wicked Pharaoh*' is one continuous text (t702s). The textual witnesses resembling the Eastern tradition stem from both continuous and liturgical texts (haftarot). The two versions giving a shorter version come from Christian Polyglot Bibles (t12s, t16s). Although the Hebrew text of this verse does not mention Pharaoh at all (*smoke went up from His nostrils*), the reading attested in t12s and t16s is nonetheless somewhat closer to the Hebrew text. The omission of Targumic 'additions' is common in these editions and was a conscious decision of the editor of t12s, followed by the editor of t16s (Tanja 2012, 98). So, as far as the Sephardi tradition is concerned, the reading '*wicked Pharaoh*' is not attested in all the liturgical texts, but can also be found in one of the continuous texts.

In one instance common readings of this type are confined to a single culturally contiguous zone. In 2 Sam 22:3 the Babylonian tradition according to Martínez Borobio reads '*and also from the hand of all robbers* (חֲטוּפִין) *He saved me*.' Mss t159a, t99a, t133a, t63a, t1614a, and t1631a all read: '*and also from the hand of all robbers* (חֲטוּפִין) *and violent men* (אֲנִישִׁין) *He saved me*' (t63a '*redeemed me*'). The reading is shared with the continuous text of t5a, t725a, t2i, t718i. These four manuscripts belong to two different textual families within the stemma (Ashkenazi and Mixed Western), but they were all written in Ashkenaz. Evidently these sources incorporate some variant readings that were in circulation in Ashkenaz but unknown in other areas (see our comments above). In other words, this is a local, rather than a distinctly liturgical reading.

Other Distinctive Features

Linguistic Features

Some of the Italian liturgical texts exhibit features characteristic of Palestinian forms of Aramaic. Ms t160ii, for example, uses 'י- for the first person singular suffix on a plural masculine noun (e.g. דִּבְבִּי 2 Sam 22:3) and reads הוּינָא, the first singular perfect form of the verb 'to be' (2 Sam 22:3), in place of the pronoun אֲנִי (see Lund 1987). Ms t1679i (and probably t160ii, the text is unclear)

uses יי- for the 3rd singular masculine suffix on masculine plural noun (באפוי 2 Sam 22:9). The picture is, however, inconsistent across the manuscripts. Mss t1647i and t1621i have הוינא (t1647i הוינא), but read דבבי; whereas t1639i reads דבבי and אנה. In the two Ashkenazi mahzorim one finds דבבי (e.g. t1631a; 2 Sam 22:3), but no other markings of Palestinian Aramaic.

The use of ל- to mark the direct object (i.e. accusative particle; 2 Sam 22:2, 4), rather than ית, is another distinctive feature of the Italian liturgical texts. Both Jewish Palestinian and Babylonian Aramaic texts display this trait—so it is not decisive from a dialectic point of view—but it is nonetheless a common feature in the Midrashic portions of the Palestinian Targum (Martínez Borobio 1987, 159–162).

The two Ashkenazi mahzorim also show a few distinguishing linguistics traits. For example, at 2 Sam 22:8 both prefer the verbal root רעש 'to be in commotion' to the near-synonymous (at least in the context) root רגש, favoured by all the other Western textual witnesses. Similarly, in 2 Sam 22:11 we find t1614a read על גופי רוחא 'upon the wings of the wind', the noun גוף replacing its synonym כנף, preferred by the remaining witnesses. Neither lexeme is dialectically distinct, though both are found Late Jewish Literary Aramaic, so it would be plausible to assume a degree of adaption of the text towards prevailing linguistic preferences at a late stage in its transmission.

Delineation of the Text

A marked contrast between the Italian and Ashkenazi sources is the extent of the text they contain. The Italian mahzorim preserve the complete text of 2 Sam 22. The Ashkenazi sources, by contrast, contain only the start of the chapter (the shortest containing the first fourteen verses, the longest the first twenty-five⁴) and the last two verses, leaving out the intervening text:

- Mss Hébreu 44 and Or fol. 1214 = 2 Sam 22:1–14, 50–51
- Mss Levy 19 and Parm. 2894 = 2 Sam 22:1–19, 50–51
- Ms Valmadonna 1 = 2 Sam 22:1–25, 50–51

The reason for this is unclear. Since this phenomenon is noted in both a mahzor (Parm. 2894) and haftarot collections that, although not used in the liturgy themselves, were intended to aid in the preparation for the liturgy, it

4 The extent of the text in MS Abt. 701, Nr. 759, 5, 6 Landeshauparchiv Koblenz is unknown. Only two folios are preserved (Roth 1965, 171–72). The Targum to 2 Sam 22:1–21 is preserved on folio 2, but the text originally continued onto another page, which is now lost.

is possible that the preserved units of Targum reflect local liturgical customs, since it is permissible to skip in the prophetic reading (MMeg 4:4).

The Sephardi sources are also not uniform in the amount of text included. Four liturgical texts preserve the entire chapter: the Siddur (t1611s), the Haggadah (SBH) a haftarot collection (t1188s) and a non-continuous text of unknown origin (t2569s). The other three liturgical texts attest only a part of the chapter: (t181s, t79s, t1104s):

- Ms Vaticani Ebr 21 = 2 Sam 22:1–14, 50–51
- Ms Parma 2817 = 2 Sam 22:1–25, 50–51
- Ms Parma 2520 = 2 Sam 22:1–17, 50–51

All three are haftarot collections. No pattern for including text is apparent: complete and partial representations of the chapter are found in different types of texts.

Conclusions

The decisive point arising out of the above survey is that all the liturgical texts, Italian, Ashkenazi, and Sephardi, show clear affinities to the Western continuous text tradition. These liturgical texts clearly belong in the Western textual tradition.

Although some of the variant readings found throughout the Western manuscripts may preserve variants attested in the texts from which the Western manuscripts ultimately derive, the relatively high degree of variation between the separate textual traditions as well as between manuscripts within a single textual tradition, make the existence of a single Western *Urtext* extremely unlikely. Although the European Jewish communities were separated from one another by geographical, political, and cultural boundaries, there was nonetheless significant mobility between the communities as a result of commercial networks or forced migration due to persecution, especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the period in which most of the manuscripts used in this study were produced. These links between the distinct European Jewish communities may account for the degree of commonality between all Western textual witnesses: variant readings characteristic of Western manuscripts but not found in Eastern manuscript may have originated in Europe, perhaps independently in more than one location, and subsequently been diffused among the different textual traditions of European Jewry.

Equally, some distinctly Western readings may reflect the influence of alternative Pentateuchal Targum traditions that were circulating in Europe. Targums Neofiti (Palestinian origin, but known only from an Italian manuscript; Richler 2008, 528–29), pseudo-Jonathan (probably reached its current form in Europe; the only known manuscript, MS Add 27031 British Library, is sixteenth century Ashkenazi), and the Fragment Targums according to MS Vatican Ebr. 440 (German manuscript, c. 1300; Richler 2008, 387), for example, all employ the term *'wicked Pharaoh'* in the seder for the 7th day of Pesach, for which 2 Sam 22 is the haftarah (e.g. TNExod 15:9; TgPJExod 15:1,9,21, FTV Exod 15:9). That this reading crops up in many of the Western manuscripts of the Targum to the Prophets (2 Sam 22:9) may reveal the influence of the alternative Targum traditions of the seder—an influence that could easily have exerted itself within Europe.

The liturgical texts clearly belong to the Western textual tradition, but the Western textual tradition itself is the result of a haphazard blend of the factors just described. Exactly how the liturgical texts relate to the other Western texts is complex and differs between the Italian, Ashkenazi, and Sephardi sources.

Concerning the Italian liturgical sources, the text follows that of the standard text of Targum Jonathan but with some pluses and substitutions. Unfortunately history has bequeathed us only two Italian manuscripts of the continuous text of Targum Samuel, but if these two manuscripts are representative of the continuous textual tradition in Italy, then it is clear that in Italy the liturgical text had a textual form and transmission history distinct from that of the continuous text. The preservation of this richer textual form may plausibly be connected to its continued use in the liturgy; indeed, other sections of Targum, including to the Pentateuch, occurring in European liturgies are also distinguished by their fuller exegetical character (see e.g. Kaufman and Maori 1991, 16–23; Díez Macho 1981; also Gleßmer 1995, 154–64).

Some of the Italian liturgical manuscripts show Palestinian dialect features. Díez Macho noted this phenomenon in a number of other texts, concluding that it indicated that the text in question was of Palestinian origin (Díez Macho 1956a, 290–292; 1956b, §47; 1957, §9; 1958, 199–200) but had been altered under the influence of Targum Jonathan (Díez Macho 1979, 94 n.202; 1981, 235). In our view this remains a plausible explanation and this raises the possibility that the textual embellishments characteristic of the Italian liturgical manuscripts may ultimately stem from Palestinian traditions.

Incidentally, many of the readings that Sperber claims to have found in fragments from the Taylor-Schechter Collection in Cambridge coincide with

those of the Italian mahzorim. Unfortunately Sperber did not specify which fragments he consulted and the materials have not yet been traced (Patmore 2012a, 123 n.87; 2010, 2), so we can draw no conclusions from this.

While the Italian liturgical texts diverge in significant ways from the continuous text, the Ashkenazi sources, both mahzorim and haftarot collections, preserve a text that differs from that found in manuscripts containing the continuous texts no more than the manuscripts containing the continuous text differ among themselves.

The Sephardi liturgical texts examined in this article show no variant readings which are shared by all of the liturgical texts. There are variants occurring only in some liturgical texts, some variants are found in both continuous and liturgical texts and some variants are found only in certain continuous texts. In the texts examined in this article, no distinct liturgical Sephardi variants become apparent, such as we find in the Italian liturgical tradition.

However, the Sephardic texts used in this sample differ in one aspect from the other European texts. In the Targum text of 2 Sam 22 we encountered three verses where the European text family shows a variant occurring in almost all textual witnesses (as compared to the Eastern text tradition):

- the use of the verb שזב in 22:1
- the reading of 'God' in 22:3
- the addition of the adjective 'wicked' in 22:9

In verse 1 all the Italian and Ashkenazi liturgical texts add the verb שזב, but two of the Sephardi liturgical texts (t1104s, t2596s) lack this addition and agree with the Eastern tradition. The majority of the continuous texts from the Ashkenazi and Italian tradition also add the verb שזב. In contrast, the majority of the Sephardi continuous texts (t12s, t16s, t703s, t704s, t706s) lack this addition. Only two continuous texts (t743s, t702s) attest the verb in this verse. Something similar can be noted in verse three: all Italian and Ashkenazi liturgical texts read 'God', where the Eastern tradition reads 'my God'. Four of the Sephardi liturgical texts read 'God' (t1104s, t181s, t79s, t2596s), the other three 'my God' (t1188s, t1611s, SBH). In verse nine all Ashkenazi and Italian liturgical texts add the adjective 'wicked' to the noun 'Pharaoh'. Within the Sephardic tradition we saw that three liturgical texts added the adjective and three agree with the Eastern tradition and leave this adjective out. This may suggest that although the Sephardi tradition has been influenced by readings of the text typical of the other Western traditions (i.e. Italian, Ashkenazi), the influence is less pervasive.

We have noted throughout several agreements between, for example, Italian and Sephardi liturgies, and Ashkenazi and Sephardi liturgies. Some may be complete coincidence (e.g. ‘*all the words of this hymn* [. . .]’ for ‘*the words of this hymn* [. . .]’ 2 Sam 22:1), while others appear to suggest a genetic relationship. Although we cannot rule out decisively the possibility that these agreements derive from a common version (i.e. an *Urtext*), this seems highly unlikely. Rather, it is more likely that the agreements result from the widespread circulation and frequent revision and adaption of the liturgical texts, which has resulted in a great deal of cross-fertilisation across traditions.

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The Role of the Targum in Jewish Education in Medieval Europe

Alberdina Houtman

Introduction

In the course of history, the official Targums Onkelos and Jonathan served different purposes. They were used for the preparation of reading Scripture in the synagogue, for private and academic Bible study, and possibly also for language acquisition (Houtman and Sysling 2009, 35–39). But whereas in the Yemenite community the habit of reading Scripture with the accompaniment of an Aramaic translation continues until today, in Europe the custom was gradually abolished due to the dwindling knowledge of Aramaic (Houtman 2012, 7–8). In the Middle Ages only remnants of the tradition survived in the Targum to the seventh day of Pesah and the first day of Shavuot (Zunz 1966, 426). So the first function mentioned, the preparation for the oral translation of Scripture, had largely become extinct in medieval Europe. The study of Targum as Oral Torah of course continued, as becomes clear from the references to Targum in the works of important medieval rabbinic scholars like Maimonides, Rashi, and Samuel of Vitry (Flesher and Chilton 2011, 477). To this end pupils had to learn Aramaic, and possibly the Targums served a purpose there as well.

In this paper I will first give an overview of the place of Targum in the educational system in the talmudic period. Then I will move to the situation in medieval Europe, where halakhic discussions and contemporary descriptions of curricula give us some insight into the status and study of Targum. Finally I will discuss the possible evidence of the Targum manuscripts and round off with a summary and conclusions.

Study of Targum in the Talmudic Period

From numerous references in rabbinic literature it becomes clear that in the rabbinic period the Targum had a well-defined function in the synagogal liturgy, where it served as a translation and elucidation of the scriptural readings (Houtman & Sysling 2009, 36). Since the synagogal service, apart from its character as worship, also had an educational function, there were prescriptions for how to benefit most from the readings. In BT Ber 8ab we find:

R. Huna b. Judah says in the name of R. Ammi: A man should always complete his parashiyot together with the congregation, [reading] twice the Hebrew text and once the [Aramaic] Targum, and even [such verses as] Atarot and Dibon, for if one completes his parashiyot together with the congregation, his days and years are prolonged.

Although a personal obligation is concerned here, it was practical to do this study together with other members of the congregation because books were expensive, and hence scarce, and apart from this practical aspect, studying together in the study house had educational benefits as well. It is unsure whether this obligation stems from a situation in which the reading of Scripture on Shabbat was still actually accompanied by a Targum or not. In the first case it served as a rehearsal of the liturgical readings and their Targums for private study and devotion. However, it has also been suggested that this prescription reflects a period when the habit of translating in Aramaic in the synagogue service had already been abandoned after the annual reading cycle was introduced. In the annual cycle the weekly portions to be read were much larger than they were in the triennial cycle that was used before, an innovation that asked a great deal of patience from the congregants (Millgram 1971, 182). Adding the Targum in that new situation would make the services unbearably long. With the omission of the Targum from the synagogue service the prescription guaranteed that the Targum would at least still be read and memorized. In any case the words of R. Huna reflect a situation in which study of the Targum was considered essential for private study and devotion.

In the situation where the Targum was actually recited in synagogue, the persons responsible for the translation, the meturgemans, had to prepare themselves thoroughly because the translation had to be done by heart. Obviously it needed quite some study and memorization to fulfil this function of meturgeman in the synagogue properly. The shorthand manuscripts discovered in the Cairo Genizah collection by the late Michael Klein may actually have served as crib notes to help the meturgeman perform his task (Klein 1992, x, 85 [no. 1088], 86 [no. 1098]).

This function of the Targum as a translation in synagogal liturgy was quite natural in times and places when and where Aramaic was a common language, as was the case in large parts of western Asia and Egypt before the rise of the Islam, the period in which the great works of rabbinic literature were conceived. It is obvious that in those circumstances Targum was also part of the school curriculum. From the sparse references, it may be assumed that in the rabbinic period the study of the Bible, including the Targum, belonged to the curriculum of the basic education of the *Beit ha-Sefer* (Alexander 1976,

187; 1985, 22). For example, a story about rabbi Aqiba (*ARN* B 12), who was still ignorant at the age of forty, tells that Aqiba decided to start studying when he saw that water could hollow a stone. He drew the conclusion that if this was possible, then his petrified heart could also be softened by Torah:

He said: 'I will go and study a section of Torah.' He went to the school (*Beit ha-Sefer*) and started reading from a tablet, he and his son. He learnt Bible and Targum, Midrash halakhah and aggadot, prayers and parables.

A discussion on remuneration of a teacher in BT Ned 37ab also shows that Targum was considered part of the basic education. The general rule given there is that no fee may be asked for the teaching of Scripture to young children. In the ensuing discussion the question arises whether a fee can be given for the teaching of accents. The argumentation of opponents to this kind of recompense is that the accents, like the Targum, are biblical too. The discussion reads as follows:

For R. Ika b. Abin said in the name of R. Hananel in Rab's name: What is the meaning of 'And they read in the book, in the law of God, distinctly, and they gave the sense, so that they understood the reading?' (Neh 8:8) 'They read in the book, in the law of God,' refers to Scripture; 'distinctly,' to Targum; 'and they gave the sense,' to the division of sentences; 'so that they understood the reading,' to the accentuation; others say, to the masorot.

If this proves that the accents belong to the elementary teaching of Scripture, then so does the Targum. Finally, the fact that according to the early sages (MMeg 4:6; TMeg 3:21), minors were allowed to read and translate also presupposes that they would have learnt how to render the Targum at an early age.

Another line of thought according to which the Targum is connected to the primary school system was set out by Philip Alexander, who suggested that the Targum may have played a role in the acquisition of Hebrew for pupils whose native language was Aramaic (Alexander 1999). Hebrew had steadily declined, perhaps ever since the return from the Babylonian exile, until by 200 CE it had effectively disappeared as a vernacular. From at least the third century onwards the everyday language of the rabbis would have been Aramaic. So children had to learn Hebrew at school, because they did not learn it anymore in a natural way from their parents. According to Alexander, this was done in the first stage by rote learning portions of Scripture. In the second stage a translation of the text in the vernacular was used to help the students understand the meaning.

This translation was absolutely crucial to the learning process. It had to be carefully constructed so as to correlate as closely as possible with the original. Therefore each word had to be translated in its original order and obscurities had to be resolved without deleting elements present in the Hebrew. The carefully composed Targums Onkelos and Jonathan may have functioned as an aid to the student to pass over from his native tongue to the Hebrew text. This theory cannot be substantiated by hard textual evidence, but the reasoning is sound and there are analogies to be found in the Graeco-Roman world (Alexander 1999, 82–84).

The Targum is not just a translation, it is also an authoritative interpretation as part of the Oral Torah. This idea can be found for instance in *PesR* 5:1 and *TanB* II *Wayyera* 6 where on the basis of Exod 34:27 it is inferred that the Targum was given orally on Mount Sinai:

‘Write these words’ (Exod 34:27aβ), that is Scripture that has been given in writing, ‘for by mouth of these words’ (Exod 34:27bα), that is Targum that has been given orally.

The Oral Torah was studied in the secondary-level education, the *Beit ha-Talmud* (York 1979, 84–85; Safrai 1976, II.952), and on that level the study of Targum also had a place. This study continued at the higher academic level of the *Beit ha-Midrash*, where adults studied on a voluntary basis under the guidance of a sage, and where advanced scholars met to study together. The discussions found in the Talmudim are witnesses of this way of studying. From the way the Targum is cited in these discussions, it becomes clear that the Targum was considered an authoritative source for biblical exegesis (Houtman & Sysling 2009, 145, 194–214). This may be illustrated by a saying of Rav Joseph in BT Sanh 94b, where he says in an exegetical discussion about Sennacherib’s claim to have had God’s orders to destroy Jerusalem, ‘but for the Targum of this verse, I would not know its meaning’, referring to TJ Isa 8:6. This verse has no place in the liturgical readings, which proves that his knowledge of this verse came from independent study of the Targum.

With the rise of Islam, and the concomitant spread of Arabic as a language of importance, a movement arose in Babylonia that demanded a vernacular translation instead of the traditional Aramaic Targum. The Talmud mentions already translations in Greek (e.g. PT Meg 1:11, 71c; BT Meg 9ab), Egyptian, Elamite and Median (BT Shab 115ab, BT Meg 18a). But as to be expected in matters of tradition, this innovation met with opposition. Natronai Gaon (Sura, 9th century) said:

Those who don't say the Targum, and say 'we do not need to translate into [the rabbinic] Targum, but rather into our own language, the language which the audience understands', they do not fulfil their obligation. What is the reason? Because it is the rabbinic Targum on Scripture and the rabbis gave it their support. For R. Ika b. Abin said in the name of R. Hananel in Rab's name: What is the meaning of 'And they read in the book, in the law of God' etc. (Neh 8:8; BT Ned 37b)? And therefore it is impossible not to translate according to the rabbinic Targum (...) If they do not translate [into Aramaic] in order to provoke, they will be excommunicated, but if it is because they don't know [how to translate into Aramaic] let them learn (cited in *Sefer ha-Itim*, 266–267;¹ see also Berliner 1884, 171).

Natronai uses the talmudic discussion in BT Ned 37b which has been cited above as proof that the Targum is Oral Torah from Sinai. In his view the revelation character of the Targum is the reason that it should be recited as an halakhic obligation rather than an instrument to oblige the uneducated. These two fundamentally different views on the recitation of Targum, instrumental versus halakhic, keep playing a role throughout history. Nevertheless, while the use of Targum in liturgy was still disputed in Babylonia in the Geonic period, after that period it seems to have been completely abandoned (Elbogen 1993, 154). From the evidence of the Cairo Genizah, it appears that in the western part of the Middle East that stood under Palestinian authority, the Targum kept its status much longer. There are documents that confirm that the study of the Targum had an important part in the Jewish schools as preparation of its pupils for taking an active part in the synagogue service (Goitein 1971, 175–176).

At the end of the Geonic period another change can be noticed which concerns the appreciation of Targum as an authoritative interpretation of Scripture. This has to do with a shift from a general preference for the *derash* (applied meaning) to a strong predisposition in favour of the *peshat* (plain meaning). This preference was worded for the first time by Saadiah Gaon (882–942) in his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (*Sefer ha-Emunot we-ha-Deot*, 1880, 140–141), where he stated that everything in the Bible has to be understood according to the *peshat* except when it is against the senses, or against reason, or if it contradicts another verse in the Bible, or if it opposes tradition. This stress on literal interpretation influenced the appreciation of the Targum,

1 The text of the edition contains scribal errors. I have adapted the citation of the Talmud to the wording used there.

because although Targum Onkelos in particular is mostly quite literal, there are places where more elaborate midrashic interpretations are given.

Summarizing we may say that in the early talmudic period the Targum had a clear authoritative status both as a liturgical translation and as part of the Oral Torah. This status was reflected in the educational system, where Targum was taught as translation at the primary level and as Oral Torah in the more advanced levels. Possibly the Targum was also used for Hebrew language acquisition for students whose mother tongue was Aramaic. At the end of the Geonic period the situation changed due to the rise of Islam and the concomitant change in language, and a new appreciation of the *peshat* exegesis.

Study of Targum in Medieval Europe

Thus far the situation in the Talmudic period in western Asia and Egypt. But how was the situation in medieval Europe when knowledge of Aramaic could no longer be taken for granted? For this period and place too, we have to make do with meagre and often indirect references to Bible study in general and more specifically the study of Targum. Since the study of Targum is strictly connected with Bible study, we will start with some general observations about the appreciation of the Bible as compared to the Talmudic literature. It is commonly agreed that in general the study of the Bible occupied a more important place in Eastern countries and in Spain than it did in Ashkenaz, where attention was more focussed on the Talmud (Zimmels 1958, 146; Talmage 1987, 82). However, despite this difference in appreciation, it is true of all medieval Europe that Bible study was in a sense considered a mere preliminary to Talmud study. Study of the Bible was often said to be necessary for an understanding of the Talmud. According to a statement in the Talmud (BT Qid 30a; BT AZ 19b) a man should divide his years of study into three and devote one third of them to Scripture, one third to Mishnah and one third to Talmud. Opinions were divided as to whether these were to be seen as consecutive stages, or concerned the attention that should be given to the different subjects at any time. This last opinion allowed also for the possibility to focus entirely on Talmud studies, because in the end 'all streams run to the sea' (Eccl 1:7), i.e. when one studies Talmud, one automatically studies the Mishnah and Scripture that are contained in it (Rabbenu Tam, *Tosafot* to BT AZ 19b). Because of this general consideration, and because of the relatively simple nature of Scripture, the education of children started with Bible study, just as it had done in talmudic times. One of the most elaborate descriptions we have of a medieval

educational system is the *Sefer huqqei ha-Torah*. This treatise, that comes probably from 13th century Provence, describes in detail two levels of education, both in its organizational aspects as well as the curriculum (Kanarfogel 1992, 2001). The text consists of twelve statutes and 111 lines of prose describing organizational issues. The seventh and eighth statutes of this treatise concern the study of Bible and Targum, and they deserve to be cited in full. I give here the text according to the translation of Kanarfogel (2001, 197).

Statute seven. It is incumbent upon the *melammedim* (teachers) not to teach the children by heart, but from a written text [of the Pentateuch]. So that they can translate for them the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch into the vernacular, just as they translate the Hebrew text [of the Pentateuch itself] into the vernacular, in order to facilitate the reading of the Talmud and to enter them into [a discussion of] the *halakhah* [law]. Onkelos translated the Torah into Aramaic because the residents of Babylonia spoke it, and he wished to impart the Torah to them in their language. So too, R. Sa'adyah Gaon explained the Torah in Arabic in order that they might understand, because they did not understand the Holy tongue. The scholars who were students of the Exilarch were accustomed to reading the [weekly Torah] portion on the Sabbath, the biblical text two times, and the [Aramaic] translation once. The biblical text was read twice because of the belovedness of the Torah, since every beloved thing is read twice. The Aramaic translation was read once in order to cause the Torah to be heard by women and unlearned, so that perhaps the awe [of the divine] would enter their hearts. Similarly, the custom of northern France was to read the portion of the Sabbath two times, and to translate once in the language of the land.

Statute eight. To teach the young men the text of the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch in the vernacular, in order that they will be able to read the text of the Talmud easily and be prepared to engage in [discussion of the] *halakhah*, so that the *melammedim* will be able to work with the children on the [interpretation of the Talmudic] *sugya* [legal passage], and not on the meaning [of the Aramaic words themselves], since the children will be used to the meaning of the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch.

From a later part of the text that has not been cited here, we know that according to the precept in MA'vot 5:21 'a five year old should learn Scripture' (Kanarfogel 1992, 114). The study started with learning to read the alphabet, then the vowels,

and then whole words. After that the real study could begin with the book of Leviticus, as was customary from at least the Talmudic period onward (*LevR* 7:3; *ARN* 6:2). In the second year of study the child should learn Aramaic from the written text of Targum Onkelos. One of the noteworthy aspects of these statutes for our subject is the method of teaching. The teacher uses a written copy of the Torah and the Targum and translates it by heart into the vernacular. The new languages are thus mastered in a comparative way. The text does not give details, but we may assume that the teacher used a concordant translation in order to link the translation firmly to the original. Apparently no time was wasted on grammar. The students did not have to understand the language, but they had to know what the texts they were reading meant. The knowledge of Aramaic that the young children acquired in this way in their study of Targum Onkelos was helpful to them when they started to study Talmud. This system of memorizing the meaning of words and word forms recalls the theory of Philip Alexander concerning the study of Hebrew of the early rabbis, although there both texts were written. It must be noted, however, that learning Hebrew through Aramaic, because of their close relation, is a lot easier than learning Hebrew or Aramaic through a translation into a European language. But then again we may think of the analogies from the Graeco-Roman world given by Alexander, which also concerned unrelated languages. And as becomes clear from the paper of Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman and Johanna Tanja about 'Christian Arguments to Edit Jewish Targums in Polyglot Bibles' in this volume, in the Early Modern Period Latin translations of the Targum were likewise used to learn Aramaic.

It is not sure whether this *Sefer huqqei ha-Torah* describes an actual situation or whether it is rather a theoretical ideal. Let us therefore now consider in some more detail what is known about the different regions of medieval Europe. Because of the scope of this paper, the descriptions will necessarily be limited.

Ashkenaz. If we start with Rashi (1040–1104), we see different approaches to the Targum. Firstly, he stated in his commentary on BT Meg 21b that the purpose of the Targum was to bring Scripture to the women and commoners in their mother tongue, which was Aramaic, because they did not know Hebrew. This is a historical approach, because Rashi was of course well aware that the Targum had entirely lost that function, as women and commoners in his own time did not know Aramaic any more than they did Hebrew. Secondly, he believed that the Targum originated at Sinai and had therefore great authority apart from its original goal. He therefore used it abundantly in his biblical commentary (Viezel 2012, 17). This biblical commentary soon won great fame

and it is probable that many students gained access to the Targum through this commentary. A century later, the German Chassidim (12th–13th century) were concerned about the relatively low place of biblical studies in Ashkenaz and they suggested that it should get higher priority not only among young children, but especially among older, accomplished students (Kanarfogel 1992, 88). According to one of their leading scholars, Eleazer ben Judah of Worms (c. 1176–1238), a real scholar must be familiar with the whole Bible and not just with the Torah, because many commandments are derived from, and explained in, the Prophets. Moreover, a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language and the Aramaic Targum would give the scholar a better understanding of the message of the Bible. This is what he says (Hebrew text is cited in *Sefer Arugat ha-Bosem* 4:111):

It is good to know Mikra (i.e. all the books of Tenakh) for we learn many commandments from the tradition (i.e. the prophetic books), such as 'you shall not eat with the blood' from the words of Saul (1 Sam 14:34) 'do not put to death' (2 Kgs 14:6). And even though there is no prophecy involved in our meditation day and night on Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ezra and the Megillot, and there will not come to our knowledge (?)² a pre-script because of which we will inherit life in the World to Come, the sages said about the study of Mikra 'it is a virtue and it is not a virtue' (BT BM 33b). Therefore it is good for a scholar that he fathom the principles of the Holy language from Mikra from which [we derive] life issues and the principle of Torah. And also the Targum is useful even if it is not entirely according to the *peshat* (...)

Eleazer ben Judah apparently does not want the aforementioned regulation of Saadiah Gaon concerning the preference for a *peshat* reading of the Bible to be used as an argument not to study the Targum.

In the 13th century, the famous Isaac ben Moses of Vienna referred in his halakhic guide *Sefer Or Zarua* (Germany, around 1260) to teachers who taught children the weekly portion, ostensibly with either Targum Onkelos or Rashi's commentary (Kanarfogel 1992, 31; *Sefer Or Zarua* vol. 1. *Hilkhot Kriyat Shema*, no. 12). Apparently there was still discussion on the matter, since in his *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* (France, thirteenth century), the French tosafist (Talmud commentator) Moses ben Jacob of Coucy argued that a commentary was more efficient than the Targum (סמ"ג commandment 19, f. 103c; cited in Zunz 1966, 426):

² Reading uncertain, בי[דינו]דעת.

I argued before my masters that a commentary is more efficient than the Targum; and my masters agreed with me.

In the sixteenth century Code of Jewish Law, the *Shulhan Arukh* (Safed 1554), Rashi's commentary was accepted as a substitute for the Targum in the private study of twice Mikra and once Targum, but the author advises the God-fearing to do both, that is, study Targum and Rashi (*Shulhan Arukh, Orech Hayyim, hilkhhot shabbat* 285b).

As regards the custom of using the Targum in the liturgy, the tosafists also described the neglect of the Targum translation in the liturgy in their comments on BT Meg 23b:

(...) and we rely on this (i.e. on the situation where there is no meturgeman present) in not translating the haftarot on all the days of the year, neither the Torah readings.

Italy. In Italy the study of the Bible was held in higher regard than in Ashkenaz. The 10th century historical chronicle *Jossipon* (South Italy) relates that the Jews of Italy at the time followed the Palestinian tradition of studying the Bible, Targum, Midrash and Mishnah. In that time and place one could still be considered a well-educated person without being a Talmud scholar (Talmage 1987, 85). There was also attention to linguistics and philology. An outstanding example among many is Rabbi Nathan ben Yehiel (c. 1035–1106). In 1101 this great scholar finished the monumental work called *Arukh*, which is a kind of encyclopedic dictionary covering the entire classical rabbinic literature. All the words and expressions are explained with reference to other rabbinic works and to medieval commentaries. This work has long served as the standard reference work for any Jewish study of rabbinic literature, including the Targums. However, even within this studious environment the study of Targum was not self-evident. In the thirteenth century in Rome, Zedekiah b. Abraham wrote in his compilation of ritual *Shibolei Haleket*, on the authority of his learned cousin R. Judah ben Benjamin, the following about the Targum (*Shibolei Haleket* 29a § 78):

It was the opinion of my teacher and cousin R. Judah (may the Merciful preserve and redeem him), that our vernacular had replaced their Targum, for the Aramaic Targum was their vernacular. But I found in the name of Rav Natronai Gaon (his memory for a blessing) that those who don't say the Targum, and say 'we do not need to translate into the rabbinic Targum, but rather into our own language, the language which the

audience understands', they do not fulfil their obligation. What is the reason? Because it is the rabbinic Targum on Scripture and the rabbis gave it their support. For R. Ika b. Abin said in the name of R. Hananel in Rab's name: What is the meaning of 'And they read in the book, in the law of God' etc. (Neh 8:8, this is a reference to the exegesis in BT Ned 37b cited above)? And therefore it is impossible not to translate according to the rabbinic Targum (...) But I tend to side with my cousin R. Judah (may the Merciful preserve and redeem him) that the whole essence of Targum is to explain the words of Torah to women and commoners who do not understand the Holy language. (...) The God-fearing do justice to all of them by translating in the Aramaic language and explaining in their vernacular, each in their own language.

Zedekiah b. Abraham apparently was somewhat hesitant to take a firm opinion in the matter, but from the tone of his writing one gets the impression that the general practice at the time was to give a translation in the vernacular in substitution for the Targum.

Sepharad. In our period Spain was an important intellectual centre thanks to the stimulating influence of Arabic learning at the time. It distinguished itself from Ashkenaz in the high value it attached to biblical studies vis-à-vis Talmud study. Nevertheless it seems that here too the study of Targum was neglected, as may be concluded from a question that was put before R. Hai Gaon (Pumbeditha, early 11th century) about the Jews in Spain: 'The people of Spain use to leave out the Targum altogether, while we found in several places in the Talmud that it is a religious obligation.' He answered the matter clearly that this was stated not only in the Talmud, but even in the Mishnah. He was astonished to hear that the reading of the Targum had been abandoned in Spain, a fact which he had not known before (Müller, 1967, 211; *Sefer ha-Itim*, 267). His contemporary, the Spanish multi-talented scholar, poet and statesman Samuel ha-Nagid (993–1055) also sharply criticized the scholars who openly advocated the omission of the targumic reading, although according to him the Targum was thus neglected only in the northern provinces of that country that were under Christian rule (Berliner 1884, ii.169–170). He defended the Jews of Spain with the claim that each person read the Targum for himself at home, and that the congregation was spared its reading only so as not to prolong the service (Elbogen 1993, 154). The Spanish talmudist Judah ben Barzillai (end 11th—beginning 12th century) discussed the matter further in his halakhic work *Sefer ha-Itim*. He concluded that it would be good to retain

the reading of the Targum (*Sefer ha-Itim*, 268). There is no evidence however that this ever happened.

About the same time, the famous Spanish scholar Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089–1164) discussed the significance of Torah study and the benefits of linguistics and of Targum study for the right understanding of the *peshat* (*Yesod Mora, Sha'ar Rishon*).

Maimonides (1135–1204) was very appreciative of the Targum. He cited both Targum Onkelos and Jonathan in his philosophical writings and biblical commentaries (Flesher & Chilton, 477), and in his legal work *Mishneh Torah* he stressed the halakhic obligation of twice Mikra and once Targum.

From thirteenth century Spain we have also a detailed study curriculum by the hand of Judah Ibn Abbas, who included it in his book *Jair Nativ* (MS Bodl. 44, chapter 15; text and a German translation in Güdemann 1968). This is a very detailed outline that covers almost a lifetime. Let me cite the part where the study of Bible and Targum are described:

For the order of learning it is desirable that the youngster starts when he is three years old, up to three and a half, to get acquainted with the words that are used in spiritual matters that necessarily are alphabetical words as I explained in the introduction to the Book of Rhetoric which is the second book of the Books of Logic of Aristotle. In order that in each place where something similar is written he will easily recognize the characters. Then he will learn the punctuation and some of the flexion of the vowels. This will in all take about a whole year. And then, when the boy is about four and a half he will start to learn the accents and then the parashot of the Torah. He will read the pericope accurately with its punctuation and its accents. Each week he will read a number of pericopes from the parashah. The first week three or four, the second six, the third eight, the fourth ten and so forth until he succeeds in completing a whole parashah in one week. Then he will start to learn the vernacular meaning of the words so that he will understand what he studies. This will take another whole year. Next he will translate the Torah in Aramaic so that it will be a leg up for the language of the Talmud. Then he will start to read the Former Prophets because its subject matter is easy to understand, their writing and their words, each verse in Hebrew and in his vernacular. And he will start to learn writing and the characters that are written together, starting with the words that were mentioned above and that at certain times. And after he has finished the Former Prophets he will study the Later Prophets in the same way, and after that the Writings. This will take about seven and a half years and then the youngster will be

thirteen years old. Afterwards he will start to learn from the grammar books, that is the study of linguistics, the books of the learned R. Jona Ibn Janah and R. David Kimhi and R. Jehudah Hayyug and R. Ibn Ezra. Then he will start to study Talmud (...)

Just as in the *Sefer huqqei ha-Torah*, the study of Targum is explicitly mentioned as preparation for the language of the Talmud, without judging it on its own merit. Also the way of teaching is similar in teaching the meaning of both the Bible and the Targum through a translation in the vernacular. A difference from the *Sefer huqqei ha-Torah* are the references to Aristotelian thought, which had begun to exert a major influence on the Sefardi Jews through the available Arabic translations, and the study of linguistics as a discipline of its own. Unlike in Ashkenaz, in Spain and Italy grammar was taught as a special subject in and for itself (Abraham 2004, 358). It may be noted, however, that among the linguistic works to be studied is also the work of the Ashkenazic scholar David Kimchi.

Summarizing we can say that in whole western Europe the appreciation of the Targums declined. As an authoritative translation it had lost its value because of the changed environment where knowledge of Aramaic was no longer self-evident, and as an exegetical tool it lost value because of new scholarly ways of interpretation that were primarily aimed at *peshat* exegesis. The Targum still had a place in education, but mainly as a convenient way to get a basic vocabulary of Aramaic as preparatory stage for the study of Talmud. On the other hand, the savants still appreciated the Targums as part of the Oral Torah and continued studying it in that capacity.

The Evidence of the Manuscripts

As a last step in my tentative investigation into the way the Targum functioned in Jewish education in medieval Europe, I examined the data we gathered about the available European Targum manuscripts for possible traces of their function in education and private study.³ I will start with an argument from silence, that is, text sorts that have not been found among the European manuscripts. In the collections of the Cairo Genizah there are documents that may have functioned in an educational environment, like the shorthand manuscripts

3 See further the contribution of E. van Staaldvine-Sulman 'A Variety of Targum Texts' in this volume.

(‘*serugin*’, Klein 2011) and children’s writing exercises (Klein 1992, nos. 8, 445 and 459). The shorthand manuscripts record just one or more opening words of each verse, or just the first letters of each word from the Targum, which may have served as a preparatory learning device and/or as a mnemonic aid for use during the synagogal Torah reading (Klein 1994, 26; 2011, 98–99). In our search for medieval European Targum manuscripts we have not encountered manuscripts with similar functions.⁴ This may be a coincidence, since only a small part of the medieval manuscripts have survived, but it is more likely that it is indicative of a difference in use and status of the Targum between the Egyptian community of which the Cairo Genizah documents are witnesses and Europe. The function of the short-hand manuscripts makes sense in a community that still demands fluency in the recitation of the Targum. Another category that is absent from the European medieval manuscripts are manuscripts with an additional translation in one of the vernaculars. There are no texts known to me of Targum translations earlier than the sixteenth century. In that time the Targums were translated into Latin, primarily for a Christian audience. From the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries we know of some Ladino translations of the haftarot for Pesach. This absence confirms the practice that is described in the two educational curricula we presented above, namely that the teacher used a written copy of the Torah and the Targum and translated the text by heart into the vernacular.

We saw that in the 13th century, Isaac ben Moses of Vienna referred to teachers of children who taught the weekly portion, ostensibly with either Targum Onkelos or Rashi’s commentary. This is in line with the existence of medieval Ashkenazic Bible manuscripts with either Targum, or Rashi, or both, as described in the paper by Elodie Attia in this volume.

For the adult education, where Targum was studied as an ancient and authoritative commentary, we would expect texts with the complete continuous text of the Targum. We have such texts in different formats (Houtman 2012, 8–9). There are manuscripts with just the Targum, whether or not preceded by Hebrew lemmas. For our specific field of expertise, which is Targum Jonathan to the Prophets, we know of 4 manuscripts like that from Sepharad (Mss Kaufmann A13, Hébreu 75, Hébreu 96, H. 116) and one from Ashkenaz (MS Laud. Or 326).⁵ In Ashkenaz the Targum was often given in alternation with the Hebrew text. In some manuscripts, however, juxtaposition in different

4 In our own manuscript database we have some examples of what might be writing exercises in Yemenite manuscripts, but not specifically of Targum.

5 Elodie Attia mentions in her paper an Ashkenazi manuscript of the Pentateuch with only Targum, i.e. ms B.P. 2981.

columns also occurs. Some manuscripts from the German-Franco tradition give the commentary of Rashi besides the Targum. A good example is the thirteenth century manuscript MS Add. 26,879 from the British Library (London), where the Bible text is flanked by Targum Jonathan and Rashi. The Targum forms the inner column, and Rashi's commentary—generally in the form of circles and other designs—is written on the outer part of the page. The text is thus surrounded by an old and a more contemporary interpretation. This confirms what we described above about the gradual introduction of the commentary of Rashi alongside (or even instead of) the Targum in the private study of the weekly Torah portion.

There are manuscripts that show a more scientific approach. These are the result of, and are meant for, critical scholarly investigation of the Targum. The best example is Codex Reuchlin, an Italian manuscript from 1105. The colophon explicitly states its scholarly and educational character by the words 'may it merit us to study them (i.e. the Prophets) and teach without trouble and distress' (cited in Ho 2009, 39). This manuscript contains numerous marginal glosses that are provided with specific designations like 'another book', 'Targum Jerushalmi', 'another Targum', 'the other version', 'undecided', and 'some say'. This manuscript has recently been described at length by Hector Patmore (2012). The production of a manuscript like this fits the general impression of the appreciation of Bible study alongside linguistic interest.

The occurrence of very large Bibles with Targum, such as the ones described by Elodie Attia in her contribution to this volume (nos. 3, 6, 7, and 11), or MS Cod. Or fol. 1210–1211 (Kroeze D.J.D. & E. van Staalduine-Sulman, 2006) may be witnesses of the practice of studying together from one manuscript. These manuscripts were commissioned by rich members of the community and presumably made available for communal use (Shalev-Eyni 2010, 8).

Summary and Conclusions

In this tentative article I have explored the function of Targum in medieval Jewish education. I started with the situation in the talmudic period to have a point of comparison and then proceeded to the main topic. We have seen that starting in the Geonic period the status and use of the Targum changed through geo-political changes and shifting exegetical attitudes. A discussion developed whether the study of Targum was just instrumental for a better understanding of Scripture or rather a halakhic prescription. In the first case it could be replaced by other tools, such as translations in the vernacular or contemporary commentaries, while in the latter case it should be carried out

as it was. Though the question theoretically remained undecided, in practice the first view gained the upper hand. In the two curricula we have cited we saw that the study of Targum was still obligatory for children, but its goal had changed fundamentally. Instead of a way to understand the Hebrew Bible, it became a language course preliminary to the study of the Talmud. The written Targum text was translated orally by the teacher into the vernacular, linking the written and the spoken words in the minds of the children, and building in this way a basic Aramaic vocabulary. The average Jewish man's knowledge of the Targum as an old authoritative commentary on the Bible will have been shallow. Advanced scholars, however, continued to study the Targum as Oral Torah and interwove their knowledge into their own commentaries. In accordance with a developing linguistic interest, the Targum was also used as a source for lexicographers like Nathan ben Yehiel.

The medieval European Targum manuscripts do not add any new insights to this general picture, nor do they belie it.

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Targum Layouts in Ashkenazi Manuscripts

Preliminary Methodological Observations*

Elodie Attia

Introduction

According to the current scholarly consensus, the Targum is an important philological and exegetical source in the field of biblical studies; yet it has not received the kind of attention to its material transmission, its configuration and its layout in medieval Hebrew manuscripts that could shed light on its use and influence in the Middle Ages.¹ A systematic overview describing every *mise en page* for each period and each geocultural area where Jewish communities flourished is still a *desideratum*. This is, however, not easy to do, since it requires dealing with sources that are numerous, heterogeneous and not always easily accessible.²

While at this phase of research we cannot confidently come to any general conclusion, an initial study has been made of global statistical data concerning Ashkenazi manuscripts, the aim of which was to verify if the Talmudic prescription of ‘twice Mikra and once Targum’ (BT Ber 8a) was followed in Ashkenaz from the thirteenth till the fifteenth century (Peretz 2008). However interesting these general statistics are, some of the results, in our opinion, should be complemented by additional data and analysis. The aim of this paper is to encourage study on Targum layouts per geocultural area by making

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1 See the contribution of E. van Staaldouine-Sulman ‘A Variety of Targum Texts’ in this volume.
2 The 1,600 Cairo Genizah fragments that contain Targum have been identified (Klein 1992) but still need to be dated. Layouts and geocultural attributions have also been made available (Klein 1992). The *European Genizah Fragments* project has recovered hundreds of fragments (see the *Books within Books* project, <http://www.hebrewmanuscript.com>). The hundreds of dated and undated manuscripts found in various European libraries have not always been well described in the catalogues of Hebrew manuscripts that were produced generally at the end of the 19th century. Actually, two catalogues provide descriptions with precision on targumic layout with a relatively high level of consistency: the catalogue of Parma Library and that of the Vatican Library.

a case study on Ashkenaz, and in so doing to make visible the underlying methodological problems of qualitative and quantitative approaches.

For the present study, an inductive approach from materiality to theory has been chosen. Specific observations on dated Ashkenazi Targum manuscripts are presented and compared with available quantitative data. We begin our inquiry with Targum layouts in fourteen dated Ashkenazi manuscripts, which serves to indicate how complex these layouts could be. The small corpus has been chosen according to three criteria: (a) palaeographical data that allow us to differentiate between French and German scripts up until the middle of the fourteenth century, when the expulsions from Northern France forced the Jews to emigrate, making palaeographical differentiation much less clear after 1350; (b) an even distribution over the period from the end of the twelfth century to the middle of the fifteenth century; and (c) variation of the layouts.

We begin by presenting descriptions of possible layouts of manuscripts that are dated and situated in Ashkenaz, in order to obtain a representative sample of the variability in the Targum's transmission process in this area. In this paper, Ashkenaz not only refers to England, Northern France and Germany, but also to Northern Italy, in case an Ashkenazi manuscript has its roots there. Half of the manuscripts produced in Italy are Sephardic or Ashkenazi due to strong migrations towards the Peninsula (Attia 2012, 116). Secondly, the paper explores the features of Ashkenazi layouts by comparing our results with other quantitative studies based on Ashkenazi manuscripts and with a statistical survey on the Targums preserved at the Palatina Library in Parma and at the Vatican Apostolic Library. The latter survey is incomplete, and is used as a check in order to afford a broader overview of two other cultural areas of European Judaism, namely Sepharad and Italy. By comparing our results with other Ashkenazi Targum manuscripts that are kept there, we can better evaluate how representative our sample is. The final section of this paper examines Ashkenazi rabbinical discourses about the 'liturgical use of the Targum' during the period between the twelfth-fourteenth centuries. Here we can test certain theoretical explanations against the material evidence provided by our sample of Targum layouts.

Layouts in Ashkenazi Manuscripts (End of the Twelfth–Mid-fifteenth Century)

Description of the Manuscripts

For the purpose of this book, we have of course selected manuscripts that contain the Targum. This group constitutes more than half of the Ashkenazi

biblical manuscripts. Peretz concluded that among the 218 Ashkenazi biblical manuscripts, 132 items also contain the Targum (Peretz 2008, 57). That is a much higher percentage than is found in the Cairo Genizah collection, which contains c. 25,000 biblical manuscripts without the Targum, and c. 1,600 manuscripts that include Targum texts (Klein 1992, ix).

The manuscripts chosen for this study are described below.³ They are explicitly dated and documented, with the dates extending from 1189 till 1447. Two manuscripts that are less documented are no. 8 (dated 1311, probably from France) and no. 12 (from Ashkenaz, with an estimated date circa 1350). The manuscripts nearly all contain Targum Onkelos along with the Hebrew biblical text except for one case in which only Targum Onkelos is provided (no. 5). Some provide other Targums or parts of Targum Jonathan to haftarot. For the description of the size I use the sum of the length and the width (Attia 2012, 75, note 3). Large refers to more than 670 mm, medium-large to between 455 and 670 mm, medium-small to between 322 and 455 mm, small to under 322 mm.

1 Ms London, Valmadonna Trust, 1 (England or Normandy?, 1189)
The manuscript is a large parchment codex of 241 folios measuring 375–378 × 308–374 mm. It contains the Pentateuch with Masorah (from Gen 45:13 onward), haftarot, and the five Megillot. The codex presents the Targum to the Pentateuch, to the haftarot for Pesach and Shavuot (hereafter P/S), and to the Megillot. Megillat Esther is followed by the *Dream of Mordechai*. Vowels, accents and Masorah are provided. The text is laid out in three columns, each column containing biblical verses and Targum, alternating verse by verse, written in an Anglo-Norman square script.

Bibliography: Beit-Arié 1993; Sirat, Beit-Arié & Glatzer 1999, MS 85, 82–87; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 238–242.

3 It has not been possible to examine every manuscript kept in the collections we have consulted. The information was collected from catalogues (Richler 2008, Richler 2001) and online descriptions (<http://aleph.nli.org.il>), and checked on available reproductions or those provided by the IHMH of Jerusalem, except for Ber. Or. Qu. 9 and Vat. Ebr. 14, which were examined at their libraries (see the sub-project Bo4 of the Collaborative Research Centre F 933 'Material Text Cultures', Heidelberg University, in collaboration with the Hochschule für Jüdische Studien, Heidelberg).

- 2 Ms Vatican, Vatican Apostolic Library, Vat. Ebr. 482 (Northern France, La Rochelle, c. 1216, by Hayim ben Isaac)

The manuscript is a medium-large size parchment codex of 547 folios, measuring 370×270 –288 mm. It contains the Pentateuch, the Prophets and the Writings, with vowels, accents and Masorah on every book. The codex only presents the Targum to the Pentateuch. The Hebrew biblical text is written in two columns. The Targum is laid out separately within the external margins. All texts are written in the same square script, but the Targum is written in a smaller script.

Bibliography: Richler 2008, 417f.; Sirat 1994, Ill. 12, 30f.

- 3 Ms Breslau Univ. Lib. M 1106 / Wrocław Bibel (Germany, 1237/8, by Meshulam ben Josef)

The manuscript is a large parchment codex of 466 folios, measuring 488×360 mm. It contains the Pentateuch, haftarot, the five Megillot—Megillat Esther being followed by the *Dream of Mordechai*—and other books from the Writings (Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Daniel, Ezra, and Chronicles). The Masorah (Parva and Magna) appears in all books. The manuscript contains the Targum of the Pentateuch, the five Megillot, Psalms, Job and Proverbs, but not that of the haftarot (Metzger 1994, 19 n. 40). The main text is laid out in three columns, each column containing biblical verses with Targum alternating in the same square script.

Bibliography: Metzger 1994; Falenciak 1986.

- 4 Ms Vatican, Vatican Apostolic Library, Vat. Ebr. 14 (Northern France, Normandy, 1239, by Elijah ha-Naqqan)

The manuscript is a medium-large parchment codex of 310 folios, measuring 295 – 309×240 –245 mm. It contains the Pentateuch, the five Megillot, haftarot, and is presented with vowels and accents. The Masorah (Parva and Magna) is provided only for the Pentateuch and the Megillot. The codex only contains the Targum to the Pentateuch. The text is written in three columns, each column containing biblical verses alternating with the Targum. Both are written in a square script.

Regarding the Aramaic translation, the codex offers the Targum of Onkelos fully vocalized and accented according to the Tiberian system. Several irregularities can be observed with respect to the alternation of Hebrew and Aramaic, e.g. the leaving out of targumic verses in lists of names to avoid a repetition of the names (Van Staaldune-Sulman 2002, 54–57). There are

also other irregularities: First, on f. 9r, a hole in the parchment would have disrupted the reading of the Hebrew. The scribe decided to copy the Hebrew verse 8:17 directly after 8:16. The Aramaic verses on 8:16–17 follow exactly where the material disruption occurs. Small letters *alef* and *bet* signalize this singularity in the margin. Second, the Targum is not written verse by verse in the traditional poetical passages of the Bible. For instance, at the beginning of the *parashat Haazinu* (Deut 32:1–43, ff. 239r–240r), the Hebrew verses are laid out in two columns while the Targum has been left out. Only after the Hebrew verse 32:43 does the layout recommence in the three-column format with all the Aramaic verses copied by the scribe consecutively to represent the Hebrew passage he had just closed. After Deut 32:43, in the last column of the f. 240r, the scribe returns to writing alternatively Hebrew and Aramaic. The same pattern occurs in *Shirat ha-Yam* (Exod 15:1–18, f. 79v). The scribe wrote the Hebrew text of Exod 15:2–19 in ‘chessboard layout’, that is by inserting blank spaces between certain groups of words. The Targum on these verses follows afterwards, arranged in three columns. The alternation between Hebrew and Aramaic crops up again in Exod 15:20, at the bottom of the first column of f. 80r.

Ms Vat. Ebr. 14 was copied by Elijah ha-Naqdan in 1239, who was also the scribe of MS Ber. Or. Qu. 9 (Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin), realized in Rouen in 1233 (Golb 1976, 123 and 141). Nevertheless, the latter only provides the Targum Jonathan of the haftarot of P/S, mostly in the style of three verses in Hebrew followed by three verses in Aramaic in the first verses of each section, then alternating verse by verse.

Bibliography: Richler 2008, 9–11; Golb 1976, 121–123, 142–144; Golb 1985, 240–244, 340–343; Golb 1998, 328–333, 434–439.

- 5 Ms Parma, Palatina Library, Parma 2981 (Ashkenaz, France, 1263/4, by David ben Joseph)

The manuscript is a medium-large parchment codex containing 197 folios and measuring c. 275 × 206 mm. It only contains the Targum to the Pentateuch, with vowels. The text is arranged in one single column, according to a lemma layout: the first word of the Hebrew verse is written, followed by the entire Aramaic verse.

Bibliography: Richler 2001, 88.

- 6 Ms Paris, BNF, hébr. 5 (Germany, 1294/5, by Shelomo Cohen)

The manuscript is a large parchment codex of 306 folios, measuring 532–539 × 375–379 mm. It contains the Pentateuch, the five Megillot, haftarot, Masorah

(Parva and Magna in a decorative layout). The codex only presents the Targum to the Pentateuch. The text of the Pentateuch is laid out in three columns, each column containing biblical verses and Targum, alternating verse by verse, in square script.

Bibliography: Sirat, Beit-Arié & Glatzer 1972, I.20; Barco 2011, MS 5.

7 Ms Paris, BNF, hébr. 36 (France, Poligny-Foulenay, 1300)

The manuscript is a large parchment codex of 364 folios measuring 508–514 × 350–355 mm. It contains the Pentateuch, the five Megillot, haftarot, Job, and Masorah (Parva and Magna in all books). The codex presents the Targum to both the Pentateuch and the haftarot of Pesach (ff. 317r–323r) and Shavuot (ff. 327v–330r). The text is largely arranged in three columns except for ff. 363v–364v, at the end of the manuscript. This part is written in two columns and then in one. Each column of the Pentateuch contains Hebrew and Targum alternating verse by verse. In the haftarot, the main text is disposed in three columns but where the Targum appears, only two columns remain: the Hebrew text in the right column and the Targum in the left one. The Hebrew and the Aramaic texts are written in the same square script.

Bibliography: Zotenberg et al. 1866, 4; Sirat, Beit-Arié & Glatzer 1972, I, 24.

Reproduction: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9002993p.r=h%C3%A9breu+36.langFR>

8 Ms Parma, Palatina Library, Parma 2003–2004–2046 (Ashkenaz, France?, 1311)

The three-volume manuscript is a medium-small parchment codex containing 341, 291 and 202 folios, and measuring 184 × 144 mm. The MSS 2003–2004 contain Pentateuch, MS 2046 the five Megillot, haftarot, and Job. The biblical texts are provided with vowels, accents and Masorah (Parva and Magna). The Targum to the Pentateuch and the haftarot on P/S are supplied. The Rashi commentary is provided in the margins of all books. The commentary on Job 40:25–41:26 is by Jacob ben Saul ha-Nazir.

The text is arranged in two columns, the inner one containing the Bible and the Targum in alternating verses in square script, the outer column containing the commentary in semi-cursive script. The same arrangement is followed in the haftarot of P/S.

The colophon on f. 283r in MS 2004 indicates that the Targum was copied from a manuscript with Babylonian supralinear vocalization, and that the vowel points were transcribed according to the Tiberian system.

Bibliography: Richler 2001, n. 74, 18f.; Bernheimer 1924, 218–220.

- 9 Ms Paris, BNF, Hébr. 40 (Northern Italy,⁴ 1335, by Matatyah ben Isaac)

The manuscript is a medium-small parchment codex of 293 folios measuring 240 × 180 mm. It contains the Pentateuch, the haftarot, the five Megillot, and is provided with vowels, accents and Masorah (Parva and Magna). The texts are arranged in two columns. In the Pentateuch (ff. 1r–225r), the inner (larger) column displays the Hebrew text and the outer (smaller) column gives the Aramaic verses. In the haftarot of Pesach (ff. 277r–282v) and Shavuot (ff. 282v–284v), Hebrew and Targum alternate verse by verse. The scribe uses a square script for the Hebrew text and the Targum. The square script of the Targum is slightly smaller than the one for the Hebrew verses, both in the Pentateuch where the Targum is in the margin, and in the haftarot, where the Hebrew alternates with the Aramaic. An Italian cursive script is used for the Masorah.

Bibliography: Zotenberg et al. 1866, 5.

Reproduction: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90030200.r=h%C3%A9breu+40.langFR>

- 10 Ms Jerusalem, Makhon Ben Zvi 2 (Ashkenaz, 1341, by three scribes)
The manuscript is a medium-large parchment codex of 378 folios measuring 320 × 233 mm. It contains the Pentateuch, the five Megillot, haftarot (ff. 1r–350v), and provides the Masorah. The codex presents the Targum to the Pentateuch. Rashi's commentary is supplied for all books up until f. 350r. The text is organized in three equal columns. In each column of the Pentateuch, the biblical verses alternate with the Targum verse by verse in square script. The Rashi commentary has been added afterwards in the margins by another hand, in semi-cursive script. The same layout appears in MS Oxford, Bod. Lib., Opp. 14 (copied in France in 1340).

Bibliography: Sirat, Beit-Arié & Glatzer 1972, I, 37.

4 In Sfar Data (<http://sfardata.nli.org.il>) the provenance is referenced as French because of the preparation of the parchment and the script; in NLI's description (<http://alpeh.nli.org.il>), the type of script is not specified. In the extended notice from Gallica.fr (url mentioned above), Northern Italy is specified as the location, and in our view the paleographic features show Northern Italian script.

11 Ms Jerusalem, Israel Museum 180/94 (Ashkenaz, 1344)

The manuscript is a large parchment codex of 420 folios measuring 462–466 × 325–327 mm. It contains the Pentateuch, the five Megillot, haftarot, and also provides the Masorah (Parva and Magna). The codex presents the Targum to the Pentateuch. The text is arranged in three columns. In each column of the Pentateuch, biblical verses alternate with the Targum. The Rashi commentary alternates verse by verse in the Megillot and the haftarot. The Targum script is written in an equal size to the biblical text. The Rashi commentary is written in a small square script, but is still twice the size of the script used to write the Masorah (a semi-cursive script).

Bibliography: Sirat, Beit-Arié & Glatzer 1986, III, 101*.

12 Ms Parma, Palatina Library, Parma 2820; 2830 (Ashkenaz, mid-fourteenth century)

This two-volume manuscript, containing 365 and 115 folios, is a medium-large parchment codex measuring 267 × 223 mm. Both codices contain lacunae. The manuscript contains a partially preserved Pentateuch, haftarot, and Megillot, with vowels and accents, as well as an incomplete Masorah. It presents only the Targum to the Pentateuch, vocalized and placed as centred text in the inner margins, displaying decorative layout. Rashi's commentary on the Pentateuch, haftarot and Megillot appears in the outer margins in a cursive script. The Hebrew text is laid out in a central column, in square script, while the Targum Onkelos in the inner margin appears in a smaller square script.

Bibliography: Tamani 1968, 54; Richler 2001, 111.

13 Ms Parma, Palatina Library, Parma 2818 (Northern Italy?, 1411)

The manuscript is a medium-small parchment codex measuring 258 × 191 mm, containing 318 folios. It contains the Pentateuch, the five Megillot, haftarot, with vowels and accents, and is without Masorah. The text of the parashot is laid out in two columns: the central larger column presents the biblical verses and the inner, smaller column the Targum. The outer, upper and lower margins contain the commentary of Rashi in semi-cursive script. The Targum on the Pentateuch is written in a smaller vocalized square script. Targum appears on the haftarot for P/S, with the Hebrew verses alternating with the Aramaic.

Bibliography: Richler 2001, 139.

- 14 Ms Paris, Séminaire israélite de France, 1 (Northern Italy?, 1447, by several scribes)

The manuscript of 505 folios is a medium-large parchment codex measuring 273–274 × 193–198 mm. It contains the Pentateuch and the Targum to the Pentateuch, haftarat on festivals, the five Megillot, with Masorah (Parva and Magna), and several commentaries. The Hebrew text of the parashot is laid out in the central larger column, while the Targum is displayed in the inner smaller columns. Each parashah of the Pentateuch is followed by its haftarah, in the central column without Targum or commentaries (see ff. 113v–114r). Abraham Ibn Ezra's commentary is copied in the upper and lower margins, and the super-commentary on it by Samuel Ibn Motot in the external margin. A smaller square script is used for the Targum, and a semi-cursive gothic script is used for the commentaries. The *mise en texte* is complex, including decorations, coloured ink for headers, and red ink in the first line of the Targum.

Bibliography: Sirat, Beit-Arié & Glatzer 1986, 109*; Sirat 1994, Ill. 15, 36f.

Codicological Questions

The layouts in the codices that we have listed, raise many questions. For example, are the layouts in Ashkenaz stable, or, on the contrary, is there a tendency to change from the Targum alternating with the Hebrew to the Targum laid out in a separate column? Are there characteristic codicological differences between Germany and France? Is the Targum column always in smaller script than the Hebrew one? Does the size of the book influence whether the Targum will be included or not? Why are there so many instances of Targum Onkelos as compared to Targum Jonathan? Is there a trend towards adding more commentaries after Rashi's commentary has been added? Is Rashi invariably the initial commentary or are others used as well? Not all questions will be answered here, but some suggestions can be provided.

The following table summarizes our findings concerning the elements of the manuscripts. The word Ashkenaz is used for the origin of those manuscripts that cannot be specifically situated.

TABLE 1 *Features of the described Ashkenazi manuscripts*⁵

Ms	Date	Location	Size	Contents	Mise en page	Targum layout	Scripts
1	1189	England or Normandy	large	P, H, 5M	3 columns (equal)	Alternating on Pentateuch, and on haftarot (only for P/S) and on the Megillot	square
2	1215/ 1216	France La Rochelle	medium- large	P, Proph., Writings	2 columns (equal)	Targum on Pent. separated, in the external margins	smaller square
3	1237/ 1238	Germany	large	P, H, 5M, some of Writings	3 columns (equal)	Alternating on Pentateuch, Megillot, Psalms, Job and Proverbs, not on the haftarot.	square
4	1239	Northern France [Rouen?]	medium- large	P, 5M, H	3 columns (equal)	Alternating on Pentateuch and Megillot, not on the haftarot	square
5	1263/ 1264	France?	medium- large	Targum only	Long lines	Lemma layout	square
6	1294/5	Germany	large	P, 5M, H	3 columns (equal)	Alternating on Pentateuch only	square
7	1300	Poligny France	large	P, 5M, H, Job	3 columns (equal)	Alternating on Pentateuch On the haftarot of P/S,	square square
					Two columns	Targum in a separate column at the left of Hebrew text	
8	1311	Ashkenaz— France?	medium- small	P, 5M, H, Job with comm.	2 columns, inner (larger) and outer	Alternating Targum on Pentateuch and on haftarot (P/S) Rashi in the margins	square semi- cursive (Continued)

5 The following abbreviations are used: P = Pentateuch, H = haftarot, 5M = Megillot, TO = Targum Onkelos, P/S = Pesach and Shavuot.

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Ms	Date	Location	Size	Contents	Mise en page	Targum layout	Scripts
9	1335	Northern Italy	medium-small	P, H, 5M	2 columns (inner larger than the outer)	Targum in the outer column on Pentateuch Targum alternating on haftarot of P/S	smaller square
10	1341	Ashkenaz	medium-large	P, 5M, H	3 columns (equal)	Alternating Targum on Pentateuch Rashi in margins	square semi-cursive
11	1344	Ashkenaz	large	P, 5M, H	3 columns (equal)	Targum and Rashi alternating verse by verse on Pentateuch	square script for Targum, smaller square script for Rashi
12	Circa 1350	Ashkenaz	medium-large	P, H, 5M	3 columns (one larger central; inner, outer columns)	TO inner margin, Rashi, haftarot and Megillot outer Margin	small square cursive
13	1411	Northern Italy?	medium-small	P, 5M, H	3 columns (one larger central; inner, outer columns)	Inner margin: Targum on Pent. Haftarot (P/S): alternating Outer margin: Rashi	square semi-cursive
14	1447	Northern Italy?	medium-large	P, H, 5M	3 columns (one central, inner, outer columns)	On Pentateuch, Targum in inner columns Outer column: Ibn Ezra and super commentary of Ibn Motot	smaller square semi-cursive

This first codicological investigation underlines three patterns: (a) a variety in the Targum's *mise en page* in Ashkenaz, i.e. alternating, in the margins, or in a separately ruled column; (b) the variety of Targum layouts within a volume, which implicitly poses problems for a statistical treatment that takes manuscripts as a base unit; and (c) the occurrence of an isolated Targum in Ashkenaz.

Concerning (a) the variability of the layout, in our sample the oldest dated Ashkenazi manuscript (no. 1, Valmadonna 1, 1189) displays an alternating layout, in three columns, in which the square script in Hebrew and in Aramaic is identical. This layout seems to be used till the fifteenth century (see nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 and even no. 13, dated 1411). This element seems to be a standard feature in Ashkenazi manuscripts (Peretz 2008, 57). Peretz's statistical results can be summarized as follows: among the 132 MSS with Targums, 67% had alternating Targum versus 33% with a separate Targum column. The 132 manuscripts can be chronologically arranged as follows:

- 36% are from the thirteenth century (a third putting the Targum in a separate column, the other two thirds alternating the Hebrew and the Aramaic);
- 48% are from the fourteenth century (a quarter with the column format and the remaining three quarters alternating);
- 15% are from the fifteenth century (one half with the column format, the other half alternating).

In our limited sample, the Targum was copied in the margins only in fourteenth century manuscripts (nos. 9, 12, 13, 14).⁶ In these cases, the Targum is always written in smaller script than the Hebrew text, but still in square script (i.e., never semi-cursive or cursive). The size and type of script express the relative importance of the texts—for example, Hebrew Bible and Targum in square script, commentaries in semi-cursive or cursive scripts.

6 Peretz, in his survey of the 218 Ashkenazi manuscripts written between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century (2008, 57) gives no information concerning the methodology he employed, referring only to his unpublished PhD dissertation (2007/2008). Questions remain, such as: how many manuscripts are dated, undated and/or estimated with regard to date? There is no differentiation between a margin and ruled column, an important codicological element partly because the script in the margin could have been added later. Which scripts does the term 'Ashkenaz' designate? And how are we to explain certain anomalies, such as an alternating Targum on the Pentateuch followed by a Targum in a separate column on the haftarat in the same volume?

Concerning (b), the haftarot, especially the haftarot for the P/S festivals, are frequently accompanied by Targum (nos. 1, 7, 8, 9, 13). Targum Jonathan to the Prophets is rarely copied in its entirety in Ashkenazi Bibles, because these Bibles generally follow a liturgical structure (Pentateuch, Megillot, haftarot), which means that not all the Prophets are included, but only *capita selecta*. What is more, the layouts can vary between the Pentateuch and these specific haftarot in one and the same codex. For instance, nos. 7 and 8, the former coming from France (Poligny or Foulenay, 1300) and the latter from Northern Italy (dated 1335), show opposite design choices. No. 7 alternates the Hebrew and Targum verses in the Pentateuch, but gives the Targum on the haftarot for P/S in a separate column, creating a two-column layout instead of the more usual three. In no. 9, Targum Onkelos is placed in the outer ruled column in a smaller square script, but the haftarot on P/S alternate the Hebrew and Aramaic in the same smaller square script as mentioned. On the other hand, no. 1 (dated 1189) consistently alternates Hebrew and Targum in Pentateuch, Megillot and haftarot for P/S.

Finally (c), there is one case that seems completely different: no. 5, which presents a manuscript with Targum alone, dated 1263/64. This phenomenon is rare and the reasons for it remain to be discovered. A systematic study will have to be made on these isolated Targums, discovering how many were produced in Ashkenaz and in other geocultural areas. Perhaps this book was meant to complement a Pentateuch that did not offer Targum? Pentateuchs without Targums comprise almost half of the Ashkenazi manuscripts (106 out of 238, according to Peretz 2008, 57). Or could it be that this book was part of another tradition, in which Aramaic was studied from a separate codex?

Rashi Alongside Targum

The introduction of the commentary of Rashi alongside of, or as a substitute for, the Targum also requires further enquiry. According to Peretz's results, only a quarter of the 132 manuscripts including Targum also host Rashi. The presence of both is a phenomenon that occurs mostly in the fourteenth century (Peretz 2008, 60). No. 8 (dated 1311) is the earliest manuscript that presents Rashi in semi-cursive script in the margins alongside the Targum. Other cases with Rashi are nos. 11 (dated 1344), 12 (dated c. 1350), and 13 (dated 1411). No. 11 is a particularly interesting case where Hebrew, Targum and the Rashi commentary all alternate: the Targum here is written in the same script as the Hebrew, whereas the commentary by Rashi is written in a smaller square script. A similar configuration in the dated MS Oxford, Bod. Libr. Opp. 14 (1340, France, written by Salomon Eliezer Hayim ha-Cohen). According to Peretz, this could be a

sign of the halakhic influence of the *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* by Moses ben Jacob of Coucy (Peretz 2008, 60; see further below).

Sharit Shalev-Eyni suggests that there may be a difference in the way the Targum and Rashi functioned within the Northern French and German Jewish communities: 'The main difference between French and German traditions relates to the Aramaic Targum. Pentateuchs produced in France sometimes appear without the Targum or have Rashi commentary in their margins' (Shalev-Eyni 2010, 9f.). This subject, however, requires a larger, systematic analysis of the sources. At the moment, these are not all equally preserved, correctly identified, or easy to locate. As regards the square calligraphic scripts, it is difficult to differentiate the manuscripts that are similar in terms of period of production but come from some specific parts of Ashkenaz, and thus to distinguish clearly the French manuscripts from the German or the English ones (Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 11).

Size of the Books in Relation to the Presence and Use of the Targum

On this purely material basis, assumptions concerning the relationship between the sizes of the codices and the texts they present can be made. According to some scholars, the large or even giant Bibles (nos. 3, 6, 7, and 11) and other illuminated manuscripts (such as MS Munich 5) were not produced for public readings of the Pentateuch, but for study of the Bible during private reading sessions at a wealthy patron's house (Metzger 1994, 19 nn. 39–40; Shalev-Eyni 2010, 8). The medium-sized and small codices may possibly have been used by worshippers to follow the public reading during the service. The small Bibles, such as no. 8 (dated 1311) and no. 11 (dated 1411), display both Targum and Rashi's commentary in the margins. Their design suggests that these Bibles were used during travels. The pocket Bibles such as MS Paris BNF hébr. 33 do not contain any Targum on the Pentateuch (Sirat 2002, Ill. 25), while MS Ber. Or. Qu. 9 encompasses Targum Jonathan on the haftarot for P/S. One may assume that for those Jews who travelled frequently for professional reasons, these Bibles were useful most of all for performing a weekly reading of the parashah in a synagogue or even in a private setting when, for some reason, a *minyan* could not be found.

Statistics and Particularities

At this state of the research, our inductive approach leads us to particular and meaningful elements that statistical results necessarily overlook. Nevertheless, both approaches have their own advantages and limits. Inductive study points to some details that should be further examined, such as the internal difference of targumic layouts in one and the same codex, the absence of commentary in

the very large codices, and the proportion of separate Targum manuscripts in Ashkenaz.

Concerning statistics, they are useful for discerning broad patterns, but tell us little about the complexity of the practical life in which the manuscripts were used. Statistics are necessarily the servant of research on Hebrew palaeography, and not the master. For instance, the facts that the undated manuscripts are more numerous than the dated and documented ones, and that the calligraphic Ashkenazi script is very stable during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries render any conclusions about a change of layouts at this period tentative.

In reality, the manuscripts present numerous irregularities. Some manuscripts are dated only in part, for instance MS Vienna 20, where parts by one scribe are dated 1403, but other parts are undated. In other manuscripts some parts, e.g. Rashi's commentary, have been added later, for instance in MS Vat. Ebr. 18, dated 1273–1274 in Germany, where a later hand added the Rashi commentary in a fourteenth century semi-cursive script (Richler 2008, 12). The classification required for statistics often forces the cases into a simplifying category.

Furthermore, our sample mainly focuses on Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan on the haftarot. This highlights another question: how well-known were the other Targums, such as Targum Jerushalmi or Targum Esther Sheni, within the Ashkenazi communities? This question is beyond the limits of the present contribution.

Is there a Specific Ashkenazi Layout?

It seems that about half of all the Ashkenazi Bible manuscripts included Targum, but the lack of comparisons with other geocultural areas makes any conclusion on the larger meaning of this phenomenon premature. Apart from the Aramaic versions of Qumran, the oldest targumic fragment identified so far is from the Cairo Genizah, originating in 9th/10th century Egypt.⁷ This fragment shows a lemma layout: no Hebrew verses, only the first Hebrew word of the verse followed by the Aramaic verse. Peretz points out that the alternating layout exists in a slightly more recent Babylonian fragment (Oslo-London, Martin Schoeyen 206) estimated to date from the 10th/11th century (Peretz 2008, 58). A specific study should be devoted to the entire question of the Oriental codices.

7 Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms heb.e.43/f.57–65; Neubauer and Cowley 1886–1906, shelfmark 2e.2610/16. See the Friedberg Genizah Project <http://www.genizah.org>.

However, our data sample exists in the European context, and for that reason we propose to compare our findings with a survey of 80 manuscripts containing the Targum kept at the Palatina Library of Parma and at the Vatican Library. Pragmatically, this allows us to compare our sample to these two larger collections of manuscripts. The manuscripts of Parma and Vatican City reflect the main Occidental areas, namely Sepharad (including Northern Africa), Ashkenaz and Italy. The Byzantine, Yemenite and Oriental manuscripts are not represented in these collections. The collections cover an extended period of time and are very well described and indexed in new catalogues (Richler 2001; Richler 2008).

The Targum appears as well in manuscripts that are classified as 'Bible' in the catalogues (498 items in Parma and 103 in the Vatican). One item recorded as 'biblical commentary' includes Targum (MS Parma 3075/76, dated 1514). Prayer books and collections of *piyyutim* are excluded from our statistics, but they should be included in further, large-scale research.

TABLE 2 *Proportion of Targum in Both Libraries*

	Bible	Targum (with or without Hebrew text)
Palatina Library of Parma	499 100%	62 ⁸ 12%
Vatican Apostolic Library	103 100%	18 ⁹ 17%

This broader overview confirms the general impression that Ashkenaz produced more Targum than other areas. Among the biblical codices kept in Parma or in the Vatican, fewer than 20% contain Targum (see Table 2). Among the manuscripts including Targum from both institutions, 66.25% are composed

8 Sixty-two manuscripts, including six fragments and eight separate Targum texts called 'translations'. This list provides Richler's catalogue numbers: Richler nos. 35, 37, 40, 43, 45, 49, 56, 57, 58, 60, 63, 67, 70, 74, 75, 82, 89, 97, 109, 111, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 133, 135, 139, 140, 144, 148, 153, 165, 169, 171, 174, 175, 176, 180, 192, 211, 221, 222, 223, 240, 247, 292, 326, 327, 328, 385, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 686.

9 Manuscripts, including one fragment and three separated Targum: MS Vat. Ebr. 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 21, 432, 448, 480, 482, 503, 530, 608; Neofiti 1; Urb. Ebr. 1, 3; Barb. Or. 161.

in Ashkenazi script, that is, scripts from France, Germany and Northern Italy, while 16.25% are in Italian script and 17.5% are in Sephardi script (see Table 3).

TABLE 3 *Distribution of Targum according to cultural area*

	Targum (with or without Hebrew text)	Targum in Ashkenazi script	Targum in Italian script	Targum in Sephardi script
Palatina Library of Parma	62 100%	42 68%	11 18%	9 14%
Vatican Apostolic Library	18 100%	11 61%	2 11%	5 28%
Both institutions	80 100 %	53 66.25%	13 16.25%	14 17.5%

Let us now turn to the possible evolution of the layouts we observed in our sample on the basis of the next table:

TABLE 4 *Layouts according to areas and periods*

Number of items with Targum: 80	Layouts	Distribution according to area	Period of Production	Shelf marks
Parma, Palatina Library 62	Verse by verse: 21	Ashkenaz: 18	Beginning in the late 12th, mainly 13th, some in the 14th century	Richler nos. 37, 43, 57, 58, 60, 63, 67, 70, 74, 116, 120, 121, 221, 223, 240, 247, 292, 327
		Spain / Provence: 1	Fragment, estimated 13th century	Richler no. 211, fragment of Isaiah.
		North Africa: 1	1514	Richler no. 686, Sephardi script.
		Italy: 1	13th century	Richler no. 45.

(Continued)

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Number of items with Targum: 80	Layouts	Distribution according to area	Period of Production	Shelf marks
	Margins: 25	Ashkenaz: 13	Beginning in the 13th century, second half of the 14th century–15th century	Richler nos. 49, 56, 111, 115, 139, 148, 175, 180, 192, 222, 328, 385
		Italy: 7	Late 14th–15th century	Richler nos. 75, 89, 135, 140, 144, 153, 169.
		Sepharad: 3	14th–15th century	Richler nos. 133, 165, 176.
		Italy-Sepharad: 2	15th century	Richler nos. 171, 174.
	Columns: 1	Ashkenaz: 1	(Writings) 14th century	Richler no. 326.
	Separate Targums: 8	Ashk., Italo-ashk.: 4	1263, 14th–15th century	Richler nos. 485 (see Case n. 5 <i>infra</i>), 489, 491, 492.
		Italy-Sepharad: 2	15th century (1407)	Richler nos. 488 and 490.
		Italian: 2	14th century	Richler nos. 486–487.
	Unclear: 7	Ashk.: 6 Ital.: 1	—	Richler nos. 35, 40 (<i>Targum in red ink; probably verse by verse?</i>), 82 (<i>Italian script?</i>), 97, 109, 117, 119.
Vatican Library 18		Askhenaz: 8	14th century	Vat. Ebr. 13, 14 (dated 1239), 18, 439, 530, Ubr. Ebr. 1, 3, Brab. Or. 161–164.
	Verse by verse: 11		11th century	Vat. Ebr. 448, Sephardi script with Babylonian vocalization.
		Sepharad: 3	14th century	Vat. Ebr. 19 (with alternating Targum and Arabic translation resembling our examples where Hebrew alternates with Targum and Rashi) and 21.

(Continued)

TABLE 4 (Continued)

Number of items with Targum: 80	Layouts	Distribution according to area	Period of Production	Shelf marks
	Margins: 1	Ashkenaz, France: 1	1216	Vat. Ebr. 482
	Columns: 3	Ashkenaz: 2	14th century	Vat. Ebr. 480 and 608.
		Sepharad: 1	15th century	Vat. Ebr. 503.
	Separate: 3	Italy: 2	14th–before 1517	Vat. Ebr. 16 (14th century) and Neofiti 1 (before 1517,
		Sepharad: 1w	13th–14th?	Palestinian Targum on Pentateuch).
				Vat. Ebr. 432.

On the basis of these data the following conclusions can be drawn:

- A. The oldest European Targum on the Pentateuch takes an alternating form, whereas in the haftarot it has a column layout (England 1189, no. 1). At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Targum in Ashkenaz is most frequently of the alternating type (18 and 8 items).
- B. From the end of the thirteenth century, the outer margins are more frequently used for Aramaic materials (13 and 1 items in Ashkenaz) as well as for Rashi's commentary (Olszowy-Schlanger 2012, 34–35).
- C. The ruled column, which entails a more elaborate page layout, must be distinguished from the margins layout. In the former, the place of each ruled text is planned from the very beginning of copying. This poses a problem to the researcher, because the catalogues tend not to be very precise in respecting the difference between the two. According to the catalogues, ruled columns appear in Ashkenaz in the fourteenth century (3 items), to which we should add the example of the column of Targum to the haftarot in MS Valmadonna 1 (case 1). The catalogues also indicate a Sephardi example from the fifteenth century.
- D. Separate Targums occur in Ashkenaz in 1263 (case 5), but are recorded for the fourteenth or the fifteenth century, most frequently in the Italian context (at Parma Library) as well as one example in a Sephardi context (MS Vat. Ebr. 432).

Rabbinic Discourses on the Liturgical Use of Targum (Twelfth–Fourteenth Centuries)

The first counsels about the public liturgical uses of the Targum occur in the Mishnah and the Babylonian Talmud (BT Ber 8a). We later see Rashi, living in the 11th century in Northern France, making an extensive use of the Targum for exegetical purposes (Viezel 2012, 1–19). It is unclear whether the Targum was always read by a meturgeman during Ashkenazi public office in the thirteenth century or not, although the structure of most medieval Ashkenazi Bibles reflects a regular liturgical use (Pentateuch, Megillot, haftarot), and the alternating layout seems to directly express the Babylonian custom ('twice Mikra, once Targum'). What were the purposes, then, of the Bibles mentioned above? Were they used during public office to follow the main reader from the Scroll? Did they replace the meturgeman by a silent reading? Were these books meant for private recitation at home or even for study?

The change from alternating to margins or ruled column layout during the thirteenth century needs to be analyzed within the frame of the medieval Ashkenazi textual tradition concerning liturgical use of the Targum. Some rabbinical texts seem to indicate a progressive discarding of the Targum, either due to preference or imposed by the praxis in the liturgical process.

In Germany, among the *Hassidei Ashkenaz*, Eliezer of Worms (c. 1176–1238) defends the knowledge of the Targum and stipulates in his *Sefer ha-Roqeah* that one must read the weekly parashah twice in Hebrew and once in Aramaic for the shaḥarit of the Shabbat (*Sefer Roqeah*, *Hilkhot Shabbat*, § 53). Isaac of Vienna (1189–1250) claims that he saw his masters R. Judah he-Hassid and R. Abraham performing a silent private reading of the Targum during the reading of the Sefer Torah by the cantor (*Sefer Or Zarua*, vol. 1, *Hilkhot Kriyat Shema*, no. 11; Shalev-Eyni 2010, 9, n. 47).¹⁰ This touches a new issue: these medievals are asking about the material conditions under which to perform such reading, i.e. they are asking about the proper use of books.

The permission to perform silent reading of the Targum from codices is what is put in question in the *Sefer Minhagim* from Meir of Rothenburg (c. 1215–1293). Quoting a *responsum* of Provençal sages, he states that the translation should be made together with the Torah reading, on the condition that

10 וראיתי את מורי הרב רבי יהודה החסיד זצ"ל ואת מורי הרב רבי אברהם זצ"ל בן הרב ר' משה זצ"ל שהיו קורין שנים מקרא ואחד תרגום בשעת קריאת שליח צבור את ספר תורה ואומר אני: כי זה מותר לכ"ע הואיל דבאותו ענין קא עסיק

an Aramaic translator is present (*Sefer Minhagim, Kryiat Be-Humashim*, § 2).¹¹ However, Meir's further remarks imply that this was not often the case, because he specifies that, to fulfil the Talmudic prescription of reading the Hebrew twice and the Targum once, the Targum is to be read 'at home', after attending the public reading in Hebrew. He seems to discourage the silent reading mentioned by Isaac of Vienna, considering it more important to follow with attention the reading of the *Sefer Torah* during the service.¹²

In France, Moses ben Jacob of Coucy (1200–1270) in his *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol* concerning the rule of BT Ber 8a states that the commentary is more useful (מועיל) than the Targum (Peretz 2008, 59, n. 28, quoting *Sefer Mitzvot Gadol*, *Mitzvot Taase*, 19; Shalev-Eyni 2010, 9, n. 50). The fact that reading the Targum during the public service was not the norm anymore is confirmed by the Northern French *Mahzor Vitry*, written by Simcha of Vitry (d. 1105), a pupil of Rashi. This mahzor clearly states that Targum was only read twice a year (*Mahzor Vitry*, 158, n. 166; cf. Goldin 1995, 21; Shalev-Eyni 2010, 9, n. 43). However, it was also permissible to precede the reading of the Torah with an individual reading at home (Shalev-Eyni 2010, 9, n. 48). Isaac of Corbeil (1210–1280), a pupil of Coucy, goes further than this, and argues that 'if the reader does not know how to read Aramaic, he will read the commentaries'. He also raises the possibility of asking someone to read the Targum or to postpone this reading until the weekdays (*Sefer Mitzvot Katan*, Introduction; see Peretz 2008, 59; Shalev-Eyni 2010, 15).¹³

In the fourteenth century there were Tosafists who wanted to reject the Targum from the liturgical readings altogether as is made clear in their comments to BT Meg 23b.

Concluding Remarks

The purpose of this paper was to show the benefits of a close study of the Targum's layout according to specific geocultural areas. We produced a case

11 כי בקריאת ספר תורה אחד קורא ואחד מתרגם אחד קורא הפסוק פעם אחת ואם יש מתרגם יתרגם על ידו

12 אבל מי שמשלים פרשיותיו עם הצבור ואומ' שנים מקרא ואחד תרגום אף על פי ששומע קריאת התור' מפי הקוראים חייב להשלים בביתו שנים מקרא ואחד תרגום כדי שיתן לבו ודעתו לקריאת התורה. I thank Judith Schlanger for our discussion of this prescription.

13 ומי שאינו יודע לתרגם יקרא הפירושים ואם אינו יודע ישאל למי שגדול ממנו ואם לא יוכל להשלים ביום א' או ב' יחלקנה לשבע

study on the Ashkenaz textual community and highlighted the methodological limits of both empirical and statistical surveys.

In the present state of research, but knowing that it is totally obscure whether the selection of manuscripts that have been preserved is representative of the total amount of manuscripts that has once been produced in Ashkenaz, we may assume that (a) Ashkenaz, according to the codices that have come down to us, maintained the presence of the Aramaic Targum along with the Hebrew text in the European cultural area, while Targum circulated through another form in Sepharad and in Italy; (b) by the end of the thirteenth century, a change of layout from alternating verses to marginal layouts had taken place, which was not entirely uniform or consistent; and (c) the halakhic opinions confirm a progressive discarding of the Targum, which began with a restriction of its use in haftarot of Pesach and Shavuot, and then, over time, was neglected entirely. These discourses justify the development of new books that only included Targum Jonathan to the haftarot, which probably had a liturgical use for those who followed Isaac of Vienna's prescriptions in Germany, but lost that use in Northern France.

Over time, the Targum and the commentary of Rashi were more frequently copied in the margins, probably due to the influences of Moses of Coucy and Isaac of Corbeil. Thus, the alternating layout could signal a reminiscence of the Babylonian tradition, but was not of any practical use. The irregularities in the alternation (see above no. 4, dated 1239) highlight the fact that the Targum could not have been strictly read verse by verse in this early stage, reflecting its displacement from a liturgical use to an object of private study. This could also explain the appearance of commentaries in the margins, because these texts were considered in halakhic *compendia* as valuable texts that could replace the Targum.

Taking into account all of these findings, we suggest that further research needs to be devoted to the place of the Targum in the Oriental codices—Babylonian, Yemenite, Byzantine and other Oriental items—as well as in fragments discovered in the European Genizas. Concerning Ashkenaz, the difference of the Targum's layout in the Pentateuch and haftarot among German and Northern French manuscripts should be evaluated in specific codicological and palaeographical research.

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PART TWO

Editing Targums and Their Latin Translations



The Latin Versions of the Old Testament from Jerome to the *Editio Clementina*

Geert W. Lorein

Introduction

Although this volume is about the knowledge and use of the Targum in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, we have to keep in mind that in this period the standard translation for Christian scholars was and remained the Vulgate. Other versions, such as the Targum, were compared to the Vulgate and in sixteenth century Spain the Vulgate functioned as the basic text to produce a Latin translation of the Targums. That is why we present an overview of the story of the Vulgate, together with its upcoming competitors.

As this overview is written for a *status quaestionis* on the Jewish Targum in a Christian World, it is axed on the Old Testament and on the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, starting with a description of the long and important history of what is called the Vulgate. The term Vulgate (Vg) will be used for what nowadays normally is called so, not for other translations that were in their days the most ‘popular’ (*vulgata*) translation. The first use of this term for Jerome’s version was possibly by Froben in 1530 (Sutcliffe 1948, 345, 350). As far as possible, attention is given to the interaction between scholars of different religious obedience and to paratextual characteristics.

Jerome and His Translation

Jerome (Lat. Hieronymus; Sutcliffe 1969; Kelly 1975; Rebenich 1992), who had arrived in Rome in 382 already with a certain scholarly reputation, was asked by Pope Damasus to revise the Latin version, the *Vetus Latina* (Kedar 1986, 299–313; Kraus 2003), of the Gospels with help of the Greek text. In this first enterprise, Jerome limited himself to places where he found mistakes, but when it was just a question of wording, he restrained himself from intervening, because people had become acquainted with the old forms (*Prol. ev.* 2–10, 30–32; Kedar 1986, 313–314). The other parts of the New Testament were also revised, but less thoroughly, and possibly not by Jerome

(Metzger 1968, 76).¹ For the Old Testament, the revision took place according to the text of the Septuagint (LXX). The Psalter survived and is now known as *Psalterium Romanum*, named after its use in the liturgy in the Basilica of St Peter (edition: Weber 1953; Sutcliffe 1969, 84; cf. Estin 1984, 25–27). After the death of his patron Pope Damasus—*post hoc, non propter hoc*—Jerome left Ostia in August 385 (Hagendahl & Waszink 1991, 124; Duval 2009, 30, 36–40); after some travelling he settled in Bethlehem in 386 (Jay 1985, 525; Kedar 1986, 315).

From that time on he worked on the revision of the Latin translation of the Psalter according to Origen's Hexapla,² known as *Psalterium Gallicanum*, named after its use in the liturgy in France in the days of Alcuin (editions: *Liber Psalmorum ex recensione Sancti Hieronymi* 1953; Weber & Gryson 2007). Although the Hexapla also contained information about the Hebrew, the influence of Greek translations was preponderant (Stramare 2001, 147). It is of course probable that the whole Old Testament was revised this way, but besides the Psalms we know only about Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles and Chronicles (De Lagarde 1887, 194–237 [Job]; Vaccari 1958, 82–146 [fragments of Prov and Eccl; Cant completely]; PL XXIX 401A–404A [Praefatio Hieronymi in librum Paralipomenon iuxta LXX interpretes]); most of this first attempt was already lost during his lifetime (*Ep.* 134.2).³

In 390 Jerome started with his most important project: a fresh translation of the Old Testament into Latin from the Hebrew (Plater & White 1926; Kedar 1986, 323–332), as he had realised the primacy of the Hebrew text, *Hebraica veritas* (lit. 'the Hebrew truth', Sutcliffe 1969, 92). The Psalms (edition: De Sainte-Marie 1954; light version in Weber & Gryson 2007) and Prophets were translated in 392, Samuel and Kings in 393 (Jay 1982, 208–212), Job and Ezra (including Nehemiah)⁴ in 394, Chronicles in 396; from 396 to 398 the work

1 This means also that 'Vulgate' (not necessarily always translated by Jerome) and 'Jerome' (who also wrote commentaries!) are not synonyms.

2 Jerome travelled from Bethlehem to Caesarea Maritima (some 95 km as a bird flies), where Origen's own copy of the Hexapla was available. See *Comm. in Tit.* 3:9 ll. 205–208 (CCSL LXXVII C): 'Unde et nobis curae fuit omnes veteres legis libros, quos vir doctus Adamantius [= Origenes] in Hexapla digesserat de Caesariensi bibliotheca descriptos, ex ipsis authenticis emendare.' This seems to imply that Jerome had his own copy. Cf. Dines 1998, 421–422, 429, 432.

3 '[I]n editione Septuaginta, quae asteriscis veribusque distincta est; pleraque enim prioris laboris ob fraudem cuiusdam amisimus' (CSEL LVI).

4 The Vg originally did not divide Ezra-Neh. In a later stage, a split did occur, probably to get the number of Ezra books that was provided in lists of the LXX (which had A' Esdras and B' Esdras); see Bogaert 2000, 9–13, 16, 22. Jerome had no problems reading Aramaic: *Prol. Dan* 18–19.

is said to have been interrupted by poor health (*Mangenot* 1912, 2459), but in 398 Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles were ready; the Pentateuch was finished about 400, Esther before 404 and at last Joshua, Judges and Ruth in 405 (Bogaert 1988, 158). Jerome also translated Tobias and Judith (406).

The Hebrew source of the Vg, which he found in the synagogue of Bethlehem (*Mangenot* 1912, 2459), was almost identical with the Masoretic Text (MT). This implies that the Vg is not a source of variants, but is a fair witness to the MT (Gentry 2009, 25; qualified by Kedar 1986, 322). In the Vg, Jerome closely followed its Hebrew source while of course keeping in mind the *Vetus Latina* (VL) and also looking⁵ at LXX, α', σ' and θ' for help, not forgetting the material he got from his Jewish informants. This can be compared with the modern use of dictionaries and commentaries (Würthwein 1973, 95; Kedar 1986, 323).

Some discussion exists about Jerome's knowledge of Hebrew; of course, it was not his mother tongue, but Jerome's capacities are not to be doubted (Kedar 1986, 315–317).⁶ While he had already begun learning Hebrew earlier (*Ep.* 108.26.3),⁷ he had now, living in Bethlehem, a rather easy, albeit expensive access to Jewish knowledge (*Ep.* 84.3.2;⁸ *Prol. Job* 20–23; *Ep.* 84.3.2⁹). He also visited different sites in the Holy Land accompanied by learned Jews.¹⁰ This did not prevent him from being a fully Christian translator: where the Hebrew left different options open, he chose the option that fitted best with the Christological interpretation:

- *sepulchrum* in Isa 11:10 is a possible translation for מְנוּחָה (Van der Horst 1991, 42), albeit not the most obvious one;
- the translation *dominatorem terrae* as an apposition is possible in Isa 16:1, although the interpretation as a clause of direction (Buitink-Heijblom 2012, 115) or as an indirect object (Schoors 1972, 111) are possible too (Kedar 1986, 330; Loader 2008, 237–238).

5 This should not be taken too literally: someone read the texts aloud for Jerome and he dictated the translation, he himself having bad eyes: *Ep.* 21.42 ('itaque ignosce dolentibus oculis, id est ignosce dictanti', CSEL LIV); 75.4 ('quaecumque ab adolescentia usque in praesens tempus dictauimus', CSEL LV); *Comm. in Isa* V, *Prol.* 47–49 ('Dictamus haec, non scribimus: currente notariorum manu currit oratio', CCSL LXXIII).

6 The remark of *Prol. Ezra* 42–43 ('Nos autem, qui Hebraeae linguae saltim parvam habemus scientiam') is to be considered as an understatement.

7 'Hebraeam linguam, quam ego ab adolescentia multo labore ac sudore ex parte didici' (CSEL L).

8 'Hierosolymae et Bethleem' (CSEL L).

9 'Quo pretio Baraninam nocturnum habui praeceptorem!' (CSEL L).

10 'Unde et nobis curae fuit, cum eruditissimis Hebraeorum hunc laborem subire, ut circumiremus provinciam, quam universae Christi Ecclesiae sonant.' (PL XXIX 401A).

Did the Targum (Tg) have any influence on Jerome? It is very difficult to assess this, as Jerome did not use footnotes, so what occurs to us as Tg influence might come from another source. Most examples that are mentioned in the literature concern Jerome's commentaries. Anyhow, we find some verses where the Vg is very near to the Tg:

- Num 19:2—תמימה: translated as *aetatis integrae* 'of young age', instead of simply *integrae*, as normally (Kedar-Kopfstein 1994, 427), similar to an interpretation in the same direction as Tg Ps-J ברת תרתין שנין 'two year old';
- Josh 19:33 and Judg 4:11—אלון: not translated (*Helon*) and translated as *val-lem* respectively (Stummer 1937, 174), where Tg has אלון and מישר 'plain/valley';
- 1 Sam 22:9—נצב על: translated a second time as *erat primus inter* (Stummer 1929, 11), the same interpretation as Tg ממונא על 'appointed over';
- Eccl 1:14—רעות: translated as *adflictio*, as if it were derived from רעע (Manns 2005, 71), as Tg תבירות 'grief';
- Isa 5:2 and Jer 2:21—שרק: interpreted as (*vineam*) *electam* (Hayward 1985, 109), as Tg בחירא 'chosen'.

All things considered we have to conclude that Jerome was convinced of the importance of the Hebrew text and of information he could get from Jews, but that this did not make him a 'Judaizer'.

At first, the new translation met with much opposition, e.g. by Augustine, who for three reasons did not agree with the importance that Jerome gave to the Hebrew. First, he considered the LXX an inspired text (*De Civitate Dei* XVIII 43¹¹); second, he was concerned about a possible split-up of the Church into a part using a Greek Bible and a part using a translation based on the Hebrew Bible; and third, he had problems with a translation from a language that was understood by only a few people, while the older translation was based on a language that was understood by many people.

The Evolution of the Vg in the Middle Ages

Codex Amiatinus

The Vg has a long and rich history of manuscripts (Berger 1893, 8–299, 374–422; Mangenot 1912, 2468–2473; Loewe 1969, 113–152). Mapping the relations

11 'Spiritus enim, qui in prophetis erat, quando illa dixerunt, idem ipse erat etiam in septuaginta viris, quando illa interpretati sunt.' (CCSL XLVIII).

between all these manuscripts has been tried, but this enterprise is bound to fail: in pandects several model manuscripts were used, each with its different amount of VL influence, for the different groups of Bible books (Sam, Kgs and the Prophets; Job, Ezra, Neh, Chr, Prov, Eccl and Cant; Pentateuch, Josh, Judg and Ruth; Esth), starting a new quire for every group, the LXX was consulted when possible and different persons worked together on the same pandect (Fischer 1985, 267, 387 [orig. 1971]). This resulted in inextricable relations (Loewe 1969, 112, who nevertheless gives a diagram on pp. 104–105!). When we also realise that while we have many manuscripts, even more manuscripts have been lost, we have to give up all hope of obtaining a reliable picture of relations and developments.

We will mention only one codex: the Codex Amiatinus (716; Mangelot 1912, 2469).¹² Unfortunately, it is more than one step removed from Jerome, because the old idea that it was a copy of the Codex Grandior of Cassiodorus (see Gribomont 1985, 143f., 150; Barnish 1989, 166f., 187) is no longer tenable. Codex Grandior was indeed procured in Rome in 678 by Ceolfrith, and was used as an example for paratextual features, but not for its text (Fischer 1985, 21 [orig. 1962]; Gribomont 1985, 149). Codex Amiatinus was written in the Northumbrian twin-abbey of Wearmouth and Jarrow, together with two other copies, from which only fragments remain. Abbot Ceolfrith took this copy as a gift to Pope Gregory II, but died on his way to Rome. The Codex, named after Mount Amiata, on the slopes of which the monastery was built where the manuscript was kept for centuries, is now in Florence (Marsden 1995, 86–92; Castaldi 2000). It contains the full text of Vg, with the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, but including Ps 151. A facsimile is available on CD-ROM (Ricci 2000).¹³ An older description already existed (Heyse & De Tischendorf 1873), but was not intended to reproduce the Codex faithfully.

It is also at that time that the Vg started to become the standard Latin translation: Beda Venerabilis considered the Vg 'editio nostra', and the VL the 'antiqua translatio' (Paul 2007, 338). The fact that the Vg only became successful after some centuries implies that the development of the Romance languages was influenced by the Latin of the VL, rather than the Vg's (Loewe 1969, 107).

12 It is not the oldest codex with the complete Old Testament: we know about Cassiodorus' Pandectes (Fischer 1985, 18 [orig. 1962]), but it is lost. Fragments of a 7th century manuscript are conserved in León (Petitmengin 1985, 93); this manuscript contains a mixed text (Berger 1893, 8–9).

13 With thanks to the excellent service of the Herzog August Bibliothek, which made it easy for me to consult this work in Wolfenbüttel.

Charlemagne

The success of the Vg brought textual deterioration with it. Three persons are frequently mentioned for trying to stop this process. Theodulph (760–821) worked in the North of Spain, but had to flee to the South of France; he became bishop in Orléans (Loewe 1969, 126) and was in charge of a centre of manuscript copying (Bogaert 2012, 82). It seems he was the strongest textual scholar of this period, but more in an instinctive way than following a scientific method (Gibson 1993, 6; McKitterick 1994, 65; cf. Berger 1893, 154–184). Alcuin (see Fischer 1985, 207 [orig. 1971]), however, was the most successful, at least in common memory.

The central figure on the background is Charlemagne, who made it very clear how important a clean Bible text was to him. His demand for ‘emendatos libros’ dates from 789 (Berger 1893, xv; Fischer 1985, 113, 201 [orig. 1965]). Alcuin took up the challenge—he was not the only one—and corrected the Bible text on the level of grammar and orthography (Light 1984, 63; McKitterick 1994, 67), but not on the textual level. The result, a Bible in one volume (‘pandect’),¹⁴ was presented to the emperor on Christmas 801 for the Church of Mary in Aachen (Fischer 1985, 113, 216 [orig. 1971]). This Bible was followed as a model in Tours, where Alcuin had become abbot, mainly for its external features; the texts of the Tours copies, however, were not of one single type (Lobrichon 2008, 21–22). Only some time after his death did this type of Bible have a more or less stabilised text (Gibson 1993, 6). The text of the Psalter was the *Psalterium Gallicanum*, which was the usual version in France, as it had been in Ireland (Fischer 1985, 343 [orig. 1971]) and would become in England after 1066 (Elliott 1992, 240). It is always very difficult to replace a text which is crucial in liturgy. Complete Bibles had the version *iuxta Hebraeos*, because they were meant for scientific purposes (Fischer 1985, 343 [orig. 1971]), e.g. the Codex Amiatinus and the Theodulph tradition (Fischer 1985, 342 [orig. 1971]; Bogaert 2012, 82–83). Often Bible manuscripts did not contain the Psalms, because these were already available in separate manuscripts (Van Liere 2012, 105).

Paris

The next important development was fostered by the University of Paris, during the years 1200–1230, a period in which evangelisation, preaching and pastoral care received new attention. This created the need for a larger number of

¹⁴ The idea of the pandect was probably already conceived by Cassiodorus’ time and was used in Northumbria, but it became a standard only gradually from the ninth century (Gribomont 1985, 149; Brandt 2001, 239–240). The term pandect can be placed against the ‘bibliotheca’ of codices with detached ‘libri sancti’ (Paul 2007, 332).

copies of the Bible. In Paris, several private initiatives responded to this need. From this period on, standard prologues to Biblical books, order and glossary were used (Light 1984, 82, 86–93). The text was based on Alcuin's edition, with a propensity to the choices that Jerome had made in his commentaries, but that did not actually occur in his translation (Loewe 1969, 147; Weber & Gryson 2007, ix, xii). The physical format changed towards a 'pocket edition' with a very small handwriting and the parchment skin was split in two to get thinner codices (Light 1984, 87; Gibson 1993, 12). Eventually, the Paris edition became a standard edition. The first printed Bible, the Gutenberg Bible, 1454, was based on the Paris Bible, possibly MS Hs II 67 from Mainz (Bedouelle 1989, 41).

Notwithstanding the victorious career of the Vg, the VL was still copied in the thirteenth century (Paul 2007, 338). Mixing the Vg text with that of the VL constituted an additional cause of textual corruption, which is, however, difficult to assess, as Vg and VL are both translations of the same source text and as Jerome made use of the VL and sometimes even consciously copied it (Kedar 1986, 323). The Vg also got new competitors on the other side: already in the fourteenth century, Adam Eaton produced a new Latin translation of the Old Testament, without the Psalms, to get closer to the Hebrew (Paul 2007, 352).

The Printing Period: A Multitude of Editions

In the printing period we arrive in a world where research into the original text increased and where the fruits of this research could be more easily multiplied. At first, the difference was not enormous: only large publishing houses were able to manage a Bible edition, while such an edition was still half the price of a manuscript (Bedouelle 1989, 41–42). Nevertheless, in 1486 the archbishop of Mainz already realised the risk that Bibles would come into the hands of everyone, yea, even of women: 'Who will give it to uneducated people, even to the female sex, in whose hands the texts of the Sacred writings would fall, to grasp the correct interpretations?'.¹⁵ The next year, Pope Innocent VIII imposed the preceding authorisation for printing, while for the past a list of acceptable printed works had to be made up; the other books had to be burnt¹⁶

15 'Quis enim dabit rudibus atque indoctis hominibus, & femineo sexui, in quorum manibus Codices Sacrarum litterarum inciderint, veros excerpere intellectus?' (De Gudenus 1758, 470). With thanks to the Abdij van 't Park in Leuven for the permission to consult this work; the text represents a decision of Archbishop Bertholdus of Mainz in 1486: see De Gudenus 1758, 469.

16 *Inter multiplices* § 4: 'studeant (...) ad eos deferri et delatos comburi facere'.

(Pinto de Oliveira 1966, 628–643). By the end of the fifteenth century, one thousand printers could be counted (Pinto de Oliveira 1966, 630) and at least 99 editions of the Vg had been printed (Mangenot 1912, 2483). The edition by Froben in 1495 has to be singled out here for its large diffusion (Barthélemy 1992, cxci).

A lot of different editions originated in the sixteenth century. In this period a double tendency existed: back to Jerome ('ce que Jérôme a réellement écrit, non ce qu'il aurait dû écrire'; Bogaert 1988, 297) and back to the Hebrew—or: a Latin translation as 'Hebrew' as possible—to repair the difference between the Vg and the Hebrew original. The knowledge of Hebrew was promoted by the creation of institutions such as the Collegium Trilingue in Alcalá (Complutum, founded 1508) (Fernández Tejero & Fernández Marcos 2008, 287) and in Leuven (1517) with Matthaeus Adrianus (°1475) as the first professor of Hebrew (De Vocht 1951, 60, 241–255, 334–339, 369–375; Schwarzfuchs 2004, 32) and Jan van Campen (1491–1538) as the first who stayed for some years (De Vocht 1951, 503–505; De Vocht 1954, 154–208). Later trilingual institutes were founded in Paris (1530) and Cambridge (1535) (Bedouelle 1989, 65, 67; Gibson 1993, 15).

In 1516, Erasmus published, as part of the complete works of Jerome, not only Jerome's prefaces (Erasmus Roterodamus 1516, IV 6–13), but also a polyglot of the Psalms, with the Greek, Jerome's version *iuxta LXX*, his version *iuxta Hebraeos*, and the Hebrew (Erasmus Roterodamus 1516, IV Appendix). Via his edition of the commentaries, he edited a good deal of the Vg, without producing an edition *as such* (contra Delville 2008, 74). The Latin version of the Old Testament in the Complutensian Polyglot (1517) was the Vg. The editor Franciscus Ximenez de Cisneros (1436–1517) had recourse to very old manuscripts, some even more than eight hundred years old (before Alcuin!), mostly from the Complutum library¹⁷ (Ximenez de Cisneros 1514, iiiir). Besides, it contained a Latin version of the Tg for the Pentateuch since the Tg was so useful when it was not corrupt¹⁸ (Ximenez de Cisneros 1514, iiiV; Díez Merino 2008, 52–53). Protestant editions by Andreas Osiander (1522) and Jean Petreius (1527) were checked against the Hebrew (Delville 2008, 74).

In 1528, Robertus Stephanus (Estienne; 1503–1559) published the first of a series of critical editions,¹⁹ where he took a position between the Hebraising

17 '[M]axime quae in publica Compluten[sis] nostrae vniuersitatis Bibliotheca reconduntur: quae supra octingentesimum abhinc annum litteris Gothicis conscripta (...) sunt.'

18 '[V]bi integra est littera et incorrupta: mirum in modum fauet Christianae religioni.'

19 1532: with improvements from other editions and manuscripts, to achieve a closer correspondence to the Hebrew, but still without critical apparatus; 1540: with a conservative text, but with improvements in the marginal critical apparatus; 1550, Stephanus moves to Geneva with all his printing material, including the blocks for the illustrations of the

and the 'reactionary' methods by opting for those variants in old manuscripts which were closest to the Hebrew (Bedouelle 1989, 71; Delville 2008, 75; Barthélemy 1986, *30). In the same year a new Latin translation of the Bible was published by Sanctes Pagninus Lucensis (1470–1536) (Centi 1945, 5; Schwarzfuchs 2008, 16–17; Vanderjagt 2008, 185), very close to the Hebrew (Morisi Guerra 1990, 194). Although it is clear from his commentary on the Psalms and from his lexicon that Pagninus knew the Tg, he did not follow Tg translation choices (Centi 1945, 13, 29). His translation was revised by Benedictus Arias Montanus (1527–1598), who even considered Tg as an inspired text (Van Staaldune-Sulman 2012, 99), and in this form Pagninus' translation found its way into the Antwerp Polyglot (1572) (Pagninus Lucensis 1528; Fernández Marcos & Fernández Tejero 2003, 319; François 2012, 238–239). Pagninus' translation proved to be important as the basis for translations in the vernacular (Barthélemy 1986, *66; Delville 2008, 87).

In 1529 the Wittenberg Vg was published, albeit not complete (for the OT only Gen–Kgs). As Luther had contributed to it, it became important in Lutheran circles (Delville 2008, 75). Leo Jud (1482–1542), a Zwinglian, was responsible for a new translation, which was published in 1545 in a pocket edition ('Nompaille') alongside the Vg (Barthélemy 1986, *32; Delville 2008, 88). Johannes Hentenius (1499–1566) of Leuven wanted to offer a good Vg text²⁰ with his edition (1547) and firmly defended the Vg²¹ (François 2012, 237–238). Sébastien Castellion (Castellio, Châteillon; 1515–1563) offered a complete Latin translation in 1551, avoiding any Hebraism, which was still reprinted in 1778 (Barthélemy 1986, *52, *67; Delville 2008, 89–90). In 1581 a new Latin translation by Emmanuel Tremellius (1510–1580) and Franciscus Junius (1545–1602)

1540 and 1557 editions (Schwarzfuchs 2011, 28); 1557: with the preferred variants within the text, which made him suppress the critical apparatus, and with Pagninus' translation in parallel (instead of Jud's in 1545) (Barthélemy 1986, *67; 1993, cxciv–cxcv; Schwarzfuchs 2011, 41, 112).

20 Expressing his gratitude to Stephanus: 'Nemo est enim qui nesciat [...] quantam diligentiam, quantasque impensas tulerit Robertus Stephanus.' Hentenius (this name is not mentioned on the front page, but it is with the *praefatio*) 1547, *praef.*, but with more loyalty to the traditional text than Stephanus: 'summo studio curavimus [...] ut [...] ex horum collatione restitueremus, quoad fieri posset, veterem ac vulgatam editionem synceritatis suae atque puritati; non miscentes nos interim quaestioni, Num Graecis & Hebraeis vbique respondeat.' (*praef.*). The deviations from Stephanus' text are however indicated.

21 '[Q]uod tota Latina Ecclesia tot seculis vulgata editione, in oecumenicis etiam concilijs, semper vsa sit: tam in fidei dogmatis definiendis, quam in haeresibus condemnandis' (*praef.*)

was published in Frankfurt, and this would be a leading Reformed Latin version for a long time (Delville 2008, 90; Austin 2012, 219–220).

Against this stream of new translations, the Council of Trent had decided on 8 April 1546 that the Vg (the term ‘the common translation’—Lat. *vulgata interpretatio*—was then used)²² was to be the standard text of the Bible for matters of belief and life, without forbidding the use of the LXX or the Hebrew text (Mangenot 1912, 2484–2486). This decision raised the need for a new edition with as few errors as possible. It took some years before an edition under the auspices of Pope Sixtus V was published (*editio Sixtina*, 1590). It was based on the edition of Hentenius, as edited by Franciscus Lucas Brugensis (1548–1619; François 2012, 240–241) and published by Plantin in Antwerp, but the Codex Amiatinus and Stephanus’ edition were also consulted (De Sainte-Marie 1987, 62; Barthélemy 1992, cci; Castaldi 2000). Because at the last moment the pope himself decided to simplify the edition, without taking into consideration the choices that were made before (De Sainte-Marie 1987, 62–66), this edition was soon after its publication judged inadequate and replaced by an edition under the auspices of Pope Clemens VIII (*editio Clementina*, 1592; edition: Tweedale 2005), based on the 1547 edition of Hentenius (Mangenot 1912, 2493–2496; Brandt 2001, 329). Clemens was the first pope after Sixtus V to reign long enough for this kind of enterprise (Bakhuizen van den Brink & Dankbaar 1980, 281). This edition should have been ‘definitive’ (Delville 2008, 80), but the second (1593) and third (1598) printings still contained amendments. The *editio Clementina* became the official text of the Vg in the Roman Catholic Church.

In the meantime Theodore de Bèze (Beza; 1519–1605) had reduced the status of the Vg in Protestantism to that of an ancient version that was worth being consulted, sometimes a witness to an old and firm text, sometimes in need of correction (cf. Roussel 2006, 153–155, 164). In this way the two Western European Christian traditions have very different opinions about the Vg, which becomes also clear in the different Polyglot Bibles: Polyglots from the Catholic tradition (the Complutensian, Antwerp, Paris and the Anglican London Polyglot) provide Vg as the translation of the Hebrew, while other versions need to be translated into Latin, too. Protestant Polyglots (the Wittenberg and Nuremberg Polyglots) provide the Vg as one of the columns alongside Tg, LXX and other versions.

22 ‘Statuit et declarat, ut haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quae longo tot saeculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica habeatur, et quod nemo illam reicere quovis praetextu audeat vel praesumat.’ (Denzinger & Hünemann 2012, § 1506).

In the twentieth century new efforts were undertaken to recover the original text of Jerome (*Biblia sacra iuxta Latinam vulgatam versionem. Ad codicum fidem* 1926–1987 [for the canonical parts]; light version in Weber & Gryson 2007), and also to reach a new translation of the Bible into Latin, of course based on Jerome's work (*Nova Vulgata Bibliorum Sacrorum editio*, 1979), but these go beyond the limits of this overview.

Canon in the Vulgate

Extent of the Canon

Basing himself on the idea of the *Hebraica veritas* Jerome regarded Wisdom, Sirach, Baruch (incl. Ep Jer), Judith, Tobias, 1 and 2 Maccabees²³ as apocryphal (*Prol. in libro Regum* ('*galeatus*') 54–55; *Comm. Jer.* Prol.). Nevertheless, he did translate Tobias and Judith (406), from an Aramaic version (Bogaert 2012, 70), reluctantly answering demands (*Prol. Tob* 2; *Prol. Jdt* 5), but in a much freer way than the canonical books. The additions to Daniel were translated by Jerome, of course not from the Hebrew, but from ʿ. The Song of the Three Children was retained within the narrative of Daniel (Dan 3:24–90), but he moved the other two additions (Susanna: Dan 13; Bel and the dragon: Dan 14) to the end of the book. The additions to Esther were translated from the LXX and put at the end of the book of Esth. Ps 151 was, of course, once part of the *Psalterium Gallicanum* (being translated from the LXX),²⁴ but its fate after the adoption of the *Psalterium Gallicanum* into the Vg (generally translated from the Hebrew) varies: included in its numerical order, omitted, or remitted to the appendix (Bogaert 2012, pp. 79, 87). Nevertheless, these non-canonical books tended to figure more and more, with the unchanged VL text,²⁵ in Vg manuscripts from the eighth century onward. In his introduction Pagninus placed the deutero-canonical books together, between the Old and the New Testament (Pagninus Lucensis 1528, c vii).

23 Jerome had considered 1 Macc as canonical before his insight of *Hebraica veritas*: see *Comm. Gal* (PL XXVI 384C) from 386 (Kelly 1975, 145); he also claimed to have found 1 Macc in Hebrew (*Prol. in libro Regum* ('*galeatus*') 55–56). Although 4 Macc figures in the Codex Sinaiticus, 3 and 4 Macc were never considered canonical in the West, while the Greek Orthodox Church accepted (besides 1 and 2 Macc) only 3 Macc (Dörrie 1937, 46–47, 53–54). Jerome also considered 3 and 4 Ezra as apocryphal (Bogaert 2000, 15–16).

24 A Hebrew variant of Ps 151 turned up in Qumran (11Q5 (11QPsa) xxviii 3–14); it was, however, not authored by the Qumran Community (Lorein 2003, 44).

25 The text of 1–2 Macc is a revision based on the Greek, but not by Jerome (Bogaert 1988, 291 n. 149).

At the Council of Trent, it was decided which books were canonical.²⁶ The following books were declared holy: Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kingdoms (= Sam and Kgs), Chronicles, Ezra (= Ezra and Neh), Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms (150 Psalms), Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Sirach, Isaiah, Jeremiah (incl. Baruch), Ezekiel, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, 1–2 Maccabees, ‘cum omnibus suis partibus’ (Add Esth, Dan), although during all sessions discussion continued about the distinction between authentic and ecclesiastical books (Duncker 1953, 279, 284, 286, 297–299; Ziegenaus 1990, 220). The list implies that Ps 151, 3 and 4 Ezra and the Prayer of Manasseh were reduced to a fully apocryphal status. All of these books were accepted in the ‘Apocrypha’ section of the King James Bible; none of them were accepted as canonical, a decision which was followed in the rest of the Reformation Churches.

The Bibles edited in the Reformed traditions did contain the deuterocanonical books and extensions (even the Prayer of Manasseh and 3 and 4 Ezra), but their status was very clear to the reader. In Stephanus’ 1528 edition, the books of Tobias, Judith, Liber Sapientiae and Ecclesiasticus are represented differently in the table of contents and they have their own (critical) prologues. 1–2 Maccabees have an in-between status.²⁷ The addition in Dan 3 is clearly indicated. (Cf. Roussel 2008, 111–112; Gomez-Géraud & Metzger-Rambach 2008, 158f.) The same applies to the translation of Sanctes Pagninus (Gomez-Géraud & Metzger-Rambach 2008, 159), who really cannot be called a Reformed scholar. For the Old Testament, he only translated the Hebrew (and Aramaic) texts, and the translation ends with Mal 4:6²⁸ (Pagninus Lucensis 1528, 173V–176R, 212V, 282R–287V). In 1557, Stephanus used Pagninus’ translation and, for the deuterocanonical books, supplemented it with a translation by Claude Baduel (Schwarzfuchs 2011, 41, 112). Hentenius represents all the deuterocanonical works, without typographical distinction in the table of contents, but with separate prologues and with notes in Dan 3.

26 For Tob, Jdt, Wis, Sir, Bar, 1 and 2 Macc the term ‘deuterocanonical’ (because they were only *later* considered as canonical) was coined in 1566 by Sixtus Senensis (of Siena; not the same person as Pope Sixtus!), as distinct from ‘protocanonical’ and ‘apocryphal’ (Montgomery 1963, 226).

27 ‘Machabaeorum libri licet non habeantur in canone Hebraeorum, tamen ab ecclesia inter divinorum voluminum annotantur historias’ (Stephanus 1528, 301V).

28 ‘Explicit vetus instrumentum nuper aeditum per Reverendissimum sacrae theologiae profes. Sanctem Pagninum Lucensem’ (Pagninus Lucensis 1528, 303R).

The Order and Grouping of the Books

The order of the books differs between manuscripts (see Berger 1893, 301–306, 331–339) and was not considered to be important: ‘Jérôme n’avait jamais conçu ni *a fortiori* réalisé une édition groupée de ses traductions.’ (Paul 2007, 337). Of course, from the moment that the complete text is copied in a single manuscript, the copyist had to make a choice, and from the moment that Bibles become more common, it is easier to have the same order in all copies.

Jerome mentions the ‘Hebrew’ order with approval (*Prologus galeatus* 23–43):²⁹ Pentateuch; Joshua, Judges (incl. Ruth), Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah (incl. Lam), Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets; Job, Psalms, Solomon (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles), Daniel, Chronicles, Ezra (incl. Nehemiah), Esther. The order of the LXX, however, had its influence too on Christian Bibles, as we can already see in the order of the Codex Amiatinus: Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Psalms (incl. Ps 151), Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Sirach, Isaiah, Jeremiah (with Lamentations as an integrated part of it, but without Baruch), Ezekiel, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, Job, Tobias, Judith, Esther, 1–2 Ezra, 1–2 Maccabees (Heyse & De Tischendorf 1873, x).

The normal order in ‘Alcuinian’ manuscripts is: Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Kingdoms (= Samuel and Kings), Isaiah, Jeremiah (incl. Lamentations), Ezekiel, Daniel, the Minor Prophets, Job, Psalms (incl. Ps 151: *Psalterium Gallicanum*), Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Sirach, Chronicles, Ezra (incl. Nehemiah), Esther, Tobias, Judith, 1–2 Maccabees (Marsden 1994, 114; Brandt 2001, 270). This is nearer to Jerome again, but Daniel has moved to the prophets and Wisdom and Sirach are grouped with the writings of Solomon—although they are not considered to be written by him (Brandt 2001, 277).

In the Paris Bibles we find: Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings; Chronicles, Ezra (incl. Neh), Tobias, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverb, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Sirach; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, the Minor Prophets; 1–2 Maccabees (Brandt 2001, 300, 356). This is a quite logical order: after the Pentateuch it provides the groups of historical, sapiential and prophetic books—1–2 Macc regarded as prophetic, i.e., anticipating the New Testament (Brandt 2001, 300–301). This order may

29 This is a different order from the one that is mentioned in BB 14b (which has Isa after Ezek, and in the Writings Ruth, Pss, Job, Prov, Eccl, Cant, Lam, Dan, Esth, Ezra [incl. Neh], Chr) and from the Codex Aleppo (which has in the Writings Chr, Pss, Job, Prov, Ruth, Cant, Eccl, Lam, Esth, Dan, Ezra [incl. Neh]) (Brandt 2001, 142, 148, 150, 159, 165 [cf. 141–171]). The Hieronymian order is also found in the Theodulph tradition, completed by the ‘Ordo librorum qui in canone non habentur’: Wis, Sir, Tob, Jdt, 1–2 Macc (Bogaert 2012, 82).

have been influenced by the exegetical insights of Hugo of St Victor (Light 1994, 162–163). We find the same order in the first printed Bible, but it includes the Prayer of Manasseh after 2 Chronicles and four books of Ezra (Brandt 2001, 308–309).

Chapters and Verse Numbering

Although earlier systems have existed to help readers to find their way in the text (*tituli, capitula*; Berger 1893, 307–310, 343–353), it took some time to invent a practical retrieval system. Stephan Langton was the first to introduce the current division of the Bible into chapters.³⁰ He was born in Lincolnshire (Langton By Wragby; Powicke 1928, 6) and worked in Paris from 1170 to 1206 (Vincent 2010, 67).³¹ Paris was a centre of learning where different traditions met and it seems that he was only bringing existing systems to perfection, *inter alia* based on the reading schedule of the synagogue. His system did not reach its final form on the first attempt, but in 1207 it must have nearly reached it; from 1220 it spread rapidly and widely, together with the Paris Bibles (D'Esneval 1978, 560f.; Van Banning 2007, 142–149, 154f.).

Versification in the sense of dividing the text into sentences had already been accomplished by the Masoretes. This means that the verses could be counted, even when they were not numbered (Penkower 2000, 381). The idea of numbering these verses is more recent and depends, of course, heavily on the chapter division. The system we use nowadays appears for the first time in the Latin translation of Pagninus, finishing with Mal 4:6 (Pagninus Lucensis 1528, 303; Fernández Marcos & Fernández Tejero 2003, 284f.). The Antwerp Polyglot (1572) seems to be the first Vg printed edition with verse numbering (Penkower 2000, 383), also adding the verse numbers to the other versions, such as the Tg. The first Tg with verse numbering was, however, the first Rabbinic Bible (Venice 1517).

30 Obviously, Langton's Bible was the Vg. Time and again mention is made of 'our traditional' division against 'the original Hebrew' division, but this is incorrect. When there are differences, the Hebrew chapter division is in most cases the more recent one. Of course, the situation is different in the Psalter, because there the division between the chapters is the division between individual Psalms, which is (more) clear in the text.

31 He wrote his first commentary before 1176 (Baldwin 2010, 23), which makes it difficult to date his birth in the year 1165, as had earlier been done. Now it is dated in 1150 (Vincent 2010, 58, 70).

Conclusion

Most Bible students living in the fifteenth and sixteenth century had easy access to a text that was quite near to 'Jerome's Vulgate', although not identical with it: it contained the *Psalterium Gallicanum* (and not the *Psalterium* translated directly from the Hebrew) and classicisms (thanks to Alcuin) and was influenced by readings from Jerome's commentaries (thanks to the Paris tradition). The Vg reached its 'official' status at a moment when decisions of the Roman Catholic Church were not accepted anymore by all Western Christians. Although it would contain all deuterocanonical books, Protestant scholars could easily decide for themselves what they would consider as canonical.

Towards the end of this period, a dozen other Latin translations became available, not to mention editions in languages that are not covered by this overview. Some of these were written by Roman Catholics, others by Protestants, but the confessional boundaries, although very important in these formative days, did not hinder scholars from using translations from the other side (Delville 2008, 89, 106): Pagninus (Catholic) was edited by Servet (Protestant) in 1542 and by Stephanus (Protestant) in 1557 (Fernández Marcos & Fernández Tejero 2003, 286), Hentenius (Catholic) used Stephanus' 1532 and 1540 editions (François 2012, 238), Stephanus' 1545 edition was reprinted in Spain (Catholic) (Barthélemy 1986, *40–*41), the *Editio Sixtina* (Catholic) used Stephanus' 1557 edition (Barthélemy 1992, cci).

Influence of the Tg, the main subject of this volume, was possible in two periods, in Jerome's time and in the time of Humanism, but not during the long period between these two. We have mentioned some passages of the Vg where it seems to be influenced by the Tg, but we cannot be sure. We have mentioned Humanist translators who were interested in Tg, but concrete influence of their Tg studies on their Latin translations cannot be proven either. This is not so strange, because they undertook their translation efforts to get closer to the Hebrew text than Jerome had done and for that purpose the Tg would not always be very helpful.

In this way we can even compare Jerome and his Humanist colleagues: interested in Jewish affairs, using material from the other side of religious boundaries—in Jerome's time Christian versus Jewish, during Humanism complicated by Reformed versus Roman Catholic—but axed to their Christian interpretation of the Bible. Independent of the question whether one found it an ideal or a bad translation, the Vg was important as the omnipresent standard version of the Old Testament for a Christian World dealing with the Jewish Targum.

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The Commission of Targum Manuscripts and the Patronage of Christian Hebraism in Sixteenth-Century Castile

*Jesús de Prado Plumed**

Introduction

The following pages will explore Christian Hebraism in Castile in the first half of the sixteenth century from the standpoint of a social history of book production. I will focus on two particular cases of large manuscript commissions, one for the University of Alcalá de Henares (the Complutensian University),¹ currently manuscripts Valdecilla MSS 4 and 5, whose colophon is dated in 1517, and one for the University of Salamanca, currently manuscripts Salamanca 1, 2 and 3, whose only extant colophon is dated in 1532. These two sets of manuscripts contain a large corpus of Jewish Aramaic Targums with accompanying Latin translations.

As I will try to show in this essay, those two major commissions were the fruit of the lasting professional partnership of two Converso Hebraists, Alfonso de Zamora (c. 1474–c. 1545) and Pablo Núñez Coronel (?–1534, also known as Pablo Coronel). This partnership must be understood in the context of the persistence of Judaic scholarship in post-expulsion Spain. Zamora and Coronel occupied themselves throughout their professional lives as teachers of Hebrew and Aramaic, as textual scholars and as highly skilled professionals active in the book trade. Finally, this essay will also suggest ways in which the history of the book can contribute to a broader understanding of targumic scholarship in the Early Modern Period.

* For the academic year 2013–2014, Maurice Amado Foundation Fellow, Herbert D. Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Pennsylvania. I thank Alberdina Houtman for her sharp editorial eye and Theodor Dunkelgrün for his comments on successive drafts of this article.

1 Not to be confused with the current Universidad Complutense de Madrid, established under this name in 1970, based in the city of Madrid, nor with the University of Alcalá, established in 1977, based in the town of Alcalá de Henares. Neither are direct heirs of the old Complutensian University that lasted from 1499–1508 until 1836 in the town of Alcalá de Henares whose Latin name is *Complutum*, hence the adjective *Complutensis*, *-e*. In this essay, *Complutensian* will be used to refer to anything connected with that old and now dissolved collegial foundation.

The Complutensian Polyglot Bible

In the first half of the sixteenth century, in the leading Castilian university towns of Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares, the Conversos Alfonso de Zamora and Pablo Núñez Coronel led busy professional, scholarly lives. Both of them became popular teachers of Hebrew and Aramaic as well as much sought-after producers of Hebrew-script manuscripts, either as the actual scribe—Alfonso de Zamora—or as the necessary go-between—Pablo Coronel. The leading editorial role in the task of producing the Hebrew and Aramaic parts of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (ca. 1502–1517) may have been held by Núñez Coronel as has been suggested by some early students of the *Entstehungsgeschichte* of the Complutensian Polyglot (Kahle 1956, 136, although Kahle gives no evidence to support his claim). This argument went contrary to the conclusion reached by earlier studies (Neubauer 1895, 410) that, in turn, had misread previous scholars (Steinschneider 1858, 281). Neubauer's erroneous attribution has been uncritically repeated in recent biographical summaries of Coronel's life (Muñoz Solla 2012, 236). It seems rather that Zamora assisted Coronel in the latter's editorial responsibilities for the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, as early as in 1509 (Escorial, G.III.19, f. 240r) and as late as in 1517 (Torre y del Cerro 1909a, 70f.). Both Coronel and Zamora eventually accepted academic positions as Hebrew teachers in Salamanca—in Coronel's case, for a short period of four years from 1530 till his death in 1534 (AUSA 10, f. 43v–44r; Beltrán de Heredia 1970, 630)—and Alcalá de Henares—Zamora probably for almost three decades after possibly being the first ever appointed Hebrew professor in the university around 1512.²

The lasting professional partnership between Zamora and Coronel illuminates the way print and manuscript were both vital parts of their work of book-production. Philological and editorial work on the Targums for the Complutensian Polyglot constitutes the earliest recorded evidence of Zamora's career, where Pablo Núñez Coronel is mentioned, in a note written in Zamora's hand, as a 'witness' to Zamora's faithful performance of his twofold assignment. Zamora used a copy of the 1491 Hebrew Bible incunable printed in Lisbon (Escorial G.III.19; Offenber 1990, no. 17; ISTC no. ib00525640; GW

2 Unfortunately the archival source brought forward to support this claim in the article that first mentioned this piece of evidence (Torre y del Cerro 1909b, 284) is given a wrong shelf mark. I have not been able to locate that particular document anywhere else in Madrid's Archivo Histórico Nacional, where most of the archive of the historical Complutensian University has been deposited.

M30638)³ as an editorial tool to prepare the Aramaic columns of the Polyglot Bible (Ginsburg 1897, 923–925).⁴ Zamora's first task was to identify the roots of Aramaic words found in the text and to note them in the margins of the printer's copy. A number of those roots would later be printed in the margins besides the columns of the Complutensian Polyglot Aramaic texts. His second task was to separate the words in the Aramaic text by straight vertical strokes in red ink, a caveat characteristically noted in Spanish for careless journeymen in the Complutensian workshop who looked at those Aramaic texts as an undifferentiated sequence in *scriptio continua*: 'parad mientes no oluide[ys] / el rrenglon postrimero del / caldeo como soleys' ['ye/thou, pay attention—do not forget the last line in the Aramaic as ye/thou usually do'], 'guardad el rrenglon' ['keep the line'] (Escorial G.III.19, ff. 58v, 67v). Handwritten annotations found in Hebrew throughout the text record the communication among Hebraists during the editorial process in a hand likely of Zamora himself: תבוא עד פה [‘You will reach up to here’] (Escorial G.III.19, f. 35v); טוב כולו [‘Correct so far’].

The Valdecilla Manuscripts

As the Complutensian Polyglot Bible was nearing completion at some point before 1517, Zamora was charged with the production of a series of carefully crafted manuscripts of Jewish Aramaic paraphrases of the Bible, or Targums. The colophons of the extant samples of this commission are dated on 8 April 1517 (Valdecilla MS 5, f. 193v) and 27 July 1517 (Valdecilla MS 4, f. 288v). The patron of both the Complutensian Polyglot and the Complutensian University, Cardinal and archbishop of Toledo Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (born in 1436), primate of Spain and regent of Castile for the second time at the time when these manuscripts were produced, died while on his way to meet the new king Charles of Habsburg on 8 November 1517. Evidence for how much Zamora was paid for this assignment has not been unearthed yet but we do know who was paid as the necessary middleman: none other than Pablo Coronel (Torre y del Cerro 1909a, 70f.). Because the manuscripts bear somebody else's name as copyist (Zamora) but payments for the work were received by Coronel, we

3 British Library, Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, URL: <http://istc.bl.uk/search/search.html?operation=record&rsid=575524&q=0>; Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, URL: <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/M30638.htm>

4 Of the two volumes Ginsburg mentioned as extant in the 1890s, today only the second one is apparently extant in the Escorial library. My observations are based on that single volume.

may safely conclude that Coronel was acting from as early as 1509 until as late as 1517 in a capacity of editorial supervisor of the Hebraist scholars active in the project of the Complutensian Polyglot. 4,760 maravedis (12.69 Castilian ducats; for the currencies employed at the time: Francisco Olmos 2013, 242) are registered in the entry for this commission in the Cardinal's ledger (Torre y del Cerro 1909a, 70f.):

Pagué a maestro Pablo dos myll maravedis para en parte de pago de vn libro que se escriue en latin, sacado del caldeo, para la librería, por mandado del Cardenal, segund dixo el señor Maestro de la Fuente, visitador; pagase cada pliego a veinte maravedis, en pergamino [...] Di á maestro Pablo dos myll e seteçientos y setenta maravedis por razón de vna Biblia que haze escrevir de caldeo y latin, en la qual hay çinquenta y nueve quadernos y medio, de quatro pliego cada quaderno; y dase ochenta maravedis por cada cuaderno; y suma todo lo que se paga quatro myll y seteçientos y sesenta maravedis, de los quales tenía reçebidos dos mill, y agora resçibió dos mill y seteçientos y setenta para completo de pago de la dicha suma.

(‘I paid master Pablo [Coronel] 2,000 maravedis as partial payment for a book that is being written in Latin translated from Aramaic for the [Alcalá University] library under Cardinal [Cisneros’s] orders as transmitted by the university controller Master [Antonio] de la Fuente [Torre y del Cerro 1909b, 263]. Twenty maravedis are to be paid for each parchment sheet [...] I gave Master Pablo [Coronel] 2,770 maravedis for a Bible book that he commissioned to be written in Aramaic and Latin. It is made up of fifty-nine quires and a half, four sheets in each quire. Each quire cost eighty maravedis. The total sum is 4,760 maravedis. He had been paid 2,000 of that sum, he is now given 2,760 in order to complete the due amount.’).

That Coronel acted as a supervisor of Zamora’s work rather than as a simple partner is pointed out here by the formula used in the Cardinal’s records: ‘[Coronel] haze escrevir’ (‘[Coronel] commissioned [the book] to be copied’). ‘Under the Cardinal’s orders’ (‘por mandado del Cardenal’) is the formula that Zamora wrote in Hebrew (כהן גדול של טלטולה) ‘by order... of the Archbishop of Toledo’, Cisneros’s other ecclesiastical title) in one of the colophons of these Complutensian Targums: נשלם... על יד אלפונשו די סאמורה (‘It was finished... by Alfonso de Zamora by order of Don Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros,

archbishop of Toledo'] (Valdecilla MS 5, f. 193r) and that also appears in another manuscript written by Zamora one year before:

ברשות דון פריהיי פראנסישקו שימיניץ קארדינאל די אישפאנייה ארסובישפו די
טולידו : שהיא טליטולה ובמאמרו וברוב חשקו נדפס כל ארבעה ועשרין\ס\ בד'
לשונות שהם עבראן ותרגו[ם] ולשון רומיי שהוא לאטין ולשון יוני שהוא גרייגו
[With the permission of Don Frey Francisco Jiménez Cardenal de España
Arçobispo de Toledo, i.e. Ṭaleṭulah,⁵ under whose orders and following his
will all the Twenty-Four Books (of the Hebrew Bible) were printed in the
four languages, i.e. Hebrew, Aramaic (literally, *Targum*), Roman, i.e. *Latín*,
and Greek, i.e. *Griego*] (Salamanca MS 6, f. 285vb–286ra; the emphasis is
mine to stress the Spanish words simply transcribed into Hebrew char-
acters, a practice consistently followed and taught by Zamora: Prado
Plumed 2011).

The Salamanca Manuscripts

The accompanying Latin translation to the Aramaic Targums that Zamora copied was very likely drafted by Pablo Núñez Coronel, as suggested by a passage of the Aramaic preface Zamora prepared thirteen years later in the 1530s—when Zamora was assigned to write Targum manuscripts with Latin translations again, now under commission of the University of Salamanca. The result is a set of codices whose extant witnesses are currently manuscripts with shelf marks 1, 2 and 3 in the historical library of Salamanca University (Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad). The passage we have mentioned did not eventually find its way into the final version (Leiden Or. 645, part F, f. 110r = image F 001r; Alonso Fontela 2009, 386 and note 11 there) but gives a clear picture of the division of labour between Zamora and Coronel:

ומליצותא הדא דלישנא דרומאי אעתק יתה מלביה חכימא שלימא בחכמתא
דאלהא והוא גבר שלים בדחלתא דיי וועדי מן בישא דאיתקרי בשמיה מאשטרי
פאבלו קורוניל די שמעיה בכל ארעא

(‘This version (מליצותא הדא) in Latin (lit. the language of the Romans) was translated (אעתק) personally by the accomplished theologian (lit. sage in God’s science), who is a *man blameless in fearing God and*

5 This Arabic form is the name by which medieval Iberian Jews traditionally called the city of Toledo.

shunning evil. [He is] called master Pablo Coronel, *whose fame spread throughout the land*’; my emphasis, the formulae are taken from Job 11 and Joshua 6:27.)

The commission of these Salamanca Targum manuscripts with Latin translations is a fine example of how helpful it can be to integrate a history of the book perspective into the history of scholarship. Pablo Núñez Coronel appears as guarantee (*fiador*) of the University’s commission to Zamora. Coronel would respond with his own property should Zamora fail to meet the conditions of the assignment (AUSA 11, f. 251v, dated on 7 April 1533). Scholars have commonly seen this legal act by Coronel as an exceptional evidence of his trust in Zamora’s skills (Díez Merino 2001, 196; Fernández López 2011, 139). In fact, however, it conformed to the standard procedure among commercial actors in the contemporary book market in Castile. As María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez (2000, 97, 40) puts it:

El artesano avala siempre el cumplimiento del contrato con el nombramiento de un fiador, que se hacía responsable de lo firmado, en caso de incumplimiento por parte de aquél, y cuya presencia es exigida por la otra parte contratante. Salvo excepciones, los fiadores suelen ser personas relacionadas con el mundo del libro, en general [...] Este corporativismo [entre practicantes de los distintos oficios del libro] se pone de manifiesto en las actuaciones como fiadores en los contratos de obligación.

(The craftsman always endorses the terms of the contracts by appointing a guarantor, who is liable for any breach of the contract, and whose presence is required by the other party to the contract. These guarantors are almost always people connected with the book trade [...] This corporate spirit [felt among practitioners of the different trades connected with the book] is clear from those who act as guarantors in a pre-contract.)

Commissions and Payments

In the same vein, extant evidence surrounding the circumstances of this commission from Salamanca disproves some erroneous ideas. Some scholars have argued that Zamora wrote the manuscript copies of the Targums with Latin translations for Salamanca University out of a burst of institutional loyalty—whose deep reasons pass however unexplained: ‘[A Salamanca] Alfonso de

Zamora solía mandar puntualmente copia de muchas de sus obras' ('Alfonso de Zamora used to send Salamanca [University] a copy of many of his works on a routine basis') (Fernández López 2011, 139, and here note 10). *Muchas* seems a bit far-fetched. Only one more piece of work by Alfonso is recorded as having immediately found its way to a Salamanca institution, one different from the central administration of this collegial university. The Colegio Mayor de Cuenca, so named because of the episcopal title held at the time by its founder, Diego Ramírez de Haro or de Villaescusa (1459–1537), received a manuscript produced by Zamora. This manuscript was a commission first intended for the Complutensian University (Salamanca MS 2170, f. 160v). Some unknown circumstance led the manuscript from the Complutensian library to the shelves of the Salamanca college (Lazar 1958, 322; although I agree with the sense of Lazar's reading, I did not actually read in the manuscript the words he transcribes). Besides this, the provenance of the three copies of Zamora's Hebrew grammar (Zamora 1526) currently held by Salamanca University Library has not been traced.

Few highly skilled workers do or did work *gratis et amore*—except perhaps in academia these days—as both Fernández López and Díez Merino seem to suggest concerning Zamora. What we have here is therefore one more product of, and testimony to, a lasting and mutually beneficial partnership. Zamora was clearly a professional and like the medieval stonemasons who carved their personal marks in the building stones they had previously cut in order to claim their due wage, he marked the number of *pligos* ('sheets', *pliegos* in standard Spanish) and *quadernos* ('quires, gatherings') he had worked out in order to claim his payment (Valdecilla MS 7, f. 190v; Escorial G.I.4, f. 66v; Valdecilla MS 6, f. 197v; Valdecilla MS 9, f. 1r, 173v; Valdecilla MS 18, flyleaf, 139r; Valdecilla MS 20, f. 145v; BNE 7542, f. 235v; AHN Universidades 4). He conspicuously records these references in Spanish only, so as to prevent any difference of interpretation with his employers.

As much more archival research is needed, it is not possible yet to correlate payments for the manuscripts commissioned to Zamora. Only tentatively, we can compare the 4,760 maravedis (12.69 Castilian ducats) paid to Pablo Coronel (Torre y del Cerro 1909a, 70f.) for a Targum with Latin translation of fifty-nine quires (*quadernos*) on 18 August 1517, the current manuscript Valdecilla MS 4, and the 12 ducats agreed by Salamanca in 1533 for all the Targums to Prophets and Hagiographa (AUSA 11, f. 119v, 123v). The evidence is problematic. Does it mean that Zamora was being paid less in the 1530s than in the 1510s for the same work although his fame as a scribe would have arguably increased? If so, it would mean that he was not being able to pull himself up by his inkwell

(Harllee 2008). In a Spanish note (Leiden Or. 645, part D, f. 114v = image 151v), Alfonso de Zamora records that:

de salama[n]ca / danme por cada quaderno tres rreales por lo hebreo y / a-sesenta m[ara]v[edi]s por el latin / rreçevi oy .12. de enero seys ducados y .24. pieles / el rrapar cuesta a .6. m[ara]v[edi]s cada piel

(‘from Salamanca [related to their Targum commission] / they give me three *reales* for the Hebrew [lines] in each quire / and sixty *maravedis* for the Latin [lines] / Today 12 January [1531?] six ducats and twenty-four parchment sheets [*pieles*, lit. ‘skins’] / Preparing the parchment [lit. ‘shaving’] costs six *maravedis* for each parchment sheet.’)

After writing this Spanish record, Zamora eventually progressed in completing his assignment, crossed this record out and registered above it in Hebrew for his personal ledger accounts כולו עבר (‘All this is settled’).

We can learn more about the role of book patronage among Iberian Christian Hebraists in the first half of the sixteenth century from manuscript Salamanca MS 2170. Its colophon is dated in 1530, the very same year Zamora was engaged with the large commission of Targums for Salamanca University. Its patron, Diego Ramírez (Castro Santamaría 2009), was the uncle and the protector of Antonio Ramírez de Haro, a prominent churchman himself who commissioned another manuscript Targum from Zamora, now in Madrid (BNE 7542, f. 235v).⁶ Cuenca was the place of birth of Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla and its cathedral was his final resting place (Mártir Rizo 1629, 118). Mendoza y Bobadilla also was one of Alfonso de Zamora’s patrons and clients. It is Cuenca where one of Zamora’s books was printed under the aegis of the then bishop of Coria, Mendoza y Bobadilla (Zamora 1537). When one reads all the manuscripts and printed books together a clear sense of a culture of shared learning and patronage networks emerges.

Other Books

Between the Complutensian Targum manuscripts completed in 1517, and the Salamancan ones from 1530–1533, we know of another case in which Zamora

6 On this manuscript, see also the article of Johanna M. Tanja and Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman ‘A Jewish Targum in a Remarkable Paratext’ in this volume.

faithfully recorded that Núñez Coronel served as an agent between him and one of his patrons. Edward Lee, the English ambassador to the court of Charles V in Spain, commissioned from Zamora through Coronel's intervention a copy of David Qamhi's (Kimchi)⁷ Hebrew grammar with a parallel Latin translation (BNF 1229). Zamora composed an encomium of Núñez Coronel's active help in recommending his work to Lee (Gutwirth 1988–1989): 'the accomplished sage, master Pablo Coronel, who is a man blameless in fearing God and shunning evil, whose fame spread over the earth.' (BNF 1229, f. 247va: החכם השלם מאשטרי פאבלו נוניי קורוניל איש תם וישר ירא אלהים וסר מרע אשר שמעו בכל (הארץ)). Zamora paraphrased in Hebrew the same formula taken from the books of Job and Joshua that he would be drafting for use in the Targum manuscripts for Salamanca some three years later. Quite mysteriously, any reference to Núñez Coronel's participation in the commission for Lee vanished from the Latin colophon: it is simply substituted by an intriguing *etcetera*.

This collegial and to all appearances cordial relationship between Zamora and Núñez Coronel seems to have lasted throughout their lives. Núñez Coronel died in 1534, around a decade before Zamora's death. But even in his very last years, Coronel remained an associate of Zamora. On 4 February 1530, Zamora still records how a loyal Coronel orders copies of Zamora's books (Leiden Or. 645, part D, f. [197v] = image 152r):⁸ his 1526 Hebrew grammar and a very short but very popular book, his *Loor de virtudes* (Zamora 1525; Martín Abad 1991, no. 148), a compilation of biblical words of wisdom translated from the Hebrew text and rendered into Castilian verses of *arte menor*—one hemistich of eight verses, the basis of Castilian traditional and popular metre (Cuartero Sancho 2010).

7 I prefer to use the traditional Sephardi reading of this surname, which is Qamhi (Felsenthal 1897, 127–133, 137f.).

8 In November 2010, I compiled a concordance of folios for the Leiden Zamora manuscript linking the folio numbers found in the actual manuscript to the corresponding folio numbers given in the excellent high-resolution photographic reproduction kindly made by the Leiden University Library's Special Collections department (Bijzondere Collecties, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden). I subsequently distributed this concordance among interested parties, including the managers and librarians of Leiden's Special Collections and colleagues with whom I had kept correspondence about Alfonso de Zamora and this particular manuscript. In the months afterward, some possible mistakes have been brought to my attention. The folio quoted here can be one of those mistakes. This is why I give the folio number between brackets as a form of a caveat for subsequent readers of this manuscript.

Motivations of Patrons and Clients

The motivations behind the production of Hebrew-script manuscripts commissioned by Christian scholars in the Early Modern Period has only been tentatively assessed for the Iberian context (Prado Plumed 2012). Other fields of early modern polyglot scholarship may serve for the sake of comparison so as to map out a research agenda for studies focusing on the Hebraist disciplines and the specific branch of early modern Christian Hebraism, Aramaic scholarship, to which this volume is devoted. Hebrew-script manuscripts were not the only manuscripts in an ancient scriptural language that enjoyed a strong demand at that time. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Western Europe have been characterized as a time of a large production of Greek-script manuscripts, too (Vogel & Gardthausen 1909; Patrinelis 1958–1959 [1961]; Harlfinger 1977; Patoura 2000). In fact, most extant textual witnesses to classical Greek works were produced as manuscripts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Vranoussis 1982, 401; quoting Canart 1963, 57). The connection between the Greek and the Hebrew interests of early modern scholars is well known: these were the original languages of the New and Old Testament respectively, the cornerstones of biblical humanism. If scholars who possessed a Hellenist as much as a Hebraist inclination were readers and sometimes commissioners of Greek manuscripts, then surely commissioning Hebrew manuscripts was not an extraordinary practice for them either. This network of commission and production informed by a learned, biblical-humanist culture is also on display among Zamora's and Coronel's Iberian contemporaries.

Zamora's clients, who commissioned manuscripts from him, came from the scholarly and ecclesiastical élite of Castile in his time, as I have explored elsewhere (Prado Plumed 2012). His patrons did not limit themselves to financially supporting his production of manuscripts. For instance, one of Zamora's patrons was Cardinal Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla (1508–1566) who commissioned one manuscript from him (Naples Branc. IV.F.2; Lacerenza 2005, 68–73) and who, as we have mentioned earlier, also probably paid for one of Alfonso's minor editions (Zamora 1537) that boasts its patron on its cover: 'Dirigido al muy / illustre y Reuere[n]dissimo señor do[n] / Fra[n]cisco d[e] Bouadilla Ob[is]po de / Coria Arcediano d[e] toledo' ('To the most illustrious and most reverend Lord Don Francisco de [Mendoza y] Bobadilla, bishop of Coria, archdeacon of Toledo'). From a posthumous list of books owned by Mendoza y Bobadilla, we learn that he also owned other Hebrew-script manuscripts, including some books by Zamora (Graux 1880, 417–427, Domingo Malvadi 2011, 89). Displaying the combined interest in Greek and Hebrew scholarship that many humanists of his time shared, he commissioned a Greek

manuscript from a Greek scribe in Rome through the intervention of Juan Páez de Castro (ca. 1510–1570), himself, in turn, an erstwhile student of Zamora's in Alcalá (Domingo Malvadi 2011, 88).

If the history of early modern Iberians' interest in Jewish scholarship is that of a constant paradox formerly featured as a conspicuous form of 'silence' (Carrete Parrondo 1983, 17–22, especially 18), this salient feature is nowhere more clearly on display than in Cardinal Cisneros' introductory words in his Complutensian Polyglot (Jiménez de Cisneros 1517):

Na[m] Chaldaica in caeteris libris praeterq[ue] in Pentateucho corrupta est aliquibus in locis : & fabulis merisq[ue] Thalmudistarum nugis conspersa : indigna prorsus quae sacris codicibus inseratur. Verum quia quibusdam in locis vbi integra est littera & incorrupta : miru[m] in modum fauet Christianae religioni : Idcirco reliquos libros totius Veteris testamenti e Chaldaica lingua in latinam verti fecimus : & diligentissime cum sua latina traductione conscriptos in publica Complutensis nostrae Vniuersitatis Bibliotheca reponi.

(‘For the Aramaic [version] is corrupted except in the Pentateuch in several places in the remaining books, bespattered with the mere fables and nonsense of the Talmudists, utterly unworthy of being included among the sacred codices. [Yet] it is true that in several places where the [targumic] version [*littera*] is unchanged and uncorrupted, it is astonishing how much it favours Christian religion. We [Cisneros] therefore ordered all the other books of the Old Testament to be translated from the Aramaic language into Latin and to be diligently copied [in the same two-column manuscript] alongside that Latin translation, and deposited in the public library of our university in Alcalá.’)

These *fabulae meraeque Thalmudistarum nugae* (‘fables and dispensable trifles of the Talmudic writers’) have led some modern scholars astray. If the Targums were but ‘dispensable trifles’, why did Jiménez de Cisneros make the effort and devote the required large budget to make the Targums freely available to the interested scholars in his Complutensian public library, both in their Aramaic original and in careful Latin translations? (Dunkelgrün 2012, 396).⁹ It is Cisneros

9 See further in this volume the article by Eveline van Staaldoune-Sulman and Johanna M. Tanja, ‘Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles’.

again who speaks in his preface to the reader of the integral (Christian) truth that is transmitted by the Targums to the Old Testament in several places ('quibusdam in locis'). Did he choose to have an anthology of solely those particular worthwhile places produced? Rather on the contrary, he chose to have *all* the Targums to the Old Testament translated into Latin and made them accessible in his university's library in Alcalá de Henares ('in publica Complutensis nostrae Vniuersitatis Bibliotheca reponi'). Cisneros seems to have been playing once again the complex game of the ecclesiastical reformer, the shrewd politician and the cultural patron. Actions speak louder than words—put otherwise in an old Spanish idiom very much in use up to this day: *obras son amores y no buenas razones* (Núñez de Guzmán 1555, f. 88v[a]). If the material evidence of extant targumic translations (i.e. *obras*) contradicts the ideological stance put forward (*buenas razones*), it is better to follow the extant evidence so as to ascertain the interest and devotion (*amores*) of the Complutensians and their munificent archbishop in everything related to Jewish and specifically targumic scholarship.

Conclusions

By turning my attention to manuscript production in an age—the early sixteenth century—traditionally heralded as the triumph of the printed book (Febvre & Martin 1999 [1958], 1976; Eisenstein 2005 [1983]), in this essay I have aimed to challenge well-established practices in the historiography of early modern Christian Aramaic scholarship that emphasize either the transition of a manuscript-centred to a printed-centred culture (Tamani 1989, 1991; Beit-Arié 1989) or the apparent narrowing of possibilities for manuscript production in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Petrucchi 1986, 1988; Bouza Álvarez 2001). My claim is that although, since the advent of print, manuscripts were increasingly confined to specialized niche book markets, the reach of this specialization was more elastic than is often supposed (Bouza Álvarez 2001, 18, 20; Dadson 1998, 42; Castillo Gómez 1997, 342–346; Álvarez Márquez 2000). Early modern Jewish book cultures have traditionally been regarded as a singular case of the persistence of a manuscript culture well into the age of print (Okun 1991; Spiegel 2005), where books in print and in manuscript are not considered separately. The Jewish descent of the producers of the manuscripts for Alcalá and Salamanca I have explored above may have played a role in their prestige as keepers of a venerable scribal tradition. I am however convinced that the persistence of manuscript production had more to do with the demands

of their patrons and the resources available to those producers at the time of completing these two major assignments. In early sixteenth century Spain, Jewish converts to Christianity found in this form of book production a fitting way of catering to their clients in the European scholarly world much like contemporary Greek scholars, either migrated from the Byzantine world or born in Italy, did.

Furthermore, by turning to the history of the Christian demand for Jewish Aramaic texts in the first generations after the expulsions, forced conversions and flights of Iberian Jews in the 1490s, I aimed to challenge a long-established understanding of Christian Hebraism. It has been claimed that the history of Christian Hebraism in the Iberian lands has been a particularly neglected chapter in the general assessment of early modern Christian Hebraism (Homza 2000, 246, note 20). Recent major reassessments of this scholarly and intellectual movement confirm that early modern Iberian contributions to and discussions of Christian Hebraism are thoroughly neglected (Ruderman 2010, 111–120, 173–189; Burnett 2012, where Pablo Núñez Coronel, is erroneously named ‘Pedro Coronel’ three times: 55, 99, 334a [index]). Christian Hebraism is often associated with the Reformation, in a fundamentally ahistorical and essentialist reading in which the study of Judaic scholarship by Christians and for Christian reasons would have almost exclusively been pushed by Protestantism and liberty of conscience, Humanism being in the substance of this interpretation a form of scholarly humane philanthropy (González González 1989, 45–47; Oberman 1992; Nirenberg 2013, chap. 7).

In my opinion, contrary to the idea brought forward by Bernd Moeller that identifying humanism and Protestant Reformers was a ‘constructive misunderstanding’ (Burnett 2012, 21, note 45, quoting Moeller 1959, 45), this anachronistic confessionalization does more harm than good. It cannot account, for example, for the substantial holdings of early modern Christian Hebraic scholarship found in rare books libraries in southern European (i.e. mostly Roman Catholic) countries (Nola 2001; Abate & Gese 2005; García-Jalón de la Lama 1996). If Christian Hebraism was a largely Protestant phenomenon, then why are early modern collections in Spain and Italy filled with Hebrew books—often written by Protestants and Jews?

My inquiry has tried to show that by combining material, philological and historical methods of researching the history of scholarship, we might draw a more nuanced picture of those scholars and their works and of the history of biblical philology and Christian Hebraism in Iberia. This was an intellectual tradition that did not end in 1492 but turned into what increasingly looks like

a distinguished scholarly tradition of its own (Reinhardt 1990, 1999) that continued until the eve of the shift of the scholarly paradigm introduced in the early 19th century (Castillo 1676; Martín de Cuadros 1733; García Blanco 1846, 1848, 1869).

Aramaic joined Hebrew and Greek in the constellation of interests of scholars and collectors. The interest of Iberian scholars in Targums and their commissioning of Targum manuscripts from Alfonso de Zamora and Pablo Núñez Coronel fits into the general context of polyglot humanism and élite learned circles that made up the core of the *letrado* (university trained) royal and ecclesiastical officials in the European and American monarchy of the Iberian Habsburgs (Maravall Casesnoves 1983).

Several fundamental questions remain unresolved: what type of scholarly conversation Zamora and Coronel conducted, who their correspondents were, what use they foresaw or intended for their Hebrew books, and whether the books they produced for their élite customers were actually studied or simply collected as prestigious luxury items. As happens so often with Christian Hebraists of medieval and early modern times, disdain towards Jews is found throughout their writings (Rosenthal 1971, 135); a fierce rejection of Judaism permeates their reading of Jewish texts (Nirenberg 2013) and yet an honest respect for scholars and their scholarship seems to frame the way of thinking about Zamora, Coronel and their Iberian peers.

The history of early modern Iberian Aramaic studies is absent from the general overviews of the history of Aramaic studies generally (Tamani 1996; Burnett 2005). The long scholarly conversation between the Segovian Núñez Coronel and the Zamoran *Convertido de Judío*, as he declared himself to be before the Inquisition (AHN Inquisición 165:6; Carrete Parrondo 1974) lasted for almost three decades. The result lives on in books—that they read, shared, produced, used and perused. Besides being etymological cognates, *conversion* and *conversation* share the complex, paradoxical nature that most scholarly dialogues in the early modern era possessed.

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Leiden Or. 645 = Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Or. 645.

Naples Branc. IV.F.2 = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale 'Vittorio Emanuele II', Branc. IV.F.2.

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A Jewish Targum in a Remarkable Paratext

Paratextual Elements in Two Targum Manuscripts of Alfonso de Zamora

Johanna M. Tanja and Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman

A text looks different when its *mise en page* differs. Poetry printed as prose loses its shine. Likewise, a Targum text combined with a Latin translation, a left to right pagination and Latin marginal notes does not immediately come across as a classical Jewish text. That is the case with Sephardic Targum manuscripts that contain Aramaic and Latin text, surrounded by a remarkable set of paratextual elements. This article describes the paratext of two Targum manuscripts, produced by the Converso Alfonso de Zamora in the sixteenth century, viz. MS 7542 (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid; dated 1533) and the series MSS M1–M3 (Biblioteca General Histórica Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca; dated 1532). They appear to be a mixture of Jewish and Christian elements, reflecting the world of this Converso in Spain.

Alfonso de Zamora worked in Salamanca (1511) and in Alcalá de Henares (from 1512 onwards). He had been attracted to teach Hebrew and Aramaic. Besides, he was one of the editors in the team that produced the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (printed 1514–1517) under the direction of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517). The Cardinal was committed to the reform of the Church and convinced that a more adequate training for the higher clergy had to be an indispensable part of that reform. To this end he founded a university where Biblical studies in the original languages were at the forefront. The Complutensian Polyglot Bible was created in this milieu (Hall, 1990, 7). The Polyglot Bible was part of the humanist rediscovering of the sources, in this case the Hebrew source text of the Old Testament and two ancient translations of it, Greek and Aramaic. Of course, these source texts were not used to discover new beliefs or to explore a different religion, but were believed to confirm the Christian religion and to form the background of the authoritative translation in the Vulgate.¹ Moreover, we must keep in mind that this language education and the recovering of sources took place in Alcalá de Henares in an all-Christian environment. By this time, the entire Iberian Peninsula had come under Roman Catholic rule, and Castile and Aragon had expelled their Jewish inhabitants in 1492.

1 See our article 'Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles' in this volume.

The Complutensian Polyglot Bible was a typically Christian enterprise.² The source texts were placed in an entirely Latin frame and were introduced by Christian, Latin texts. Its educational purpose was obvious through the Latin translations of the Greek and Aramaic versions and through the many notes referring to the dictionary in the last volume of the series. This *mise en page* was copied in MS 7542: a Latin translation next to the Aramaic column put in an entirely Latin frame, with notes referring to the dictionary. It has been copied for Don Antonio Ramírez de Haro, according to its colophon. Don Antonio was later Bishop of Ourense (1537–1539), Ciudad Rodrigo (1539–1541), Calahorra (1541–1543), and Segovia (1543–1549) (Martz 1998, 255). In the years before his first appointment as bishop he toured the Kingdom of Valencia and began to set up rectories in the villages with the largest population of Moriscos (Haliczer 1990, 254), in order to instruct these converted Muslims in the Christian doctrines and rites.

MSS M1–M3 were copied for the University of Salamanca, as is stated at the beginning of the first volume (fol. 1v; see also Díez Merino 2005). The *mise en page* of MSS M1–M3 is not identical to that of MS 7542. It basically provides the same elements—Aramaic column, Latin translation next to it, introductions to both columns—but the educational tool of dictionary references is absent. Moreover, it is as if Alfonso de Zamora added a Jewish layer: Hebrew titles of the Biblical books, Hebrew poems, explanations of some Jewish practices and some marginal notes referring to Jewish exegetes.

In this article we will explore all the paratextual elements of the two manuscripts. The following items will be described: the colophons, the indications of toseftas, the headings and closings, two introductory poems of David Kimchi, the dictionary references, alternative readings to the Aramaic column and other marginal notes.

The Colophons

While MS 7542 only gives a short colophon in Hebrew and Castilian with the date of its completion (March 1533) and a benediction on behalf of its commissioner, Don Antonio Ramírez de Haro, MSS M1–M3 provide several introductions and one colophon.

MS M1 contains two introductions, one in Aramaic and one in Latin, but they provide different information. A draft for an Aramaic prologue can be

² See H. van Nes, E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, 'The "Jewish" Rabbinic Bibles and the "Christian" Polyglot Bibles' in this volume.

found in MS Or. 645 (Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden; see Alonso Fontela 2009, 395f.). The Aramaic colophon (fol. iv) informs us that the Targum of the Former Prophets is copied from older books containing the 24 books of the Law. The expression 'the 24 books of the Law' is a typically Jewish one: the twelve Minor Prophets are counted as one book and the books of Ezra and Nehemiah likewise, so that the total sum of the books of the Hebrew Bible is 24. The Latin colophon does not mention the words 'Former Prophets' or '24 books of the Law' but speaks of 'the historical books' (*librorum historicorum*) as the contents of this manuscript, a more Christian denominator. The aim of the copy is mentioned in the Aramaic colophon and corresponds with the aims of Cardinal Jiménez in his prologue to the Complutensian Polyglot: 'to know many and trustworthy secrets that can be found in the language of the Targum, which are in truth supporting our holy faith in Jesus Christ, the son of the living God.' At the end of the Aramaic colophon, the writer states that he will start with the book of Joshua and then continue with Judges and the four books of Kings. The book of Ruth is not mentioned here, although present in the manuscript between Judges and Samuel. Zamora probably followed Jerome and included Ruth as part of the book of Judges, although Ruth is separately indicated in the manuscript itself.

MS M₃ was finished by Alfonso de Zamora on 'the seventh day', the 3rd of August 1532 (cf. Alonso Fontela 2009, 390), in the city of Alcalá de Henares (fol. 144r). This remark is a clear sign that he did not adhere to the Jewish Sabbath anymore (cf. Raz-Krakovitzkin 2005, 104). Jewish correctors of Hebrew books regularly complained that they could not correct the pages that were set on Sabbath, indicating that they themselves did not work on Sabbath (cf. Heller 2008, 267–268). Zamora shows himself a Christian in this respect. Within this finishing remark Zamora describes the contents of this manuscript as 'Ezekiel and the Twelve', a rather Jewish description, although the manuscript contains separate heading formulas for each of the twelve Minor Prophets, in accordance with the Christian tradition.

The Toseftas

The most frequent marginal notes are the abbreviations תוס' and *Add.*, both meaning 'addition'. These mark the parts of extra text (toseftas) that were integrated in the Aramaic translation, but did not occur in the Hebrew original. The additions as well as the notes are typical of Jewish Sephardic manuscripts. The toseftas are included in the text, which differs from the Cardinal's

strategy in the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Some texts are indicated as toseftas, whereas they belong to the basic targumic tradition. For instance, the word tosefta is added six times in Hannah's Song (1 Sam 2:1–10), although it does not contain toseftas in the strict sense of the word, *i.e.*, the expansive text does not have an origin outside Targum Jonathan, but has always been an integral part of the Aramaic translation of Samuel. The manuscripts—both of them—here indicate the extra material with regard to the Hebrew text, not with regard to the Aramaic tradition. In contrast to other Sephardic manuscripts, the writer sometimes uses large letters for the first word after a long tosefta to indicate to the reader that the translation of the Hebrew original continues there.

Heading and Closing Formulas

Every Biblical book in MSS M₁–M₃ and MS 7542 is introduced by a heading and concluded by a closing formula. These formulas are present both in the Aramaic and in the Latin column in MSS M₁–M₃. MS 7542 has a Latin layout and only gives Latin heading formulas, such as

Incipit translatio chaldaica in librum Josue

The Aramaic translation of the book of Joshua begins

above the Aramaic column and

Incipit interpretatio Latina translationis chaldaice libri Josue

The Latin interpretation of the Aramaic translation of the book of Joshua begins

above the Latin column (MS 7542 fol. 1r). These Latin formulas facilitated the use of the manuscript by the Christian readership. The same purpose is served by the insertion of Ruth after Judges and by the fact that the books of Samuel and Kings are called 1–4 Kings (cf. Van Staaldune-Sulman 2012, 100), e.g.

Explicit liber secundus Regum—Incipit liber tercius Regum

The second book of Kings ends—The third book of Kings begins

in the columns between Samuel and Kings (fol. 151v). Only at the end of the manuscript does a Jewish practice appear. The Aramaic text concludes with חזק ('Be strong!'), an allusion to Josh 1:9 and in fact an appeal to read and practise Torah, and with praise to God, תושלבע (acronym of 'Finished and completed! Praise be to God, the Creator of the Universe'). חזק is a very common formula in Hebrew manuscripts. It is attested 503 times in colophons of documented and dated Hebrew manuscripts.³

MS M1–M3 is a mixture of Christian and Jewish practices in this respect. The Latin heading formulas follow Christian practice, but the formulas in the Aramaic columns of this manuscript are typically Jewish, for example,

נשלם ספר שופטים ונתחיל ספר רות	The book of Judges ends and we begin the book of Ruth
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parallel to its Latin counterpart *Explicit liber Judicum* and *Incipit Ruth* (M1, fol. 78v). A closing formula like the phrase נשלם ספר is not unique to the two manuscripts discussed in this article. This particular phrase occurs 60 times in colophons of documented and dated Hebrew manuscripts. The combination of נשלם ספר and ונתחיל ספר is mentioned at least once more in the colophon of a documented Hebrew manuscript.⁴

This MS also contains Ruth and 1–4 Kings, although the Hebrew heading mentions the Hebrew name of Samuel for the book (M1, fol. 85r):

נשלם ספר רות ונתחיל ספר שמואל שחכמינו קורין לו ספר ראשון של מלכים	The book of Ruth ends and we begin the book of Samuel which our sages also call the first book of Kings.
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The term 'our sages' here refers to the translators of the Septuagint, which is not unique for a Jewish text (Wasserstein 2006, 54).

All three volumes of MS M1–M3 present elements from the Jewish background of the text. MS M1 (fol. 261r) ends with חזק ('Be strong!'), parallel to the Latin word *Finis* ('The end'). Further, the number of the verses of the books of Kings is given in Aramaic: אלפא וחמשה מאות ושלשין וארבע ('1534'). The book of Esther in MS M2 ends likewise (fol. 22v): חזק in red ink and subsequently in black; then the formal closing formula with the numbering and the indication of the middle verse:

3 See www.sfordata.nli.org.il, accessed August 27, 2013.

4 See www.sfordata.nli.org.il, accessed August 27, 2013.

נשלם ספר אסתר ונתחיל ספר איוב	The book of Esther ends and we begin the book of Job.
סכום פסוקיא דסיפרא דאחשורוש מאה וששים ושבעה סיכמהון ק'ס"ז	The number of verses of the book of Ahasuerus hundred and sixty seven; their number is 167.
וחציו ותען אסתר המלכה ותאמר	And its middle is: And Queen Esther answered and said

Several things are noteworthy. First, the text is a mixture of Hebrew and Aramaic. Second, the book is both called 'the book of Esther' and 'the book of Ahasuerus', after the two main characters. We found one other source using the name Ahasuerus for the book of Esther, viz. MS Cod.hebr. 5/2 (dated 1233; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München), an edition of Rashi's commentary on Torah, haftarat and the Writings. It announced the book of Esther as מגילת אחשורוש (fol. 149a–v). The phenomenon of naming a book both after the bad king and his Jewish opponents appears once more in the Jewish tradition: the title *Megillat Antiochos*, named after the main king Antiochos IV Epiphanes, is used alongside the title *Megillat haHashmonaim* (cf. Gaster 1925–1928). Third, the author gives the number of verses in the book, both written in words and in 'numbers'. The mere mentioning of the number of verses and the content of the middle verse of the book is part of the masoretic system.

MS M3 ends with an extra verse after Mal 3:24 [4:6]. While the Latin column ends with

Explicit Malachias Propheta. Finis Prophetarum. Laus Deo

The prophet of Malachi ends. The end of the Prophets. Glory to God

the Aramaic column repeats the beginning of Mal 3:23 [4:5]: **הא אנא שלח וגומר**, 'Behold, I am sending etc.' (fol. 144r). This is followed by an explanation of the practice of reading this verse again after the ending of the haftarah:

סימן יתקק בנוטריקון ישעיהו תרי עשר קהלת קינות שבאלה הארבעה ספרים חוזרים תמיד העברים הפסוק שלמעלה בסוף הספר כדי שלא לסיים במלות קשות	YTQQ marks, with an abbreviation of Isaiah, the Twelve, Qohelet, Lamentations, that in these four books the Jews always repeat the penultimate verse at the end of the book in order not to conclude with harsh words.
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The Jewish practice of repeating the second last verse of the books Isaiah, the Twelve, Qohelet, and Lamentations is explained in Hebrew to the reader. The author gives the abbreviation יתקק, which would have been enough for the Jewish reader and which often occurs on its own in Jewish manuscripts, as well as the explanation of the abbreviation and the practice for the Christian readership—that is to say, for Christian Hebraists. The designation תרי עשר ('the Twelve') is of Jewish origin. The Latin column here gives the Christian designations 'Malachi' for the last of the twelve Minor Prophets only. Every book of the Minor Prophets appears to have a separate heading and closing formula, in accordance with the Christian tradition.

MS M₃ provides the Christian readership with four Christian headings in Hebrew. These headings are given in a kind of poetry, stating the name of the book in the first line and giving praise to God in the second. They all refer to Jesus as Messiah, Saviour or Son of God. After these four the manuscript just gives the standard heading formulas for the rest of the Minor Prophets. Three of these headings are also present in an annotation book of Alfonso de Zamora, now preserved in Leiden, the Netherlands (MS Or. 645, fol. 110r; Alonso Fontela 2009, 395f.).

The first poem is at the beginning of Ezekiel (fol. 1v), but also refers to the previous volume that is lost, the one that would have ended with Jeremiah and Lamentations:

נשלם ספר ירמיהו עם קינותיו	The book of Jeremiah ends, with his Lamentations.
שבח לאל הסולח עונות בריותיו	Praise to God, who forgives the transgressions of his creatures.
ועתה נתחיל ספר יחזקאל	And now we begin the book of Ezekiel,
בעזרת ישוע משיחנו בן אלהים חי וגואל	with the help of Jesus, our Messiah, Son of the living God and Saviour

The combination of the titles Messiah and Son of the living God stems from Matt 16:16 or John 6:69 (see further Tanja 2012, 88). Also note the Christian order of the books: Lamentations after Jeremiah.

The poem between Ezekiel and Hosea more or less repeats the third and fourth line mentioned above, and gives a short heading on Hosea: ועתה בעזרתו (‘And now, with His help, the book of Hosea begins’). Between Hosea and Joel a new poem appears (fol. 88r), which could be Christian or Jewish. Praise to God and references to His help and mercy can be found in more manuscripts and books (cf. Raz-Krakovitzkin 2005, 97).

נשלם ספר הושע	The book of Hosea ends,
שבח לאל אשר ברחמיו נפשנו תושע	praise be to God who in his mercy saves our soul.
ועתה בעזרתו נתחיל ספר יואל	And now, with his help we begin the book of Joel
ברחמי הגואל	by the mercy of the Saviour.

The uneven length of the lines and the repetition of the rhyme word גואל in other poems show that it was not done by a professional poet. The next poem (fol. 92r), which is definitely Christian, provides an unusual word order in the final line. This line is no direct Biblical quotation, but several words remind of Rehoboam's saying that his father Solomon lade the people with 'a heavy yoke' and that he would even add to it (1 Kgs 12:11).

נשלם ספר יואל	The book of Joel ends.
שבח לישוע משיח חי וגואל	Praise be to Jesus living Messiah and Saviour.
ונתחיל ספר עמוס	And we begin the book of Amos,
בעזרת האל אשר עול אויבנו תמיד	with the help of God who always hardens
יכביד ויעמוס	and burdens the yoke of our enemies

The structure, the rhyme and some phrases from these poems are well-known in Jewish manuscripts. We show one set of small poetical heading and closing from MS Cod.hebr. 5/2 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München) to prove that:

בעזרת מושיע וגואל	With the help of the Redeemer and Saviour
אתחיל ספר דניאל	I begin the book of Daniel. (fol. 209r)
נשלם ספר דניאל	The book of Daniel ends.
שבח לאלהי ישראל	Praise be to the God of Israel. (fol. 220r)

Two Extra Introductory Poems

Besides the usual heading formulas the books of Samuel and Kings are also introduced by a poem by David Kimchi in MS M1. The first one introduces the main character, Samuel (fol. 85r):

דברי קמחי בחרוז	The words of Kimchi in rhyme
והם תפלה	and they are a prayer:

מכונן מלתי	He who establishes my word
ועד לא שפתי	even though not in my own tongue
מכונן גופתי	He who establishes my body
ויוצר נשמת	and forms my soul.
היה נא עזרתי	Please, be my help
וישר דברתי	and make right my utterance
בספר אפרתי	in the book of the Ephrathite
שמואל רמתי	Samuel the Ramahite

The second one more or less introduces David Kimchi himself:

דברי קמחי	The words of Kimchi:
מקים מלכים	He who raises up kings
ומשפיל נסיכים	and humbles rulers,
מאיר חשכים	who enlightens the ignorant
ומורה נבוכים	and guides the perplexed,
אל הוא לבדו	is God, He alone,
יורה לעבדו	may He teach his servant,
דוד בחסדו	David, in his faithfulness,
בספר מלכים	in the books of Kings

The poem is full of allusions. The humbling of the rulers is a theme of Hannah's song (cf. 1 Sam 2:7–8), which is worked out in the books of Samuel and Kings. The name David naturally refers to Kimchi himself, but the combination of David and 'his servant' may also serve as an allusion to King David, who is twice called so in the books of Kings (1 Kgs 8:66; 2 Kgs 8:19). The phrase *מורה נבוכים*, 'guiding/guide of the perplexed' is a clear reference to the book of Maimonides carrying the same name. David Kimchi was a great admirer of him. Zamora, for his part, was an admirer of Kimchi and had translated some of his works.

References to the Dictionary

In the margins of MS 7542 the roots of the words used in the text are added. A system of reference letters is constructed to help the reader look up the word under its root. Even if he was not acquainted with the Aramaic language, he could easily find the root in a dictionary. Such a dictionary existed as a supplement to the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, although it does not contain all the

Aramaic words from Targum Jonathan. Therefore, the margins of the manuscript mostly refer to Hebrew roots. Some examples:

- The roots in the margin of 1 Sam 1 start with the Hebrew **אחד**, a reference to **חד** in the text. The Complutensian dictionary states that **אחד** means *unus sive unum* ('one'—masculine or neuter).
- The fifth root in the same margin, referring to **תנייחא** in the text, is **תנה**. After explaining the meaning of the Hebrew word, the dictionary gives: *Item תנין thinian. in lingua chaldaica significat secundum* ('Same for *thinian*. This means second in the Aramaic language').
- On the next page the Aramaic root **צלא** is mentioned. The dictionary indeed gives the Aramaic lemma, referring to the Aramaic chapters in Daniel: *in lingua chaldaica significat orare. Dan. 6* ('In the Aramaic language it means to pray. Dan. 6').

When the dictionary does not provide clear information, for instance when the root is used in many forms and verses and the reader must choose between too many options, the Latin translation can function as a guide. That translation, however, is not always literal. The reader must make the connections between Aramaic words, the Hebrew dictionary and the Latin rendering himself. Some examples from 1 Sam 17 show this:

- In the tosefta to verse 42 one sentence starts with **חבל עלך טליא** ('Woe to you, lamb/boy'). The margin refers to the root **טלה**, which means *agnus* in Hebrew ('lamb') according to the dictionary of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Yet, the Latin column states *heu tibi puer* ('Woe to you, lad'). The reader lacks the information that the Aramaic word **טליא** means 'young', either a young human being or a young animal. He may therefore wonder whether the word in Aramaic has more meanings, or that 'boy' may be a metaphorical meaning of 'lamb'.
- The sentence continues with **דגמרך מצרך**, a phrase that may be translated by 'for your shortness will be your undoing' (Van Staaldune-Sulman 2002, 367). The Latin translation runs: *quia destruet te arrogantia fortitudinis tue* ('for the arrogance of your strength will destroy you'). The first word has been considered derived from the verb **גמר** with suffix, meaning *deficere, finire, perficere, consumari sive consumare* according to the dictionary, referring to the end of things. The second word is from the root **צור** according to the margin. The lemma in the dictionary consists of three columns. The Latin translation *fortitudinis* ('of [your] strength') can be found in the third

column, in which צור is connected to words like *fortis*, *robustus* and *robur*. The extra word *arrogantia*, however, is not explained.

The reader is assumed to be able to read the Hebrew letters and to find his way in a dictionary of Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic roots. On the other hand, he is not able to read Aramaic on his own, but needs a translation and a dictionary, and most likely, a teacher guiding him through the intricacies of the language.

Alternative Readings

In both manuscripts we find alternative readings: MS 7542 gives two alternative versions; MSS M1–M3 present eleven variant readings. A small circle above the word in the Targum text functions as a marker. In the margin next to the Aramaic column or in between the Latin and the Aramaic column we find the same small circle above the abbreviation נ"א (for the Hebrew גוסס אחר, 'another version', or perhaps for the Aramaic גוססא אחריןא), followed by the alternative reading itself. In MS 7542 the alternative reading to Joshua 19:33 (fol. 23v) is indicated by a different abbreviation, namely י"א (for the Hebrew יש אומרים, 'some say'). Considering the fact that Zamora produced these manuscripts for Christian advanced biblical studies, it is likely that he selected the variant readings carefully. The twelve alternatives show different types of variants, as becomes visible in the following examples.

A variant word is given in the margin of Judg 5:11 (MS M1, fol. 48r). The main text reads מבסין 'of the tax collectors' in the phrase 'seats of tax collectors and the residence of bandits'. The alternative version gives מאנסין 'of the robbers' (not mentioned in Sperber 1959). The alternative reading provides better parallelism as robbers and bandits are both general terms.

Another more general reading is placed in the margin of Psalm 74:10 (MS M2, fol. 107/105v) (not mentioned in Stec 2004). Here the main text reads יחסיד 'he will blaspheme' and the alternative יחסינ 'he will be strong/powerful'. This is a curious case. The alternative reading results in a rather different verse: 'How long will the oppressor be powerful?' over against 'How long will the oppressor blaspheme?' The alternative is more general in meaning and deviates from the Hebrew text.

In Josh 22:22 (MS M1, fol. 36r) we encounter an alternative reading in which the syntax is corrected. In the main text is written לא יפרקיננא יומא דין 'He will not save us that day'. The alternative in the margin says נ"א קמחי תפרקיננא 'another version [by] Kimchi: "you will save us", they spoke vis-à-vis the Shekhinah' (not mentioned in Sperber 1959). Kimchi realized that

the phrase was part of a prayer to God and that therefore the third person singular was not appropriate. He brought it back in harmony with the original, Hebrew second person singular.

An alternative grammatical construction can be found in 1 Kgs 5:3 (MS 7542, fol. 158v). The main text reads **תורין דפיטמא**, 'cows of fat'. The variant **תורין דפטימא** is suggested in the margin. There is no difference in meaning, only in number. The variant is the main text of the thirteenth century Ashkenazi MS Add. 26,879 (British Library, London, United Kingdom).

The variant in Job 28:16 (MS M2, fol. 46r) shows how a copyist's slip of the pen affected the pointer, the annotator and the Latin translator. The text of Stec's critical edition is given (Stec 1994, 186), together with the main text of MS M2, its marginal note and its Latin translation:

Job 28:16	
Stec (1994)	לא תשתלחף בפיטלון דמן אופיר בבירולין יקיר ושבזיזא
English	'It cannot be compared with gold from Ophir, [nor] with precious beryl and sapphire.'
M2	לא תשתלחף בפיטלון דמן בכלורין יקיר ושבזיזא
M2 נ"א	לא תשתלחף בפיטלון דמן אופיר יקיר ושבזיזא
M2 Latin	<i>non comparabitur tinctis coloribus nec lapidibus onichinis preciosis et saphiro</i>

When comparing the text of Stec's edition, which is based on Codex Urbinas I of the Vatican Library, with the main text of M2, two differences become apparent. First, the word **אופיר**, 'Ophir', is lacking in MS M2. Second, the word **בבירולין**, 'with beryl' (Greek loan word from *βηρυλλιον*, 'beryl') is replaced by the mysterious word **בכלורין**. A reconstruction of what happened could be as follows:

- It is very likely that the copyist omitted **אופיר** by accident, while **בכלורין** originated in the interchange of the graphically similar letters **כ** and **ב**. However, in the subsequent stages of the manuscript's production this slip of the pen was not recognized as such.
- One can assume the pointer considered **בכלורין** to be one word, most likely a toponym, since he did not add the wedge-shaped sign to indicate the prefix **ב**. He must have understood the verse as 'It cannot be compared with precious gold from Beklorin, nor with sapphire.'

- The person who annotated the Targum text seems to have noticed the lack of the word אופיר, 'Ophir'. He added it in the margin as an alternative reading for, or as an addition to, the unknown בכלורין. The alternative must therefore be understood as: 'It cannot be compared with precious gold from Ophir, [nor] with sapphire.'
- The person taking care of the Latin translation clearly had his own interpretation of the word: he read the initial ב as a preposition and considered כלורין a Latin loanword and thus translated it by *coloribus*, in a free word order: 'It cannot be compared with dyed colours, [nor] with precious onyx stones and sapphire.'

Marginal Notes

Besides the variant readings, several explanatory notes occur in the margins of the two manuscripts. They present us a mixture of Jewish and Christian elements. The notes can be grouped into three categories: (a) masoretic notes; (b) linguistic notes; and (c) exegetical remarks. We will provide examples from the first and the last category, because the linguistic category mainly consists of notes in MSS M₁–M₃ that draw attention to Greek loanwords in the Aramaic text of Job (such as theater and Kurios). Moreover, the handwriting shows that these stem from later times. One of these linguistic notes in MS 7542 is interesting for the Christian reader, viz. *pro calvaria in caldeo [...] golgota*, next to 2 Kgs 9: 'For 'skull' the word *Golgotha* in Aramaic'. The author of the note had recognized the Aramaic name of the place where Jesus had died.

Masoretic Notes

The Masorah is a set of traditions and rules regulating all aspects of the copying and use of manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible (Kelley, 1998, 1). The work of the Jewish scholars who developed this system started probably at the end of the Talmudic period and ended with the activities of Ben Asher and Ben Naftali around 950 CE (Kelley, 1998, 15, 22). The manuscripts prepared by Zamora contain three references to the Masorah, all connected with orthographic peculiarities in the text itself. We find a suspended *nun* in the word מנשה in Judg 18:30 (MS 7542, fol. 71v; MS M₁ fol. 58v). In the margin of the text an explanation is given: הנן תלויה, 'the *nun* is suspended'. By this *nun*, the name of Moses is changed into Manashe. The insertion of the *nun* in this word is an old (pre-) Masoretic tradition to protect Moses against the disgrace of having an idolatrous grandson (Kelley, 1998, 35). It is not the suspended *nun* itself that is most

remarkable in the manuscript, but the fact that a marginal note had to explain what phenomenon the (Christian) reader was seeing in the text.

In M2 we find the other reference to the Masoretic system. The first letter of Qoh 12:13 is a *samekh* written in large print (fol. 207v). In the margin next to the verse the following remark is written: ס רבתא מאותיו[ת] גדולות, 'big *samekh* from the large letters'. Clear rules for the use of large letters in the biblical manuscripts never existed. In general, large letters have three functions: (1) they stand at the beginning of a new book or section, (2) they mark a significant statistical point, or (3) they indicate that the reading must be precise (Yeivin, 1980, 47f.). The large *samekh* in Eccl 12:13 is from the third category and indicates the end of the book. This penultimate verse is repeated after the last verse, because otherwise the reading of the book would end with the harsh word רע, 'evil' (see above; cf. Gottlieb, 2009, 49–50).

Exegetical Remarks

Scattered over the MSS, we find several exegetical remarks. They stem both from Jewish exegetical practices, again adapted to the Christian readership, and from Christian sources. A remark attributed to R. Levi ben Gershon (1288–1344) is added to 1 Sam 14:14 (MS M1, fol. 104v): רלבג והאמת הוא כי הסיפור הזה: חלש היא להגדיל נס הניצוח הנעשה בסוף המעשה כי קודם ניצוח יונתן... 'Rabbi Levi ben Gershon: the truth is that this entire narrative is too weak to magnify the miracle of the victory gained at the end of the story, because the victory of Jonathan precedes...' The concluding word is illegible. Until now we have not been able to trace this quotation or allusion back to anything written by Levi ben Gershon. The remark fits within Zamora's interest in miracles, but this narrative was obviously not miraculous enough!⁵

An explanation of the name Lilith, this time not in Zamora's own handwriting, is written next to Job 1:15 (MS M2, fol. 24r). The Hebrew text only indicates that the servants of Job were attacked by a gang of Sabeans. The Aramaic translation explains why a simple gang could cause so much destruction. It was led by Lilith: 'Lilith, the queen of Zamargad, attacked them with power and took them...' Lilith occurs in Aramaic magical texts as a female demon, who has not reached maturity and thus strolls about 'ceaselessly in search of a male companion' (Hutter 1999, 521). The only Biblical text with the figure of Lilith is Isa 34:14, but she is more often mentioned in the Talmud (e.g. BT Eruv 100b; Nid 24b; Shab 151b). Men are warned not to sleep alone in a house, lest Lilith will

5 Thanks to Jesús de Prado Plumed, who mentioned Zamora's interest in miracles to us when discussing MS Or. 645 of the Leiden University Library.

overcome them (Shab 151b). In the margin of MS M2 a Latin remark explains the name of Lilith to the readers: *Lilit nomen foemine que furia dicitur est itaque nomen demonis foemine*, 'Lilith is the name of a woman that is called a fury. It is therefore the name of a female demon'. This identification of Lilith most probably stems from Jerome, who stated in his comment on Isa 34:14 that Lilith is one of the Jewish Erinyes, that is, furies (Gryson 1996, 88; cf. Schoeps 1945, 104).

At the end of Ruth MSS 7542 (fol. 70v) and M1 (fol. 85r) contain a Latin note next to the large tosefta: *nota de peccato originali*, 'remark on original sin'. The tosefta concerns Jesse, the father of David:

Obed fathered Jesse, who was called Nahash⁶ because no sin or fault was found in him that he should be delivered into the hand of the Angel of Death to take his life from him. He lived many days until there was remembered before the LORD the advice which the serpent gave to Eve, the wife of Adam, to eat of the fruit of the tree, the fruit of which those who eat are wise to know good and evil. Through that advice all who dwell on earth were condemned to death, and for that sin Jesse the Righteous died, that is Jesse who fathered David, the king of Israel.

The idea that Jesse died only because of the sin of Adam and Eve and not because of his own fault or sin is explained in the Talmud (Shab 55b; BB 17a). Both tractates deal with the question why people die. The answer given is: 'Only four men died in consequence of original sin. They are Benjamin ben Jacob; Amram, the father of Moses; Jesse, the father of David; and Kilab ben David.' In conclusion, it is possible for humans to be without sin. Jesse the father of David, the King of Israel, was one of the four who died without sin. Zamora directs the attention of his readers to this 'theological' point from the Jewish tradition. In late medieval and early modern Christian theology original sin was discussed, especially in relation to Mary, the mother of Jesus, the Christian Messiah. All humans were affected by original sin, was the official doctrine. Whether Mary, the mother of Jesus, was affected too was a matter of debate, especially between Dominicans and Franciscans. The first order followed Thomas of Aquino in rejecting an immaculate conception of Mary, while the second supported Duns Scotus in his argumentation for it (Collinge 2012, 209–210). The discussion on these matters was extremely fierce in Spain (Collinge 2012, 209; Gross 1972, 119–152). Between 1515 (Fifth Lateran Council) and 1551 (session 12 to 16 of the Council of Trent) the doctrine of the

6 A combination of 2 Sam 17:25 and 1 Chron 2:16 could lead to the conclusion that Jesse was also called Nahash.

immaculate conception became increasingly popular thus exacerbating the rivalry between the Dominicans and the Franciscans (Preston 2004, 181). The note in the margin, in Zamora's own handwriting, suggests that he saw somehow a parallel with the Jewish debate.

Conclusions

Alfonso de Zamora was a Jewish convert to Christianity. That means that he was raised as a Jew but later worked in a Christian environment as a public Christian. This is specifically visible in both manuscripts. Alfonso writes according to his Latin environment, using typically Latin headings and closing formulas, especially in MS 7542, but also in the Latin columns of MSS M1–M3. He displays Latin practices, like the title 'Kings' for both the books of Samuel and the books of Kings, and the ending formula *Laus Deo*. He writes in accordance with Christian theology about Jesus as the Saviour and the Son of God. He, or someone else, explains the Jewish name of Lilith by most probably referring to Jerome. And he is familiar with Christian theological interests, such as the idea of original sin. MSS M1–M3, however, show that he also used his Jewish background. He knows and quotes Jewish authors, such as David Kimchi and Levi ben Gershon. He explains Jewish practices, like the repetition of the penultimate verse in Malachi, the suspended *nun* and the large *samekh*. He adds Jewish practices, such as the counting of the verses in Esther. Moreover, in both manuscripts he provided the entire Sephardic, Jewish text, including the toseftas—all of them indicated by the typically Jewish word ספסות.

MS 7542 provides an almost Christian, Latin paratext: Latin headings and closing formulas, roots of the Aramaic words for the advanced, but not excellent Christian student, only two variant readings, an explication of the suspended *nun* and a Latin reference to original sin. MSS M1–M3 display more Jewish elements, viz. Hebrew headings and closing formulas, poems by David Kimchi, some Masoretic notes, remarks from the works of Levi ben Gershon, the explanation of the reading of the penultimate verse in four Bible books, and the Hebrew names of the books. At the same time, Christian interests become visible in the Hebrew poetical headings with Christian content, the Latin reference to original sin, and so on. Assuming that Alfonso de Zamora selected the notes with a view to his readership, it may be that the potential customer of the manuscripts has had his influence on the form: an evangelizing Church politician for MS 7542 and a university interested in the Eastern languages and the ancient sources of their Biblical texts for MSS M1–M3.

MS 7542 had a more or less educational goal through undertaking biblical studies in the original languages (Diez Merino 1991, 361) that is, making one of the ancient versions of the Old Testament as accessible to learned Christian readers as possible. It offers an almost entirely Latin paratext and some tools to learn Aramaic. Zamora must have assumed that the readers of MSS M1–M3 at the University of Salamanca were more interested in typically Jewish items. The Christian Hebraists of Salamanca not only wanted to learn and understand the Targum text, but also to taste some of its Jewishness. Zamora did not try to hide the Jewish background of the text in a Latin environment. On the contrary, he made a firm effort to preserve the entire Targum text and many other items from his Jewish background.⁷ At the same time, the Christian paratext seems to be designed to enable Christians to safely read these Jewish texts (cf. Raz-Krakotzkin 2005, 93, 102). MSS M1–M3 seem to witness to that ambiguity.

MSS M1–M3 also displays a double mind-set to achieve this goal. The paratextual elements corresponding to the Aramaic column belong to the mind-set of a converted Jew: Hebrew headings and closing formulas, poems, some with a Christian content, Hebrew abbreviations, Aramaic variant readings, references to Jewish authors. The paratext of the Latin column, however, seems to belong to the mindset of a scholar of a Christian university: Latin headings and closing formulas, Latin remarks to Christian interests and a possible reference to Jerome.

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The 'Jewish' Rabbinic Bibles versus the 'Christian' Polyglot Bibles

Hans van Nes and Eveline van Staalduijn-Sulman

The year 1517 is a special year in the history of the Targum, because two major editions were published, both of them in Southern Europe. In Venice the so-called first Rabbinic Bible was edited by Felix Pratensis and printed by Daniel Bomberg, and in Alcalá de Henares the so-called Complutensian Polyglot Bible was edited by a team of scholars under the supervision of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros. These books were the starting points of two traditions, the Rabbinic Bibles and the Polyglot Bibles.

The Targum editions in these two traditions became standard texts within European Jewry and Christianity. However, the dividing line between the two traditions did not coincide with the dividing line between the two religions. The Rabbinic Bibles—at least the first six editions—were used in both religions, the Polyglot Bibles almost exclusively by a Christian readership. In the end the Targum text of the Rabbinic Bible tradition outlived the text of the Polyglot tradition, for the London Polyglot Bible of 1657 (henceforth LPB) based its Aramaic column on the text of the sixth Rabbinic Bible instead of on that of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible.

This article explores the first and second editions of both traditions, *i.e.*, the first and the second Rabbinic Bible (1517; 1525) as well as the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglots (1517; 1569–72). These editions will be described from three perspectives: (1) their marketing and success, where it will become evident that the marketing strategies were different but that problems with clerical and political powers were comparable; (2) their contents, where the differences will outnumber the similarities; and (3) their paratexts, where some influences from the Rabbinic Bibles on the Antwerp Polyglot will become clear.

Marketing and Success

Privileges and Approbations

Bomberg's press may be considered one of the very few non-Jewish printing firms that printed primarily for Jews, rather than for Christians (Burnett 2000, 26). The immense amount of Jewish works printed by Bomberg—almost two hundred titles—supports this claim (see e.g. Vinograd 1993–95, 1:243–265).

Hebrew and Jewish books for Christians could hardly have amounted to such voluminous quantity. Nevertheless, as we shall see, Bomberg strongly appealed to Christian markets as well.

Bomberg's earliest known editor in Venice was a converted Jew and Augustinian friar, who is only known by his Christian name Felice da Prato or Felix Pratensis, after the diocese of Prato where he presumably was baptized. In 1515 Pratensis and Bomberg obtained an exclusive patent, called *privilegio*, to publish Hebrew books. From 1517 onward, the existing *privilegios* were revoked and the rules for acquiring such rights were aggravated by the senate of Venice. In most cases they were not renewable under the same conditions. Religious reservations within the senate against Jewish books could bar the way to a *privilegio* or to a *privilegio* renewal (Witcombe 2004, 46). Many were valid for ten years, like Bomberg's (Witcombe 2004, 38), enough time to establish himself as a skilful printer and to outperform his competitors.

In 1517 Bomberg printed two versions of the Hebrew Bible with Hebrew commentaries, one with and one without the Targum. The one with Targum is known today as the first Rabbinic Bible (henceforth RB1), of which a few copies have survived. The one without Targum was printed immediately after RB1. According to Stern, these separate editions suggest that the books were prepared for the Jewish and Christian markets respectively and that Bomberg reckoned that the Christian reader would not necessarily be interested in the Targum. In support Stern mentions the success of the version without Targum, which was reprinted in 1521 (Stern 2011, 79). However, the Jewish contents of the RB do not necessarily point to an exclusively Jewish readership. On the one hand not every Jew could or wanted to read Hebrew and Aramaic, and on the other hand a growing number of Christian Hebraists were eager for Judaic and Hebrew literature and they formed a rapidly growing market. In the case of RB2, edited by the Hebraist and Talmudist Jacob ben Hayim in 1525, Levy thinks it possible that Bomberg included Rashi, Kimchi and Ibn Ezra because a growing number of Christian Hebraists could read these commentators in the first half of the sixteenth century (Levy 1991, 74). We need to add that the same can be said about the Targums (Burnett 2005).

Stern estimates the average print run of an edition of a book like RB1 in 1517 was around a thousand copies (Stern 2011, 81). RB1 was dedicated to Pope Leo X, giving full credit to Bomberg, who 'spared neither labour nor expense' in fulfilling 'a very difficult task as is shown by the fact that no one has attempted it before'. Although the combination of a complete Hebrew and Aramaic Bible had indeed never been printed before, Ginsburg dismissed the claim of its novelty as rhetoric (Ginsburg 1897, 945). It is indeed likely that Pratensis attempted to qualify for copyright protection through this truthful formulation, because

the Venetian Senate revoked all existing printing *privilegios* in 1517, and would only grant copyrights and monopolies for new works that had never been printed before (Witcombe 2004, 41–42).

Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo and primate of all Roman Catholic Spain, made a great effort to establish education in the Eastern languages in his country. The Council of Vienne (1311) had ruled in favour of the study of Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, a decision which was supported by the Council of Basel (1431–1449). In April 1499 Jiménez de Cisneros received permission from Pope Alexander VI to found a University in Alcalá de Henares. The Cardinal selected men with knowledge of these languages, amongst whom were three Jewish converts. He gathered old manuscripts of the Bible in several languages and started the project of the Complutensian Bible Polyglot (henceforth CPB) 'in order to revive studies in the divine letters, which had been forgotten until then' (Díez Merino 1991, 361).

No expenses were spared by the Cardinal to achieve his goal. His biographer stated that he himself paid 50,000 ducats for the manuscripts, workers, typographer, paper, binding, and so on (Gómez de Castro 1569, cited in Spottorno 2002, 379). As General Inquisitor, he could put his entire political weight behind it and 'keep the works of the Bible free from domestic controversial attacks' (Spottorno 2002, 377). The project started in the year 1502 and took almost sixteen years. About 600 copies of the CPB left the printing house in June 1517, a few months before Jiménez de Cisneros' death (8 November 1517) (Spottorno 2002, 385–86). It carried the title *Vetus Testamentum multiplici lingua nunc primo impressum*, 'The Old Testament in several languages, now printed for the first time'.

The CPB was a remarkable work in several respects. It was the first printed Bible in three languages and it contained the *editio princeps* of the Septuagint and of the Greek New Testament (Spottorno 2002, 377). The volume of the latter text was issued in January 1514. Erasmus' edition of the Greek New Testament, however, had gained papal approval (cf. Dunkelgrün 2012, 30) and therefore the marketing of the CPB had to wait until 1521. The Complutensian project received full approval by Pope Leo X on 22 March 1520, according to the Pope's prologue in the first Volume. 'Curiously, the expectation that such delay generated did not bring economic gains; the volumes were sold at a very low price, and a good number of copies were lost in a shipwreck on the way to Italy' (Spottorno 2002, 386).

Half a century after the edition of the Complutensian Polyglot, Christophe Plantin of Antwerp planned an enlarged reprint. Plantin was suspected of

Calvinist sympathies and developed a plan to prove his loyalty to the Catholic king Philip II of Spain by producing a version of the Bible in five languages. He had entered a joint venture with the Bomberg family, the grandchildren of the famous book printer of Venice, and some others in 1563 (Dunkelgrün 2012, 72–73, 78; Voet 1973, 34). They not only provided him with money for his development plans, but also let him ‘inherit’ the Hebrew types used for the first and second Rabbinic Bibles. On 26 February 1565 he wrote to his friend Andreas Masius, an orientalist, about his project, and one year later he showed a sample page to colleagues and possible clients in Frankfurt (Voet 1973, 34).

Plantin stayed in Antwerp after the iconoclastic outbreak of 1566, not willing to flee but in constant fear of being persecuted for his alternative religion. He was a member of the secret society ‘The House of Love’, which was neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant, founded and led by the prophet Hendrik Niclaes (cf. Dunkelgrün 2012, 58–59). He started to write letters to his Spanish friends and business relations, stressing his loyalty to the King and to the Roman Catholic Church, and revealing his plans to renew the CPB.

His anxiety disappeared with the arrival of a letter at the end of September 1567, which brought the news that King Philip approved of the project (Voet 1973, 36). King Philip promised 12,000 florins, on the condition that the real work be done by a scholar of reputation, viz. Benito Arias Montano. The conditions on which King Philip granted his subsidies were as follows: Plantin had to print 1,200 copies of the complete Bible on paper and 13 on parchment (Voet 1973, 42). The latter group was meant for the king himself as a compensation for the subsidy. The king had advised Montano to copy the Aramaic text from the Venice edition, but Montano rather used the Spanish manuscripts composed after the CPB (Dunkelgrün 2012, 163–164).

At the beginning of 1572 the end of the project came near, but difficulties with the Vatican arose. Pope Pius V was against the project and had therefore never given his consent. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible (henceforth APB) had been printed, but could not be sold without the pope’s approbation. Montano decided to travel to Rome in April of that year in order to convince the pope of the usefulness of the polyglot Bible. His journey was successful, simply because pope Pius V died and was replaced by pope Gregory XIII, who was not against the enterprise. The approbation was given on 23 August 1572 (Voet 1973, 43).

Recommendations

Recommendations of RB1 are made by Pratensis in his dedication to Pope Leo X. He seems to anticipate Christian suspicion about the Jewish Targums being part of his Bible edition. He defends the inclusion of Targum Onkelos

and even of the Palestinian Fragment Targums as follows: 'These contain many obscure and hidden mysteries, not only useful, but necessary to pious Christianity'.¹ Exactly what is meant by the 'many obscure and hidden mysteries' in defence of the Targum is disputable. Stern argues in favour of a kabbalistic interpretation (Stern 2011, 80), yet similar terms in the APB allow for alternatives, as we shall show below. In any case, it proves that the inclusion of the Targum was not taken for granted by the Christian readership, and a defence could be required to make the edition acceptable to Christians. Playing both Jewish and Christian markets, Bomberg published copies of RB1 with and without the papal dedication on the *verso* of the cover page.

Jacob ben Hayim wrote a rather lengthy introduction narrative for RB2, in which he sought to gain the confidence of Jews in this Bible edition. This was necessary because Venice opposed to Jews running their own printing firms, which can be seen in the hardship endured by Gershom Soncino in the early sixteenth century (Marx 1969). Long before the official prohibition in 1548 (Ravid 1979), the production of Jewish books was left almost entirely in the hand of non-Jewish printers and merchants. Ben Hayim needed to bridge the gap between Jewish customer and non-Jewish printer, not only by guaranteeing his customers sound orthodoxy and quality of content, but also by displaying Jewish wisdom while humbling himself. We give one example below (transl. Ginsburg 1867, 38–39).

Still I told him that I did not know as much, nor nearly as much [as he (i.e. Bomberg) supposed] in accordance with that we find at the end of chap. ii. of *Jerusalem Maccoth*: "A man who knows only one book, when he is in a place where he is respected for knowing two books, is in duty bound to say I only know one book." And as I have no great intellect, how could I, being so low and insignificant, undertake such great things, from which, peradventure, mischief might ensue, seeing that R. Ishmael had already exhorted a Scribe in his days (*Sota 20a*, and in other places), "My son, take great care how thou doest thy work, for thy work is the work of heaven, lest thou drop or add a letter, and thereby wilt be a destroyer of the whole world," [...]

1 His autem addidimus veterum interpretationes hebraicas et caldaeas, communem scilicet et Hierosolymitanam, in quibus multa insunt arcana et recondita mysteria, christianae pietati tum utilia, tum necessaria.

Another way to develop a sense of trust was to depict his patron, the Christian printer Bomberg, not only as good and faithful to the Jews, but even, in some sense, as accommodating himself to the Jews. Ben Hayim's narrative is replete with quotes from, and allusions to, Scripture to show that both Bomberg and his RB2 deserve to be trusted by Jews. Bomberg 'desired the daughter of Jacob', a symbolic designation of Israel's Scriptures. Yet the wordplay also clearly compares Bomberg, as a non-Jew, to the non-Israelite Shechem, who was circumcised in order to marry Dinah, 'the daughter of Jacob whom he desired' (Gen 34:18). Most clear is Ben Hayim's choice to draw from exilic literature and the postexilic restoration period. Hence, it is God himself who made Bomberg cross Ben Hayim's path and 'stirred the spirit of the nobleman', as God did with leaders, like Zerubabel (Hag 1:14) and particularly the non-Israelite Cyrus (Ezra 1:1, Isa 41:2; Jer 51:11).

Allusions to the salvation from Megillat Esther may be seen in the additional label *בִּירָה* ('fortress') for Venice which is exclusively used for the fortress of Susa, the main capital of the Persian empire in Esther and Nehemiah. It connotes not only the centre of Israel's exile, but also the time and place from which salvation and restoration emerged. Moreover, Ben Hayim saw that RB2 'would show the nations and princes the beauty and excellence of our holy law', a citation of Esther 1:11, where a Persian hegemonic sovereign wants to show 'peoples and princes the beauty' of his queen. Finally, he closes with the final words of Nehemiah, when the restoration of Jerusalem was completed: 'Remember me, God, for good! Amen'.

Lastly, Ben Hayim personifies the exile Daniel by citing him: 'I was in my house and flourishing in my abode' (cf. Dan 4:1) and identifies his own exile with that of Israel by calling it 'a furnace of afflictions' (cf. Isa 48:10). This is where Bomberg comes into his life and brings a change for the good. His fellow exile Jews may naturally have suspected proselytizing motives behind Bomberg's printing industry. To those Jews for whom the very Jewishness of their sacred writings was at stake and who may not have trusted the RBs, Ben Hayim wrote a most original story vindicating Bomberg as God's instrument of Jewish restoration.

Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros did nothing to accommodate the Jewish market, but everything possible to satisfy the Christian market. He defends his choice for including four languages by emphasizing the central place of the Vulgate:

The column at the outer side contains the *Hebraica veritas*, while the column at the inner side has the Greek edition of the Seventy, above which an interlinear Latin word for word translation is placed. Between these

two we have placed the Latin translation of the blessed Jerome, as though between the Synagogue and the Eastern Church, as if we have placed two robbers to the left and to the right, but Jesus in the middle, that is to say, the Roman or Latin Church. For this is the only one that is built on the solid rock—while the others constantly deviate from the right understanding of Scripture—and firmly remained within the truth. Moreover, two smaller columns are placed under these three [larger] columns at the bottom of the page, the widest containing the Aramaic version, the smallest its Latin translation.

He specifically defends his choice to include Targum Onkelos. In his prologue he mentions that the Targums sometimes support the Christian religion. Moreover, he explains why he did not edit the other Targums—although he had them copied and translated for the university library:

For the Aramaic in the other books than the Pentateuch is corrupted in several places and littered with tales and trifles from the Talmudists and therefore unworthy to be inserted into the sacred text. However, because [the Aramaic version] miraculously favours the Christian religion in some places, where the text is pure and not corrupted, we had the remaining books of the entire Old Testament translated from Aramaic to Latin and we had them accurately copied with their Latin translation and placed in the public library of our Complutensian University.

His second argument for including Targum Onkelos, with a Latin translation of it, is that the combination constitutes a great tool for learning Aramaic. He stresses that with the aid of his polyglot Bible one can learn Hebrew and Aramaic without having to consult Jews.

Arias Montano in his APB refers to the renowned Cardinal Jiménez in his introduction to the second volume in order to defend his inclusion of Targums. However, Montano was not so hesitant to edit the paraphrastic parts in the Targum, because he reckoned the reader would recognize them immediately as different in style and theology. Reading them would do no harm. Nevertheless, he had used a manuscript, censored on the orders of the Cardinal. Moreover, Montano asked and received permission from Louvain professors. He based himself on the 1439 Council of Florence that had promoted the study of Hebrew and Aramaic and stated in his introduction to the first volume that these languages were necessary to explain and interpret the original text of the Bible. In the same introduction he declares that the Targum 'openly explains [...] the peculiar mysteries of Christ, and he indicates them very clearly'. Whereas

Pratensis keeps us in the dark about the hidden values of the Targum that were so indispensable for Christians, Montano tells us unambiguously.

In his first volume Montano included a letter of recommendation by Gisbertus Schoock. Schoock commented that the Aramaic translations shed light on the Hebrew text. He also claimed that the APB could be called forth 'to oppose the false and impious translations of the heretics, with which they try to fool those who are incompetent in languages'. In other words, it was a good Catholic book and definitely not part of a Protestant or other heretical movement.

Success

Worldwide acceptance of RB2 is clearly testified to in many later Rabbinic Bibles. Two subsequent editions altered little to the text of RB2, but added commentaries: RB3 by Cornelius Adelkind (Venice: Bomberg Press, 1546–48) and RB4 by Bomberg's successor, Giovanni di Gara (Venice, 1568–69). In 1618 Johannes Buxtorf edited an entirely new Rabbinic Bible in Basel. The RBs were used in the APB as a means to correct the Targum text of the Sephardi manuscripts (Alonso Fontela 1986, 53–54; Stec 1994, 11–12) and to add variant readings in the last volume. The Buxtorf edition of the Targum text is used as the basic Targum text in the London Polyglot Bible. Of great historical importance is RB2's influence upon Protestant attitudes towards the Bible in the time when the Council of Trent (1545–63) affirmed the authority of the Vulgate for the Roman Catholic faith. Protestantism, under the influence of RB2, moved stronger to the affirmation of the antiquity and authority of the Masoretic text.

Finally, the Targums of both RB1 and RB2 were used by Alexander Sperber in his critical edition of the Aramaic Bible (*sigla* b and g), which testifies to their lasting importance (Sperber 1959–1968).

The CPB was not successful in its beginning, partly due to the shipwreck that destroyed a great number of its copies. It was held in high esteem, however, by the Cardinal's successors, i.e., the editors of the other polyglot Bibles. The fact that no less than three teams of editors tried to reprint and improve the CPB proves that they admired the Cardinal's initiative.

The APB was heavily criticized by Leon de Castro, professor at the Salamanca University (cf. De la Fuente 1860). He accused Montano's Latin translations of the versions of judaistic and arianistic tendencies undermining the dogmas of the Church. The Spanish prelates were so troubled by these accusations that the Inquisition was summoned to investigate the case. They appointed the Jesuit Juan de Mariana to do research into the polyglot Bible, but handled the case with care because of the good name of Montano and his excellent

connections with King Philip II (cf. Asencio 1995). In 1580 Mariana wrote a report in which the accusations of Leon de Castro were refuted. Arias Montano was therefore officially free of any heresy, but still had to read in Mariana's report that he had translated many places with too much freedom. Mariana's conclusion, however, was that the Antwerp polyglot Bible could be sold as it was and did not have to be corrected in the verses he had mentioned in his report (Hall 1990, 50; Rekers 1961, 31).

In spite of Montano's troubles with his Spanish colleagues, the APB was relatively successful. It has a long history of being used in other editions. Hutter made use of its texts for his own Polyglot Bible in 1599, until he went bankrupt. Le Jay made a reprint of the entire APB, adding the Syriac and Arabic translations in separate volumes, in 1645. Walton used the Latin translations of the APB in 1654–1657, although he based his Aramaic column on the Rabbinic Bibles and not on the APB. Finally, Alexander Sperber included the Aramaic text of the CPB and the APB in the apparatus of his edition of the Targums (*sigla* n and o; cf. Sperber 1959–1968).

Contents

General Contents

The contents of RB1 vary. From the surviving copies of RB1 one can discern two ways in which RB1 was compiled and bound. The edition in the *Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana* in Amsterdam has a binding in two volumes. One volume provides Chumash with Targum Onkelos and Rashi's commentary; the Megillot with their Targums and Rashi's commentary and the Fragment Targum to the Torah; and lists of haftarot and of differences between the Ben Asher and Ben Naftali text. The second volume contains the Former Prophets with Hebrew preface and the Latter Prophets after an introduction sheet, with Targum Jonathan and Rashi's commentary. The rest of the Writings are absent. Curiously, this edition has the dedication to Pope Leo X on the *verso* of the front cover, although it was apparently meant to serve as a Jewish liturgical Bible, witness its selection of Biblical books.

Another type of content exists for RB1, which appears less instrumental to liturgy and more to the academic study of Jewish biblical texts. One volume contains Chumash with Targum Onkelos and Rashi's commentary, the Former and the Latter Prophets with Targum Jonathan and Kimchi's commentary. A second volume contains the five Megillot with the Second Targum to Esther, the other Writings with Targum, except on Daniel, Ezra-Nehemia and Chronicles. Commentators vary: Kimchi for the Psalms, Ibn Yahya for Proverbs,

Farissol and Nahmanides for Job, Gersonides for Daniel, and Rashi for Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles. This volume ends with the thirteen principles of Maimonides, the 613 mitzvot, and indices.

RB2 is bound in four volumes. The first volume consists of Ben Hayim's introduction, a list of the Christian chapter markers (see below under Chapter Indication), followed by a list of the 154 *sedarim* of the Torah according to the triennial lectionary cycle (BT Meg 29b), and the *sedarim* of the Prophets and the Writings. Pentateuch with Targum and commentary by Rashi and Ibn Ezra follows. This volume provides furthermore an alphabetical concordance of 121 pages on a total of 597, entitled 'Masorah Gedolah', the first ever codified and printed version of such a list. Since there were no verse numbers, referring to a place in Scripture consisted of a short mnemonic citation of the beginning of the sentence. The volume closes with a list of differences between the Ben Asher and Ben Naftali text and an epilogue with a poem by Elias Levita.

The second volume contains the Former Prophets with Targum and commentary by Rashi, Kimchi and Levi ben Gershon, while the third volume provides the Latter Prophets with Targum, Rashi and Ibn Ezra in Isaiah, and Rashi and Kimchi in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The fourth volume contains the major Writings with Targum, Rashi and Ibn Ezra (Psalms) or Levi ben Gershon and Ibn Ezra (Job, Proverbs); the five Megillot with Targum, Rashi and Ibn Ezra; and finally the Writings without Targum, Daniel with Saadiah Gaon and Moses Kimchi (incorrectly attributed to Ibn Ezra; Löwy 1891, 18; Zohar 2005, 113), Ezra and Nehemiah with Rashi and Moses Kimchi (also under Ibn Ezra's name). Chronicles with Rashi completes this non Targum list though it elsewhere has a Targum. This may indicate that none of the extant manuscripts with Targum Chronicles were known to Ben Hayim or they were deemed unauthorized by him. After this, the additions from the first volume are repeated, i.e. the concordance, the list of differences between the Ben Asher and Ben Naftali text and the epilogue with Levita's poem.

The CPB and the APB contain the texts of the entire Christian—or: Roman Catholic—Bible: the Old Testament, including the deuterocanonical books, and the New Testament. They provide the Hebrew text, the Vulgate and the Septuagint with an accompanying Latin translation of it. That the CPB also contained Targum Onkelos was a novelty for the Christian readership. The Targum had been studied, but it was no integral part of Christian tradition, let alone of Christian Bibles. Due to the long production process of the CPB the Italian scholar Agostino Giustiniani published his polyglot edition of the Psalms ahead of Jiménez (*Octapulus Psalterii*, 1516).

The APB copied Targum Onkelos and its Latin translation from the CPB. Moreover, the APB also gives the Aramaic versions of the Prophets and the Writings except Targum Chronicles, just as the RBs provided all the Targums to all the Biblical books except Targum Chronicles. The APB's text of the Former Prophets (including Ruth) was a censored one, accompanied by a new Latin translation for the Former Prophets (cf. Van Staaldvine-Sulman 2012, 118–120). The Latin translation of the Targum to the Latter Prophets and the Writings was a revised version of the Christian Sephardi manuscripts of Alcalá de Henares. Adopting the Fragment Targums from the RBs was definitely out of the question, because they primarily consisted of Talmudic exegesis. The RBs were consulted to haphazardly correct the Targum text and for the collection of variant readings in the eighth volume (Dunkelgrün 2012, 425, 406–411).

The Targum Texts

The Targum text of RB1 stems from Codex Solger (Nuremberg), as has been shown for Lamentations (Landauer 1906, 508); the Fragment Targums to the Pentateuch (Klein 1975, 126; Klein 1980, 1.26); the two Targums of Esther (Grossfeld 1991, 6–7); Ruth (Beattie 1994, 340–48); Judges (Smelik 1996, 150–53); Job (Shepherd 1998, 360–79); Isaiah (Houtman 1999a); and Samuel (Van Staaldvine-Sulman 2009, 40). Codex Solger is most probably from Italian background (Van Staaldvine-Sulman 2009, 76 and references in n. 187), but forms a separate branch within the European families of Targum traditions.

It is reasonable to assume that Ben Hayim, having both RB1 and Codex Solger at his disposal, used these sources for RB2's Targum, as can be shown in 1 Sam 1–3 (Van Staaldvine-Sulman 2009, 34–39). RB2 also shows traces of Sephardi traditions (Houtman 1999b, 151; Houtman 2004, 278; Penkower 1982, 148–90). Due to other differences Van Staaldvine-Sulman suggested 'unknown Western sources' to this (Van Staaldvine-Sulman 2009, 39–41). However, a broader study about the provenance of the Targum in RB2 has shown mere dependence on RB1 and Codex Solger for Targum Samuel (Van Nes 2013).

The Targum Onkelos text in the CPB is based on Sephardi manuscripts. The APB copied this text and used again Sephardi manuscripts to edit Targum Jonathan and the Targums to the Writings. There is evidence—at least for the books Song of Songs, Job and Isaiah—that the APB had used the RBs to revise the Targum text (Alonso Fontela 1986, 53–54; Stec 1994, 11–12) and to add items in the list of textual variants in the last volume. The LPB, however, based its Aramaic column on the RB6 of Buxtorf, still in the Codex Solger tradition. Its editor, Brian Walton, indicated every deviation from the APB in the text by

putting extra words in brackets in the Aramaic column and by using italics for deviating words in the Latin translation of the Targum. In that way, the reader was still aware of the two traditions underlying the LPB, but he essentially studied the RBS' text.

Paratextual Elements

Title Page

The front cover of RB1 shows the decorated gate in the form of an architectural arch framing a summary of its contents, which is now typical for Jewish books. The gate is entitled *זה שער ליהוה צדיקים באו בו*, 'This is the gateway of the LORD, the righteous shall enter through it (Ps 118:20, JPS). In all likelihood Pratensis was the first editor ever to create such a title page, and Jewish books have imitated such architectural frames on their title pages for centuries.

One of the first imitations, eight years later, was made by Jacob Ben Hayim in RB2, where a similar arch was printed on the title page. This arch is significantly called, *שער יהוה החדש* 'The new gate of the LORD' (cf. Jer 26:10; cf. Heller 2004, 169).

A quotation from Proverbs 3:16–18 around the summary of its contents in RB2 announces what the reader will gain, if he enters this gate. It is wisdom, described as:

*Length of days is in her right hand;
in her left hand are riches and honour.
Her ways are ways of pleasantness,
and all her paths are peace.
She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her,
and happy is every one that retaineth her fast.*

Calling his work 'The new gate of the LORD' seems a clear statement by Ben Hayim that his RB2 was to replace Pratensis' RB1. Ben Hayim was very dissatisfied with RB1's textual corruptions in the Hebrew text, copied from Ashkenazi and non-Tiberian manuscripts, its deficiencies in Qere/Ketiv issues, the Targum text, accentuations and punctuation, and most of all, its lacking of the Masorah (Penkower 1982, 52–53; 1999, 362). Surely, as Penkower notes, the most likely reason is that Ben Hayim had personally convinced Bomberg that RB1 had failed to restore the Biblical text to its splendour as its introduction claims (Penkower 1999, 362).



FIGURE 1 Front cover of RB1

The CPB provides a simple cover: a rectangular with floral motives, the Cardinal's coat of arms and the title of the book. Christophe Plantin, however, chose the form of the arch for the very first page of his APB, most likely after the example of RB2. The title *Biblia Sacra* is written on top of this arch and within the arch the subtitle *Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, et Latine* appears. Through the arch we see a visualization of Isa 11:6–7, the peaceful messianic time, commented upon by the phrase *pietatis concordiae*, 'through the harmony of piety'. The text beneath the arch slightly suggests that King Philip II was such a messianic figure or at least stood in the tradition of the Messiah by providing harmony in his empire (cf. Rosier 1992, 78), as it says: 'By the piety and zeal of the Catholic King Philip II, for use in the holy Church'. The originally Jewish symbol of the arch has been filled with Christian content.

The second page of the first volume contains the arch to the Pentateuch. The illustrations, visible through the arch, refer to several narratives in the books of Moses. One of them is Jacob's ladder, to which the text 'This truly is the house of God and this is the gate to heaven' refers. The texts above and beneath the gate illustrate the Christian attitude towards the Old Testament. On the one hand, there is a Hebrew version of Deut 5:1b and 5:6, as part of the introduction to the Decalogue. The books of Moses are therefore regarded as 'laws'. On the other hand, a quotation from Hebr 1:1 and an allusion to 1 Cor 10 (*arcani consilii apparatio*, 'study of (God's) hidden counsel') encourage the Christian reader to consider and study the Old Testament as foreshadowing the New (Rosier 1992, 80).

The second volume of the APB also opens with a gate. It is decorated with flower motifs, but does not provide scenes from the books. Like the RB, it only frames the description of its contents, indicated by the words 'Former Prophets' in four languages. The gate is entitled *שער בית יי השני*, 'the second gate of the House of the LORD'. Like his model, RB2, Plantin gives a quotation from Proverbs. He likewise lets it refer to the contents of his volume (among which were the books of Samuel and Kings), but presumably to his patron King Philip II as well. Prov 29:4a provides the following motto: 'By justice a king gives stability to the land'.

Chapter Indications

An important question for Pratensis was how to deal with the chapter divisions in his RB1. The Christian system of chapter division and numbering had been standardized around 1205 by Archbishop Stephen Langton, presumably for didactic purposes (Wegner 1999, 176). Though they usually coincide with the Jewish *parashot* and *sedarim*, there is considerable deviation too.

Jews were aware of the Christian sectioning system and started to use it for polemical purposes. Around 1330 R. Salomon b. Ishmael added the Christian divisions and numberings, as well as the Latin names of the Bible books, in his Hebrew Bible manuscript. He argues as follows:

These are the chapters according to the gentiles, called *capitulas*, of the twenty four books and the names of every book in their language. They are copied from their book [in all likelihood the Vulgate; HvN] so one might be able to give them a quick answer to the questions they ask us every day concerning our faith and our holy Torah. They produce proof texts from the verses from the Torah, or from the Prophets or from other numberings, and they tell us: 'See, read this particular verse from this particular book and *capitula* so and so from this book'. Now, we do not know what these *capitulas* are in order to give them a swift reply. Therefore they are copied here. (MS 13 Cambridge University Library; first published in Hebrew by Ginsburg 1897, 25; see also Houtman 2012, 17).

So, in order to facilitate disputes one needed a shared reference system that allows swift searches on certain key verses. However, the method of textual division continued to testify whether a Bible edition was Jewish or Christian as can be seen in the first four Jewish printed Hebrew Bibles, where the Christian chapter divisions are not found: Soncino 1488, Naples 1491, Brescia 1494, and Pesaro 1511–1517 (cf. Penkower 1998, 350). The first Jewish printed Hebrew Bible in which they are found is Pratensis' RB1. He placed the chapter numbers in Hebrew letters in the margins, while maintaining the masoretic *setumot* and *petuchot*.

Ben Hayim adopted a similar approach in RB2. After his introduction he includes four pages with a 'list of the chapters, which are recorded by markings', as its heading explains.² His chapter division is mainly like that in RB1 though it is clear that RB2 did not entirely rely on RB1 for it. He indicates in his four page introduction (translated by Ginsburg 1897, 80) that for his chapter division he consulted Isaac Nathan's concordance *Meir Nativ* (Arles, 1437–1445), a reference work that served both to facilitate religious apologetics and Bible study. Bomberg had printed it in 1523 (Ben-Shalom 2011). Penkower compared Ben Hayim's chapter division to that in *Meir Nativ* and concluded that he made a few adaptations for RB2 (Penkower 1982, 363).

2 וזה לך מספר הפרשיות שעליהם נרשמו הסימנים

It was most natural for the makers of the CPB to use the Christian chapter division and numbering, in the column itself or in the margin of the column. The CPB does not even give any indication that there was more than one system of chapter division. For example, in every column of the double page *b iii* a new chapter (Gen 32) starts with the verse 'And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him', although the Jewish tradition had the chapter begin one verse earlier.

The APB basically provides the Christian chapter division and numbering, as well as verse numbering—an invention adopted from Sanctes Pagnini's Bible (Lyon, 1528). The chapter numbers were put in the column, as a 'title' above each chapter. The verse numbers stand in the margin, while obelisks indicate the beginning of each verse within the columns. However, the APB sometimes shows different decisions: while he usually follows the chapter division of the Vulgate, Montano is not afraid to show awareness of the differences between the Jewish and the Christian traditions. For example, he numbers 1 Sam 4:1a as verse 1 according to the Jewish tradition, but puts it before the chapter number according to the Christian tradition (see further Van Staaldoune-Sulman 2012, 110).

Book Names and Divisions

Christians and Jews also differ in the names and number of books belonging to the Hebrew Bible. Pratensis grouped Ezra and Nehemiah as one book in the traditional Jewish fashion. The beginning of Nehemiah after Ezra is marked only by an *aleph* in the margin—the start of a new chapter numbering. He divided each of the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles into two parts according to the Christian division, which he notified explicitly all three times. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to track these notifications. Between 1 and 2 Samuel, the main Hebrew text is interrupted by the note: 'Here do non-Jews begin the Second book of Samuel, which is the Second book of Kings to them' (cf. Houtman 2012, 16). In 2 Kgs 2:1 the note is abbreviated and moved to the margin: 'Here do non-Jews begin the fourth book of Kings.' In 2 Chr 2:1 the note is minimized even further to a mere 'Second Book' in the margin.

Ben Hayim goes a step further in RB2 by adopting the names Second Samuel, Second Kings and Second Chronicles (שמואל ב, מלכים ב, דברי הימים ב), only the latter being preceded in 2 Chr 2:1 by 'Second Book' in the margin. Ben Hayim, in his introduction, bases these divisions and the treatment of Nehemiah as separate book on the concordance *Meir Nativ*. A non-Jewish habit is sanctioned by a Jewish concordance:

And you must not be astonished to find in the Masorah such language as it is noted in 'Second or First Samuel' or 'Second Kings' or 'Second Chronicles' or to see Ezra and Nehemiah separated; for the author of the Concordance who divided the Law, the Prophets and the Hagiographa into chapters also divided Samuel Kings and Chronicles respectively into two books and denominated Ezra the first ten chapters of the book and the rest of the book he called Nehemiah (transl. Ginsburg 1897, 83).

The CPB only provides the traditional Latin names of the biblical books. It also distinguishes between Ezra and Nehemiah and divides Samuel, Kings and Chronicles.

The APB provides a variety of names for each biblical book. The Hebrew name is given above the Hebrew column, the Greek name above the Septuagint and the Latin names above the Vulgate text and the Latin translation of the Septuagint. The Aramaic column and its Latin counterpart just wear the title *תרגום יונתן*, 'Targum Jonathan' and *Chaldaicae paraphrasis translatio*, 'translation of the Aramaic paraphrase'. The APB equally divides the books of Samuel, Kings, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemia into two parts, but again Montano shows awareness of the various traditions: the Hebrew and Aramaic columns and their accompanying Latin translations give the names of 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings, while the Greek version with its Latin translation names these book 1–4 Kingdoms.

The Term Former Prophets

Note must be taken of the use of the term 'Former Prophets' for the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings in the RBs. Avioz' research in the Responsa project of Bar Ilan University shows that the term 'Former Prophets' in this sense of the word was invented no earlier than in 1488 by the Soncino family as title for Joshua through Kings. They first used it in Kimchi's commentary in the first printed Hebrew Bible (Avioz 2009). The Soncino family kept using this term in their Bibles of 1491 (Naples), 1494 (Brescia) and in the Former Prophets edition with Abarbanel's commentary of 1511 (Pesaro). Of course, *Perushim al Nevi'im Rishonim* ('commentaries on the Former Prophets') were written prior to the Soncino family, but such commentators never used the term 'Former Prophets' anywhere in their texts in such sense as was later adopted. This means the title was only be given later, that is, when the commentaries were printed. Adopting Soncino's term in the Rabbinic Bibles, a decision on which Pratensis and Ben Hayim agreed, would have a major historical impact. While Soncino's Bibles themselves were given not too much afterlife, their term 'Former Prophets' would spread over the world when RB2 adopted it. A local

Jewish concept would thus become part of a globally established canonical terminology.

The CPB does not give a separate title to the second volume containing the books Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings—in that order. The second volume of the APB is dedicated to the 'Former Prophets', as is indicated in four languages on the front page with the gate. Montano could have adopted this name from several sources. The APB team used one of the RBS, as can be deduced from the *Variae Lectionis* that refer to *V*, *Ven* or *Venet* to indicate that tradition. The team also used manuscripts from the University of Alcalá de Henares, made by the converted Jews of the CPB team (cf. Tanja 2012). These manuscripts also use the term 'Former Prophets' in the introduction. The Latin column, however, provides the naming 'Historical Books' (cf. Van Staaldouine-Sulman 2012, 100). The difference between the term in the RBS on the one hand and that in the Christian Sephardi manuscripts and the APB on the other hand is that the latter include Ruth—following the order of biblical books of Vulgate manuscripts. So, the term 'Former Prophets' may have been a Jewish term, the Christian Sephardi manuscripts and the APB filled it in differently.

Conclusion

Two traditions of editing the Hebrew Bible accompanied by at least the Targum started in 1517, both in Southern Europe. The differences were great, mostly due to the respective markets, a predominantly Jewish market for Bomberg's RBS in and around Venice, and an entirely Christian market for the CPB and the APB in the Spanish Empire.

The Rabbinic Bibles provide Jewish texts—the Hebrew Bible, the Targums and the Jewish commentaries—in an almost entirely Jewish fashion, and in a specific Jewish order. The few adaptations to the Christian surroundings cannot hide this fact. The background of the few Christian features of the RBS mostly stem from practical reasons: Church politics, the usefulness of chapter numbering and an awareness of the Christian market. Some Christian features, such as the division of books, were defended from Jewish sources in RB2. The Jewish outlook becomes all the clearer when we compare the RBS with the Polyglot Bibles. There the Hebrew Bible changes into the Old Testament, foreshadowing Christ and his Church, the Targum into an Aramaic paraphrase, accompanied by a Latin translation.

Compared to the CPB the APB made a few adaptations to the Jewish background of the texts. They partly stem from the RBS and partly from the Spanish

manuscript tradition, where Conversos did not entirely give up Jewish features of the Hebrew or Aramaic text and paratext. The APB gives the Hebrew—and Greek—names of the Biblical books. It shows awareness of the differences between the two systems of book and chapter division. It uses the Jewish term ‘Former Prophets’, although including Ruth. The gate as front cover was taken from the RBS and changed from Jewish into Christian symbols: a gate to the Old Testament foreshadowing the New—or must we say: the Old Testament as gate to the New—and praising the religious unity under the Roman Catholic King Philip II. The conclusion is justified that the Jewish and the Christian readerships got accustomed to some peculiarities of the other religion.

The double defence of the RBS—the letter to Pope Leo X in RB1 and the story about Bomberg in RB2—shows that the Venice editors and printer were aware of both markets, Christian and Jewish. The defences of the CPB and the APB are entirely directed towards the Christian, i.e. the Roman Catholic, readership. It is remarkable that the APB was so severely attacked after its publication. The fact that this series was meant for the Christian market was most probably one of the reasons behind the attacks. The Christian readership could now study the Hebrew and Aramaic texts, both from Jewish origin. Furthermore, the reader might come to the conclusion that the Vulgate was not the most literal translation of the Hebrew original. Fear arose that the Jewish text would win authority—as it did in Protestantism—at the expense of the Vulgate.

The two traditions continued to exist. The RBS have continuously been reprinted, both for the Christian and the Jewish market. That, for example, the very influential States Translation in the Netherlands was based on the Rabbinic Bibles, most likely on more than one edition, rather than the Antwerp Polyglot (Van Bekkum 2007, 21), probably originates in their Jewish character. The Jews had received the task to keep the Hebrew Bible and deliver it to the Christian community, Protestantism argued.

Many attempts to produce polyglot Bibles have been made, some leading to success, others to bankruptcy. The London Polyglot Bible is the summit in this historical line. It is, however, a combination of the polyglot tradition (general contents and *mise en page*) and the Rabbinic Bibles tradition (Aramaic text), because it followed the Aramaic text from the RBS, although indicating where it deviated from the Antwerp Polyglot in the Aramaic column and its Latin translation.

In short, printers in the sixteenth century tend to copy features from each other's editions, but it must be said that the influence from the RBS on the Polyglots is much greater than vice versa. The outward appearances of Jewish and Christian texts tend to adapt to each other, so that one can wonder after a time whether a specific feature is Jewish or Christian. But a comparison

between the RBs and the polyglot tradition clearly shows the restraint with which the Venice team has adapted the Hebrew Bible and its Aramaic translation to Christian standards as well as the freedom with which the polyglot editors accepted more and more features from the RB tradition. The Christian market, especially the Protestant part of it, was happy to accept both traditions.

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Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles

Eveline van Staaldoune-Sulman and Johanna Tanja

Introduction

Several scholars and printers in the sixteenth and seventeenth century made plans to produce a polyglot Bible. Some succeeded, others edited a part of the Bible, some only began to assemble manuscripts and made notes on how to accomplish the project. They were all Christians, some of them aided by converted Jews. Nevertheless, most of them included, or planned to include, the Aramaic text of one or more Targums. That choice was not self-evident, because many Christian scholars opposed the dissemination and study of Jewish literature. The leading question of this article is therefore: what arguments did the makers of polyglot Bibles give to include the Targum?

To find the arguments we examined the introductions of all the polyglot Bibles.¹ The editors gave account of their choices and way the material was presented. Two things must be borne in mind. First, these introductions were also meant to please the reader and the censor. The editor mainly provided those arguments that were appropriate to the average user and well understood. Therefore, we also relied on secondary literature. Second, some arguments not

¹ The following abbreviations are used:

- OP II = second prologue to the *Octapulus Psalterii*;
- OP *apud* Ps. 18 = marginal comments to Psalm 18 in the *Octapulus Psalterii*;
- CPB II,1 = first prologue to the second volume of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, etc.;
- WPB Micah = prologue to the Micah volume of the Wittemberg Polyglot Bible series, etc.;
- APB I,1 = first prologue to the first volume of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, etc.;
- APB I,13 = thirteenth prologue to the APB = PPB XI = eleventh prologue to the PPB, viz. the letter of recommendation by Gisbert(us) Schoock and colleagues;
- APB II = prologue to the second volume of the APB;
- APB XIII, *title* = prologue under the title mentioned in the eighth volume of the APB;
- NPB I = prologue to the Nuremberg Polyglot Bible;
- Abgad II = second prologue (= 'Vorrede an die Christliche liebe Jugend') to Hutter 1597;
- PPB III = third prologue of the Paris Polyglot Bible, viz. the letter of recommendation by Jean de Bertet and Etienne Moreau;
- LPB XII,10 = twelfth prologue to the London Polyglot Bible, section 10, etc.

only concern the Targums, but the entire project of the polyglot Bible. We will indicate these circumstances, where necessary.

The editors and printers of the polyglot Bibles that were investigated for this article are the following:²

- Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536), who published an *Octapulus Psalterii* (OP) in 1516, not only containing the Psalter in five languages, but also notes from Midrash Tehillim and Jewish commentaries in the margin (cf. Cevolotto 1992; Grendler 2008, 233–240).
- Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1435–1517), who completed the Complutensian Polyglot Bible (CPB) in 1517, although it was not distributed until 1522. The colophons of MSS 4 (Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, Madrid; dated 1517), M1–M3 (Biblioteca General Histórica Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca; dated 1532), and 7542 (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid; dated 1533), which were produced by Alfonso de Zamora, serve as background information for this polyglot Bible.
- Johannes Draconites (1494–1564), who edited eight books of the Old Testament in five languages in Wittenberg (WPB) in 1563–1565. He adapted the Aramaic text, probably taken from the First Rabbinic Bible, in order to produce his word-for-word polyglot editions.
- Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), who edited, and Christophe Plantin (c.1520–1589), who printed the *Biblia Regia*, or the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (APB), in 1569–1572.
- Elias Hutter (1553–c.1605), who edited the Nuremberg Polyglot Bible (NPB) in 1599. It comprises the books of Genesis through Ruth—according to the Christian order—in ancient and modern languages. Theodore Bibliander's work on the languages will be used as background information for Hutter's ideas (Amirav & Kirn 2011).

² We do not include Giovan Battista Raimundi (1536–1614), director of the *Typographia Medicea*, who hoped to reprint the *Biblia Regia* in more languages (Hamilton 2005, 5). He would have called his edition the *Biblia Pontificia*, in honour of Pope Gregory XIII (Hamilton 1985, 83). The plans were not carried out due to lack of funds and the death of his patron.

Some polyglot Bibles of these centuries do not contain the Targums at all, e.g., the Heidelberg Polyglot Bible (1586, 1599), probably of Bonaventure Corneille Bertram (1531–1594); the Hamburg Polyglot Bible (1596) of David Wolder (–1604); Elias Hutter's Psalter in four languages (1602); and the Leipzig Polyglot Bible (1750–1751) of Christianus Reineccius (1668–1752).

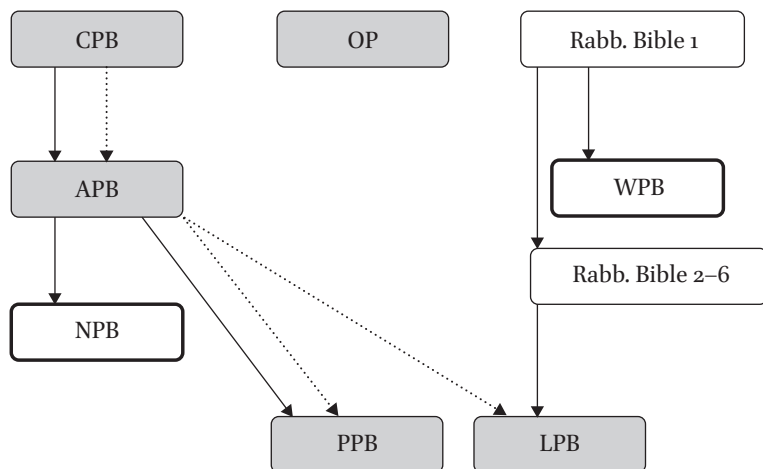


FIGURE 1 *Stemma of Targum text (unbroken arrow) and Latin translation of the Targum text (broken line) in the various polyglot Bibles. The bold polyglot Bibles do not provide a Latin translation.*

- Guy Michel le Jay († 1675), under whose patronage the Paris Polyglot Bible (PPB) was edited, and printed by Antoine Vitré (1595–1674), in 1645.
- Brian Walton (1600–1661), who edited the London Polyglot Bible (LPB) in 1654–1657.

The Targum texts and their accompanying Latin translations relate to each other in the manner indicated in figure 1.

Counter-Arguments

Let us first consider the arguments why Jewish literature, and specifically the Targum, would not have been fit for the Christian readership. These objections form the background against which the editors defend themselves in their prologues and letters.

In the beginning of the sixteenth century an argument erupted between Johannes Pfefferkorn, a Jewish convert, and Johannes Reuchlin (cf. Price 2011; Kirn 1989). The first wanted to confiscate and burn all Jewish literature (Price 2011, 98; Shamir 2011, 98), the latter argued that this literature was valuable for Jews, who had their rights too, and also for Christians (Price 2011, 133; Jansen 2002, 15f.; Raz-Krakovitzkin 2005, 38–45). Andreas Masius, one of Montano's

helpers in the production of the APB, wrote letters to several dignitaries to prevent the destruction of these precious books (Perles 1884, 223–227), whereas Desiderius Erasmus—although sympathetic to Reuchlin (Ménager 2008, 45)—considered all Jewish literature a great danger to Christian society (Jansen 2002, 22).

This discussion shows some general arguments for and against the use of Jewish literature. Pfefferkorn stressed that the Talmud posed an obstacle for the Jews to convert. Erasmus expressed another concern, for he was afraid that the study of Jewish literature would lead to a Christianity of ‘rites and ceremonies’, of ‘external forms’, which he called *judaismus* (Jansen 2002, 15). He even feared ‘a tide’ of *judaismus* in society and in the Church (Jansen 2002, 28–31). Reuchlin and Masius, however, were convinced of the benefit of Jewish literature. Reuchlin thought that both Talmud and kabbalah could be used for the conversion of the Jews (Jansen 2002, 20). Masius agreed with him (Raz-Krakotzkin 2005, 58, cf. 110), but his letter about the matter gives the impression that he was more concerned about his own valuable, recently purchased Talmuds. He therefore hyperbolically claimed that there is no book more apt to convert the Jews than the Talmud (Perles 1884, 223f.).

This controversy was one among many events that led to the discussion during the fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517) about the surveillance of editing and reading. Pope Leo X in the decree *Inter sollicitudines* (1516) demanded prepublication control, because ‘in different parts of the world, books, some *translated* into Latin from Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Aramaic, as well as books written in Latin and vernacular languages, contain errors opposed to the faith as well as pernicious views contrary to the Christian religion’ (Text 1; Raz-Krakotzkin 2005, 38f.; italics his; cf. Peters 1988, 95f.).³

The project of the CPB started against this background. Jiménez was very careful not to overstate the importance of the Hebrew or the Aramaic text. He integrated Targum Onkelos in his CPB; not other Targums, as they were ‘corrupt in places and contain tales and trifles from the Talmudists and are therefore unworthy of being published alongside the sacred texts’ (Text 2; CPB II,1; cf. Hall 1990, 33). He further explained that he had put the Vulgate in the central column of the page with the Hebrew and Greek texts at its sides, ‘as if between the Synagogue and the Eastern Church, as if we have placed on the right and left side two robbers, but in the middle Jesus himself, viz. the Latin or Roman Church.’ (Text 3; CPB II,1; cf. Hall 1990, 34). He even disappointed some co-workers by not letting them add a new Latin translation of the Hebrew text

3 All the original wordings can be found in the appendix of this article.

nor correct the authoritative Vulgate against the Hebrew original (Hall 1990, 25–29).

Even so, the CPB was later accused of undermining the Vulgate and Scholasticism (Hall 1990, 46–48). León de Castro, professor at Salamanca University, made the same accusations against the APB. He discerned judaistic as well as arianistic tendencies, undermining the dogmas of the Church. He entirely opposed the use of Hebrew and Aramaic texts, because these were Jewish and therefore inappropriate for ecclesiastical use (Sabbe 1978, 40).

The argument that the Targum contains ‘tales and trifles’ was still used decades later, when APB, PPB, and LPB were produced. Montano explained to have used a censored manuscript for his edition of the Early Prophets, in which ‘superfluous’ phrases were placed in a separate column. He left out all the ‘apocryphal subject matter’ that is ‘not satisfactorily coherent with the rest’ of the text, although he stated that it contained ‘nothing that could offend the reader’ (APB II). Most texts he left out, can be consulted in the last volume of his work, under the title ‘Rejected places from the Aramaic translation, which seem to be superfluous’ (Text 4; APB XIII, *Loca*). For PPB, Le Jay asked advice from Andres de Leon, professor at Alcalá de Henares, who urged him not to edit the Targum, because it was ‘wrong and corrupt, degenerated from its first zeal and splendour, blemished with Talmudic stories and blasphemous impiety, as all agree’ (Text 5; Jones 1982, 329). The LPB affirms the free translation style of the later Targums (LPB XII,10), calls some things ‘nonsense’ or ‘fables’ (LPB XII,16), but yet offers the uncensored text (LPB XII,20). The Targums are to be seen as gold ore: one should not throw them away because of the slags, for in that case one would also discard the gold (LPB XII,16).

Arguments in Favour of Including the Targums

In the end, none of these protests could prevent the making of polyglot Bibles including the Jewish Targums. There were too many wishes and too many arguments in favour of doing so. Besides, the Targums had never appeared in an index of prohibited books (cf. Reusch 1970) like the Talmuds, although—as we have seen—they were accused of containing Talmudic ‘tales and trifles’.

We have grouped the arguments in ten categories, which will be discussed in their order of appearance in the introductions or letters of the editors. The conclusion will also review the arguments by country, Christian denomination, and other features.

1 *Earning Fortune and Fame*

Agostino Giustiniani hoped for fame and fortune through his polyglot Psalter edition (Outhuijs 1822, 17). He complained that everyone praised his work, but no one bought it. He barely sold a quarter of it. The arrest in 1516 of Cardinal Sauli, the patron of this pioneering work, frustrated Giustiniani's ambition and he had to end the project altogether (Burnett 2005, 427). Although Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros could boast that he edited the Old Testament 'for the first time in several languages' (Text 6; CPB II,1), he had to pay an immense amount of money to finance the project. The makers of both the APB and the NPB suffered financially because of their polyglot editions (cf. Burnett 2000, 25, 29).

Jiménez was concerned about the fame of Scripture. He established trilingual learning, including Aramaic, and edited the CPB to further 'the dissemination of the Word of God' (Hall 1990, 9). He understood by Scripture mainly the Bible as taught by the Catholic Church. The Vulgate was the authoritative translation (CPB II,1), the literal parts of the Targum would only add to its fame. This opinion was shared by Gisbertus Schoock. In his letter of recommendation in the APB and the PPB, he confirmed that the professors of Louvain justly approved of the APB, because it is 'very useful to illustrate the text of the common Latin edition' (Text 7; APB I,13 = PPB XI). Moreau and De Bertet likewise considered the polyglot Bible very useful to the Catholic Church 'to illustrate and confirm the common translation of the Church' (Text 8; PPB III).

The printer of the APB, Christophe Plantin, also hoped for fame, but especially for the approval of King Philip II. He had printed Calvinistic pamphlets and feared the reactions from Catholic Spain. He bombarded Gabriel de Çayas, one of the King's secretaries, with letters stressing his loyalty to the King and the Catholic Church and asking permission and funds from the King for a reprint of the CPB. Fame would be the fate of the King, to whom the APB, also called the *Biblia Regia*, would be dedicated. Etienne Moreau and Jean de Bertet in their letter of recommendation in the PPB presume that the Paris edition would be even more famous than the Complutensian and the Antwerp prototypes (PPB III).

2 *Following Ancient Authorities*

Several scholars in the sixteenth century appealed to the 1311 Council of Vienne. This council decreed to further the study of Hebrew and Aramaic (cf. Stow 1991, 412; Amirav & Kirn 2011, xxviii). Montano referred to the 1439 Council of Florence that also promoted the study of these languages, partly because they are the original Biblical languages and partly because they help to interpret and explain the originals, at least in his opinion (APB I,1 p. 13). By this formulation he also included the Targum as interpretation of the Hebrew text.

Burnett states that 'By the late fifteenth century, the Christian case for Targumic study had long been clear' for polemicists such as Raymond Martini or biblical commentators such as Nicholas of Lyra (Burnett 2005, 423). However, neither Raymond Martini, nor Nicholas of Lyra was mentioned by any editor of a polyglot Bible. The editors refer to other authorities, viz. Origen, Jerome, and even Jesus Christ.

Giustiniani is the first to mention Origen as the scholar who had compiled translations into a 'hexapla', whereas Giustiniani now made an 'octapla' (OP II). Cardinal Jiménez also refers to Origen, not to his collected translations, but to his work on the Septuagint. According to Jiménez, Origen wanted to correct the Septuagint, which had pluses and minuses compared to the Hebrew text (Text 9; CPB II,2). These pluses and minuses had destroyed the references to Christian dogmas such as the Trinity and the Incarnation. At the same time Jiménez quotes others stating that Origen had only corrected the translation of Theodotion. This correction work, by adding what was lacking, and cutting superfluous words (Text 10; CPB II,2), would also become his example of how to censor the Targum texts (cf. Van Staalduine-Sulman 2012, 110f.). Moreau and De Bertet also refer to the example of Origen's work. The fame of the PPB would surpass this most honoured work of Origen (PPB III).

At first sight Origen's example seems to explain the inclusion of the Greek version. However, the fact that Origen had included the Jewish translations of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus in his Hexapla made this argumentation also applicable to the Jewish Targum. This becomes even clearer when considering Jerome's example: Walton quotes a passage from the prologue of Sebastian Münster's Bible (1546), stating that Jerome was such a great and world-famous man and yet had not considered learning from the Jews beneath his dignity (Text 11; LPB XII,16).

Walton also considered Jesus Christ an example, because Jesus had quoted an Aramaic version of the Bible on the cross and thereby honoured and sanctified that translation (Text 12; LPB XII,16). This is a rather new argument here, because tradition had only sanctioned 'the holy "trilinguitas" of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, legitimized by the titulus of the cross' (Amirav & Kirn 2011, 102 n.31).

3 *Promoting Christian Doctrine*

The pivotal argumentation for studying ancient sources in the sixteenth century was the promotion of Christian doctrine. This is true for the study of classical texts in the late Middle Ages (Cohen 1991, 323), in kabbalistic circles (O'Malley 1968, 70) and in humanist learning (Jansen 2002, 8, 12), but likewise for the study of Jewish literature (cf. Cohen 1991). Jiménez believed that at those places where the Targums were not corrupted, they miraculously favour

the Christian religion (Text 13; CPB II,1). Giustiniani had stated almost the same about the Targum of Psalms (Text 14; OP *apud* Ps. 18). The Converso Alfonso de Zamora, who assisted in Jiménez' project and copied the other Targums with Latin translations afterwards, did this 'to teach the many true, reliable and convincing mysteries in the Hebrew language to support our holy faith in Jesus the Messiah, the Son of the Living God' (Text 15; MS Or. 645, fol. 110r, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden).

Johannes Draconites edited the ancient versions of those OT books that contained prophecies about the coming of Christ (Kiefer 1938, 44): Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, Micah, Joel, Zechariah and Malachi. His main argument was that they showed Christ through the divine promises, figures and visions (Text 16; WPB Micah). He printed in red ink those verses he interpreted as christological, and commented upon them. All the versions had to be studied critically: 'the false ideas were to be refuted, the ideas which were neutral were to be made to function in the Gospel's favor, and the ideas which agreed with the Gospel were to be accepted' (O'Malley 1968, 80).

Montano praised the Targum translator Jonathan ben Uzziel, because 'he openly explains [...] the peculiar mysteries of Christ, and he indicates them very clearly' (Text 17; APB II). Christophe Plantin follows that theological line in the title page of the Pentateuch volume. It consists of a gate through which Old Testament scenes are visible. The text beneath the gate runs *Arcani consilii apparatio*, 'the study of (God's) hidden council', implying that when the reader would 'enter' the study of this polyglot Bible, he would get acquainted with God's hidden meaning of the Old Testament. The page further refers to 1 Corinth. 10, a New Testament chapter in which the hidden meaning of the Old Testament clearly refers to Jesus Christ and the Church (cf. Rosier 1992, 80). Walton explicitly stated this idea for Targum Jonathan, quoting Johann Buxtorf the younger, 'that it explains many verses that are not explicitly about the Messiah, in a healthy, Christian manner as about the Messiah' (Text 18; LPB XII,10).

In addition the Targum could be used for the interpretation of the New Testament. The kabbalist Giles of Viterbo had already stated that 'the Arameans knew why the rites of the New Law were unbloody' (O'Malley 1968, 79–80). Targum Joel 2:14, although not mentioned by Viterbo, can exemplify this. The Hebrew text speaks about offerings for the LORD, but the Targum renders that the one who repents, will be forgiven and 'his prayer will be like that of a man who presents offerings and libations in the Sanctuary of the LORD' (Cathcart and Gordon 1986, 69). This kind of reasoning closely resembles several Christian comments on Joel 2:14 (cf. Van Staaldvine-Sulman 2010, 165).

4 *Promoting Apologetics and Mission*

The interpretation of the Targum was mainly used in an apologetic, or even missionary, way against the Jews. Nicholas of Lyra had already said: 'In order to disallow falsehood and to declare the truth, one must depend above all on the Aramaic translation which among the Hebrews is called "Targum" and is of such great authority among them that no one has dared to contradict it' (Cohen 1991, 329). Giustiniani agreed with this reasoning, stating that the Targum of Psalms gave many excellent arguments in favour of the Christian doctrine, 'with which the Jews can be refuted and convinced' (Text 19; OP *apud* Ps. 18). Exactly the same reasoning was given by Walton, who first stated that no Jew dares to contradict the Targums (Text 20; LPB XII,16) and then gave many examples of the correct, Christian interpretation of the Hebrew text given in them (LPB XII,18). He claimed that the makers of the Targums had derived their materials from old traditions and expositions of the prophets themselves (Text 21; LPB XII,18).

Apologetics against the Jews from their own sources was also a leading issue in German orientalism. Johannes Reuchlin had stated this about the Talmud and the kabbalah (Jansen 2002, 20), and his ideas were repeated by Andreas Masius in his letters (Stow 1991, 417; cf. Perles 1884, 224). Draconites gave the argument of apologetics and mission in the prologue to his Zechariah polyglot (Text 22). Bibliander 'expected a general conversion of the Jews at the end of time' (Amirav & Kirn 2011, xxv) and was therefore dedicated to the study of languages, especially the most original one, namely Hebrew.

De Bertet and Moreau considered polyglot Bibles suitable for defending the Roman Catholic religion against the Eastern heresies, referring to Eastern Orthodoxy (Text 23; PPB III). In a broader sense, they wanted to employ these Bibles in missionary activities amongst Muslims and Gentiles, especially because their witness came from the mouths of the Church *and* its enemies, the Jews and Samaritans (Text 24; PPB III)—a formative statement concerning a rising Judeo-Christian world view against other religions.

Polyglot Bibles, including the Targum, could thus function as apologetic tools against other religious groups. They could be used 'to conquer and refute the detrimental versions of heretics', as De Bertet and Moreau put it (Text 25; PPB III), most probably referring to the Protestants with their vernacular Bible translations, just as Schoock's Paris colleagues had done after his recommendation to the APB. They claim that the APB could be called forth 'to oppose the false and impious translations of the heretics, with which they try to fool those who are incompetent in languages' (Text 26; APB I,13).

Bibliander and Hutter shared the missionary aim, but also seem to have taken a specific perspective on non-Christian religions and societies. They

considered Biblical Hebrew as the primordial language (Amirav & Kirn 2011, xxv), of which all other languages are derived. Likewise, Christ the Logos had been originally present in the Hebrew Bible and therefore could and should be 'discovered outside Christianity' (Amirav & Kirn 2011, xxxix).

Whereas the Roman Catholic editors mainly opposed the Protestant heresy, the German Protestants studied the polyglot Bibles to conquer the unfamiliarity with Scriptures, which to them was the basis of heresy and the kingdom of the Antichrist (Text 27; WPB, *Micah*). Draconites even considered the Pope himself as the Antichrist (Kiefer 1938, 46). Bibliander encouraged the study of languages 'to strengthen the Reformation movement' (Amirav & Kirn 2011, xxii) and also Hutter issued his polyglot Bible to foster the German Protestant churches (NPB I).

5 *Teaching Languages*

The 1311 Council of Vienne had decided to stimulate the study of three languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. In his zeal to reform the Roman Catholic Church in Spain, Cardinal Jiménez took up this Council's decree in order to stimulate the education of the Spanish priests. His polyglot Bible was an educational tool, containing a Latin translation of Targum Onkelos, a Latin inter-linear translation to the Septuagint, references to the Hebrew roots in the margins, and a grammar and dictionary in the last volume. His team invented a new, simple way of vocalisation for the inexperienced student. In his first prologue he stresses that one can now learn Hebrew and Aramaic without having to consult Jews: 'When we shrink from the disgust and outpourings of the Hebrews, thus says Saint Jerome, assisted by these tools we do not have to consult their tutors' (Text 28; CPB II,1). Learning the original languages, in which the holy words are written through the Holy Spirit, would greatly stimulate the knowledge of the divine law and of Christ in it (Text 29; CPB II,2).

Montano stressed the details of the various texts, 'for not only what is said by the Holy Spirit, and his prophets, servants and interpreters, but how it is said has to be observed most preferably' (Text 30; APB II). Later on in the same introduction he gave an example of what the reader could learn from the exact wording in Hebrew and Aramaic, which was not clear in the Latin version. For that reason, he translated the books of Joshua and Judges more literally (APB II).

This argument is not explicitly mentioned by Giustiniani, but can be deduced from his method. He delivered a translation of the Hebrew text, more literal than the Vulgate (*latina respondens Hebreæ*), and one of the Aramaic text. Sometimes, when he does not give the most literal translation, he adds a note in the margin: *sensum a sensu* (e.g. OP *apud* Ps. 40).

6 *Correcting the Vulgate*

Several scholars had noticed the poor state of the Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible.⁴ One of them was Giles of Viterbo, who had even proposed to use Jewish Aramaic literature, especially kabbalistic texts, for 'correction of the errors in the translation' (O'Malley 1968, 77). A certain ambiguity, however, is discernible in the early sixteenth century Catholic view on the Vulgate: the Vulgate was seen as authoritative, yet not always accurate. For example, Giustiniani provides the Vulgate in his *octapla* and Jiménez praises Jerome's translations as very close to the Hebrew wording and the most clear translation (Text 31; CPB II,2). On the other hand, Giustiniani also provides a Latin 'corresponding to the Hebrew', thus indicating that the Vulgate did not always do so, and Jiménez referred to the Hebrew manuscripts in cases of corruptions within the Vulgate text (Text 32; CPB II,2). Both editors were therefore adherents of Erasmus' 'principle of the original language', stating that manuscripts with the original languages had to be preferred over manuscripts with translated texts (Bod 2010, 199).

After the Council of Trent, the Vulgate was used, praised, and never abandoned by the Roman Catholic editors. The Targums were supposed to illustrate and confirm the Vulgate's text (APB I, 13; PPB III). We know, however, that the editors of the APB were fully aware of the Vulgate's deviations from the Hebrew text. Christophe Plantin, in his original plans, even preferred the new translation by Sanctes Pagnini over the Vulgate. King Philip II interfered and gave explicit orders to use the Vulgate (Rekers 1961, 102).

7 *Understanding the Original Text*

From the twelfth century onward Christian scholars started to learn Hebrew and Aramaic under the guidance of local rabbis or converted Jews, 'who were themselves placing greater emphasis on the literal meaning of Scripture (*peshat*) rather than on its homiletic sense (*derash*)' (Cohen 1991, 315). In particular, the official Targums were seen as useful instruments for the understanding of the Hebrew text, then and later on. Montano considered Jonathan ben Uzziel to be 'a very scholarly man' (APB II) and his co-worker Franciscus Raphelengius noted that the Targums would greatly support the understanding of the Hebrew text (Text 33; APB VIII, *Variae Lectionis*). Schoock commented that the Aramaic translations, just like the Latin version of Sanctes

4 See further G.W. Lorein, 'The Latin Versions of the Old Testament from Jerome to the *Editio Clementina*', in this volume.

Pagnini, shed light on the Hebrew text (Text 34; APB I,13). The combination of all these versions together in one polyglot Bible would eventually lead to fresh and beneficial interpretations of Scripture (Text 35; PPB III).

Walton valued the explanatory aspects of the Targums more highly than his predecessors had done, because he assumed that the translators were also familiar with the oral tradition: 'They shed light on difficult verses, obscure places and unusual words, for they explain the rites, habits, histories, the real meaning of words and the literal sense, because they were better known to them than to us, for they received them from their forefathers' (Text 36; LPB XII,19). Walton further referred to Nikolaus Serarius, a Jesuit exegete, who had recommended the Targums for the explanation of certain habits in the synagogue (Text 37; LPB XII,19). Later readers of the LPB prologues presumed therefore that the Targums could also function as background information for the New Testament (*e.g.* Prideaux 1717–1718, 638; Horne & Ayre 1860, 58).

8 *Adding to Previous Polyglots*

It is striking to see that every polyglot Bible refers to the previous one as its example, but also wants to add something. Montano praised Jiménez' work mentioning the inclusion of Targum Onkelos (APB II), but he himself included all the Targums. Hutter not only included all the texts of the APB in his NPB, but added vernacular translations, such as German. Moreau and De Bertet referred to both the Complutensian and the Antwerp editions (PPB III). The PPB had added two versions, the Syriac and the Arabic. Walton explicitly defended his choice to include the Targums by pointing to both the polyglot and the Rabbinic Bibles (Text 38; LPB XII,20), but gave even more languages. This practice of expanding fits within the increasing interest in encyclopaedic works (cf. Fischer 1967, 31–37). The projects of the CPB, started by the famous Spanish Cardinal thus established a precedent, even though Cardinal Jiménez refused to edit Targums other than Onkelos.

9 *Approaching the Sacred Language of God*

In kabbalistic circles Hebrew was considered the 'language in which God spoke to man'. This made it a language set apart from the others and transcendently different from them' (O'Malley 1968, 78). Its alphabet was no longer believed 'to be a set of arbitrary symbols but a divinely ordained code for transmitting sacred doctrines' (*idem*, 78). For example, the *aleph* was believed to consist of a *vau* and two *yods*. Thus, it was regarded as the symbol for the Trinity. The sacred text in every conceivable way down to the minutest detail—words, word order, structure and position of the letters, etc.—was the bearer of divine



FIGURE 2 Note in the margin of Draconites' polyglot version of Genesis 1:1, referring to the Trinity (Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam).

truth to men (idem, 79). This kind of reasoning might be the background of De Prato's remark that the Targums contain many secret and hidden mysteries. He, a Converso, and the Christian Daniel Bomberg, editor and printer of the first Rabbinic Bible, were very interested in kabbalistic literature (Jansen 2002, 9).

Although the editor of the APB and his co-workers were neither of them free from kabbalistic ideas (cf. Wilkinson 2007), there is no kabbalistic interpretation of the letters or the symbols of the Hebrew language in the APB.

Similar ideas about Hebrew as the primordial language, and Aramaic as very close to it, were popular in German Protestant circles. Hebrew was seen as the mother of all languages, and 'presumably the eschatological language of the near future' (Amirav & Kirn 2011, xxv). The idea of Hebrew as the first language was only refuted in 1643 by Johannes de Laet (Bod 2010, 237). The study of languages was 'a pneumatological experience' (Amirav & Kirn 2011, xxviii), overcoming the confusion of tongues and directed 'towards a peaceful unification of mankind' through the 'harmony of languages' (idem, xxii). The same enthusiasm was spread by Elias Hutter, who wanted to teach languages to the German youth in order to reverse Satan's work and the confusion of tongues (Text 39; Abgad II). For that reason he edited his NPB, also including the Targums.

10 *Establishing the Hebraica Veritas*

The last category of arguments deals with the original Hebrew text. These arguments are not used in the prologues to the Catholic editions, which mainly stress the value of the Vulgate, but show up in the prologue to the LPB. Walton apologetically argues that the Hebrew text is the original and that the Hebrew text used by him is genuine and not corrupted by the Jews. The reader could check that by comparing the Hebrew text against the ancient versions. Walton specifically mentions the Jewish translations in this part of his argumentation: Onkelos, Jonathan, but also Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus (LPB XII,17).

Jonathan ben Uzziel, the maker of the Targum to the Prophets, was dated by him as a contemporary of Hillel and Shammai, and therefore prior to rabbinic literature that was opposed to Christian theology (LPB XII,10). Those books were not useful for Christians, but Targum Jonathan and Onkelos were, as these translations had been written before the coming of Jesus Christ (Text 40; LPB XII,16). The dating of the Targums was therefore important (cf. Burnett 2005, 422) and had led to the acceptance of the official Targums, but to doubts about the later Targums to the Writings that were considered too allegorical (LPB

XII,10).⁵ Nevertheless, all the Targums are included in the LPB. And Walton did not hesitate to strengthen his arguments by quoting from the Targums to the Writings, if necessary!

Walton did not give theological arguments as to why the Jews would have so meticulously preserved the Hebrew and Aramaic text. Kabbalists, such as Giles of Viterbo, had pointed to the providence of God, protecting the transmission of the text (O'Malley 1968, 95). This kind of argumentation is still used by modern fundamentalists, namely that the Holy Spirit guides the transmission of the Hebrew text by the Jews in order to provide the Church with the *Hebraica veritas* (cf. Barr 1984, 145).

Arguments Not Used

Ten categories of arguments have been discussed above. One could, however, wonder if they reveal all the personal motives. No one, for example, mentioned the fact that making a polyglot Bible was an academic challenge or sprang from the desire to revive Antiquity. No one, not even the editors of the Rabbinic Bibles, mentioned the Jewish market.

Raz-Krakotzkin draws attention to the argument of preserving the Hebrew tradition within the Christian world, especially by converted Jews (Raz-Krakotzkin 2005, 48, 107f.)—an argument absent from the Polyglots' prologues. It might have played a role in the group of Conversos working in and after the CPB project. Montano mentioned that Cardinal Jiménez had ordered censored Targum texts to be produced and that this censoring project came to a halt due to his death in 1517 (APB II). Afterwards, Alfonso de Zamora, a Converso within the CPB team, had at least three Aramaic-Latin manuscripts copied, including all the extra material that belonged to the Sephardi tradition. He apparently wished to preserve the *entire* Targum tradition, although he never explicitly said so. In a draft prologue to the Targum of Isaiah, he wished for the Christian reader to 'trust and find joy in reciting these words of the Targum, every one of them in its own place, and keep them in their heart', alluding to Luke 2:19 (Text 41; MS Or. 645, fol. 110r, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden).

The argument that Aramaic is the mother tongue of Jesus or the original language of New Testament writers, is not mentioned at all. The LPB acknowledges that Jesus spoke Aramaic on the cross, but Walton felt compelled to refer to Christoph Helwig (1581–1617; professor of Theology and Hebrew at Giessen)

5 See further the discussion on the 'ancient Rabbis' and 'modern Rabbis' in H.-M. Kim, 'Traces of Targum Reception in the Work of Martin Luther' in this volume.

and Wolfgang Mayer (1577–1653; professor of Theology at Basel) to prove this point (LPB XII,16), unlike many other statements, which he made without referring to theological authorities. This argument became important in later times (cf. Dilloo 1885; Le Déaut 1982; Schwarz 1985; Chilton 1986 and the literature in Forestell 1979).

Summary of the Argumentation

Although there were arguments not to investigate and edit the Jewish Targums—especially the presence of Talmudic material in them—several authors and printers found reasons to include them in their polyglot Bibles. The next summary gives conclusions on the argumentation according to place, denomination and time.

The inclusion of Targum Onkelos in the CPB became a precedent for the APB. CPB and APB formed the example for the PPB, the NPB, and, together with the Rabbinic Bibles, for the LPB. That Cardinal Jiménez was very hesitant about the Targums, was hardly important for the later editors. It is striking to see that the Targums became more important and were considered more reliable in the course of history. The CPB only edited Targum Onkelos and warned against the rabbinic ‘tales and trifles’ in the other books. The APB included a censored Targum, at least to the Former Prophets and Ruth, but supposed that those rabbinic tales were not harming the reader. This text was adopted by both the PPB and the NPB. The LPB edited all the Targums entirely, although the censoring of the APB is still visible through the use of brackets.

That the Targums could shed light on the literal meaning of Scripture, mainly the Old Testament, was the common opinion among the editors (APB, PPB, LPB). In particular, the LPB elaborates on this point. The Targum as background information for the New Testament is an argument in later centuries. Textual criticism is only mentioned in the LPB. That the Jews had not corrupted the Hebrew text since the coming of Christ, could be proven by the Targums.

The dependency of Christian scholars on Jewish tutors for learning Aramaic gradually diminished. Where Jiménez edited his polyglot Bible, with the aid of *Conversos*, to do away with this dependency, the other editors could produce without Jewish or converted workers in their team.

The idea that Hebrew was the mother of all languages was widespread. That had enhanced the interest in Hebrew and other Semitic languages, such as Aramaic. Bibliander and Hutter were definitely affected by this idea (NPB).

Northern Europe has produced far more polyglot Bibles than southern Europe, which corresponds with the market for printed Christian Hebrew books (cf. Burnett 2000, 15). In most cases they were printed in university towns and under the patronage of ecclesiastic or national authorities (cf. Burnett 2000, 23). For Spain, the CPB was one of the last books containing Hebrew learning for the Christian readership. (cf. Burnett 2000, 16).

Conclusions

Kenneth Stow has rightly characterized the opinion of sixteenth century Christianity on Jewish literature as a 'dualistic view' (Stow 1991). On the one hand, Jewish literature—especially the books composed after the coming of Christ—was seen as erroneous, even dangerous. On the other hand, it was considered as a useful tool for discovering the historical background and the literal meaning of the Bible, both Old and New Testament. These two streams have led to the idea that Jews had to abandon their books in order to convert, yet that they had to read the same books properly, that is, in a Christian manner, for the same purpose. In this sense, the Talmud was both false and true at the same time (Stow 1991, 416).

This dualism can be identified in the prologues to the polyglot Bibles with regard to the Targum. The Targum sheds light on the meaning of the Hebrew text (APB VIII, *Variae Lectionis*), especially the 'literal sense' (LPB XII,16), and its study would lead to fresh interpretations (PPB III). It would also certainly promote the Christian doctrines concerning the Messiah (APB II) and even conquer the erroneous vision of heretics, Jews and Gentiles (PPB II). Jonathan ben Uzziel was considered a very scholarly man. However, his translation contained a lot of Talmudic allegories that did not deserve to be reproduced (APB II). Or, in the words of Walton, 'one has to separate the wheat from the chaff, the harmful from the beneficial, in accordance with the Talmudic saying (Ḥag 15b; cf. Buxtorf 1648, 152): "eat the date, but throw its peelings outside"' (Text 42; LPB XII,16). That is exactly what Walton demonstrates in his prologues. The Targums are human products for him, not inspired by the Holy Spirit, and the later Targums are full of 'Jewish fables and nonsense' (LPB XII,16). Nevertheless, all the Targums, early and late, are selectively quoted to show their usefulness for the Hebrew text, its interpretation and the affirmation of Christian doctrines.

This dualistic view partly originated in the changing definition of what was 'literal'. While earlier medieval scholars considered the entire Targum a literal explanation of the Hebrew Bible, Nicholas of Lyra recognized the difference

between *peshat* and *derash* in the translation (Van Liere 2000, 77). He also broadened the notion of ‘literal sense’: for him, the Christological explanation of the Hebrew Bible belonged to it, since ‘it must have been the *intention* of the holy prophets to point forward to the coming of Christ’ (Van Liere 2000, 73). Since then, Christian scholars have been searching for a Christological *peshat* in the Targums—which appeared to be a contradiction in terms.

Appendix: Original Texts

Text 1: [...] in diversis mundi partibus, libros tam Graecae, Hebraicae, Arabicae et Chaldaee linguarum in latinum translatos, quam alios, latino ac vulgari sermone editos, errores in fide, ac perniciose dogmata etiam religioni Christianae contraria [...] continentes.

Text 2: [...] nam Chaldaica in caeteris libris praeterquam in Pentateucho corrupta est aliquibus in locis et fabulis merisque Thalmudistarum nugis conspersa, indigna prorsus quae sacris codicibus inseratur.

Text 3: [...] mediam autem inter has latinam beati Hieronymi translationem velut inter Synagogam et Orientalem Ecclesiam posuimus, tamquam duos hinc et inde latrones medium autem Iesum hoc est Romanam sive latinam Ecclesiam collocantes.

Text 4: Loca ex Chaldaica paraphrasi reiecta, quae supervacanea esse videbantur.

Text 5: De Paraphrasi Chaldaica, quam Rabbini Targum appellant, quid loquar? vitata et corrupta nimis, degenerans ab illo primo nitore et candore; plene Thalmudicis fabulis, impietatibus sacrilegis foedata, in quo conveniunt omnes.

Text 6: [...] ad lectionem Veteris Testamenti diversis linguis nunc primum impressi sunt [...]

Text 7: [...] eamque ad textum vulgatae editionis Latinae illustrandum perutilem esse...asseruerunt.

Text 8: [...] ad illustrandam et confirmandam vulgatam Ecclesiae Translationem.

Text 9: Unde translatio septuaginta duum quandoque est superflua quandoque diminuta.

Text 10: [...] supplens diminuta et resecans superflua [...]

Text 11: Vir tantus et per orbem celebris non dedignatus est rursum fieri discipulus etiam eorum qui inimici erant crucis Christi et nominis Christiani.

Text 12: Imo multum nobilitavit Dominus Targum quod probant haud infimi Hebraeo-critici Helvicus, Mayerus, Schik et alii, dum in cruce pendens verba ex Psal. 22 non secundum textum Heb. sed ex Targum recitavit et sacro ore suo consecravat.

Text 13: Verum quia quibusdam in locis ubi integra est littera et incorrupta; mirum in modo favet Christianae religioni [...]

Text 14: [...] et multa adducit ellectissima ac rara in favorem Chrsitiani religionis [...]

Text 15:

ודא עבד בדיל למידע ולמילף סתרין סגיאין וקשיטין ומהימנן ויציבין דאישתכחו בלישנא דעבראן לסעדא להימנותא קדישתא דישוע משיחא בר אלהא חיא.

Text 16: [...] nisi ut Christus ipsemet divinis promissionibus, figuris, visionibus monstret.

Text 17: Is enim præter multa alia, quæ doctissimè exponit, præcipua quoque Christi mysteria et apertè explicat, et valde significanter indicat.

Text 18: Hoc etiam in ipso laudandum quod plurimos locos de Messia non ita explicate scriptos, ipse sensu sane Christiano de Messia exponit.

Text 19: [...] et multa adducit electissima ac rara in favorem Christiane religionis ex quibus hebrei redargui et convinci possunt.

Text 20: Apud Judæos aequalem habent cum textu Hebraico auctoritatem, præcipue Onkelosi et Jonathanis Paraphrases; unde nemo audet iis contradicere.

Text 21: [...] quod ex alio fonte proficisci non potuit quam quod ea scripserant Paraphrastæ quæ habuerunt ex antiquis traditionum et expositionum reliquiis quas ex Prophetis hauserunt.

Text 22: [...] non solum propter Judæos ad Christum convertendos iuxta prophetiam apostoli, sed etiam propter Christianos iam conversos [...]

Text 23: [...] ad Religionem Catholicam adversus Orientalium hæreses propugnandam.

Text 24: [...] ad Religionis Christianæ adversus Ethnicos et Mahumetanos ex tot populorum etiam Iudæorum et Samaritanorum Christiano nomini infensissimorum hostium suffragio comprobationem et commendationem.

Text 25: [...] ad revincendas et confutandas plurimis in locis malignas hæreticorum versiones.

Text 26: [...] opponerentur falsis et impiis hæreticorum translationibus quibus fucum imperitis linguarum facere conantur.

Text 27: [...] nam quis non videt totum Antichristi regnum et hæreses omnes ex sola ignorantia scripturæ et Christi manere?

Text 28: [...] ut iam his adminiculis adiuti Hebræorum (ut ait beatus Hieronymus) nauseam et ructum fastidientes præceptores eorum consulere non egeamus.

Text 29: Cum his qui divinæ legis integram cognitionem ac in ea Christum qui vera sapientia est, pio mentis affectu conquirunt, quam plurimum conferat earum linguarum peritia quibus primaria origine sacra eloquia spiritu sancto dictante scripta sunt [...]

Text 30: Neque enim solum quid à Spiritu sancto, eiusque Prophetis, ministris, ac interpretibus dictum, sed quomodo dictum sit, potissimum observandum est.

Text 31: Et ipsius translatio merito caeteris antefertur quia est verborum tenacior et perspicuitate sententiæ clarior.

Text 32: Nota quod ubicunque in libris veteris testamenti mendositas reperitur, recurrendum est ad volumina hebraeorum quia vetus testamentum primo in lingua hebraea scriptum est.

Text 33: [...] quòd Chaldaica Paraphrasis, quae quidem in Complutensibus Bibliis defideratur, integra huc accessit: nimirum quae ad Hebraici contextus intelligentiam maximum est allatura adiumentum.

Text 34: [...] ita probarunt ut ad ipsum textum Hebraicum Latinumque plurimis in locis illustrandum utilem iudicarent.

Text 35: [...] ad eruendas novas et saluberrimas e Scripturae penetralibus interpretationes [...]

Text 36: [...] in textibus difficilibus, locis obscuris et vocabulis inusitatis multum lucis afferunt, dum ritus, consuetudines, historias, vocabulorum significationem genuinam sensumque literalem explicant, quae ipsis ex maiorum traditione accepta melius quam nobis nota erant [...]

Text 37: [...] unde fatetur Serarius in hoc utiles esse ad Scripturae interpretationem quod ingenii bonitate vel maiorum traditione quaedam ad rituum qui nobis ignoti et in vetere Synagoga usurpati erant, explicationem adferunt.

Text 38: His itaque perpensis nemo nobis vitio vertet quod Chaldaee Paraphr. in Bibliis nostris retinuimus, secuti exempla Editionum celebrium Complutensis, Venetae, Basileensis, Regiae et Parisiensis.

Text 39: [...] damit Gottes ehre gefördert, des Teufels werck zerstöret, die Babylonische Confusion in euern herzen auffgehoben und das heilige Pfingstfest der Sprachen auch noch in diesen letzten zeiten zum andern mahl wider des teufels danck in euch angefangen, confirmirt unnd bestettig werden solle und müsse [...]

Text 40: Non desunt qui omnes Judaeorum libros (ut qui iurati Christi hostes) et hos inter reliquos damnant ut prorsus inutiles, impios et inter Christianos non ferendos. At hoc de omnibus recte non potest affirmari, cum Jonathan ante Christi adventum scripserit et fortasse Onkelos, ut ex supra dictis probabile est.

Text 41:

בדיל דיהמנון ויהנון לאיסתכלא הני פיתגמאי דתרגומא כל חד מנהון באתריה. ויטרון יתהון בליבהון.

Text 42: Non tamen omnia in Targum approbanda, sed triticum a Zizaniis, noxium a salutari discernendum, juxta illud Talmudicum “Comede dactylum, sed projice corticem foras”.

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PART THREE

Targum and Christianity



The Study of the Aramaic Targum by Christians in Medieval France and England

Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

Introduction

The beginnings of the study of Jewish Aramaic language and literature in Western Europe are frequently, and quite naturally, associated with the theological and intellectual developments of the Renaissance. The Hebrew Bible itself had been a reference for Christian scholars throughout the medieval period and by the twelfth and thirteenth century some of them reached a high level of Hebrew proficiency, sufficient to create linguistic tools designed to facilitate its acquisition. Aramaic in contrast gained a comparable status only in the sixteenth century. The importance of the Targums for the study of the text of the Bible, its history and interpretation was firmly established through the multilingual editions of the Bible, such as the Complutensian Polyglot Bible of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, with an appended Hebrew-Aramaic dictionary compiled by the convert Alfonso de Zamora (Alcalá de Henares, 1514–1517) or the *Psalterium hebraeum, graecum, arabicum et chaldaicum* of Agostino Giustiniani (Genoa, 1516), and the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568–1573). The sixteenth century also saw the creation of linguistic tools designed to enable Christian scholars to access Jewish Aramaic texts, as becomes clear from the paper of Stephen Burnett in this volume.

I will argue in this paper that Aramaic studies, however well attested in the Renaissance flourishing, did have some modest beginnings earlier in medieval times. Our current knowledge of medieval Christian studies of Jewish Aramaic is admittedly very limited, and the corpus of available documents is small. It is nonetheless the case that some interest in Aramaic and, between the 12th and 14th centuries, some examples of solid knowledge of it, are attested in medieval sources. Aramaic is usually mentioned together with Hebrew, and it is clear that it was studied by the same intellectual milieu. However, while Hebrew was primarily studied to better understand the Bible and correct the corrupted state of the Vulgate manuscripts, Jewish Aramaic texts, and chief among them the Talmud, were the target of anti-Jewish polemics. It was first and foremost in polemical works that Christians displayed some knowledge of the Talmud and its language. The *Dialogi* of the convert Petrus Alphonsi (*Patrologia Latina* 157, 535–672) or the *Pugio Fidei* of the Dominican Raymond Martini (died in

1284) contain a number of Talmudic references. The most impressive scholarly effort directed against the Talmud was made at the occasion of the Talmud trial in Paris in 1240, which resulted in its condemnation and the burning of its manuscripts in 1242–1244. Instigated by the convert Nicolas Donin with the support of the Pope Gregory IX, the trial involved the defence by several Jewish scholars, and notably Yehiel of Paris (Vives de Meaux). In preparation for the trial, the Christian side elaborated a long list of quotations from the Talmud, Rashi and Jewish liturgy, all translated into Latin. This compilation, preserved in MS Paris, BNF lat. 16558 and known as *Extractiones de Talmud*, was first published by Isidore Loeb (Loeb 1880), and later studied in detail by Chen Merchavia (Merchavia 1970, 227–360) and Gilbert Dahan (Dahan 1999, 95–120). It was apparently compiled by three scholars, one of whom was probably Thibaud de Sézanne, a Jewish convert and later a Dominican Friar, author of a Biblical *correctorium* (Dahan 1999, 99–106). Although directed explicitly against the Talmud and aiming at its condemnation, the translations of the *Extractiones* are overall accurate and display a solid knowledge of the text and its language. The Paris manuscript also contains an introduction to rabbinic literature (Merchavia 1970, 455–459) and a glossary of frequent rabbinic terms (Dahan 1999, 97).

Alongside this polemical motivation, it appears however that some Christian scholars displayed a genuine philological interest in Aramaic, and used it in their studies of the Bible. In this paper, I will leave aside the polemical purposes and examine the philological aspects of the study of Jewish Aramaic. To do so, I propose to focus on the knowledge and use of the Aramaic of the Targum, briefly presenting the evidence of its study among medieval Christian scholars in Western Europe, with a special emphasis on the ‘English school’ of Christian Hebraists—a school which appears to have pioneered Aramaic philological investigations.

How Did Christian Scholars Learn Aramaic?

The knowledge of Targum Aramaic among Christians in medieval Occident is of course related to the role it played in liturgy and education among contemporary Jews. While this role remains beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to stress that extant Ashkenazi Bible manuscripts (especially those of the Pentateuch) very often contain the Targum written either as a verse-by-verse translation or, from the thirteenth century onwards, in parallel columns (Olszowy-Schlanger 2012, 34–35). The presence of the Aramaic translation in Jewish Bible manuscripts did not pass unnoticed among the Christian

Hebraists. Even if they could not appreciate the liturgical dimension of these volumes, they were certainly aware of their bilingual nature when they handled and studied them. We may give as example MS Cambridge, St. John's College A 1, a codex containing the Pentateuch followed by the Megillot and haftarot, vocalized by Samuel ha-Naqdan in 1260 in England or in France (Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 44–45). This manuscript, which in the fifteenth century belonged to John Kingston, contains earlier, thirteenth century annotations by another Latin scholar. Although these notes do not concern the Aramaic version as such, it is evident that Christian Hebraists who owned and read such books must have been aware of the presence of the Targum. An explicit description and appreciation of Hebrew codices containing Targum comes from Nicholas of Lyre (1270–1349), who used the Targum (*translatio chaldaica*) in his *Postillae*—although he did not seem to be aware of the existence of several Targumim—and attributed all the Aramaic Bible translations to Jonathan ben Uzziel. In his *Probatio divinitatis et humanitatis Christi*, Nicholas of Lyre wrote (Van Liere 2000, 78):

The writing of Jonathan son of Uzziel (...) is authentic for the Jews, and so far no one has dared to contradict it. In the more noteworthy books of the Jews, the pure Hebrew text is given in one column, and the Chaldaic text of this Jonathan in the other, written in Hebrew letters. And the Jews use this Chaldaic translation as an explanation, because some things that are very obscure in the pure Hebrew texts, are much clearer in this Chaldaic translation, and because they are, as it were, set out.

Of course, possessing Hebrew books does not automatically mean that Christian scholars were able to read them. Until they elaborated their independent teaching tools and methods, they rather relied on the help of Jewish masters. Indeed, while some amount of (more or less correct) Hebrew knowledge could be gathered from patristic sources, Aramaic, though mentioned by Jerome, was much less available to Christians from their own ancient sources. Prior to the mid-twelfth century, discussions with Jews were for them an almost exclusive source of Hebrew and Aramaic knowledge. There is no evidence that these early scholars studied Aramaic (or Hebrew) as such; they rather received ready-made information about the meaning of specific words from their Jewish masters. When at the very beginning of the twelfth century Stephen Harding, abbot of Cîteaux, undertook the task of producing a correct textual version of the Latin Vulgate for his monastery, he consulted the Jews from the neighbouring Champagne. He relates in a letter his visit to some learned Jews who explained to him in French ('lingua romana') the various

Hebrew and Aramaic readings, while consulting 'their numerous books' in his presence (Grabois 1975, 617–618). Consulting with Jews was also the source of information for the Paris exegetical school of Saint Victor (and especially Hugh and Andrew of Saint Victor). The oral transmission of specific readings accounts for the fact that these early scholars never quote a specific text with precision. Today's researchers are sometimes able to identify their comments' *Vorlage* as inspired not only by the Hebrew Bible or commentaries of the rabbinic school of Northern France (Rashi and Tosafists), but in some rare cases also by Aramaic texts, such as the Targum. However, these teachings are usually introduced by a generic expression such as *ex ebreo* ('from the Hebrew language'; Van Liere 2000, 75) or *Iudei dicunt*, i.e. 'the Jews say'.

From the end of the twelfth century onwards, scholars such as Herbert of Bosham, the Benedictines from Ramsey Abbey, maybe Nicholas Maniacoria (mid-twelfth century) and William de la Mare (died in 1285, see Berger 1898, 33; Weber 1953, 10), and, a generation later, the Franciscan Nicholas of Lyre achieved an unprecedented knowledge of Aramaic (and, of course, Hebrew). Associated primarily with French and English centres such as Paris, Canterbury or Ramsey, they were most probably educated by Jewish masters: Herbert of Bosham mentions a Jewish teacher, and Nicholas of Lyre was instructed in his early years by Jewish scholars from Evreux. However, unlike earlier scholars, they grew able to consult Jewish books and transmit their knowledge without the help of the Jews. The growing interest and increasing knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic prompted some thinkers, such as the Franciscan Roger Bacon (c. 1214–1292), to campaign for a more systematic teaching of these languages.

Indeed, the medieval Occident lacked institutions devoted to the study of either Hebrew or Aramaic. At the beginning of the fourteenth century such teaching received an institutional 'green light'. As part of his efforts to convert the Jews, the Majorca-born Franciscan Raymond Lull (1232–1316) stressed the need for the study of languages for the missionary activities. In his *De modo convertendi infideles*, Lull urged to found schools of languages in such intellectual and trade centres as Rome, Paris, Genoa, Venice, Capua and in Hungary. He argued in favour of such teaching structures when he attended the Council of Vienne in 1311–1312, where it was decided that chairs of Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean (which could be either Aramaic or Syriac) be created at the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca and at the Pontifical See in Rome. We have, unfortunately, little evidence that this official prescription was fulfilled in all these universities (Dahan 1993, 3–22). As for the study of Aramaic, it was in Paris that a chair, established in 1319, was dedicated to both Hebrew and 'Chaldean'. Both languages were taught by a convert named Jean de Villeneuve-le-Roi. The teaching of Aramaic was also instituted in England, as attested by a

statement from 1325 concerning a financial contribution sent from the Abbot of Westminster to the University of Oxford to cover expenses of the teaching of Hebrew, Arabic and Chaldean. However, in both Paris and Oxford universities this teaching was probably short-lived and there is no indication it had any major intellectual impact. For the most part of the Middle Ages the study of Aramaic (and Hebrew) was effectively the domain of isolated intellectuals, sometimes of groups of scholars remote from the official universities, such as the scholars from the Benedictine Abbey of Ramsey in East Anglia.

Perceptions of Aramaic among Christian Scholars

Medieval Christian scholars were aware of the existence of Aramaic or 'Chaldean' (terms *caldeum*, *syrum*, *aramaicum* are used in medieval texts), since it was mentioned by Jerome and was the original language of some of the books included in the Latin Vulgate. Jerome might have been aware of the existence of the Targums, but did not study or quote them (Hayward 1987, 105–123). It was on the occasion of his translation of the apocryphal Book of Tobit that Jerome made his pioneering remarks on the linguistic proximity of Aramaic and Hebrew, while admitting his lack of competence in the former. When he yielded, reluctantly, to the demands of Bishop Chromatius of Aquileia and Bishop Heliodorus of Altinum, who urged him to translate the book of Tobit into Latin from its original language, he wrote in a letter—which would subsequently become the preface to this translation—that the language of the Chaldeans was related to Hebrew ('quia uicina est Chaldeorum lingua sermoni hebraico'). However, it seems that he was unable to undertake the translation from Aramaic without help, and that he had no access to or knowledge of the Hebrew version of Tobit—which must have existed (Fitzmeyer 2003, 19). Jerome found a Jewish 'native informer' proficient in both Hebrew and Aramaic, made him translate the book of Tobit orally into Hebrew (which apparently took only one day), and then, with the help of a secretary, he translated the Hebrew into Latin (*Biblia Sacra* 8, 1950, 155–156).

The linguistic proximity thus established by Saint Jerome, is further elaborated by Roger Bacon. Bacon does not consider Hebrew and Aramaic as two distinct 'languages' but rather as two 'dialects' of the same language. He expresses this view in his *Opus Tertium*: 'Chaldeus enim sermo et Hebreus differunt sicut idiomata unius linguae, ut Picardicum, et Normandicum, et Burgundicum, Parisiense, et Gallicum una enim lingua est omnium, scilicet, Gallicane, sed tamen in diuersis partibus diuersificantur accidentaliter' ('Chaldaic and Hebrew differ like dialects of one language, just like Picard and

Norman and Burgundian and Parisian and French are all one language, i.e. French, but in various parts they differ by accident' (Ed. Brewer 1859, 102). Roger Bacon also mentions Aramaic and its close relationship to Hebrew in his *Compendium Studii Philosophiae* (Ed. Brewer 1859, 438–439). Similar ideas are expressed in grammatical notes in MS Toulouse 402 (fol. 248v), which was penned by an author probably belonging to Bacon's milieu, sometimes identified with William de la Mare (Grévin 2001, 69).

Roger Bacon's interest in Aramaic accounts for his analysis of the Aramaic verse inserted into the Hebrew text in the book of Jeremiah (Jer 10:11). In the Vatican manuscript of his *Opus maius* (MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 1317), the Aramaic text of this verse is transliterated into Latin characters and a literal Latin translation is placed above the words and prefixes, from right to left, like the Aramaic text. The Aramaic verse is then translated into Hebrew and Latin (Singer 1928, 303). Similar methods of glossing the original text were used by some of Bacon's older compatriots who however surpassed him by far in their knowledge of Aramaic.

Herbert of Bosham

Herbert of Bosham (c. 1120–c. 1194), theologian and secretary of Thomas Becket, was the author of the most accomplished work of the twelfth century Christian Hebraism, the commentary on the Psalter (*Psalterium cum commento*) which is a literal exposition of Jerome's third translation of the Psalms, the *versio iuxta hebraicam*. Preserved in a unique manuscript (London, St. Paul's Cathedral Library, MS 2), Herbert of Bosham's *Psalterium cum commento* is replete with references to the Hebrew Bible and Jewish commentaries, and shows an unprecedented linguistic proficiency (see e.g. De Visscher 2009a, 2009b). Most important for our purpose, Herbert of Bosham quoted the Targum. In her recent work, Eva De Visscher has identified seven references traceable to either Targum Onkelos or Targum Jonathan. While in the majority of cases the immediate source was probably Rashi's quotation of the Targum, in the comment on Ps 2:12 and Ps 7:1 the wording is closer to the text of the Targum (though the meaning is not different from that given by Rashi). It is possible that Herbert of Bosham consulted Targum Jonathan independently from Rashi's commentary, either by himself or with the help of a Jewish informant (Loewe 1953a, 65; De Visscher forthcoming).¹ Thus, נשקו בר פן יאנף, lit.

1 E. De Visscher, *Reading the Rabbis: Herbert of Bosham's Christian Hebraism* (in print). I thank the author for letting me read the manuscript of her book before the publication.

'Kiss the son, lest he be angry', in Ps 2:12, is commented by Herbert of Bosham as 'accept the Law, lest he may be angry' ('suscipite legem ne forte irascatur'). Indeed, this is close to the Targum *ad loc.*: קבילו אולפנא דלמא ירגיז, 'accept the Law (instruction), lest he may be angry', with the very precise rendering of דלמא by *ne forte*. Rashi for his part prefers to resort here to a French gloss, translating בר נשקו as 'garnissement' (with the sense of נשק as 'to equip, to arm'). Even if the meaning is not contradictory,² Rashi's formulation is different. Herbert of Bosham sometimes states explicitly that his interpretation comes from 'Aramaic' (*in Caldeo*).

The link with Rashi is also problematic in the interpretation of the name Kush the Benjaminite (כוש בן ימיני) in Ps 7:1. Here Kush is identified with Saul, just like in the Targum: דשאול בר קיש דמן שבט בנימן, 'of Saul son of Kish, who is from the tribe of Benjamin'. The same identification is quoted by Rashi, who refers to MQ 16b.³ Herbert of Bosham too quotes here the rabbinic interpretation of the identification of Kush with Saul ben Kish. However, although the source can be traced to Rashi, as in the comment to Ps 2:12, Herbert refers here explicitly to the 'Aramaic', while Rashi does not do so. The other passages based on the Targum can be traced back to Rashi who mentions explicitly the Aramaic translation, such as Rashi ad Ps 68:5. In this case, however, Herbert of Bosham quotes Biblical verses which are different from the examples given by Rashi. This led Loewe to believe that Herbert consulted the Targum independently from Rashi's commentary (Loewe 1953, 67).

Although it is all in all unclear whether Herbert of Bosham consulted a Bible manuscript with Targum or that he had access to the Aramaic version via Rashi's commentary, it is relevant that these interpretations are clearly designated as 'Aramaic', whether or not Rashi *ad loc.* uses this term. The discussions of the meanings of particular words are introduced by *in Caldeo*, or *Chaldeus*, or *secundum Chaldeum*. Thus, even if the text of Rashi was the immediate source, Herbert of Bosham was able to appreciate Aramaic as a distinct language and to make use of it in his understanding of the text of the Hebrew Bible.

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- 2 The play between the two meanings of נשק as 'kiss' and 'equip' is found in the context of the study of the Law, for example in the Midrash *Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah*, *parashah* 1 (comment on Cant 1:2): פ"ך על פ"ך, 'אם עסקת בדברי תורה ששפת"ך מנושקות סוף שהכל מנשקין לך על פ"ך', 'If you studied the words of the Torah so that your lips are equipped, all will finally kiss your mouth'.
- 3 שגיון לדוד אשר שר לה' על דברי כוש בן ימיני. וכי כוש שמו? והלא שאול שמו! אלא: מה כושי משונו בכושי, 'a mistake of David, because he sang to God about Kush the Benjaminite. And was his name Kush? Wasn't his name Saul? Just like the Kush (Ethiopian) is different in his skin, thus Saul is different in his deeds'.

Thirteenth-Century English School of Christian Hebraism: 'superscriptio' Manuscripts and the Ramsey Dictionary

The most accomplished medieval Christian achievement in the field of Aramaic (and Hebrew) studies is the work of the English school of Christian Hebraists related to Ramsey Abbey in East Anglia. It is unclear at this stage of research how and whether this school was connected to the earlier achievements of Herbert of Bosham (and whether it was known and had impact on later scholars such as Nicholas of Lyre), but some similarities in exegetical methods and some specific interpretations have been noted by De Visscher (De Visscher 2009, 129).

In addition to Herbert of Bosham and the modest contribution of Roger Bacon, England was the scene of an unprecedented work of at least two generations of Christian Hebraists. Most of them anonymous, some connected to Ramsey Abbey and to its prior Gregory (known in later sources as Gregory of Huntington), these scholars were not only the most competent Christian Hebraists in medieval Europe, but, as far as we know, also the most productive ones. There are three main types of works created by this 'English school' of Christian Hebraism: 1. bilingual Bible manuscripts where Hebrew and Latin texts are copied in parallel columns; 2. Hebrew annotated manuscripts (Bibles and one Rashi commentary on Prophets and Hagiographa, MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 6) with interlinear Latin translation of a literal nature (*superscriptio*⁴); 3. linguistic tools created to facilitate the access to Hebrew texts: a Hebrew-Latin-Old French dictionary and a grammar of Hebrew in Hebrew and Latin (MS Longleat House 21) (Berger 1893; Smalley 1939; Loewe 1957, 1958; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003; Olszowy-Schlanger et al. 2008).

Among these manuscripts, the trilingual dictionary and a group of six manuscripts with *superscriptio* are relevant to the topic of the study of Aramaic: MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College (Samuel and Chronicles), MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Or. 46 (Hagiographa), MS Oxford, Bodleian Library Or. 62 (Ezekiel), MS Oxford, St. John's College 143 (Joshua, Judges, Canticles, Ecclesiastes), MS Longleat House 21 (Psalter), and MS Oxford Corpus Christi College 6 (Rashi on Prophets and Hagiographa) (for a description of these manuscripts, see Olszowy-Schlanger 2007).

4 B. Smalley has attributed the *superscriptio* translation to Robert Grosseteste who owned a Psalter with parallel texts and an interlinear translation (Smalley 1939, 343f.). However, the *superscriptio* is preserved in seven different Psalters from England, and differs from one manuscript to another. It is therefore possible that Grosseteste's Psalter was just one example of such work (Olszowy-Schlanger 2009, 118).

The dictionary Longleat House 21 and the six *superscriptio* manuscripts are closely connected. MSS CCC 9, Bodl. Or. 46, Bodl. Or. 62 and St. John's College 143 were all copied by the same Hebrew scribe, and are very similar in size and quality. The Hebrew text of CCC 6 and the Psalter in MS Longleat House 21 are written by different scribes. However, all these six manuscripts were glossed by the same Christian Hebraist. His annotations, in cursive scholars' script, cover the margins of the books and display an unprecedented Hebrew and Aramaic knowledge. He was also the scribe of the interlinear *superscriptio*. These manuscripts annotated by the same Christian scholar were direct sources for the compilation of the Ramsey trilingual dictionary whose entries follow their *superscriptio* and the marginalia in contents and structure (Olszowy-Schlanger 2008, xcii–xciv). Most importantly, these manuscripts have in common an extensive and unprecedented use of Aramaic sources.

The trilingual dictionary of Ramsey is primarily devoted to the Hebrew Bible. However, thirty entries concern Aramaic: twenty-eight are verbal roots attested in Biblical Aramaic and two are post-Biblical terms (Olszowy-Schlanger 2008, xxxi–xxxii). In some cases, roots which could be either Hebrew or Aramaic are clearly described as 'Aramaic' (e.g. כפף in 'Kaph 35).⁵ Aramaic can be referred to as *sirum* or *caldeum*, or as an abbreviation *enek*, which will be explained below.

While the Aramaic entries or lemmata are not many, the dictionary contains a wealth of Aramaic quotations within the explanatory part of the entries, whose aim is to elucidate the meanings of the Hebrew words. There are nine direct references to Targum Jonathan (Ionatan) ('He 16, 'Nun 50, 'Ayin 101, 'Qoph 12, "Daleth 67, "Qoph 56, "Resh 24). They usually follow a simple structure: the Hebrew entry is translated into Latin according to the meaning of Targum Jonathan, introduced by such expressions as *quoniam huius est Ionata* ('Nun 50), or x (Aramaic term) *est Ionatan huius* ('Qoph 12), or with a French syntax: *hoc est Ionatan de* ("Resh 24). Once we find *Ionatan dicit* ("Qoph 56) and once *secundum Ionatan* ('Ayin 101). In 'Ayin 101, the reading of the Targum is confronted with that of Rashi *ad* Isa 9:17–18 (Vulg. Isa 9:18–19), introduced by *secundum Salomonem*. This confrontation is a summary of the discussion in Rashi *ad loc.*, where Rashi rejects the meaning proposed by the Targum. To illustrate the use and function of the references to Targum Jonathan, we take as an example 'Nun 50:

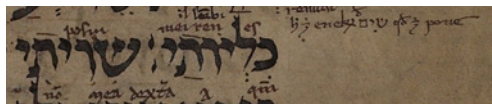
5 The references to the dictionary are quoted according to the edition in Olszowy-Schlanger et al. 2008.

נחץ Nahes

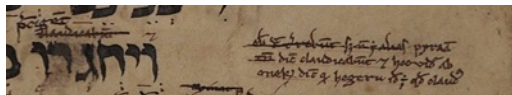
Accelera, quoniam huius est Ionata בָּהֹל bahol, quod est 'accelera', unde I REGUM XXI (I Sm 21, 9), ubi habemus: *Sermo enim regis urgebat me*, dicit ebreus 'sermo regis acceleravit me'.

This entry concerns a Biblical hapax legomenon נָחֹץ in 1 Sam 21:9. The translation of the dictionary, 'accelera', is described as based on Targum Jonathan *ad loc.* This reference is followed by the Vulgate translation of the verse (Vulgate is introduced by 'ubi habemus'), which is corrected according to 'ebreus', whose interpretation of נָחֹץ corresponds to Targum Jonathan. The translation of Targum Jonathan *ad loc.* is given in the dictionary under the form of Qal imperative, the usual form of the verbal lexical entries in the dictionary. The form in the Targum *ad loc.* is בְּבַהֲלֵי. The compiler of the dictionary was therefore able not only to identify the relevant word in the Aramaic text, but also to parse it correctly, separating the tri-literal root from the prefix ב and the suffix of noun formation at the end. This implies a good grasp of grammar. It must be added that, while Rashi *ad loc.* glosses נָחֹץ with the Hebrew בְּבַהֲלִית clearly inspired by the Targum, he does not say explicitly that his comment derives from the Targum. This suggests that the source of the Targumic reading in the dictionary which does mention it explicitly may have been independent from Rashi.

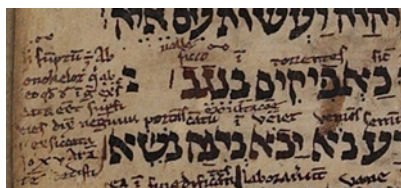
The references to 'Ionatan' are not the only references to the Aramaic Targum. Both the marginal glosses of the six *superscriptio* manuscripts and the entries of the trilingual dictionary contain numerous mentions of a source designated by an abbreviation 'enek.'. In the dictionary alone there are some 330 references to 'enek.' among the 3682 entries. The meaning of this puzzling abbreviation has been uncovered by Jean-Pierre Rothschild who was able to show that it derives from enekelos (or onekelos, onokelos) for Onkelos. Indeed, the word is sometimes written in full in the marginalia of the *superscriptio* group (Rothschild 2008, lxxxi).



MS Longleat House 21, Psalter, fol. 184r: שׁוּרִי is commented as being 'enek.' of שִׁים, 'put'.



MS Longleat House 21, Psalter, fol. 180r: the word ירחגרו is interpreted by a reference to 'Pyraam' (=dictionarium Mahberet he-Arukh of Solomon ibn Parḥon) and to the Targum, abbreviated as 'onek.'



MS Longleat House 21, Psalter, fol. 147v: the marginal gloss contains a reference to the Targum written in full as 'onkeloz'.

However, despite its etymology, the abbreviation 'enek.' does not refer exclusively to Targum Onkelos, or at least not always in a direct way. In order to illustrate the uses and meanings of 'enek.' and the approach to Aramaic in general, I will examine some examples from the glossed *superscriptio* manuscripts to complete Rothschild's analysis of 'enek.' in the trilingual dictionary from Ramsey.

In his analysis of the over 300 occurrences of 'enek.' in the trilingual dictionary, Jean-Pierre Rothschild has observed the semantic and functional diversity of this term. In the overwhelming majority of cases, especially when the Hebrew entry of the dictionary is a word from the Pentateuch, 'enek.' introduces simply the version of Onkelos of this particular word. However, it also happens that the term introduced as 'enek.' is not a translation of the specific Hebrew term commented in the entry. But even then, in most cases, it does correspond to Onkelos in a Pentateuch reference, which is not quoted in the entry, but contains the same Hebrew word (for a detailed analysis see Rothschild 2008, lxxxi–lxxxvi). For example, in ^וZayin 7, רשע is described as 'enek.' of זוד (Rothschild 2008, lxxxi–lxxxvi):

Superbi, ut Ex. xviii (Exod 18:11): Eo quod superbe egerint contra illos. Ebreus tamen pro hoc ebreo gallice dicit 'en feluns', et Sal. (Ps 119:51 [Vg. 118:51]): Superbi inique agebant, set ebreus dicit ibi 'impü', רשע est enek. huius (...)

We are concerned here with the second quotation, Ps 119:51, whose word יְדִים is translated as 'impīi', 'infidels', on the basis of its 'enek.' רָשָׁע, 'wicked'. The Targum to Psalms *ad loc.* reads יְדִינִין, from the similar root to that of the commented lemma. In addition, רָשָׁע is such a frequent Hebrew word, that one may think that the compiler simply quotes a Hebrew synonym rather than an Aramaic term. However, a glance at Targum Onkelos shows that the root יָד in Biblical Hebrew can be indeed rendered by the (Aramaic) root רָשָׁע (e.g. Exod 21:14).

Incidentally the attribution of the translation 'impīi', 'infidels', to 'ebreus' (itself based on 'enek.'), corresponds to the translation of יְדִים in the *superscriptio* of the Psalm 119, 21 and 51, in the Psalter Longleat House 21. The verse Ps 119:21 in this Psalter is also glossed in wording reminiscent of this entry of the dictionary: 'quoniam רָשָׁע est enek. huius'. This confirms that this glossed Psalter was a source for the dictionary. Thus, when the quotation under consideration in an entry of the dictionary does not come from the Pentateuch but is elucidated by a reference to 'enek.', it usually implies the Onkelos translation of the same Hebrew word in a different place in the Bible. This is particularly patent when the commented lemma is a word in Biblical Aramaic. For example, in "Ayin 61⁵ the lemma עֲלָל is translated as 'opus', 'work', by reference to עֲבִידָת in the book of Daniel described as 'enek.' of עֲלָל ('quoniam עֲבִידָת, quod est "opus", ut Da I (Dan 2:49): "Et constituit super opera prouincie", est enek. huius'). Indeed, the word עֲבִידָת appears in Dan 2:49, and it may seem that 'enek.' here refers simply to the Biblical Aramaic of the Book of Daniel. However, the link with עֲלָל is missing and can be re-established only when we go back to the Targum of this particular word in Exod 10:2, which is the same as the term in Dan 2:49. So, even when the specific verse is not mentioned, the underlying connection between the lemma and its illustrating reference in the Pentateuch is suggested by the mention of 'enek.' = Targum Onkelos.

A similar intricate use of 'enek.' is attested already in the marginal glosses of the *superscriptio* manuscripts, which, as stated, were direct sources for the dictionary's compiler(s). Unfortunately, no glossed Hebrew manuscripts of the Pentateuch related to the 'Ramsey school' has come down to us, and we cannot appreciate how Onkelos was used, so to speak, in its most obvious way. But the glosses on other parts of the Bible do indicate that 'enek.' refers to Targum Onkelos, even if the relevant verse of the Pentateuch is not mentioned.

The glosses in MS Bodl. Or. 46 are particularly relevant for our purpose, because they concern not only the Hebrew texts, but also the Aramaic passages of the book of Ezra (4:8–6:18, 7:12–26) (fols 1–64). The very fact that the author of the *superscriptio* was able to translate the text independently from the Vulgate, and to provide it with comments, shows his proficiency in Aramaic. We shall quote as an example Ezra 4:7 (fol. 8v, l. 6):

ובימי ארתחששתא כתב בשלם מתרדת טבאל ושאר כנותיו על ארתחששתא
מלך פרס וכתב הגשתון כתוב ארמית ומתרגם ארמית:

And in the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of their companions, unto Artaxerxes king of Persia; and the writing of the letter was written in the Syrian tongue, and interpreted in the Syrian tongue (KJV).

The superscriptio reads as follows:

Et in diebus aretahasa—seta⁶ scripsit in pace miteradis tabael {bonus domino} et reliqui societas sua⁷ ad aretahesasata | regis⁸ persarum et scripta /ar⁹/ missa | scribebatur¹⁰ aramit¹¹ et corigebatur¹² | siriace.¹³

We observe that the *superscriptio* differs from the Vulgate. However, it is systematically compared to the Vulgate whose readings appear in the marginal gloss, introduced most frequently by *habemus*, ‘we have’. It is interesting to note that this verse contains twice the mention of ארמית, ‘Aramaic’, which is left untranslated when it appears for the first time (‘aramit’), but rendered according to the Vulgate (‘siriace’) the second time. Both instances are provided with a marginal gloss: *aramit* is glossed as *siriace* and *siriace* as *aramice*.

While the term ארמית is thus rendered as *siriacum* or *aramicum*, ‘Syrian’ or ‘Aramaic’, when it is a part of the Biblical text, and, in this case the language

6 The name of the King is divided by a hyphen in the Hebrew text, between shin and sin, אֶרְתַּחֲשֶׁשֶׁתָּא and the translation above the line follows this division. The gloss in the right-hand margin provides an etymological explanation: ‘are maledictus, tasa taxus, seta’. The left hand margin gloss reads: ‘aretasis’, cf. Vulg. *Artaxerxis*.

7 Instead of the expected genitive *societatis sue*. A gloss provides the reading of the Vulgate: ‘Habemus pro hoc: *qui erant in consilio eorum*’. In superscriptio manuscripts and in the trilingual dictionary the term *habemus pro hoc*, ‘we have for it’, always introduces the reading of the Vulgate.

8 Instead of the expected accusative *regem*. This error is probably due to the omission of the line by the Hebrew scribe which confused the glossator.

9 In the entire group of manuscripts and other texts of English Christian Hebraists, including Roger Bacon, the abbreviation *ar* (probably for *articulus*) is used for the Hebrew definite article which does not have a Latin equivalent or for some prepositions, for example ל.

10 Vulg. *scripta erat*.

11 Vulg. *siriace*. The gloss in the right-hand margin reads: ‘id est siriace’.

12 Vulg. *legebatur*. The gloss in the left-hand margin reads: ‘habemus: *legebatur*’.

13 The gloss in the right-hand margin: ‘aramice’.

of the letters addressed to the King of Persia, the Aramaic of the Targum is rather referred to by the glossator as 'enek'.¹⁴ For example, in Ezra 4:10, the Aramaic verb **והותב**, 'and he set, made dwell, settle', is translated as 'fecit sedere', and the gloss in the right-hand margin reads: 'hoc est enek. de **הושב**'. Thus, at first glance, the Aramaic form found in Ezra 4:10 is described as the Aramaic equivalent or 'enek.' of the Hebrew **הושב** (translated by the same Hebrew term by Rashi *ad loc.*),¹⁵ and one may suppose that 'enek.' in this particular marginal gloss does not specifically mean 'Targum Onkelos', but refers to Biblical Aramaic in general. However, here again, when we take as example the first occurrence of the precise form **והשיב** in the Bible, Gen 48:21, we find that Targum Onkelos reads **ויתב**. Thus, the term 'enek.' in this particular gloss to Ezra 4:10 implies the underlying Targum Onkelos for another verse (e.g. Gen 48:21), which is not mentioned in the gloss.

In the marginal gloss to Ezra 4:12, the term 'enek.' appears twice: **ובאשתא**, 'bad (city)' translated as '(ciuitatem) malignantem' is glossed in the left-hand margin as '**באש** est enek. de **רעה**', and **ושורי**, 'and the walls', translated as 'et muros', is glossed in the right-hand margin as 'enek.' de **חומה**. Here again, 'enek.' may mean simply the Biblical Aramaic, but the first occurrence of **רעה** as a feminine adjective, in Gen 37:2, is translated in Targum Onkelos by the same word **בישא**, and that of **חמה**, 'wall', in its first Pentateuch occurrence, in Exod 14:22, is rendered by the same Aramaic term, **שורין**, by Targum Onkelos.

Similarly, in the Psalter in MS Longleat House 21, in Ps 3:7, the straightforward Hebrew word **עם**, 'people', is glossed as 'ham est enek. de goi'. It is difficult to understand the need for this gloss if we consider only the verse in question. Indeed, **עם** is in Hebrew in this verse of Psalms, while the gloss announces that **עם** is an 'enek.'—an Aramaic term. The Targum of Ps 3:7 has here also **עם**, so indeed one may assume that the glossator comments on the Targum and not on the Hebrew verse. However, why does he quote the Hebrew quasi synonym **גוי**, 'people'? This word is not attested in either the Hebrew or the Aramaic version of Ps 3:7. But again, the first occurrence of Hebrew **גוי**, in Gen 35:11, is indeed translated by **עם** in Targum Onkelos. What the gloss says is

14 The exception is a gloss in MS Longleat House 21, Psalter, fol. 77v, where the term **מע** (albeit in Hebrew) is described as '*syrum de [be]ten quod est uenter*'. Indeed, **בטן** in Gen 30:2 is rendered as **מעיא** by Onkelos.

15 Rashi also identifies Asnapper (**אסנפר**) in the same verse with Sancherib, the identification going back to BT Sanh 94a, which also appears in the gloss on the left-hand margin of our Psalter. Our glossator does not stop at the borrowing from Rashi, but, while accepting the identification with Sancherib, he proposes his own Hebrew etymology of **אסן**: **אסן**: **אסנפר**, '*pestis*', **פר**, '*taurus*', and adds '*hic debet esse Sanacherib*'.

therefore: in the Aramaic of Targum Onkelos the word ܐܢܐ is used to translate the Hebrew ָאנִי.

The above examples from the trilingual dictionary and the *superscriptio* manuscripts show that the references to 'enek.' are used in a more sophisticated way than just as an Aramaic gloss on a Hebrew term in a given Biblical verse. Several translations described as 'enek.' do not translate a word in the Pentateuch. But the gloss can be understood only when one consults Targum Onkelos of another (Pentateuch) occurrence of the same Hebrew word. Instead of simply using Aramaic to elucidate Hebrew (or vice versa for the Aramaic parts of the Bible), the glossator (quoted by the compiler of the trilingual dictionary) seems to search for equivalents between the commented words and their translation by Targum Onkelos, even if it concerns a different occurrence. This intricate structure may suggest that the glossator systematically referred to a written text, lost today, concerning the Aramaic of Targum Onkelos. Was it a glossed manuscript of the Targum or a Targumic lexicon or concordance (Rothschild 2008, lxxxvi)? In any case, the number and semantic structure of the references to 'enek.', Onkelos, and to Targum Jonathan, many of them independent from the other consulted rabbinic sources such as Rashi and Ibn Parḥon, show a high proficiency in Targum Aramaic in some Christian circles in the Middle Ages.

Conclusion

The study of the texts concerning Aramaic among medieval Christian scholars, and especially those belonging to the 'English school of Hebraists' shows a high level of knowledge of the Targum and its language. A closer textual analysis of the Hebrew Bibles glossed in Latin and of the trilingual dictionary from Ramsey reveals that their authors had access to a specific work concerning Aramaic. A glossed version of the Targum or an independent lexicon or concordance, this work, lost today, and its use as transpires from the extant manuscripts are evidence of a hitherto unsuspected proficiency and familiarity of the thirteenth century Christians with Jewish Aramaic.

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The Targum in Christian Scholarship to 1800*

Stephen G. Burnett

Introduction

The Christian study of Aramaic and the Targums in the Middle Ages and early modern period is a chapter in the larger story of Christian Hebraism. Although church fathers such as Jerome and Augustine believed and taught that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament was worthy of study, very few Christian scholars pursued Hebrew learning until the Middle Ages (Burnett 2012a, 12). Christians who wished to learn biblical Hebrew or Aramaic faced a series of barriers that they had to overcome, above all finding an instructor. Christians justified studying the Targum because of its value for interpreting the text of the Hebrew Bible and for understanding the Hebrew language better by comparing Hebrew words and phrases with Aramaic ones. Since Jews and Christians differed over the interpretation of many passages in the Hebrew Bible, the scholarly quest for Hebrew and Aramaic learning was motivated in part by apologetic and polemical concerns. Scholars sought to distinguish between Jewish interpretations that were acceptable and those that reflected Jewish 'blindness and superstition'. Targum passages that supported a messianic interpretation of particular passages were of special interest to them, particularly when their Jewish contemporaries rejected such interpretations. Pitting the 'ancient Jews' and their understanding of these texts against the 'newer Jews' was a rhetorical strategy that would be used time and again throughout these centuries. Christian use of the Targums involved the appropriation and repurposing of Jewish texts for Christian use.

Beginning in the thirteenth century Christians had reasons to study the Targums, but their means to do so were sorely lacking until the early modern period. After 1500, the growth of Hebrew and Aramaic printing, the increased availability of textbooks and scholarly reference works written by Christians, and significant patronage for individuals and institutions involved in Semitic language scholarship meant that Targum studies, like Christian Hebraism,

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grew from the hobby of a few individualists, to an intellectual sub-discipline within the academy. Both the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches supported Targum studies. The first published inventories of Targum manuscripts of the late 17th and 18th centuries made possible manuscript-based studies of individual Targums in the modern period. Johannes Buxtorf the elder and younger played a central role both in forging philological tools for Aramaic and in creating a standard, if not always reliable, text for most of the Targums.

Middle Ages

Christian scholars in medieval Europe who wished to study the Targums faced far greater challenges than their colleagues who read the Hebrew Bible, since the former were not as widely studied among Jews. In talmudic times the Targum had a place both in the synagogue liturgy and in biblical study. By the twelfth century, when medieval Christian Hebraism began to develop, public reading of the Targum during synagogue services in Europe was restricted to the Seventh day of Pesach and during Shavuot (Zunz 1832, 442–443). The talmudic law to prepare the weekly Torah portion (parashah) by reading it twice in Hebrew and once using the Targum (BT Ber 8a–b) preserved a place for the Targums in private study throughout the Middle Ages. Stern notes in his discussion of medieval biblical manuscripts that each of the three types—masoretic Bibles, liturgical Pentateuchs, and study Bibles—could contain Targums (Stern 2011, 94–96). On masoretic Bibles, he writes: ‘In Ashkenaz the biblical verse is sometimes interspersed with the Aramaic Targum Onkelos.’ (Stern 2011, 94). Yet already by the thirteenth century Moses b. Jacob of Coucy asserted in *Sefer Mizvot Gadol* that it was permissible to read Rashi’s commentary on the parashah instead of the Targum (א”מס, no. 19, f. 103c). While Moses of Coucy’s position was not universally accepted, it is an indication that Targum study had decreased among European Jews by the time Christian scholars became interested in it.

Hugh of St. Victor (c. 1096–1141) and Andrew of St. Victor (c. 1110–1175) and their students were among the first Christian Hebraists to mention targumic interpretations of biblical passages in their works, probably through the mediation of Rashi’s biblical commentaries or their Jewish informants (cf. Dahan 2000, 231–232). The first significant use that a Christian scholar made of the Targums, however, was polemical rather than exegetical in intent. Raymond Martini presented a sustained argument against the validity of Judaism that used quotations from Jewish works, above all the Talmud, in *Pugio fidei* to persuade Jews to convert to Christianity. The Targums played a supporting rather

than a central role in Martini's project in that he used targumic renderings of select biblical passages to bolster Christian arguments. For example, Martini quoted Targum Onkelos to Gen 49:10 to buttress his argument that Jews retained governmental power until the coming of the Messiah. Since Jews presently lived in exile and did not exercise royal power, the messiah must already have come (Chazan 2012, 105). *Pugio fidei* was such a lengthy book that it was rarely copied, but later authors who took their arguments from *Pugio* popularized Martini's approach. Alphonso de Espina in his *Fortalitium Fidei* (McMichael 1994) and Petrus Galatinus in *De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis* (cited in Martini 1687, fols. Ffffff 1r–Ffffff 3v) made considerable use of Martini's *Pugio*. Nicholas of Lyra also quoted Martini's arguments in his works.

Nicholas of Lyra (c. 1270–1349) was the most prominent and prolific user of the Targums among medieval Christian scholars. His masterwork *Postilla litteralis super Bibliam* employs Jewish interpretations of particular passages, mostly quotations from Rashi's commentaries, to clarify the literal sense of the passage (Van Liere 2000, 81). He made particular use of the Targum to emphasize that Jews considered passages such as Gen 49:10 and Jer 23 messianic in character (Klepper 2007, 52–53; Geiger 2011, 201 n. 125). Nicholas distinguished between the 'modern' and 'ancient' Hebrew learning in his works, and the Targums demonstrated to him that 'older' Jewish interpreters were more ready to recognize some passages as messianic than more recent Jews including Rashi who had to worry about Christians using them in polemical arguments (Gruber 1998, 123; Van Liere 2000, 77). Nicholas used the Targums, as he did the Septuagint and Josephus, to contrast older Jewish interpretation with more modern Jewish opinion. His approach parallels those of Pablo Christiani and Raymond Martini (Klepper 2007, 49). Jeremy Cohen identified a number of textual parallels between Nicholas' *Quodlibetum de adventu Christi* (also called *Quaestio de adventu Christi*; available in Klepper 2007, 135–142) and *Pugio fidei*, several of them using the Targum (Cohen 1986, 265–266).

Other medieval Christian scholars besides Raymond Martini and Nicholas of Lyra had some access to the Targums on various biblical books, but it is impossible in the present state of knowledge to estimate their numbers and the extent of their studies. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger's recent codicological studies of medieval Hebrew manuscripts that were used by thirteenth and fourteenth century English Christian Hebraists indicate that some of them were able to read the Targums as well (Olszowy-Schlanger 2009, 212). Olszowy-Schlanger described a late thirteenth century biblical Hebrew dictionary, probably composed at the Benedictine abbey of Ramsey, which contains extensive references to both Targums Onkelos and Jonathan. These citations reflect the anonymous Christian author's interest in explaining the meaning of biblical

Hebrew words (Olszowy-Schlanger 2007, 256, 272). Studies of the marginalia of French and Spanish Hebrew manuscripts will doubtless reveal other examples of Targum use by Christian scholars.

After the fourteenth century, Christian use of the Targum suffered the same fate as Christian Hebraism generally. The works of Raymond Martini and Nicholas of Lyra tended to discourage rather than stimulate further study either to expand the Christian arsenal of polemical arguments against the Jews or to further refine Nicholas of Lyra's treatment of the literal interpretation of the Hebrew Bible (apart from the *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos). Later scholars often cited these monumental works, but did not seek to improve upon them. While the Dominican order, particularly in Spain, continued to train a certain number of Hebrew experts, opportunities for Hebrew study in schools and universities were very limited during the Middle Ages (Dahan, Rosier & Valente 1995, 276–281). The lack of instructors in Christian schools and universities capable of teaching Hebrew and Aramaic, the lack of a scholarly apparatus of linguistic helps and of course Targum manuscripts, and above all the lack of a compelling reason for mass education of Christian scholars in Aramaic meant that only a limited number of Christians studied the Targums for any reason during the Middle Ages.

Humanist and Reformation Motives for Targum Study

Renaissance humanists planted the seeds of more intensive Christian study of the Targum during the early sixteenth century, but they grew up through the impetus given by the Reformation. The Protestant idea of *sola Scriptura* focused new attention not only on the need to justify doctrine and practice from the Bible, but also on the difficulty of interpreting many biblical passages. A true return to the biblical sources meant that at least some theologians had to learn Hebrew and Greek, which in turn required that schools and universities fund positions in these languages and find qualified instructors. Both students and their instructors needed textbooks and Hebrew Bibles to support the educational enterprise, all of which had to be supplied by a growing number of printers who were able to produce books containing Hebrew type (Burnett 2012a). A relatively small number of Christian Hebraists, Jewish converts and Jewish printers, and Christian patrons prepared the soil for Christian Aramaism. By editing Targum texts, composing a rudimentary scholarly apparatus and making these works available in printed form these men laid the foundation for later growth.

Creation of Standard Targum Texts

Christian patrons and printers were chiefly responsible for making the Targums broadly available in printed form. Zafren's survey of Hebrew Bible imprints (or those for individual biblical books) before 1520 reveals that of the 123 imprints primarily intended for Jewish customers (a further nineteen imprints were made primarily for Christian users), only seventeen of them contained Targums. Of these, seven contained the Pentateuch and Targum, six the Pentateuch, haftarot and the Five Scrolls with Targums, and one each for the Proverbs and Targum, and the Former Prophets and Targum. The final two other imprints were the most important of all for Targum studies: the first and second printings of the Bomberg Rabbinic Bible (Zafren 1982).

Daniel Bomberg was the inventor of the Rabbinic Bible, a study Bible containing the Hebrew Bible text, Targums for all biblical books (except Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles), and one or more Jewish Bible commentaries (Stern 2011). While scholars have rightly focused on the importance of the Second Rabbinic Bible, edited by Jacob Ben Hayim (1524–25) for the history of the Hebrew Bible text, the first edition, edited by Felix Praetensis was more important for Targum studies. Shepherd and others have made a strong case that he used Nürnberg Stadtbibliothek MS Solger 2,2° as his *Vorlage* (Shepherd 1998; Houtman 1999; Van Staaldwine-Sulman 2009, 40). Praetensis edited the earliest form of the Targum text that would dominate Targum studies until modern times. Jacob ben Hayim apparently reprinted Praetensis' text with minimal changes in the second edition (Stec 1994, 5–7).

The preparation and printing of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible was another important moment in the history of the Targums (Díez Merino 1994, 82–83). Alfonso de Zamora prepared the texts of Targum Onkelos to the Torah, Targum Jonathan to the Prophets and the Targums to the Writings for inclusion in the Polyglot, and Pablo Coronel translated them into Latin (Díez Merino 1991, 366f., 376). In the end, however, only Targum Onkelos with Latin translation was printed in the polyglot Bible. Zamora's Latin translations of Targum Jonathan and for the Writings, preserved in MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense 116-Z-40 (Stec 1994, 58) would later be printed in the Antwerp Polyglot. Benito Arias Montano consulted Zamora's Targum texts, as well as other Sephardic manuscripts (Van Staaldwine-Sulman 2009, 41; Díez Merino 1991, 367–9). The Antwerp Polyglot (1568–1573) reprinted the Targum Onkelos text from the Complutensian Polyglot, and added Targum Jonathan and Targums to the writings, except for Chronicles (*editio princeps* 1680), and the books of Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah. This Targum text was reprinted later in the Paris Polyglot Bible.

The Targum texts printed in both the first and second editions of the Bomberg Rabbinic Bibles and the Complutensian Polyglot Bible represent important milestones in Targum studies.¹ Each of these works illustrates the importance of Christian patrons as a feature of Targum scholarship, printer Daniel Bomberg in the former case, Cardinal Jiménez in the latter. While Bomberg was embarked on a business venture and planned to profit from the sale of his Bibles to Jewish customers above all, he wished to support biblical humanism and the study of Kabbalah as well (Nielsen 2011, 68–69, 73). Cardinal Jiménez had no interest in profiting from the Complutensian Polyglot, spending 50,000 gold ducats on the work.

Johannes Buxtorf the elder created what would become the definitive early modern texts for the Targums in his printing of the Rabbinic Bible (Basel, 1618–1619). Not only was his Rabbinic Bible widely circulated and used by later scholars, but his Targum text was later reprinted in the London Polyglot. Buxtorf the elder understood that the Targums were often paraphrastic rather than literal translations of the Hebrew Bible text and sometimes contained midrashic elements (Buxtorf 1615, 365). He was not, therefore, tempted to purge ‘additions’ from the Targum in order to bring it into closer accord with the Hebrew in the way that the editors of the Antwerp Polyglot had done (Goshen-Gottstein 1975, 308–312). Buxtorf followed the consonantal Targum text of his *Vorlage*, the Bomberg Rabbinic Bible of 1548, fairly closely (Stec 1994, 16–39). However, he considered its vocalization to be in a shameful state of disrepair. He decried the haphazard use of vowel letters and the inconsistent vocalization he found in the Rabbinic Bible. His goal in editing the Targum of the Basel Rabbinic Bible was to purge the text of grammatical impurities (Burnett 1996, 176). Even Buxtorf, however, recognized that the Targums were composed in at least two distinct dialects, and he tried to make allowance for this diversity in his editorial practice. Targum Onkelos and Targum Jonathan he believed were written in a dialect directly descended from biblical Aramaic. Divergences from biblical Aramaic grammar in them were better understood as grammatical errors rather than as linguistic developments. In using biblical Aramaic as his standard Buxtorf standardized the vocalization, following the practice of Franciscus Raphalengius, who edited the Targum for the Antwerp Polyglot.

Buxtorf treated the Targums of the Hagiographa rather differently. They were translated much later than Onkelos and Jonathan in a distinctive dialect that Buxtorf thought had its own integrity and purity. He attempted to respect this by relying more on comparison with other parts of the Targum and with

1 See H. van Nes & E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, ‘The “Jewish” Rabbinic Bibles versus the “Christian” Polyglot Bibles’ in this volume.

ancient authorities to restore obviously corrupt words and passages. Buxtorf's attempt to give these Targums special treatment ultimately created a multitude of new textual variants unique to his edition. His 'cleansing' of the text accomplished little for later Targum studies.

Scholarly Apparatus

Like the standard Targum texts, the first grammars and dictionaries of Targumic Aramaic were composed before the Reformation irrevocably split the world of Semitic scholarship into competing scholarly camps. Matthias Goldhahn (Aurogallus) wrote a sketch of biblical Aramaic that he included in his *Compendium Hebraeae Grammatices* (Wittenberg 1523), but Sebastian Münster's *Chaldaica Grammatica* (Basel 1527) was the true pioneering study in Aramaic grammar. He wrote the book for advanced students of Hebrew and stressed throughout the commonalities between Aramaic and Hebrew, even using the Hebrew names for verbal formations such as Piel and Hiphil. His student exercises were all taken from the Targums, including selections from Deut 5, Isa 42, Jer 23, Ezek 18, and Ps 34. Münster provided vocalized Aramaic texts with facing Latin translations (Münster 1527, 142–151). Only six other authors would write Aramaic grammars during the sixteenth century: four Catholics (or nominal Catholics), Theseus Ambrosius, George Amira, Angelus Caninius, and Jean Mercier, and two Protestants, Cornelius Bertram and Immanuel Tremellius (Burnett 2005, 425). Münster's work would remain a standard reference grammar until it was replaced by Buxtorf's grammar in 1615.

Providing adequate Aramaic lexicons for Christian students was a far more difficult challenge than composing grammars. The first Hebrew-Aramaic dictionary of Alfonso de Zamora was printed in volume six of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, but it did not specifically address Targumic Aramaic. Jewish author Elijah Levita wrote the first Aramaic dictionary specifically for the Targums with the support of his patron Cardinal Viterbo. Levita organized his dictionary *Meturgeman* (1541) alphabetically, using trilateral roots as David Kimchi had organized his Hebrew dictionary *Sefer ha-Shorashim*, combing through Nathan b. Yehiel's *Sefer Arukh* (c. 1100) for information and also providing further references to Greek and Latin loanwords. Levita finished his work sometime between 1528 and 1530, but was unable to print it until Paul Fagius did so in Isny.

In 1523, Sanctes Pagninus wrote *Enchiridion expositionis vocabulorum Haruch*, which was the first Aramaic dictionary to appear in print. Pagninus based his dictionary not upon *Sefer Arukh* directly, but upon a Jewish summary,

the *Sefer Arukh ha-Qizzur*. Pagninus' work was reprinted twice in expanded form, once in the sixth volume of the Antwerp Polyglot (1568–72), edited by Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie, and as the *Thesaurus Linguae Sanctae sive Lexicon Hebraicum* with annotations by Jean Mercier, Cornelius Bertram and Pierre Chevalier, printed in Lyons 1575, and reprinted in 1577.

Sebastian Münster also wrote an Aramaic dictionary, the *Dictionarium Chaldaicum*, which he had printed in 1527, the same year as his grammar. He based his work on a manuscript copy of the *Sefer Arukh ha-Qizzur*, which he found in a Dominican monastery library in Regensburg, and on Pagninus' *Enchiridion*. His old teacher Pellican also gave him his notes on talmudic vocabulary to include in the dictionary (Burnett 2005, 425).

While Latin-language Aramaic grammars and dictionaries were essential for Christian students to learn the language, printings of the Targums of single biblical books, sometimes including Latin translations, were important aids to study as well. A number of Hebraists who taught at the Collège royal in Paris edited sixteen individual books of the Bible or collections of smaller books with Targums between 1549 and 1568. They did so presumably to support their own teaching, but they also provided valuable primers for Targum students elsewhere (Burnett 2012b, 80–83).

Contribution of the Buxtorfs

Johannes Buxtorf the elder (1564–1629) and his equally gifted son Johannes the younger (1599–1664) carved out an important place for themselves in the history of Targum studies by creating both standard texts and the philological tools needed to study them. The elder Buxtorf's *Grammaticae Chaldaicae et Syriacae* was composed in two parts describing Aramaic morphology and syntax, including many examples to illustrate grammatical rules. Buxtorf ambitiously tried to provide a grammatical description for biblical Aramaic, Syriac (in Hebrew characters), Targumic Aramaic, and Talmudic Aramaic. This had the effect of producing rather crowded paradigms and notes but must have been particularly useful for students interested in the Peshitta and Targum. Buxtorf's grammar represents a new departure for Christian study of Aramaic since most other Aramaic grammars written by Christians had concentrated upon biblical Aramaic. Buxtorf thought Targumic Aramaic was especially important for Christians to learn because the Targum bore witness to the coming of Christ (Buxtorf 1615, fols.)(3v-):(4r). His concern that Christian students be exposed to a variety of Aramaic dialects is best expressed by his choice of exercises included in the third part of the book. He included 123 pages of

texts with Latin translations and notes, including selections from biblical Aramaic, Targums Onkelos, Jonathan, Pseudo-Jonathan and Jerushalmi and the Writings, the Peshitta, the Talmuds (Babylonian and Palestinian), and the Zohar. These readings show how broad Buxtorf thought a biblical philologist's understanding of Aramaic should be in order to understand the Hebrew Bible text.

Both Buxtorfs were responsible for the *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (Basel 1639), the most enduring contribution to Targum studies to emerge from this time. In 1608, when the elder Buxtorf began writing this dictionary, there were almost no lexicons of post-biblical Hebrew or Aramaic available to Christian Hebraists. The dictionaries of Sebastian Münster and Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie (Antwerp Polyglot) were both out of print. Buxtorf himself used David de Pomi's *Zemach David* (1591), but found it very incomplete and filled the margins with his own notes (Burnett 1996, 128). The *Arukh* was far too difficult for most Christian Hebraists to use, and so Buxtorf took upon himself the task of preparing a reference dictionary. By 1617 Buxtorf had reached the letter *ayin*, and finally in 1628 he finished the first draft. The younger Buxtorf inherited his father's manuscript in 1629, but he was only able to bring it to completion in 1639. While the younger Buxtorf modestly attributed the work to his father there can be no doubt that he himself contributed a great deal to its content.

Buxtorf's *Lexicon* was intended for readers of post-biblical Jewish books, particularly for readers of the Targums, the Talmud, and biblical commentaries. Buxtorf provided references to the Targums, specific tractates of the Talmuds (both Babylonian and Palestinian), to biblical commentators such as Rashi and Ibn Ezra, to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah* (as well as to the *Guide for the Perplexed* and to his treatise on Logic), and to the Midrash. In his entries for the letter *beth* alone Buxtorf referred to the Midrashim of Genesis, Ruth, Lamentations, Song of Songs, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Leviticus, Psalms, and Exodus (Mekilta). He also made frequent use of existing lexicons such as Levita's *Meturgeman*, and the lexicons of Philippe d'Aquin, David de Pomis, Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie, and to the *Arukh*. In addition to a printed *Arukh ha-Shalem*, the younger Buxtorf also had access to a manuscript copy of the *Arukh ha-Qizzur*, which he frequently cited (Buxtorf 1639–1640, 257, 261, 263, 279, 281, 282, 284, *passim*). Buxtorf's lexicon continued to be a standard reference work until the nineteenth century.

The two Buxtorfs also composed a textual commentary on the Targums called *Babylonia* to complement and improve upon the Targum texts printed in the Rabbinic Bible of 1618–1619. *Babylonia* was intended to be Buxtorf's answer to Raphaelengius' *Variae lectiones et annotatiunculae, quibus Thargum*,

a textual commentary for the Targum of the Antwerp Polyglot. Buxtorf's dissatisfaction with his editorial work on the Targum text is evident from the numerous marginal notes in his personal copy of the Basel Rabbinic Bible. In *Babylonia* he planned to provide a study of the entire Targum text. Buxtorf completed work on the manuscript before he died but he never published it. Buxtorf the younger added some further notes to *Babylonia*, particularly in the Pentateuch. He owned a manuscript copy of Targum Onkelos from which he drew a number of variant readings. In 1657 Buxtorf the younger sent *Babylonia* to England in order to have it published with the London Polyglot. The manuscript arrived too late for inclusion, although Samuel Clark used it to prepare some of his own textual notes on the Targums. Bishop Walton and his team still hoped to publish it, but after Walton died, Buxtorf the younger decided that he had waited long enough and asked the manuscript back. It remained unpublished at his death (Burnett 1996, 179).

Buxtorf's discussion of the book of Esther in *Babylonia* illustrates his understanding of textual corruption, and the critical methods he employed to 'cleanse' the Targums of such corruption. He commented on 186 words and phrases in his discussion of Esther and proposed 135 changes to the Targum text. Only 61 of these changes appear in the Basel Rabbinic Bible (1618–1619), and Buxtorf wrote 31 more in the margin of his personal copy of the Basel Rabbinic Bible.

The majority of emendations that Buxtorf proposed for Targum Esther may be broadly divided into three categories: correction of transmission errors, changes in pointing, and changes in syntax. The two principal kinds of transmission errors that he found in Targum Esther were metathesis and confusion of look-alike consonants. Buxtorf corrected five words in Esther on the basis of metathesis, and proposed another fifteen changes in single letters, many of which are well-recognized examples of look-alike consonants. These include *dalet* and *resh*, *kaf* and *pe*, *he* and *het*, *bet* and *kaf*, and *samekh* and *mem*.

Most of the changes to the text of Targum Esther that Buxtorf proposed were changes in vocalization. He based a few of these, as he promised in his introduction, on the analogy of forms in other parts of the Targum, and on 'other ancient authorities', particularly from Talmudic Aramaic and Syriac. Buxtorf also made occasional use of both Nathan ben Yehiel's *Arukh* and Elijah Levita's *Meturgeman* to record their unusual textual readings and explanations and to correct their errors or omissions. Buxtorf made relatively few changes in syntax to Esther. He proposed that word order be changed on two occasions and suggested twenty-one changes involving *waw* conjunctive, the relative pronoun *d-*, and prepositions.

The editorial patterns evident in Buxtorf's textual commentary on Esther suggest that four considerations played an important role in his textual decisions. He wanted the Targum to reflect the Hebrew original, although he made few actual emendations to fulfil this wish, reflecting his concern to respect its textual integrity. Grammatical correctness played an important role in Buxtorf's editing, not only in Targums Onkelos and Jonathan, but also for the Targums of the Writings. His preoccupation with grammatical order impelled Buxtorf to make numerous textual changes so that incongruities in the text, whether of person, gender, or verb construction, were smoothed out. Finally, he showed some awareness of transmission errors and a willingness to make textual changes in the Targum, using them as the basis for his decision. The latter point is especially striking when compared with the deferential attitude Buxtorf took toward the received Hebrew text. While only an impious man would change the Hebrew Bible text, the Targum could be corrected as necessary (Stec 1994, 17; Burnett 1996, 182–187).

Surveying Targum Manuscripts

In addition to the pioneering work of the Buxtorfs, the two most important developments that took place in the early modern period that would affect later Targum studies were the growth and institutionalization of Hebrew learning, and the growing bibliographic awareness of Jewish imprints and manuscripts among Christians. The institutionalization of Hebrew learning within European universities during the 16th and 17th centuries meant that Protestant and Roman Catholic university students had far greater access to Aramaic instruction than their medieval or Renaissance predecessors would have thought possible. By 1600, some universities began to offer formal Aramaic courses. For example, The University of Jena listed a course in biblical Aramaic in its twice-annual published course listings as early as 1601, followed by Wittenberg in 1632 (Burnett 2012a, 39). The large number of disputations involving Targum-related topics listed in Grossfeld's *Bibliography of Targum Literature* (1972–1977) reflects the interests of Hebrew professors as they had their students discuss these texts. By firmly anchoring Hebrew (and Aramaic) in university curricula and continuing to employ professors of Hebrew, the early modern academy was also making an investment in the future of Targum studies.

Early modern Christian scholars after 1600 became slowly more aware of the variety of Targum texts, both printed and in manuscript, that were in existence, if not always accessible. The early Jewish bibliographies of Gesner (1545–1555),

Genebrard (1587), the elder and younger Buxtorf (1613, 1640) and Plantavit de la Pause (1644) focused far more on imprints than on manuscripts. The Buxtorfs largely ignored biblical imprints in their bibliographies and had relatively little to say about Jewish manuscripts (Burnett 2012a, 140–160). The breakthroughs in bibliographic awareness of Targum manuscripts came through the monumental catalogue of Vatican Hebrew manuscripts written by Giulio Bartolucci and Giuseppe Carlo Imbonati and the *Bibliothecae Hebraeae* of Johann Christoph Wolf. The Vatican Library contained 432 Hebrew manuscripts by 1650, the largest such collection in Europe, but its contents were little known and only few people had access to it, even among Roman Catholic scholars living and working in Rome (Burnett 2012a, 175). Bartolucci and his successor Imbonati published a monumental four-volume inventory and description of the collection, the *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, which made the titles with descriptions of these works available to the broader scholarly community. One avid reader of the *Bibliotheca* was Johann Christoph Wolf, who would lay the foundations of modern Judaica bibliography.

Johann Christoph Wolf (1683–1739) was a Lutheran orientalist who studied in Wittenberg, the Netherlands and England. He was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages at the Hamburg Gymnasium in 1712 (Mulsow 2005, 83). His most famous work was the monumental *Bibliotheca Hebraeae* (Hamburg 1715–1733). He made extensive use of printed sources such as Bartolucci and Imbonati's *Bibliotheca Magna Rabbinica*, but also was able to use R. David Oppenheim's enormous personal library, then located in Hannover. In volume 2, Wolf provided a brief survey of known biblical manuscripts, ordering them alphabetically by the cities where they were located. He provided locations for Targum manuscripts in at least 20 different cities, including not only major collections such as the Vatican Library, but several in smaller cities such as Erfurt and Pforzheim (Wolf 1727, 304–321). He mentioned manuscripts held in princely collections, university and municipal libraries, and those owned by individual scholars including his own manuscript collection.

The pioneering work of Wolf was replaced within fifty years by the manuscript surveys first of Benjamin Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum* (2 vols. 1776–1780), and then Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti* (4 vols. 1784–1786). Each of these men published descriptions of the hundreds of manuscripts (with locations) that supported their text critical studies of the Hebrew Bible (Burnett 2008, 799–801). While their primary concern was for the Hebrew text, they indicated which of the manuscripts contained Targum texts, and therefore their work prepared the way for more systematic study of Targum manuscripts after 1800 (Burnett 2008, 798–800).

Christian Aramaic scholarship functioned as an adjunct to Hebrew scholarship from 1300–1800, and both were inducted into the service of Christian theology. Their shared goals involved seeking a firmer understanding of the biblical Hebrew text and the Hebrew language as well as seeking to use ‘the Jews’ own books’ (in Buxtorf’s words) to convince them of the truth of Christianity. Christian scholars who studied the Targums produced a substantial body of fundamental research into the Targum text, both printed and to a lesser degree in manuscript, and into the dialects of Aramaic used in the Targums. They also surveyed and sifted the Targums for passages that were potentially relevant for theology, whether for setting the boundaries of Christian orthodoxy (variously defined) or for polemical theology directed against Jews or other Christians. Both the academic infrastructure of university professors responsible for teaching Semitic languages and the increased awareness of the variety of Targum manuscripts would support a much broader form of Targum scholarship after 1800.

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Traces of Targum Reception in the Work of Martin Luther

Hans-Martin Kirn

Introduction

Although Martin Luther was not among those theologians and Christian Hebraists of the Protestant Reformation movement, who made extensive use of the Targum tradition (*translatio Chaldaica*) in their work, he nevertheless plays an important role for the investigation of the backgrounds and contexts of literary second-hand Targum reception in the first half of the sixteenth century. We will follow the most important indirect and direct traces of this reception in Luther's work chronologically, and analyze their exegetical and theological relevance. This should be understood as part of a comprehensive investigation into the Targum as an outstanding literary monument of early Bible translation and a treasure of arguments in exegetical, apologetical and polemical discourses, both within the different branches of the Reformation movement, and the broader context of confessionalization, which is still a desideratum—despite much progress in research on Christian Hebraism in general (Burnett 2012).

Certainly the editions of the *Biblia rabbinica*, printed by Daniel Bomberg in Venice (1517; 1524–1525), and the Roman Catholic production of polyglots with Latin translations helped Christian scholars to get into closer contact with the Targum, despite the restricted dissemination of early works such as the Complutensian Polyglot (1514–1517, sold only from 1520 onwards), heavily sustained by Spanish Jewish converts, and single works like Agostino Giustiniani's polyglot edition of the Psalms, the so-called Genoa-Psalter from 1516 (Giustiniani 1516; Cevolotto 1992; Grendler 2008). The Antwerp Polyglot (*Biblia regia*, 1568–1572) already reflected the confessional conflict, but as with linguistics in general its influence went beyond these limits. Nevertheless the broad late medieval exegetical tradition, especially Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos, with their references to rabbinic literature in general and the Targum in particular, remained influential. In Luther's early work we can see how medieval traditions met the new challenges coming from humanist Christian Hebraism, in this case embedded in a deep distrust of rabbinic sources in general (Raeder 1961, 1967, 1977). Simultaneously this development demonstrates the growing complexity in the relation between a more and more specializing biblical philology including Aramaic, and different theological interests

that called for a deeper reflection on Jerome's concept of the 'Hebrew truth' (*Hebraica veritas*), and on the position of the Targum in relation to the other main ancient Bible translations, the Septuagint and the Vulgate. For Luther the fundamental tension between philology and theology was evident: only theology could teach how to make use of grammar and language in an appropriate way. The idealization of the ancient *Hebraica veritas* was accompanied by the assumption of language decline in history: like Hebrew itself, Aramaic was thought to have lost much of its original vigour and meaning after the Babylonian exile, and therefore had to be examined carefully regarding its message (WA TR 2, 639f. n. 2758b; WA 48, 510f.).

First Lectures on the Psalms, the *Dictata super Psalterium* (1513–1515)

In the *Dictata* we only find two indirect traces of the Targum tradition, but it is important to take into account the whole context. For the textual reconstruction and interpretation of the seven penitential psalms (Ps 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143) Luther used, as we know, the Hebrew text according to Johannes Reuchlin's edition (Reuchlin 1512), for the other Psalms this is rather questionable. More important for him at that time were the Latin translations of Faber Stapulensis' synopsis of the Psalms from 1509, especially Jerome's *Psalterium Hebraicum* and Faber's *Psalterium conciliatum*, which he claimed to be closer to the *Hebraica veritas* (Lefèvre d'Étaples 1979), and Johannes Reuchlin's Hebrew dictionary, the *Rudimenta* from 1506 (Reuchlin 1506, 1974). The *Rudimenta* repeatedly offered references to the *translatio Chaldaica*. Faber and the *Rudimenta* also alluded to Nicholas of Lyra's *Postilla* and the *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos; Lyra, himself often reflecting Rashi's commentary, praised the Aramaic translation again and again in the context of messianic prophecy as an authentic Jewish source (Klepper 2007, 43–45, 49, 52f., 91, 98–103, 107). Subsequently, the *Glossa ordinaria*, the *Postilla* and the *Additiones* had become standard resources in biblical exegesis, with strong influence up to the seventeenth century in Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. In fact Luther was dependent on Reuchlin in two ways, directly and indirectly via Faber, who himself was heavily influenced by Reuchlin (Roth 2006). It is striking, by the way, that Faber apparently had no interest in Jacobus de Valentia's commentary on the Psalms, which was widespread at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Valentia 1514). De Valentia had not only shown special interest in rabbinic commentators like David Kimchi and Abraham Ibn Ezra, but also in the Targum and its historical development.

A first remote hint at indirect Targum reception can be found in Luther's interpretation of Ps 72:16 (71:16 Vg). With the reading 'frumentum' (grain, in place of 'firmamentum', firmament, in Vg iuxta LXX) at the beginning of the verse, Luther followed Faber's *Psalterium Conciliatum* (*Erit memorabile frumentum in terra in summis montium*, There will be a memorable grain in the land, on top of the mountains) (WA 55/1, 512–514, cf. WA 3, 460.19 (gloss) and 470.26 (scholia); Raeder 1961, 14f., 367); he also maintained the Eucharistic interpretation on the elevation of the holy bread during the mass by the priest, like Lyra (Brant 1498, [fol. 186a]) and Faber, who had pointed to the *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos, rejecting the Jewish exegesis on messianic times. Paul of Burgos saw this interpretation sustained by the alleged Aramaic translation of *in summis montium* by *in capitibus sacerdotum* (upon the heads of the priests) (Brant 1498, no. [187a] additio 2; for the *translatio Chaldaica* and the 'capita sacerdotum', connected with Exod 29:24f., see Valentia 1514, fol. 197a/b). We can find the Eucharistic interpretation and its alleged targumic approval in among others Pietro Galatino's influential *De arcanis catholicae veritatis* from 1518 (Galatino 1518, l.10, c. 4, 281a/b), Johannes Dietenberger's Roman Catholic German Bible translation, first published in 1534 (Dietenberger 1550, no. fol. 272v) and in Adriano Fino's anti-Jewish apologetical tract *In Iudaeos flagellum ex sacris scripturis excerptum*, written in 1503, where he defended the Christian Eucharist against the accusation of idolatry (Fino 1538, fol. 475b–476a). Luther finally abandoned this interpretation, due to his increasing knowledge of Hebrew and the development of the Reformation movement, now understanding the verse as a prophecy of the fruitful preaching of the Gospel.

A second hint at indirect Targum reception can be found in the interpretation of Ps 145:8 (144:8 Vg) (WA 51/1, 892). In a marginal note Luther suggested a change of words to (*Dominus*) *misericors et miserator* ([The Lord is] compassionate and merciful [a 'pitier']), following Faber's *Psalterium Romanum* and the Old Latin version, and not the Hebrew version or Faber's *versio conciliata*. His aim was to demonstrate the correspondence between the Hebrew and the Roman tradition, suggesting that the *clemens* (merciful) of the Hebrew and the 'miserator' of the Roman tradition could be traced back to the Hebrew מְרַחֵם. Luther may have verified this by using Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* and its references to the *translatio Chaldaica* (Reuchlin 1506, 182).¹

1 In the Leipzig debate between Luther and J. Eck 1519 the knowledge of Aramaic was used as an argument in the debate on the doctrine of the papal primacy, based on Matt 16:18f. Whereas Eck referred to Nicholas of Cusa, who in his *Excitationes* (published 1514) interpreted the Aramaic כִּפְתָּא *kyfah* according to tradition with *caput domus* (head of the house),

Refutation of Jacobus Latomus (1521)

The first direct reference to the Targum in Luther's work is found in his answer to Jacobus Latomus ('Anti-Latomus'), who in 1521 had justified the condemnation of a collection of Luther's writings published in Basel 1519, by the theological faculty of Louvain. Latomus was known as a critic of Erasmus of Rotterdam and of the dominance of philological studies to the detriment of traditional theology at the *Collegium trilingue* in Louvain. Luther's statement (WA 8, 43–128, esp. 84f.)² was made in the context of the debate about Christian anthropology and its biblical grounds, touching the question how figurative speech functioned in daily life and in the Bible. According to Luther, figurative speech as metaphoric language always referred to a 'simple, pure and original' meaning (*simplex significatio*). Equivocality had to be avoided, to ensure the vigour and creative power of the original text with regard to the reader. Matters of belief had to be expressed in an univocal way (*omnis aequivocatio mater errorum*, 'each equivocality is the mother of errors', WA 39/2, 28.28; Wabel 1998, 172–202). However, Latomus' scholastic interpretation of biblical texts such as Isa 64:5 (64:6 Vg) showed him that Latomus' pretence to ascertain the logical meaning of the text ended up in equivocal terms, where the *res* (matter) had been pluralized and become arbitrary.

Besides Eccl 7:20 and Rom 7:19,22, Luther had used Isa 64:5 ('all of us have become like one who is unclean, and all our righteous deeds are like filthy rags' [NIV]) to support his thesis that the constant inclination to evil acts in believers had to be characterized as sin in the full sense of the word, and not only as a weakness. A Christian therefore had to be understood as 'simultaneously just

based on the similarity of the word with the Greek *κεφαλή*, Luther referred to John 1:42 as the only relevant authority to explain its meaning, i.e. 'rock' (WA 2, 294; 302f., 309; WA 59, 488. 500. 509; WA 59, 509.2344–2347). Cf. Luz 1991, 417–22.

2 The text reads: *Proinde mihi Hebreistae illi non placent, qui tot uni verbo significationes faciunt occasione Chaldaicorum istorum Onkeli et Ionathae, quorum hoc negotium fuisse videtur, ut ea, quae scriptura venustissimis et ornatissimis figuris eloquitur, pro rudibus exuerent et crasso simplicique significato traderent. Hinc natae illae aequivocationes in ista lingua sine causa et quaedam Babylonica confusio verborum* ('furthermore I do not like those Hebraists, who attribute to one word so many meanings, following the example of those Chaldeans Onkelos and Jonathan. It seems to have been their concern to present to the illiterate what scripture expresses in very fine and elegant figures of speech, and to deliver it with a rough and simple meaning. This was the origin of all those unfounded equivocalitys in this language, and a sort of Babylonian confusion of words'). WA 8, 84.14–19. For the debate see Bornkamm 1979, 166–79.

and a sinner' (*simul iustus et peccator*). Latomus, however, according to Luther, changed the clear sense of 'all our righteous deeds' in Isa 64:5 to 'some of our righteous deeds', treating the original expression as a synecdochical figure of speech, in this case as a *totum pro parte* (a 'whole' thing is used to refer to a part of it). Here Luther saw a parallel to some Christian Hebraists, who followed the translation method of the authors of the Targum (Onkelos, [Pseudo-] Jonathan): originally addressing uneducated people, the translators tried to speak simply and clearly, but by reducing the metaphorical richness of the Hebrew paradoxically established a broad variety of meanings, losing the real simplicity and power of the (figurative) message (cf. WA TR 1, n. 378, 165,6–8 [1532]). For Luther equivocality was not primarily a linguistic, but a fundamental philosophical and theological problem, where daily language experience was reflected as well as the position of the exegete and translator *coram Deo*, in the presence of God. This was quite different to Nicholas of Lyra, who had used the argument of equivocality in the Hebrew language to legitimize his critical approach to Jerome's translation (Klepper 2007, 44–46).

Luther's judgment was not based on a specific knowledge of Aramaic or the Targum. It presumably reflected parts of the debate in the circle of the Wittenberg reformers on the concept of the *Hebraica veritas* and its practical meaning for their translation of the Old Testament, which began in the summer of 1522. Besides Philipp Melanchthon and Caspar Cruciger, this circle also included the Hebraist Matthaeus Aurogallus, successor of the Jewish convert Matthias Adrianus as professor of Hebrew in Wittenberg. Aurogallus was deeply interested in the study of post-biblical Aramaic, and later on explicitly recommended the study of the Targum for students of Christian theology (Aurogallus 1525, Aurogallus 1539, 142–59). For the reformers the Targum was at least theoretically accessible in Bomberg's *Biblia rabbinica* from 1517, which had been present in Wittenberg since 1519; the Targum text of Giustiniani's *Psalterium* from 1516 also seems to have been available. The lack of suitable philological instruments like grammar and dictionary was still felt to be problematic. More or less the same early interest in the Targum was present among prominent Swiss and Upper Rhine reformers like Konrad Pellikan, regardless of the different opinions about the concrete value of rabbinic literature for Christian exegesis (Burnett 2004, 2005). As early as 1520 Pellikan had declared in his *Proverbia Salomonis* that the exploration of the Targum should be an integral part of Christian Bible exegesis (Münster 1520, fol. 29–10).

Commentary on Zechariah (1527)

Luther's German commentary on Zechariah, published 1527, was based on his lectures on the Minor Prophets from 1524–1526 (WA 23, 477–664). In his interpretation of the seventh vision of the prophet, dealing with a woman called wickedness (Zech 5:7–11, cf. WA 23, 577f.), Luther touches on the Targum subject. He interpreted the woman and the 'house' (temple) that would be built for her in the land of Shinar, as a symbol of the ongoing Jewish exile. Here he located the two translators 'Jonatha(n)' [ben Uzziel] and 'Onkel(os)', and characterized them as highly esteemed by the Jews ('hoch bei yhn berümpft'). Furthermore he gave his readers a confusing piece of information about a 'Babylonian Targum', containing Jewish law and doctrine. The term 'Babylonian Targum' traditionally refers to Targum Onkelos, but the accompanying description—if not related to the Pentateuch itself—could also indicate a mixing up of the terms 'Targum' and 'Talmud' (if it was a printer's problem it was never corrected).

Despite possible misunderstandings, for Luther the two Targums were worth being explicitly mentioned. It seems reasonable to assume that Luther was convinced of the pre-Christian character of the Targum, as a product of the Babylonian exile, and therefore of special value for the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament. In other words: unlike the rabbinic literature of the Middle Ages, which was a product of the anti-Christian 'modern Rabbis' (*rabbini moderni*), the Targum belonged to the pre-Christian 'ancient Rabbis' (*rabbini antiqui*), who were seen as sharing messianic hopes in a Christian sense. In this way the Targum was presented as a source for the rediscovery of elements of a universal *prisca theologia*, which could be used for Christian apologetical and polemical purposes, as in other contexts was the case with hermetic and kabbalistic traditions. Luther certainly rejected the concept of universal wisdom in a pre-Christian kabbalah, but not that of a similar wisdom in a pre-Christian Targum, at least, as we will see, where messianic themes are concerned.

Interestingly, we find the same information about the two translators and the 'Babylonian Targum' in the work of Johannes Draconites (Johann Drach), an early student of Paul Fagius in Isny (Kähler 1959; Scheible 1999; Schilling 2001; Shevchenko 2007, 182f.). Like no one else in the context of the Wittenberg Reformation, Draconites worked hard on the production of a comprehensive polyglot Bible, in the form of an interlinear translation with Hebrew as the original text and translations in Aramaic, Greek, Latin and German, followed by a commentary. Obviously the main intention was to support language study,

not to present a coherent text of the translation. The source of Draconites' Targum text is not quite clear, it seems to differ from the main tradition.³ Only parts of the polyglot were finished and published individually till the mid-1560s (Prov, Joel, Mic, Zech, and Mal, parts of Gen and Pss; Draconites 1563–1565). Draconites obviously adopted Luther's explanatory words uncritically in his commentary on Zech 5:10f. (Draconites 1565b, fol. 27a). He not only pointed out that the excellent translators Onkelos and Jonathan belonged to those Jews who did not return from the Babylonian exile, but also that—as if it was a separate fact—the 'Targum' emerged in Babylon and was a compilation of Jewish law (*ius in quo eorum conscriptum erat*). Moreover, he identified the figure of the woman as personified wickedness with (post-Christian) Jewish traditions, and saw the building of the 'house' as a prediction of persistent Jewish blindness.

Lectures on Isaiah (1543/1544)

In the 1540s, Targum reception slightly intensified in Luther's exegetical argumentation, due to the messianic themes that were discussed, and due to the increasing anti-Jewish polemic of the late Luther. In this context Luther (still) heavily depended on Nicholas of Lyra and the common view in Christian exegesis that the Targum in its messianic passages revealed the true meaning of the Hebrew text, supporting Christian belief in Christ. A sharp distinction was made between the 'younger' or 'modern' Jews' (*recentiores, moderni Iudaei*) and the 'ancient' Jews (*antiqui Iudaei*), i.e. between post-biblical or medieval rabbinic traditions on the one hand and ancient pre-Christian rabbinic traditions on the other, including the Targum. The apocalyptic dehumanization and demonization of contemporary Judaism as an ally of the Antichrist, paralleled with the followers of Roman catholic papacy ('Papists') and radical reformers in Luther's writings of the 1540s, did not abolish these basic categories, it rather reinforced the exegetical struggle.

Within the series of lectures on Isaiah, delivered in 1543/1544 and printed 1546, we can find a reference to the *Chaldaica versio* in the explanation of the promised child in Isa 9:5f. (WA 40/3, 663f; cf. WA 19, 153–163 [1526]). The prophetic names given to the child, interpreted by the 'recentiores Iudaei' historically as relating to King Hezekiah, had to be understood as messianic titles,

3 According to a preliminary observation of my colleague Dr E. van Staaldvine-Sulman. See further in this volume Eveline van Staaldvine Sulman & Johanna Tanja, 'Christian Arguments for Editing Jewish Targums in Polyglot Bibles'.

according to the Targum. Luther followed here Nicholas of Lyra (cf. WA 40/3, 663, note 4). He also repeated the standard formula of Nicholas about the high authority of the Targum among 'the Jews' as an authentic text, thus emphasizing the 'blindness' and 'perversity' of the 'modern' Jews. Moreover, Luther asserted emphatically the old inquisitorial accusation of text forgery against the Masoretes. Especially in prophetic contexts, they had used the invention of punctuation to distract the reader from the literal meaning of the texts in Christian terms. In contrast, Nicholas of Lyra's dealing with the alleged text forgery was rather unemotional—for him it was a simple question of unwillingly making mistakes in a complicated writing system. Another argument for sustaining Christian belief through Targum texts, often used in Christian polemical and apologetical literature, is missing in Luther's exegesis: the assertion of an implicit presence of Logos Christology in the Old Testament, proved by the targumic *memra* as translation of *dabar*, e.g. in 2 Sam 7:21.

As may be expected, the structure of argumentation continues in Luther's explanation of Isa 52:13–53:12, the fourth Servant Song, where in accordance with Christian tradition he exclusively identified the suffering servant with Christ (WA 40/3, 700; the lecture this passage belongs to was published in 1550, cf. Matt 8:17, Acts 8:26–40; 1 Pet 2:22–25; McGinnis and Tull 2006).⁴ Alongside references to the Hebrew, Greek and Latin text, Jerome and Nicholas of Lyra were prominently present, and inspired by the latter, Luther made use of the *translatio Chaldaica* again. From Nicholas he learned about the prevailing rabbinic interpretation of the suffering servant as the people of Israel, which for him belonged to the misinterpretations and absurdities of the '*recentiores Iudaei*'. However, he had found a messianic interpretation of the servant in the older Jewish tradition (*antiqui Hebraei*), which also suggests Nicholas as his source, Targum Jonathan on Isa 52:13 (cf. WA 40/3, 700, note 1). In his exegesis of Isa 53:4 Luther came back to his earlier qualification of the collective interpretation of the servant as demonic blasphemy (WA 40/3, 713.26–35).⁵ Here he criticized those Christian exegetes who obviously had adopted the rabbinic

4 See J. Reuchlin's short note in his Soncino Bible (*Biblia Hebraica*, 1488) and in his Hebrew codex of the Prophets, including Targum Jonathan, that Isa 52:13 deals with the suffering Christ, Dall'Asta and Dörner 2007, 44f., 52.

5 *Diabolus blasphemavit Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum per Iudaeos depravantes sic scriptores etiam inter Christianos. Lyra quendam vocat Andream, qui iudaisavit, et Thomas Aquinas: ii istum 'servum' populum exponunt. Sed textus non potest intelligi nisi de una persona Messiae. Sic translatio Chaldaica et veteres Rabini astipulantur. Alii fingunt duos Christos [...]. Alii exponunt collective de toto populo Iudaeorum, ut nunc est, quasi sit servus contemptus et despectus, sed impudenter mentiuntur.*

understanding of the servant as personification of Israel, as he believed was the case with the 'judaizing' Andreas, i.e. Andrew of St. Victor (died 1175), and Thomas Aquinas. Any closer indication of the different theological frameworks of their 'literal' exegesis was missing. Indeed Andrew had been one of the early exegetes in the school of Hugo of St. Victor to study rabbinical material seriously, exploring the 'literal' sense of scripture, but he naturally did not restrict himself to Jewish exegesis (Berndt 1991, 1991a; Berndt 2009).

For Luther the polemical emphasis on Nicolas' antithesis between pre-Christian 'ancient' and post-biblical 'modern' Jews remained essential. Historically speaking it seems difficult to say if there was a messianic interpretation of the Servant Song before the common era, depending on the dating of the relevant Targum traditions. Probably they reflect interpretations of the first centuries CE. Whatever the case, Christian messianic readings of the Targum continuously demonstrated a very selective, if not atomistic, usage of the text: the targumic messiah never was a suffering, but a victorious messiah, the statements about suffering could not be applied to the servant (Houtman 2005; Page 1985; Ådna 1996). In Luther's table talks we can find a similar statement on Isa 52:13, from September 1540: the rabbis had obscured the clear structure and meaning of the text by referring the single person of the servant collectively to Israel, if only because Israel was unable to carry the sins of others (WA TR 5, 35, n. 5263).

Hosea Exegesis: The Addition to Hos 13 (1545)

In Luther's exegesis of Hos 13:14b we may find another trace of indirect Targum reception (WA 40/3, 760–775, here 761, cf. note 5). In his translation of the Hebrew lemma *keteṯ* (destruction, plague) he presumably followed Reuchlin's *Rudimenta*, who had offered the explanation *aegritudo contingens homini et percutiens eum* (human disease, causing deep wounds) adding the text of Deut 32:24a Vg, and the information about the 'Jerusalem Targum' (*thargum hierosolymitanum*), which had expounded the *excisio* (*keteṯ* literally means 'cutting off', i.e. destruction) (Reuchlin 1506, 467). In fact the 'Jerusalem Targum', in modern terms Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, had translated *keteṯ* in Deut 32:24a by 'evil spirits' (Clarke 1998, 93; cf. McNamara 1997, 155f.), which did not fit with Luther's concept. Luther's main argument for his translation was the parallelism between *dever* and *keteṯ*, which he compared with the Latin phrase *pestis et lues* (pestilence and plague), the meaning of the equivocal *dever* being determined by the—in his view—univocal *keteṯ*. Luther thus rejected Nicholas of Lyra's suggestion taken from Rashi that *keteṯ* alluded to demons or evil spirits, as in Ps 91:6, where in the second half of the verse the LXX-based

Vg text (Ps 90:6) mentions the 'midday demon' (*daemonium meridianum*). In contrast, Paul of Burgos had identified the terms of the phrase with two sorts of pest-like diseases, closer to Jerome's Psalter, based on the Hebrew. Luther obviously sympathized with this approach, and probably felt supported by Reuchlin and his reference to the Jerusalem Targum. Beyond demonological or medical rationalizations Luther finally interpreted the sentence as an expression of the finitude of human existence ('alle sterben durch dieselben Pestilenzien').⁶ Reuchlin's interest in the kabbalistic meaning of *ketev*, documented in the *Rudimenta*, was ignored, as were naturally the closer contexts of the Targums.

Lectures on Genesis (1535–1545)

In his lectures on Genesis (WA 42–44), delivered in Wittenberg during the last period of his life, Luther referred twice to the Targum, in his exegesis of Gen 37:3 and in his notorious messianic interpretation of Gen 49:10 (Delius 1992 pays no special attention to the Targum).

Gen 37:3, translated in the Wittenberg Bible of 1545 'Israel aber hatte Joseph lieber denn alle seine Kinder / darumb das er in im Alter gezeuget hatte (...)' ('Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age (...) [KJV]), raised the question why the preferential treatment of Joseph by his father Jacob was justified by Jacob's old age. For Luther 'grammarians' and 'Hebraists' in this case tried to defend an illogical 'literal' reading, although it hardly could be harmonized biographically with the birth stories of Benjamin and the other sons of Jacob. Nicholas of Lyra therefore was rejected. A purely linguistic approach seemed to be impossible, and consequently Luther pointed to the missing knowledge about the original power (*vis*) and specific peculiarities (*proprietas*) of the Hebrew language, which could not simply be renewed on this level (WA 44, 240.4–27).

A much more suitable interpretation was offered by Paul of Burgos, who for a better (allegorical) understanding of the passage had presented the Targum with the words: *Dilexit eum, quia fuit ei filius sapientiae senum*, in the sense of *talīs erat filius, tanta in eo erat sapientia, ut cum quolibet sene sapientia certare posset* ('he was such a wise son that he could compete in wisdom with any elderly person', WA 44, 239.35–37, cf. Targum Onkelos on Gen 37:3: '(...) Israel loved Joseph more than all his sons, because he had in him a wise son (...)').

6 In his *Dictata* Luther had identified the midday demon Ps 90,6 Vg with the *zelus* and *furor* of Jews and heretics in their alleged fight against Christ (WA 4, 71.25–72.23).

In a similar way Luther interpreted Isa 65:20 (*puer centum annorum morietur*, i.e. 'the child shall die a hundred years old' in the sense of: children will have the wisdom of centenarians). Finally, however, Luther wanted to remain close to the text and suggested an interpretation that was not part of tradition, but showed his own exegetical creativity: it was not the age of Jacob itself the passage wanted to emphasize, but the love and affection of his heart as he thought about the fulfilment of God's promise even in his old age (WA 44, 240.28–40).

Luther's interpretation of Gen 49:10 (WA 44, 753.25–759.13), part of Jacob's benediction given to his son Judah ('The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come [. . .]'), directly reflects his statements in the preceding fiercely anti-Jewish tract 'On the Jews and their lies' ('Von den Juden und ihren Lügen') from 1543 (see below). In both contexts Jews, 'Papists' and the Turks are demonized as furious and bloodthirsty apocalyptic opponents of the 'very clear and certain light of the Gospel' (*clarissima et certissima lux Evangelii*), including the stereotype accusation of masoretic forgery of Scripture in messianic contexts. The militant messianic expectations of rabbinic Judaism were seen in parallel with chiliastic concepts of radical reformers. However, the hope of an earthly messianic kingdom enforced by violence to end the persecution of the Jews had no basis in the Hebrew text of Gen 49:10, where the parallelism of שִׁלּוֹה *shiloh* and מְחֹקֵק *mehokek* (Luther: 'master' (teaching the law), derived from חָק *hok*), and the end of the verse (וְלֹא יִקְרָה עַמִּים, 'and the obedience of peoples be his') hints at a peaceful Messiah and undoubtedly for Luther as for mainstream Christian exegesis prophesied the coming of Christ (Posnanski 1904).

The Targum Onkelos of Gen 49:10 seemed to sustain this Christian interpretation: in the messianic era people were called by instruction and teaching in the obedience of Christ's (spiritual) kingdom (cf. Ps 2:10). In historical and dogmatic terms the kingdom of David was replaced by the kingdom of 'Shiloh' as kingdom of Christ or 'kingdom of the word' (*regnum Davidis*—*regnum Shilo, regnum Christi, regnum verbi*), revealing the cosmic dimension of the anthropological antithesis of 'flesh' and 'spirit'. It remained unnoticed that Targum Pseudo-Jonathan had set a significantly more militant tone in its messianic version of the verse.

In general Luther followed the line of Nicholas of Lyra, who in messianic contexts had tried to prove rabbinical exegesis wrong, here for example the identification of the *Shiloh* figure with Nebuchadnezzar II, who had caused Jewish exile (*Biblia sacra*, vol. 1 [*Pentateuch*] 1545, fol. 117b, cf. Bunte 1994). No doubt Reuchlin's influence persisted. He had written explicitly about 'our Lyra' (*Lyra noster*) and the Targum Onkelos in his lengthy lemma יִקְהָי *yikkah* in the

Rudimenta (Reuchlin 1506, 222f.). Material of other Christian Hebraists was also discussed. In his interpretation of *shiloh* Luther relied on the etymology of the word presented by Bernhard Ziegler, who in 1540 on the recommendation of Luther had become a lecturer of Hebrew at Leipzig University and in 1544 joined the theological faculty. Ziegler was a student of the Jewish convert Anton Margaritha, whose widespread *Der gantz Jüdisch glaub*, first published in 1530, had become a main source of Luther's knowledge about Judaism (Margaritha 1530; Osten-Sacken 2002). On the basis of Ziegler's derivation of *shiloh* from *shiliah* (afterbirth), the rhetorical practice of metonymy, and the Gospel, Luther identified *shiloh* with 'son of a virgin' and even with 'son of God', and summed up: *haec grammatica mihi placet, et in ea summa fiducia acquiesco* ('I really like this grammar, I trust it completely') (WA 44, 756.14f.).

In addition to Luther's use of the Targum argument outlined above, we find a few examples of philological argumentation with Aramaic, as in Gen 3:24, Gen 31:6 and Gen 41:43, where the last two can be linked indirectly to the Targums. The כְּרֻבִים *kerubim* ('cherubs') in Gen 3:24 were derived from an Aramaic root רוב, i.e. talmudic רוּבִיא *rovia* ('young man'), which in fact coincided with the Hebrew term נָעַר in Gen 21:20 (WA 42, 175.17–176.17, esp. 175.26–29). Luther used this information for his description of the cherubs as angels, characterized by a 'blooming, full face of a young man'.⁷ In Gen 31:47 he identified the יְגֵר שְׂהַדוּתָא *jegar sahaduta* as 'Syriac or Chaldean' for Hebrew גַּלְעָד *Gal-ed*, attributed to the unreliable Laban, who—not satisfied with the covenant itself—had insisted upon giving the heap of stones a name of his own (WA 44, 59.1–11). In Gen 41:43, discussing the controversial אַבְרֵךְ *avrekḥ*, Luther mentioned a link made by some commentators to the Aramaic רֵיךְ *rekḥ*, translated 'king' (*rex*). In fact this was congruent with Rashi's comment, Targum Onkelos and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on the passage דִּין אָבָא לַמֶּלֶכָא 'this is the father of the king'; WA 44, 438.15–439.7; cf. Münster 1564 (first publ. 1523), lemma אַבְרֵךְ. Luther however remained unsatisfied with this option, as with the kabbalistic suggestions (אַבְרֵךְ as *pater sapientiae*); he even preferred to link רֵיךְ with the German

7 For a traditional understanding of the *cherubim* as referring to Jewish commentators, but without etymological information, cf. Nicholas of Lyra's comment on Exod 25:18f. (*Biblia Latina* 1492, 138a/b), with the depiction of the '*figura archæ propiciatorii secundum Rabi salo[mo]*'. Fagius also remained silent about the alleged etymology (Fagius 1542, 112–14). For Luther's early interpretation of the *kerubim* as cognitive powers ('fullness of wisdom', *plenitudo scientiæ*) as in patristic and medieval exegesis see WA 3, 114.14f., 124.6–16; WA 55/1, 138; WA 5, 504.37f.; for new perspectives in the 1520s see WA 14, 154f. For a later summary of rabbinic interpretation in Christian Hebraist perspective see Buxtorf 1659, 97–101. Buxtorf is still mentioned by Baehr 1837–1839, vol. 1, 312–314; 313 note 2.

word 'Reich', as his version of a 'kabbalistic' interpretation. In the context of contemporary etymology, where similarity in sound often meant similarity in meaning, this was not as strange as it may sound today. Finally, in his lecture he preferred the meaning *pater tenerrissimus patriae* (very tender father of the fatherland) as an acclamation, including the Aramaic ܐܪܚܐ *rakh* (tender). The Wittenberg Bible of 1545 noted in a marginal gloss that the real meaning of the word still was obscure ('Was Abrech heisse / lassen wir die Zencker suchen bis an den Jüngstentage / wollens die weil verstehen / wie es gedeutsch ist' (Luther 1974, vol. 1 (repr.) 103).

Anti-Jewish Polemical Tract: 'Von den Juden und ihren Lügen' (1543)

In the Messiah question, Gen 49:10 remained an important exegetical argument in the context of Luther's later anti-Jewish agitation, written in German for a broader public (on Gen 49:10 see WA 53, 450.19–462.15, for the context see Kirn 2000, 296–301; Kirn 2010; Schubert 2010; Kaufmann 2013, ch. 4). His *On the Jews and their Lies* intensified the denunciatory polemics against rabbinic Judaism as a 'new' or 'modern' phenomenon of anti-Christian aggression ('die neuen frembden Jüden'), and with it came the idealization of another 'ancient' true Judaism before Christ ('die alten rechten Jüden').⁸

The Targum (the 'Chaldean Bible') was presented as a clear pre-Christian testimony of Christ, in analogy to the prophetic witness of the Old Testament, supporting the Christian messianic interpretation of biblical texts like Gen 49:10. The close relationship between Hebrew and Aramaic despite all differences was explained to the reader as comparable with the similarity and difference between Saxon, the dialect of his region, and Swabian (WA 53, 452.17–19). As in other contexts Luther stressed the high authority of the Targum among Jews, following Nicholas of Lyra, thus reinforcing the image of a self-contradictory and irrational post-biblical 'modern' Judaism.

A new source however appeared in this context. For his German translation of the Targum Onkelos text Luther apparently consulted the work of the Genoese Carthusian monk Porchetus de Salvaticis' *Victoria adversus impios Hebraeos*, written in the early fourteenth century (cf. WA 53, 451, note 3). Porchetus had taken over a great deal of material from Raymond Martini's *Pugio fidei*. The

8 For similar categories (*iuniores—veteres Iudaei*) but a different application also to talmudic scholars (*talmudistae*) cf. the statement of P. Galatino, defender of J. Reuchlin (Galatino 1561, 26f.).

Victoria had been published by the Dominican Agostino Giustiniani in 1520, the same Giustiniani who was responsible for the remarkable polyglot of the Psalms from 1516. Luther had a copy of it in his library.⁹ Porchetus repeatedly referred to the Targum in his Christological argumentation, directly related to the information Martini had offered.¹⁰ As we know, Martini was also a prominent source for Pietro Galatino's *De arcanis catholicae veritatis*, first published in 1519, which became a major repository of information about Jewish literature in Christian circles in the sixteenth century. Luther translated the Hebrew and Aramaic text offered by Porchetus in transcription into German, leaving the main terms in Aramaic for further explanation ('Es sol vom hause Juda der Schultan nicht weg gethan werden, noch der Saphra von seinen kinds kinden ewiglich, bis der Messiah kome, des das Reich ist, und die Völker werden sich im gehorsam machen', WA 53, 451.9–12; cf. Porchetus de Salvaticis (Porchetus Salvaticus) 1520, fol. 4a/b; Posnanski 1904, 370–378; here 372).

Whereas Porchetus had restricted himself to brief explanations, noting biblical parallel passages and other rabbinic sources, Luther augmented his statements with contemporary references and actualizations in a rich figurative language. Characteristic of Luther's exegesis was the application, sustained in his view by the Targum, of the text to contemporary discourses of political power (cf. Luther's lecture on the Song of Songs 1530/1531, printed 1539; WA 31/2, 586–769). A righteous way of reigning a country called for a balanced interplay of 'power' and 'justice', an ideal form of government as in Solomonian times—indicated by the Hebrew term שֶׁבֶט *shevet*, according to Targum Onkelos שולטן *shultān* (office, rulership; ruler), and the term מְהוֹקֵק *mehokek*, according to Targum Onkelos ספרא *saḥra* (scribe) (for Luther the personal understanding of targumic *shultān* included a personal understanding of *shevet* as 'ruler'). Otherwise one had to fear tyranny and rebellion. His examples of tyranny extended from the Roman emperor Nero to 'Heintz', the contemporary Catholic Henry II (the Younger), Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, known for

9 Luther's personal copy is now in the possession of the Badische Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe and can be studied in a digitalized version, <http://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/33266> (16 October 2012). In his 'Vom Schem Hamphoras' from 1543 Luther also made use of Porchetus, in this case of ch. 11 with the passages of the 'Toledot Jeschu', translating them into German (WA 53, 580–586).

10 The Porchetus text quoted by the commentators of Luther's work in WA 53, 451, note 2, therefore can be traced back to Martini. Cf. Porchetus de Salvaticis (Porchetus Salvaticus) 1520, fol. 3r–6v; Martini 1687, 312 (p.2, c.4.1). For further references to the Targum in Porchetus see, for example, Porchetus de Salvaticis (Porchetus Salvaticus) 1520, fol. 15a/b; 21b; 22a; 28b; 33a/b, 36a/b. See also Galatino 1561, l.4, c.4.

his harsh resistance to the Reformation movement; on the side of the Roman Catholic Church canon law was seen as part of the problem.

In a double step Luther turned his perception of biblical and targumic truth against post-biblical Judaism: he not only claimed exclusive truth for Christian exegesis ('wir haben die Schrifft besser denn sie, das wissen wir (Gott lob) fur war', WA 53, 450.16f.), attributing errors and fallacies to the religious 'other', but blamed the 'modern' Jews explicitly for acting against their own conscience in 'lying', 'blaspheming', 'torturing' and 'crucifying' words of the text like *shevet* and *shilo*, using stereotyped metaphors of agitation against Jews and heretics (cf. WA 53, 456.14–16, *ibid.*, 461.18f., *ibid.* 460.31–461–4).¹¹ In this way the Targum was included in the alleged rational irresistibility of biblical and historical arguments on the Christian side, already stressed by Paul of Burgos among others. For Luther philological and historical rationality sustained each other: Gen 49:10 had to be explained in combination with the Targum, and the analysis of Jewish history showed that Jewish state sovereignty ended with King Herod the Great, not long before the coming of Christ (WA 53, 455.18–30). Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos remained constant companions of interpretation, including quotations from Paul's *Additiones* (WA 53, 452.20f., *ibid.*, 452, note 7; *ibid.*, 454.1f.; on the interpretation of *shilo* cf. Posnanski 1904, 339–341).¹²

Paul of Burgos was also relevant as a mediator of material from Martini's *Pugio fidei*. The Targum continued to function as an important point of reference in apologetic and polemical contexts in all confessional camps. On the Roman Catholic side the Italian humanist and anti-Protestant polemicist Agostino Steuco may be mentioned, who—blaming the Jews for falsifying the original messianic meaning of Gen 49:10—praised the Targum as a refuge in cases of darkness in the Hebrew text (Steuco 1531, 98b–99b).

All in all medieval traditions remained dominant in Luther's writings, despite a growing knowledge in the field of Aramaic studies in general and the Targum in particular, witness e.g. Sebastian Münster and Paul Fagius (cf. Fagius 1541—Fagius' Latin translation of Targum Onkelos was published in 1546). The work on the revision of the German Bible translation in the circle of Wittenberg scholars had continued after the first edition of the complete Bible in 1534. The Targums and rabbinical commentaries had become standard exegetical tools for a better understanding of the Hebrew Bible, especially in its grammatical sense, with Cruciger as the main expert in Hebrew and Aramaic

11 Cf. the arguments concerning the interpretation of כִּי עַד *ad ki* (*donec*) in Gen 49:10, WA 53, 460.14–461.16. See also Posnanski 1904, 174f. (Bachja ben Ascher).

12 On the Christian messianic interpretation of Gen 49:10 and the Targum in Late Medieval polemical literature (Thomas Ebendorfer) see Callsen et al. 2003, 94.

studies (cf. the report by J. Mathesius on the sessions of the translation committee, starting in 1539, in WA DB 3, xv).

Finally, we may assume some traces of Targum reception in Luther's personal copy of the Hebrew Bible, the so-called Brescia Bible (WA 60, 245f.). Alongside two Targum-related marginal notes of the earlier Jewish owner of the Bible, Luther's marginal comments in two cases probably allude to Johannes Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* and his usage of Targum texts (WA 60, 276f., on Exod 32:25, where the translation of *para* was obscure, and WA 60, 284, on the אֶף כִּי *af ki* in 1 Sam 14:30). Although a comprehensive history of the reception of Luther's exegetical work and his anti-Jewish writings has not yet been written, his tract *On the Jews and their lies* remains an influential exegetical source, with regard to Gen 49:10 and the Targum text among others.

Summary and Outlook

In Luther's exegetical and polemical work the references to rabbinic literature in general and the Targums in particular still depended largely on the (late) medieval heritage. The *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyra, who took most of his knowledge from Rashi, and the *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos, both commonly accessible in Vulgate editions, but also special anti-Jewish tracts like Porchetus de Salvaticis' *Victoria*, played an important role as mediators. The direct and indirect influence of Raymond Martini's *Pugio fidei* on the Christian interpretation of the Bible and the knowledge of the Targum in the Reformation period was remarkable. For Luther the literature of Christian Hebraism, especially Johannes Reuchlin's *Rudimenta*, provided some more authentic knowledge about the Targums, strengthening at the same time his dialogue with traditional exegetical material, presented by the Vulgate editions. Considered to be pre-Christian texts, the Targums seemed to give access to the implicitly Christian theology of the 'ancient' Jews. By contrast rabbinic Judaism was regarded as a 'modern' phenomenon, which had lost touch with its own past.

Targum study had strong defenders in Wittenberg, where copies of the Rabbinic Bible were available, as well as in Zurich, Basel, and Strasburg.¹³ Luther himself was not trained in Aramaic. He relied on the scholarly advice of his fellow reformers. The fresh impulses for Aramaic studies coming especially from Sebastian Münster were known and appreciated. Nevertheless

13 Burnett 2004 shows that there was no fundamentally different approach to Hebrew studies in Basel and Wittenberg. On the transmission of Jewish learning see Burnett 2012. For H. Zwingli see Migsch 2005, Migsch 2009.

references to the Targums—together with other material from Jewish Bible commentators, who themselves had transmitted targumic information—did not enter the exegetical work there as often as in the Swiss and Upper Rhine Reformation movement, for example in the Bible commentaries by Wolfgang Capito, Konrad Pellikan and Martin Bucer (Capito 1528, fol. 73b, 82a/b, 100b; Capito 1534, fol. 2b, 6a/b, 8a, 9b, 10a, 216b, 232a, 233b; cf. Heimbucher 2008, 149–154, 270–273; Pellikan 1536–1546, vol. 1, preface, and fol. 1a, 63a, 66a; Bucer 1529, fol. 65b/66a, 284a). The more intensive presentation of rabbinic material did not necessarily include a more positive appreciation of the Targums or Jewish Bible commentaries. It certainly did not influence stereotyped anti-Jewish conceptions, as can be seen in the case of Konrad Pellikan, who, among others, distrusted Wolfgang Capito as ‘judaizer’, especially in the case of Capito’s expectation of a real restitution of Israel in the promised land as part of the eschatological drama, in his commentary on Hosea (Capito 1528, fol. 269b–270r). Only in his later years Luther emphatically condemned Jewish ‘modern’ scholarship as useless and a serious danger for Christian belief, going far beyond the traditional attitude of dealing cautiously with Jewish teaching. This was part of his fierce demonization of Jews and Judaism from 1542 on, starting with rumours of Jewish missionary activities among Christians. At the same time more attention was paid to the allegedly pre-Christian Jewish traditions in the Targums.

To make Targum texts available for a broader circle of theologians, translations into Latin were indispensable. The first to start this huge enterprise on the Protestant side was, as we know, Paul Fagius. However, he only finished the translation of Targum Onkelos of the Pentateuch, published in 1546, and was therefore not relevant for Luther anymore. From other partial Protestant translations we would like to mention the translation of the Targum to the Song of Songs and Qohelet by Erasmus Schreckenfuchs, a student of Sebastian Münster, printed in Basel, 1553 (Schreckenfuchs 1553).¹⁴

Generally speaking the reception of the Targums became more and more common in exegetical contexts, as we can see in the work of Peter Martyr Vermigli (Campi 2009, 213f., 220) and John Calvin (Opitz 2008; Pak 2010), but also in the Lutheran tradition, for example in Urbanus Rhegius (Rhegius 1562, 220a, 256a) and the educationalist Michael Neander, who continuously referred to the Targum and explicitly defended its usage, alluding to among others Galatino, Fagius and the Complutensian Polyglot (Neander 1567, 406–409). Certainly the publication of the Antwerp Polyglot, the so-called *Biblia*

14 For a list of translations from the 16th century see McNamara 1966, 8–12.

regia, in eight volumes (1569–1572), provided new perspectives for a broader reception of the Targum text and its interpretation.

Eminent Lutheran orthodox scholars of the seventeenth century continued to make use of the Targum in their philological und theological argumentation, for example Johann Gerhard and his successor in Jena, Salomo Glassius, and later in the seventeenth century Abraham Calov in Wittenberg, as well as the theologian and orientalist August Pfeiffer, and Andreas Sennert, an extraordinarily gifted language scholar with great influence in Wittenberg between 1640 and 1689.¹⁵ The progress in Aramaic studies in the broader context of Christian Hebraism favoured a more authentic approach to the Targums. Although theology continued to play a dominant role as a source of normativity, the emancipatory tendencies of linguistics, separating the areas of philological and theological argumentation more clearly, can already be observed in contemporary dissertations. A look at those on Gen 49:10 written by Pfeiffer and Sennert (Pfeiffer & Hinkelmann 1669; Sennert & Schultze 1675;¹⁶ Appold 2004, 103–105) shows what a long road had been travelled since the (presumably) first separate publication on this crucial text by Johannes Draconites in 1549.

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15 For Lutheran orthodox positions of the 17th century and de reception of rabbinic tradition see Steiger 2000, for the Targum see *ibid.*, 200, 205, 211f. (Gen 49:10), 216f.

16 Cf. the notes on Luther in Sennert and Schultze 1675, fol. C4r/v, Pfeiffer and Hinkelmann 1669, fol. B2r/v. See also the annotations to the Calov-Bible from 1681/1682; Calov praised the Latin Bible translations (from the Hebrew) of Sanctes Pagninus (1528) and S. Münster (2 vols, 1534/1535), although he thought the influence of ‘the rabbis’ had been too strong, to the detriment of the *analogia fidei*, a main principle of theological hermeneutics (Calov 1681–1682, vol. 1, 3). On the Targums cf. Pfeiffer and Hinkelmann 1669, § 38, §§ 40–42; fol. C2r/v, C3r/v), on the London Polyglot Bible cf. Sennert and Schultze 1675, fol. D3v–E2v.

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‘And Their Laws Are Diverse from All People’. Haman’s Protests against the Jews in Targum Sheni to Esther

Yaacov Deutsch

Introduction

The holiday of Purim and the book of Esther are topics mentioned relatively often in Christian anti-Jewish literature. Already in the early centuries of Christianity, Jewish celebrations of Purim were associated with Jewish anti-Christian activities such as the burning of crosses and active cursing of Christians (Horowitz 2006, 151–160). Later on during the medieval and early modern periods Purim continued to be associated with anti-Christian activities and for many Christians it was one of the most extreme examples of Jewish hostility towards Christianity.¹ The book of Esther, from which the story of Purim was recounted in synagogues during the holiday, was therefore a focus of Christian attacks and Martin Luther even loathed its very existence (together with 2 Maccabees).²

As is the case with other books from the biblical canon, the book of Esther was translated by Jews into other languages such as Greek and Aramaic. In this article I will focus on one passage from the Aramaic translation of Esther, known as Targum Sheni (second translation), and will discuss its uniqueness in the history of the literature of Jewish-Christian relations and the extent to

1 The Dominican sub-prior and friar Theobaldus de Sexannia in his polemical work against the Talmud, which was written toward the first half of the thirteenth century, claims that when the Jews read the scroll of Esther in the synagogue on Purim and hear the name of Haman, they smash jars and say that ‘just as Haman was crushed thus our enemies and the Christian kingdom will be suddenly crushed’ (Theobaldus de Sexannia 1488, 5v). A similar report appears also in the text of the *Passauer Anonymous*, compiled around 1260, where the author writes that in March on the holiday of Mordechai the Jews break pots in the synagogue (Patschovsky 1968, 180). For early modern works that describe anti-Christian activities on Purim see especially Christiani 1677 and Matthäi 1758.

2 ‘I am so great an enemy to the second book of the Maccabees, and to Esther, that I wish they had not come to us at all, for they have too many heathen unnaturalities’ (WA Tr 1, 208.30f. = Luther 1912, 208). However, as some scholars have argued, Luther’s view of the book was more complicated and part of his reaction to the book was to the place it had among the Jews (Bardtke 1964).

which this passage was harbinger of later tropes in Jewish-Christian relations and polemics.

Targum Sheni to Esther

Targum Esther Sheni was written or compiled by Jews and is of Palestinian origin. According to most scholars it was written not before the beginning of the seventh century and no later than the beginning of the eighth century (Ego 1996, 21–25; Ribera Florit 2005, 150–151). In spite of its name which defines the text as translation, Targum Sheni does not try to provide literal and close translations of the book of Esther. And although the text contains literal translations of the book of Esther, it is supplemented with aggadic material (Atzmon 2009).

In a long aggadic section, Haman describes how the Jews differ from all other nations. Although the texts are presented as Haman's opinions, they were written by Jews and thus they reflect a Jewish point of view and to some extent an imagined presentation of Christian attitudes towards Judaism. The section is based on the biblical verse:

And Haman said unto King Ahasuerus, there is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people; neither keep they the king's laws: therefore it is not for the king's profit to suffer them (Esther 3:8).

Targum Sheni takes the otherness of the Jewish religion, noted in this verse, as its point of departure and offers a description of the Jewish religion and the way it differs from other religions. It is important to note that since this text is probably from the seventh century and represents tensions between Jews and Christians, we can read Haman's comments as a reflection of a Christian point of view (Cassel 1885; Churgin 1945, 234; Grossfeld 1991, 20). Moreover in the medieval period the pair of Jacob and Esau symbolized the tension between Christianity and Judaism, and in Jewish sources Esau was almost synonym to Christianity (Cohen 1967; Yuval 2006). Therefore the fact that the opening verse of chapter three in Targum Sheni mentions the genealogy of Haman all the way back to Esau, where the Bible only mentions that he was a descendant of Agag, the king of Amalek, could be seen as part of the attempt to use this text against Christianity.

Targum Sheni on Esther 3:8 opens with a general observation about the Jews:

There is a certain people, that of the Jews, scattered and exiled among the nations in every province of your kingdom, proud and haughty. They gather (for themselves) the waters during Tevet and relax in the baths during Tammuz.³ Their deeds are different from those of any other nation and their laws from those of all provinces. They do not follow our laws, nor do they desire (to adopt) our practices, and do not carry out the service of the king (Grossfeld 1991, 144).⁴

This opening sentence is based on the biblical verse, but in addition to stressing the different religion it also points to elements that make Jewish behaviour different from that of other peoples. This passage is followed by a very long section that refers to a variety of Jewish customs and practices, and they all are examples of Jewish strangeness and otherness as well as Jewish hostility towards Christians. Each of these practices is described separately and the text mentions a variety of details to prove its argument. These details add up to a long list that reveals a close familiarity with Jewish customs. This familiarity in and of itself is not surprising as this list was composed by a Jew, but what is striking is that the author assumes he is able to describe the way non-Jews see the Jews and how they comprehend Jewish customs and ceremonies. This is why Haman is presented as the speaker in this part of the text.

The list of accusations includes the following:

- Haman states that when the Jews see the non-Jews they spit on the ground and believe they are impure. In addition he reports that the Jews are rebellious and behave rudely:

When we go out to make proclamations and announcements in the service of the king, some of them go up on walls, break down fences and go into rooms, coming out arrogant. When we run to catch them, they turn around, standing (with) their eyes sparkling, grinding their teeth, their feet kicking and frightening us, so that we are unable to grab them.

- When discussing the Shabbat, Haman explains that once in seven days they celebrate the Shabbat. They go to the synagogue and read in their books and they curse the king and ask for the downfall of the government.

3 This sentence that refers to a specific behaviour of the Jews is either a later addition or just an example that comes to illustrate the first part of this general observation.

4 All the English translations of Targum Sheni are based on Grossfeld's translation; the spelling has been adapted to the usage in the current book.

- Among the other strange Jewish customs he mentions purity laws—the Jewish women observe seven days of their menstrual period and afterwards they go and defile the water by immersing in it in the middle of the night.
- Circumcision is another differentiating custom: Jews circumcise their sons eight days after their birth and they have no pity on them. According to the compiler Jews say that in this way they will be different from their neighbours.
- In the description of Pesach he writes that the Jews light fires, clean their houses thoroughly and remove the leaven in favour of the unleavened bread and when they go to their synagogues they explain their actions with a curse for the non-Jews, saying: 'Just as the leaven is removed and we consume unleavened bread, so may the wicked kingdom be removed from among us, and thus may deliverance be accomplished for us from this foolish king.'
- Haman notes two days of festivity during the month of Sivan. He mentions the prayers and curses against the king and the government and adds that the Jews call the day Atzeret ('gathering') and that on this day they ascend to the roof of the synagogue and throw apples down, then they gather them and say: 'Just as we gather (the apples), so may their (the non-Jews) sons (be gathered) from among us.'
- When mentioning New Year and the Day of Atonement, the prayers against the king and his government are noted again but a specific reference is added. The text reports that on New Year the Jews say: 'On the day that our ancestors' memory (enters) before our Father in Heaven, may our remembrance be entered for good, whereas the remembrance of our enemies be entered for evil and bitterness.'
- Haman also states that on the eve of the Day of Atonement, namely on the ninth of Tishri, the Jews slaughter animals, geese and chickens and eat and drink. He then adds that the tenth day of Tishri is called 'the great fast' and on this day all the Jews fast, including their wives, sons and daughters and they cause their children distress without having pity on them 'saying: (On) this days our sins are atoned, our sins are collected and added to the sins of our enemies'.
- The last holiday that is mentioned in this list is Sukkot:

On its fifteenth (day) they set up booths on the roofs of their houses, then they go out to the orchards and cut down our palm branches, pluck down our citrons, strip off our willows, and lay waste our orchards; they uproot our fences without regard. Then they make Hoshanas, saying: 'Just as the king does his battle, so do we'. They enter the synagogue and pray, they

rejoice. Then they go around with Hoshanas, singing and dancing like goats. We do not know if they indeed curse us or bless us. They call it ‘The Feast of Booths’ and do not perform the service of the king. They say to us: ‘Today it is forbidden.’ Thus they spend the year in idleness, in not performing in it the service of the king.

This detailed list illuminates how the unique laws and customs of each holiday were used as examples of how wide-ranged Jewish hostility is toward non-Jews and how the Jews transform each ceremony into an act against their neighbours. This list is unique in many ways and analyzing it requires a comparison with contemporary classical and early medieval sources that contain accusations against the Jews.

The Uniqueness of the Anti-Jewish Statements in Targum Sheni

Already in the classical Greek and Latin sources there are references to Jewish hostility toward the non-Jews and references to Jewish practices such as circumcision, the Shabbat and the abstention from eating pork (Stern 1974–84; Whitaker 1984, Schäfer 1997). Later, Christian writers also referred to these and to additional Jewish precepts such as the Day of Atonement or Pesach. Nonetheless, those references were usually very general and did not focus on the actual way those precepts were performed. Thus for example all the references to circumcision mentioned that the Jews circumcise their children when they are eight days old, but they never described the circumcision ceremony and what exactly the Jews did when they performed it (Deutsch 2012, 126–132).

Against this background, the uniqueness of the text in Targum Sheni lies in the fact that in some instances it refers to very specific aspects of Jewish rituals and ceremonies, for example the custom of throwing apples in the synagogue,⁵ the custom of going around in the synagogue during Sukkot (Hoshanas) and to specific prayers of different holidays. Of course it is not surprising that the Jewish author of the text was familiar with the details about Jewish customs, but—and in my opinion this is what makes this text unique—he tries to give the Christian perspective of Jewish customs and ceremonies. This is striking

5 This custom appears in the description of Atzeret (Shavuot), and as far as I know does not appear in Jewish sources. Nonetheless, the custom of throwing apples in the synagogue appears in descriptions of Simchat Torah, and it is possible that it was indeed also part of Shavuot, or that there is a mistake in the text of Targum Sheni (Bernier 2013, 197–200).

not only because what we have here is an attempt by a Jewish author to give a non-Jewish view of Jewish customs and ceremonies but also because the claims in the text show a high level of internalization of the non-Jewish and especially the Christian discourse against the Jews.

What could have been the source for this passage? Is it possible that there was a non-Jewish tradition that was the basis for this section in Targum Sheni and that this tradition stands behind the many references to various Jewish customs or is it possible that Jews were able to invent an attack on Jewish customs based on the way they thought their neighbours saw and perceived their customs? An attempt to reveal the source of this passage in Targum Sheni can begin with the Babylonian Talmud. In Tractate Megillah the Talmud refers to Haman and his complaints about the Jews (BT Meg 13a):

And their laws are different from those of every people, *i.e.*, they do not eat with us, and do not intermarry with us. They do not execute the laws of the king. The whole year they find excuses not to give the taxes, saying: Now is Shabbat, now is Pesach. It is no profit for the king to tolerate them. Because they eat and drink in a manner to disgrace the king, for if a fly falls into a goblet of wine, they will take it out and drink it; but if the king should touch the goblet of wine, they will pour it out. If it be pleasing to the king, let it be written to destroy them.

Although the basic configuration of the accusations in the Babylonian Talmud and Targum Sheni are similar, many of the details in the text of Targum Sheni do not appear in the talmudic text. Thus it is clear that the Babylonian Talmud could not have been the only source for the text of Targum Sheni, however it is likely that it was the source that shaped its structure, namely the attempt to refer to Jewish practices and customs that from the non-Jewish point of view show Jewish hostility and animosity toward the non-Jews.

As I already mentioned some of the examples and arguments that appear in the Targum's list are similar to those found in Greek and Roman literature and in turn were used by early Christian writers who also added new perspectives. Based on this similarity, some scholars have argued that Jews were probably familiar with this anti-Jewish literature and used it for their own purposes. According to these scholars when the author of Targum Sheni described Haman's complaints about the Jews he used arguments that were known to him from the Greek and Roman or from the early Christian sources (Herr 1968).

Although it is tempting to see the classical literature as the source for this list of Jewish customs and behaviours one cannot ignore the fact that the list

in the Targum Sheni has many items that do not appear in the classical literature or in the early Christian literature or even in the Talmud. Moreover it is important to notice that all the references and attacks on the Jews in these earlier sources are to general practices such as the observance of circumcision, dietary laws and the Shabbat and not to the details of these practices. Thus we never find in the Greek and Roman literature any reference to the specifics of circumcision or the Jewish holidays, namely how circumcision is performed or what exactly the Jews do on their holidays. By contrast, as we saw, the list in Targum Sheni refers to some of the details of Jewish customs and ceremonies. Of course one can argue that there were other Greek and Roman sources or early Christian sources that are lost by now and which did refer to the specifics of Jewish customs, but as there is nothing in these sources to support such argument and there is also no evidence in later sources referring to Jewish customs that they have used earlier sources, it is hard to accept such a claim. Moreover even if should this be the case, then how were claims that appeared in the first or second centuries transferred to the composer of Targum Sheni in the seventh century and why did he choose to bring these claims some five or six hundred years after they appeared?

Although I cannot point to the source that the compiler of Targum Sheni used, or explain why a Jewish author would choose to bring a long and very detailed list of items that portray Judaism in a negative way, it is possible to point to a parallel body of literature that contains some of these accusations, although from a much later date. The books written by early modern Hebraists that describe Judaism and Jewish customs share a number of characteristics and claims with this passage. Let us look at the description of the Day of Atonement as one example.

The Day of Atonement

Targum Sheni presents Haman as attacking the holiday not just on liturgical grounds but also because of a number of additional practices. Targum Sheni begins the description of the Day of Atonement with the custom of eating and drinking on the eve of the holiday, a custom that is based on the talmudic adage ‘if one eats and drinks on the ninth (Day of Atonement Eve), Scripture accounts it to him as if he fasted on the ninth and tenth of Tishri’ (BT Ber 8a). According to the text of Targum Sheni on this day the Jews slaughter animals and geese, then eat and drink. In some versions the text adds that the Jews also eat chickens. It is possible that the reference to chickens points to the custom of Kapparot, in which they bestowed their sins upon a rooster, a

ceremony that was followed by the slaughtering and eating of the rooster.⁶ In the early modern period the custom of Kapparot was among the most notorious customs in the Christian writing on Jewish ceremonies (Deutsch 2012, 77–121) and it is possible that already in Targum Sheni there is a hint that this custom was perceived as strange and was ridiculed. It should be noted that this custom was also attacked by Jewish scholars, but it is unlikely that this is related to the text of Targum Sheni as this criticism appears only in the thirteenth century (Lauterbach 1935, esp. pp. 418–422; Trachtenberg 1961, 163–165).

A close reading of the accusations concerning the observation of the Day of Atonement in Targum Sheni reveals additional aspects being attacked. A first charge is that the Jewish observance of the fast on this day is so strict that not only the men and women fast but also the small children, a practice that is read as proof that the Jews are cruel and do not have mercy on their children.⁷ Secondly the Jews are blamed for their belief that on this day the Jews' sins are forgiven and added to the sins of their enemies. Finally, the Jews are accused of cursing the king and his government and requesting that the current kingdom will be erased from the world. The Jews reportedly ask for mercy and pray for the king's death. As we saw above, this claim appeared in regard to other festivals as well.

Examining these allegations against the Day of Atonement within the context of late antique and early medieval literature reveals that the holiday is barely mentioned in classical literature, and also in early Christian literature there are very few references to it (Stökl ben Ezra 2003, 68–77; Ellenson et al. 1990, esp. 197–219). Neither classical nor early Christian literature refers to any of the details that appear in Targum Sheni. In contrast, many of these details appear in the early modern Christian literature on Jewish customs. Thus for example the claim that on Yom Kippur the Jews curse the Christians appears in the fourteenth-century writings of the Inquisitor Bernard Gui and in many descriptions from the early modern period.⁸

6 The earlier reference to the custom of Kapparot is from the seventh century (Lauterbach 1935; idem 1936; Scheftelowitz 1914, esp. 32–41).

7 This was also a source of controversy in Jewish texts (Baumgarten forthcoming).

8 According to Gui: 'On the holiday of Propitiation in September they have a special prayer which is directed against all their enemies. This prayer is called 'Shamta' namely a curse. And in this prayer with circumlocution of words they call Jesus a bastard, a son of a whore and the Virgin Mary a woman full of lust, things that cannot be said or thought' (Mollat & Drioux 1980, Vol. 2, 16–18; Yerushalmi 1970, 354–363). Merchavia expands upon the Shamta prayer which is mentioned by Gui (Merchavia 1971; Seeligmann 1924).

Several authors in the sixteenth century discuss what they believe to be the special anti-Christian prayers and curses that are recited on Yom Kippur, of all days. For instance Johannes Pfefferkorn (1469–after 1521), a Jew who converted to Christianity and wrote several polemical treatises, claims that the prayer *Aleinu leshabeach* (‘it is incumbent upon us to praise’) proclaims that the Christians pray to a god that is unable to help them, while the Jews worship the ‘king of the kings’ kings.⁹ Likewise, Pfefferkorn notes that, among the supplications in the *Avinu Malkenu* (‘our Father, our King’) prayer, the Jews ask God to harm the Christians. He writes that the Jews pray that God should avenge their enemies and destroy anyone that thinks badly of them by means of a plague on their livestock or a different type of plague. He also states that the Jews cannot deny the existence of these sorts of texts, for they appear in their own prayer books. Lastly, he contends that these curses are directed exclusively against Christians (Pfefferkorn 1508, A3v–A4r).

Other early modern writers who describe the Day of Atonement also refer to anti-Christian prayers being recited on the holiday. For example, the converts Anthonius Margaritha (c. 1492–1542) and Ernst Ferdinand Hess refer to a special prayer that contains curses against the Christians, which is called *Shamta* (Merchavia 1971) and which Margaritha describes as a very rare prayer against all the nations (Margaritha 1530, F2r). Hess even concludes his discussion on the Day of Atonement with a prayer beseeching God to defend the hapless Christians on this day and put an end to this festival (Hess 1598, 95). Some early modern writers also claim that the *Aleinu leshabeach* prayer, which was recited as part of a special ceremony on the High Holidays, entailed encrypted slurs against Jesus (Bodenschatz 1748–1749, Vol. 2, 221).

Another claim that appears in Targum Sheni has its first parallels in the early modern literature about Jewish customs, and this is the allegation that the Jews transfer their sins to Christians on the Day of Atonement. The early modern texts are more specific about this claim than Targum Sheni. Several early modern authors report that there are some Jews who use Christians for

9 Pfefferkorn is referring to the passage עלינו לשבח לאדון הכל... שלא עשנו כגויי הארצות ולא שמנו כמשפחות האדמה... שהם משתחוים להבל וריק ומתפללים לאל לא יושע ואנחנו כורעים ומשתחוים ומודים לפני מלך מלכי המלכים הקדוש ברוך הוא (It is incumbent upon us to praise the master of everything [...] for not making us like the nations of the lands and for not putting us [in circumstances] like the families of the earth [...], for they prostrate before vanity and emptiness and pray to a lord that is incapable of saving [them], whereas we get on our knees and prostrate ourselves before the king of the kings' kings, the holy one blessed be He). Despite the important role that *Aleinu leshabeach* filled in the Jewish-Christian polemic, it has commanded limited scholarly attention (Wieder 1975; Elbaum 1973).

the above mentioned Kapparot ceremony on the eve of the Day of Atonement (Deutsch 2012, 96–100). In this way, instead of bestowing their sins on a rooster they transfer their sins to a Christian. It is not clear if Targum Sheni's claim is referring to a similar practice or not, but as far as I know this is the only reference to the claim that on the Day of Atonement Jews transfer their sins to Christians prior to the early modern period.

Summary and Conclusions

What can we make of the similarities between the arguments from Targum Sheni, written around the seventh century, and those that appear in early modern Christian descriptions of Jewish customs and ceremonies? Is it possible that there is a link between these texts or between the text of Targum Sheni and early medieval polemical literature? In order to answer these questions it is important to understand the history of Christian writing on Jewish customs and ceremonies and the developments within this genre. In many ways the early medieval and medieval Christian polemical literature against the Jews was not very different from the Christian literature of earlier periods. Altogether the medieval anti-Jewish literature has very few references to Jewish customs and ceremonies. In the ninth century Agobard of Lyon wrote about the laws of ritual slaughter and also about several beliefs concerning God that were based on early Kabbalah books such as *Sefer Yetsirah* (Book of Creation) and about the anti-Christian text *Toledot Yeshu* (The life of Jesus) (Bonfil 1986; Schäfer 2011). There are some other later examples of medieval texts that divulge information on customs such as circumcision (Cohen 2001; Cohen 1982, 95; Yerushalmi 1970, 374–376), but it is only in the sixteenth century that Christians start to write systematically on Jewish customs and ceremonies (Deutsch 2012). Therefore it is unlikely that the text of Targum Sheni was based on early medieval Christian polemical literature.

Following my discussion above concerning possible sources, I would like to suggest that the list of Jewish anti-Christian ceremonies and customs in Targum Sheni is a unique and in many ways exceptional text in the Christian-Jewish polemic. Not only is the argument unprecedented, it is also written by a Jew who probably did not have access to non-Jewish sources (Christian or classical), but wrote from his own mind. In this case it is probable that the author presented the Christian point of view based on his own experience as a practicing Jew. This possibility means that the author tried to adopt and internalize the Christian point of view in order to present a more accurate picture of the Jewish religion as it was viewed by Christians. At the same time he also added

another layer to the Christian polemic against the Jews since the text of Targum Sheni is probably the first text that gives a detailed description of the Christian view—or at least of what he thought was the Christian view—on Jewish customs and ceremonies in the context of the Christian-Jewish polemic.¹⁰

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¹⁰ It is very tempting to suggest that the criticism of Jewish customs and ceremonies is attributed to the non-Jews, while actually reflecting Jewish criticism of Jewish customs and ceremonies, but this suggestion needs more research.

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