

TARGUM SAMUEL IN SEPHARAD

TARGOEM SAMUEL IN SEFARAD

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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In memoriam

Rinske Scholten

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	7
Introduction	11
Previous History and Embedment	11
Targum Samuel in Sepharad	14
Scope of the Present Research	18
Methodological Approach	21
Structure	24
Chapter 1. The Sephardic Text Tradition of Targum Samuel	27
Users and Producers	27
Preliminary Remarks	32
Codex and Handwriting	32
Paratext	33
Text Selection	35
Text Categorisation	36
Continuous Manuscripts	38
(A) Jewish Continuous Manuscripts	38
MS H 116, Montefiore 7 [t702s]	38
MS Opp. Add. 4to 75-76, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t706s]	42
MS Kennicott 5, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t717s].....	46
MS Opp. Add. fol. 55, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t2649].....	49
C123, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy, St. Petersburg, Russia [t2565].....	49
Johanniter Bücher 27, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Germany [t2600].....	50
MS 70121, Schocken Institute for Jewish Research, Jerusalem, Israel [t2633].....	50
Leiria Edition 1494 [t734s]	51
(B) Continuous Texts Produced for a Christian Readership.....	52
MS M1-M3, Biblioteca General Histórica Universidad de Salamanca [t703s].....	52
MS 7542, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Spain [t704s]	57
Antwerp Polyglot Bible [t12sc].....	59
Paris Polyglot Bible [t16sc].....	61

Liturgical Texts.....	63
MS Heb. e.43, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t1184f].....	63
MS T-S AS 70.238, 240, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge [t3039f].....	63
MS T-S B6.14, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, United Kingdom [t3016s]	64
MS Parma 2520, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Italy [t1104]	64
MS Vaticani ebr. 21, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City [t181]	64
MS Parma 2817, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Italy [t79]	65
MS Hébreu 40, Bibliothèque National de France, Paris, France [t127].....	65
MS Or. 9916, British Library, London, United Kingdom [t1188].....	66
MS Sassoon 1017, Letchworth, United Kingdom [t1611]	66
MS Add. 14761, British Library, London, United Kingdom [t1710]	66
Mich. Add. 3-6, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t1642].....	69
MS Valmadonna 89, Valmadonna Trust Library, United Kingdom [t1634].....	69
MS Or. 10637, British Library, London, United Kingdom [t1630].....	70
Miscellaneous.....	70
MS T-S NS161.286, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, United Kingdom [t3069f].....	71
MS Mars. 116, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t2596]	71
MS Gaster 1478, John Rylands Library, Manchester, United Kingdom [t2590].....	71
Chapter 2. Initial Observations Concerning the Text of Targum 2 Samuel 22 As Preserved in European Liturgical Manuscripts.....	73
Introduction	73
The sources.....	74
Relationship Between Witnesses to the Liturgical Text	79
Italian	79
Ashkenazi.....	80
Sephardi.....	82
Relationship of Liturgical Texts to Continuous Texts.....	83
Other Distinctive Features	86
Linguistic Features	86
Delineation of the Text	87
Conclusions.....	87
Chapter 3. Tosefta Targums in Targum Samuel	91
Occurrence of Tosefta Targums	92
Textual Comparison of Attested Tosefta Targums	100
1 Sam 17.39	101

1 Sam 17.42	102
1 Sam 18.19/20/25	107
2 Sam 6.23	109
2 Sam 12.11	109
Conclusive Summary	110
Chapter 4. David and Goliath in Europe.....	111
1 Sam 17.8 in Previous Research.....	111
1 Sam 17.8 in Codex Reuchlinianus 3 [t705i].....	111
1 Sam 17.8 in Other European Textual Witnesses.....	112
Text and Translation.....	112
Textual Variegation.....	114
Other Points of Comparison.....	126
Recapitulation	128
Chapter 5. Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles	131
Introduction	131
Counter-Arguments.....	133
Arguments in Favour of Including the Targums.....	135
1. Earning Fortune and Fame	136
2. Following Ancient Authorities.....	137
3. Promoting Christian Doctrine.....	138
4. Promoting Apologetics and Mission.....	139
5. Teaching Languages	140
6. Correcting the Vulgate	141
7. Understanding the Original Text.....	142
8. Adding to Previous Polyglots	143
9. Approaching the Sacred Language of God	143
10. Establishing the Hebraica Veritas.....	144
Arguments Not Used.....	145
Summary of the Argumentation.....	146
Conclusions.....	147
Appendix: Original Texts.....	149

Chapter 6. Brothers or Stepbrothers? Christianised Targum Manuscripts in the Sephardic Text Family	153
The Sephardic Text Group.....	153
Intellectual and Theological Climate.....	155
Two Manuscripts by Alfonso de Zamora	157
The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp and Paris	162
Purpose and Function	168
Conclusion	169
Chapter 7. A Jewish Targum in a Remarkable Paratext: Paratextual Elements in Two Targum Manuscripts of Alfonso de Zamora	171
The Colophons	173
The Toseftas.....	174
Heading and Closing Formulas	174
Two Extra Introductory Poems.....	179
References to the Dictionary	180
Alternative Readings	182
Marginal Notes.....	184
Masoretic Notes.....	185
Exegetical Remarks.....	185
Conclusions.....	187
Review.....	191
Conclusive summary.....	192
Relatedness of Form and Function	192
Strategies to Make the Study of the Jewish Targum Acceptable within Christian Theology.....	193
Patterns in Text Variants.	194
Inclusion and Occurrence of Tosefta Targums	195
Continuity in Transmission of Liturgical and Continuous Texts	195
Implications	196

Samenvatting	199
Bibliography	205
General	205
Catalogues	218
Websites	220
Curriculum Vitae	221

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ואפיק לרוח איתי שיזבני ארי אתרעי בי
(TgJon 2 Sam 22.20)

Johanna Tanja
Zwolle, October 2020

Introduction

Holy texts travel, both from country of origin to other countries and from their original language to other languages. While, at the beginning, they are only read and interpreted by adherents of the religion they belong to, these texts usually gain a much wider circle of readers in later times. This growth in readership is especially linked to the invention of printing, making the texts available to a wider public. This study focuses on one specific text - the books of Samuel - that has travelled from the land of Israel to other places, from its Hebrew origin to many other languages, and from its Israelite/Jewish origin to Christian readers. More specifically, this study focuses on how the Jewish Aramaic translation of the books of Samuel was received and transmitted on the Iberian Peninsula in the late Middle Ages and early Modern era, where it was read, interpreted and transmitted in Jewish communities but also by Christian scholars who edited the text for their own readers, both in manuscripts and in Polyglot Bibles.

Previous History and Embedment

The present study is part of a research project *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* under the direction of Professor A. Houtman and Professor H.-M. Kirn at the Protestant Theological University in Kampen, The Netherlands, financed by the Dutch Research Council (NWO).¹ The project name shows two main research interests within the project. First, that it is about the Jewish Aramaic translation of the Hebrew Bible, the Targum. Secondly, that it looks at this text within the Christian world, especially the interaction between the two religions and the way Christians dealt with this Jewish Aramaic translation.

Targums became the subject of textual criticism at the end of the nineteenth century.² Textual witnesses were studied from the perspective of their relation to the original text of the targum either in the sense of the 'original composition' or the 'original form after a final redaction at some point in time'. Targum manuscripts of European

¹ Project number 360-25-071.

² The word 'targum' in lower case concerns the genre whereas 'Targum' spelled with a capital designates extant written literature (following A. Houtman, and H. Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions. The Use of Variant Readings for the Study in Origin and History of Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 1 note 1).

provenance have received limited attention by scholars of the targum text in that process. As we shall see below, the generally accepted view was that the texts produced in the East (Babylonian and Yemenite) were closer to the original targum text, which resulted in a focus on these texts.

Research of the textual witnesses of Targum Jonathan produced in Europe demonstrates that the text is more elaborated at points than the texts known from the Babylonian and Yemenite manuscripts. Examples of more elaborated text versions are the Tosefta Targums, incorporated into mostly Sephardic manuscripts, and the versions of 2 Sam 22 attested in Italian liturgical manuscripts. The question rises why these more elaborated targum texts seem to have been circulating in Europe only and where and why these expansions were added to the text. There are other textual variants preserved in the European manuscripts. One conspicuous example of a textual variant only attested in European manuscripts is found in 1 Sam 2.5. The verse forms part of Hannah's Song, which in the Targum takes the form of a prophecy concerning four subsequent world-powers. In the fourth prophecy, Rome is mentioned³ **ורומי חייבתא דהות**⁴ מליא⁵ סגי עממיא יסופן משירייתהא תיצדי ותיחריב³ *and guilty Rome which was full of many people, her armies will come to an end, she will be desolate and laid waste*. The word **חייבתא** *guilty* is attested in some European manuscripts only: mixed-western manuscripts t705i⁶ and t3i, and Ashkenazic manuscripts t5a, t6a⁷, t720a and t725a⁸. The Sephardic manuscripts do not have this variant. However, the 1494 Leiria edition (t734s) of Targum Jonathan attests this reading, albeit in a slightly different version **ורומי חייבית**. This reference to Rome is omitted in its entirety in the Polyglot Bible of Antwerp, an edition produced by Christian scholars.⁹ The First Rabbinic Bible (1517), dedicated to Pope Leo X, gives the 'standard' targum reading *and Rome which was full of many people, her armies will come to an end, she will be desolate and laid waste*. The same text is attested by the Second Rabbinic Bible (1525).¹⁰ In the London Polyglot Bible (1600-1661) 'Rome' is replaced with 'Aram' in this verse.¹¹ Why do we find this

³ Text as given in t705i, t5a, t6a, t720a.

⁴ Left out in t3i, t725a

⁵ Manuscript t3i and t725a read **דמליא**.

⁶ Reading as in the corrected text.

⁷ Reading as in the corrected text.

⁸ Manuscript t3i and t725a omit the word **דהות**.

⁹ H. van Nes, 'And the Streams of Rome will be turned into Pitch, Attitudes towards Rome in the European Versions of Targum Jonathan', *Aramaic Studies* 10 (2012): 125-143, esp. 139.

¹⁰ Van Nes, 'And the Streams of Rome': 137-138.

¹¹ Van Nes, 'And the Streams of Rome': 141.

negative judgement of Rome particularly in European manuscripts? And what does it mean that other manuscripts and the Christian editions do not have this variant? Could this variation among the European texts be a form of implicit criticism that later on was (self)censored?

When we take the physical form of the European targum texts into account, several things can be observed. First, we see a variety of forms: manuscripts preserving only Targum text; text with Hebrew and Aramaic alternating; Bibles with not only the Hebrew and Aramaic targum texts but also medieval commentaries; sample texts; and liturgical texts (haftarot or prayer-books) containing parts of the targum.¹² Could this variety have been influenced by the trends in bookmaking in the surrounding Christian society? Also, in the field of the users and producers, interesting phenomena occurred: the majority of the texts were produced by and for people in the Jewish community, but not all. For Targum Samuel we have two manuscripts and two editions produced by Christian scholars for a Christian readership. These texts differ from the other European and non-European texts. Their form and layout are also different from most Jewish manuscripts and editions. Can this variation in text and form be explained by specific Christian interests of the producers and users?

It was observations and questions such as these, related to the European text tradition of the Targum (and in particular Targum Samuel), which led to the project *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*. How do the diverse appearances of the authoritative Aramaic Bible translation, especially that of the books of Samuel, relate to the internal development of the several Jewish communities and the external influences of their Christian surroundings? This question touches on different fields of study: textual history, the history of Medieval and Early Modern bookmaking, the history of Jewish Medieval communities and Medieval and Early Modern Church history. It goes without saying that not all of these topics can be addressed in one study. My contribution is limited to the following points of interest: firstly, the most characteristic aspects of the text itself, and secondly, the outward appearances of these texts, in order to investigate the possible relation between the form and the intended function of the text.

¹² E. van Staalduine, 'A Variety of Targum Texts', in: A. Houtman, H.-M. Kirn, and E. van Staalduine-Sulman (eds), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 9-31.

The text of Targum Samuel was chosen because previous research on this text has already made the necessary material and expertise available.¹³ Van Staalduine-Sulman's study of the textual tradition of Targum Samuel has yielded four branches within the European text tradition: three traditional branches, namely Sephardic, Ashkenazic and Italian, and a fourth group, related to the other three, the Rabbinic Bibles and Codex Solger (t1).

To study the European tradition of Targum Samuel, four sub-projects were created: (1) The Italian and Ashkenazic texts;¹⁴ (2) the Sephardic texts;¹⁵ (3) the Rabbinic Bibles;¹⁶ and (4) the Latin translations,¹⁷ because these translations are also typical of the Targum's existence in Europe. Even though each project concentrated on a specific region or specific type of texts, there was overlap between the projects and accordingly intensive teamwork was involved in generating answers to the research question of the entire project. This close cooperation becomes apparent in the co-authored publications in this study as well as in the large number of references to publications from the other team members.

Targum Samuel in Sepharad

The text that lies before you is the result of the second sub-project, which seeks to investigate the Sephardic branch of the extant textual tradition of Targum Samuel (henceforth TgSam) within the historical and social setting that produced these textual witnesses. The selection of the manuscripts and editions has been made with the help of the stemma produced by Van Staalduine-Sulman.¹⁸ Her stemma of the Sephardic tradition¹⁹ is based on six extant continuous manuscripts, one fragmentary continuous manuscript and two editions.²⁰ To these nine texts three more manuscripts were added as well as a selection of liturgical texts.

¹³ E. van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*; Idem, *An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel* (Kampen: Protestant Theological University, 2009): for Italian branch see 30-32; for Ashkenazic branch see: 33-35; for Sephardic branch see 35-38; for Rabbinic Bibles see 38-41. A. Houtman, and H. Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions. The Use of Variant Readings for the Study in Origin and History of Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); manuscript database www.targum.nl.

¹⁴ Dr. H.M. Patmore.

¹⁵ J.M. Tanja

¹⁶ H. van Nes.

¹⁷ Dr. E. van Staalduine-Sulman.

¹⁸ E. van Staalduine-Sulman, *An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel*, 36.

¹⁹ On the use of the word 'Sephardic' see below.

²⁰ For the different types of manuscripts see below.

All but one²¹ of the continuous manuscripts were created in the Iberian Peninsula. Out of the three editions included in this research, only one was printed in the Iberian Peninsula (the Leiria edition of 1494, t734s) but the other two editions are based on manuscripts produced in the Peninsula. Most of the textual evidence was produced in the period between the thirteenth and sixteenth century CE. Therefore, the historical and cultural setting of these historical artefacts is that of late medieval and early modern Christian Europe. My aim is thus to describe and analyse a specific text corpus, TgSam, from a particular geo-cultural zone, the Iberian Peninsula, produced between the thirteenth and sixteenth century CE.

My research question is twofold: *What is the character of the tradition of Targum Samuel of Sephardic provenance (manuscripts and early editions) with regard to the attested text and the physical objects carrying the text? And secondly, has the fact that these were produced in a predominantly Christian society left traces on the attested text and/or the physical objects carrying the text?*

The term ‘Sephardic’ can have different connotations, such as a geographical area or a cultural and religious concept.²² In this study it is mainly used to indicate the script type and certain codicological practices (number of quires for example) classified as Sephardic. It also refers to the Sephardic text branch of Targum Samuel as shown in the stemma.²³ However, the Sephardic script type is complex as it did not confine itself to the Iberian Peninsula. It was also used in North Africa, Sicily, Southern Italy, the Provence and Languedoc.²⁴

Before further introducing the scope, aim and structure of this study, first a short summary of previous research on Targum Samuel and its text transmission.

Previous Research on the Text of Targum Samuel

The *status quaestionis* of research into the history of the text transmission of Targum Jonathan has been summarised in the last decennia by W.F. Smelik,²⁵ R.P. Gordon²⁶, A.

²¹ Manuscript t702 is in all likelihood produced in North Africa.

²² See: Y.T. Assis, ‘Sefarad’: A Definition in the Context of a Cultural Encounter’, in: C. Carrete Parrondo [et al.] (ed), *Encuentros and Desencuentros: Spanish Jewish Cultural Interaction Throughout History* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2000), 29-37.

²³ E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, *An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel* (Kampen: Protestant Theological University, 2009), 36. The stemma lists one manuscript written in Ashkenazic script (t2649).

²⁴ Beit-Arié, M., *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book. Studies in Palaeography and Codicology* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press of the Hebrew University, 1993), 15.

²⁵ W.F. Smelik, *The Targum of Judges* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 42-67.

²⁶ R.P. Gordon, *Studies in the Targum of the Twelve Prophets from Nahum to Malachi* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 5-19.

Houtman,²⁷ E. van Staaldvine-Sulman,²⁸ A. Ho,²⁹ and H.M. Patmore.³⁰ What follows here is a brief resumé of their findings, thus providing the reader with a framework for reading. Only major studies dealing with the text of Targum Samuel relevant for the Sephardic text family are listed here.³¹

One could say that the first extant critical text edition of Targum Jonathan, written by a scribe named Zerah bar Jehuda, dates back to 1105 CE: it contains a vocalised text of Targum Jonathan supplemented by alternative translations, commentaries and additions. The codex is nowadays known as Codex Reuchlinianus 3. In the nineteenth century, the scholars P. de Lagarde³² and W. Bacher³³ used this text as the basis for their investigations into the text of Targum Jonathan. These days, scholars are still fascinated by this manuscript as can be seen in the works of Houtman and Patmore.³⁴

The only complete modern critical edition of Targum Samuel is that of A. Sperber,³⁵ published in 1959.³⁶ For this edition Sperber selected one text (t711y)³⁷ which he copied for his edition, apart from obvious scribal errors. In his edition he presented variant readings in the lower apparatus. These variant readings were found in nine complete manuscripts³⁸, three printed editions³⁹ and an unspecified collection of fragments from the Cairo Genizah collection of Cambridge University Library.⁴⁰ He also provided

²⁷ A. Houtman, 'Planning a New Targum Edition: Look Before You Leap', *Journal for the Aramaic Bible*, 2.2 (2000): 213-231 (214-20).

²⁸ E. van Staaldvine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 1-45, and E. van Staaldvine-Sulman, *An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel* (Kampen: Protestant Theological University, 2009), 1-2.

²⁹ A. Ho, *The Targum of Zephaniah. Manuscripts and Commentary* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), 10-25.

³⁰ H.M. Patmore, *The Transmission of Targum Jonathan in the West. A Study of Italian and Ashkenazic Manuscripts of the Targum to Samuel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1-52.

³¹ For a discussion of all research since the publication Sperber's edition on Targum Jonathan see H.M. Patmore, *The Transmission of Targum Jonathan in the West*, 15-52.

³² P. de Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice e fide codicis Reuchliniani* (Leipzig: Teubneri, 1872).

³³ W. Bacher, 'Kritische Untersuchungen zum Prophetentargum', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 28 (1874): 1-72.

³⁴ In her chapter on the characterization of the Tosefta material in: Houtman, and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 61-97; H.M. Patmore, 'The Marginal Notes to the Targum Text of Codex Reuchlinianus No.3', *Aramaic Studies*, 10 (2012): 49-80, and Patmore, *The Transmission of Targum Jonathan in the West*, 261-300.

³⁵ The edition of Borobio is a modern critical edition as well but limits itself to the Babylonian tradition; the critical edition of Van Staaldvine-Sulman (Van Staaldvine-Sulman, *An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel*) is limited to the first three chapters of Targum Samuel.

³⁶ A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic II: The Former Prophets According to Targum Jonathan* (Leiden: Brill, 1959).

³⁷ Sigla used throughout are taken from the Standard List of Sigla for Targum Manuscripts, available via www.targum.nl.

³⁸ Out of these nine manuscripts, six are Yemenite (t710, t716, t727, t736, t1134, and t1143), one Italian (t705), one Ashkenazic manuscript (t720) and one Sephardic (t702).

³⁹ Two editions from the Sephardic traditions (t734 and t12) and the First Rabbinic Bible (t10).

⁴⁰ Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic II*, v-vi.

variant readings from a selection of Jewish exegetical works quoting Targum Jonathan.⁴¹ Sperber's edition met with critique: in his edition he does not account for his selection of manuscripts and editions, neither does he offer a description of the textual material used in his edition.⁴² Moreover, his neglect of the Babylonian text tradition and the lack of accuracy in the edition was strongly criticised.⁴³ With regard to the Sephardic text tradition, Sperber included only one Sephardic manuscript (t702s) and two editions (t734s and t12sc).

In 1989 E. Martínez Borobio published an edition of Targum Samuel according to the Babylonian tradition.⁴⁴ Since there is no one Babylonian manuscript available attesting the whole text of Targum Samuel, the text of the most complete manuscript (t707b) had to be supplemented from other manuscripts. Borobio selected two manuscripts for this purpose: t709b and t724b which are both fragmentary texts. This edition complements that of Sperber as the latter does not contain texts from the Babylonian tradition.

Two other publications are highly relevant for the investigation of the Sephardic tradition of Targum Samuel. A distinctive feature of this group is the attestation of Tosefta Targums in the running text.⁴⁵ These Tosefta Targums are not all attested in the edition of Sperber and, since the Babylonian and Yemenite manuscripts are very concise, neither are they found in Martínez Borobio's edition. In 1996, R. Kasher published a book containing all Tosefta Targums known to him.⁴⁶ A. Houtman and H. Sysling later expanded the work of Kasher in their study of the Tosefta Targums to the book of Samuel.⁴⁷

With respect to study of the European texts of TgSam a picture emerges: when European manuscripts have been studied it has been in an inconsistent way (the edition of Sperber) or only a specific part of the European text is analysed (the Tosefta Targums in the edition by Kasher). The 'normal' texts of Targum Samuel produced in Europe had not been studied before the start of the present research project.

⁴¹ Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic II*, vii.

⁴² See for example: D. Winton Thomas, 'A. Sperber (Ed.), the Bible in Aramaic (etc.)', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 5 (1960): 286-288, 287.

⁴³ See the references in: Van Staaldouine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 49 note 2.

⁴⁴ E. Martínez Borobio, *I-II Samuel* (Madrid: SCIC, 1989).

⁴⁵ Tosefta Targums are exegetical expansions incorporated into the running text of the targum or copied into the margin next to the verse it is connected to. They are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

⁴⁶ R. Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1996)

⁴⁷ Houtman, and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*.

The study of E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, *An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel* (2009), forms the basis for the present study. Her investigation of 63 manuscripts and editions includes a preliminary critical edition⁴⁸ of the first three chapters of 1 Sam based on collation and stemmatological analysis of these 63 manuscripts as well as a stemmatological analysis. Her stemma revealed the distinct textual families within the western group of manuscripts attesting Targum Samuel, enabling further research into the diverse textual traditions of Targum Samuel. Most recently, 2015 saw the publication of the very helpful and detailed study of the Italian and Ashkenazic manuscripts of the Targum to Samuel by H.M. Patmore.⁴⁹ This work is very helpful as an example of careful textual research into a different text tradition as well for its comparison of different traditions attested in Europe.

Scope of the Present Research

The scope of the present research is limited to the study of the textual witnesses of Sephardic provenance attesting Targum Samuel known to us today.⁵⁰ Since the aim of the research project is to investigate these texts within the historical and social setting that produced these texts, the present study includes a limited investigation into the producers and users of the books⁵¹ as well as an examination of the books in terms of form and layout.⁵²

It should be mentioned that this Sephardic group has textual witnesses of a type not found within the Italian⁵³ and Ashkenazic groups. The last two are made up of manuscripts only, while the Sephardic branch also contains three early editions. And where the Italian and Ashkenazic manuscripts were all produced by Jewish scribes for use in the Jewish community, within the Sephardic text group we find four texts (two manuscripts and two editions) that were commissioned by Christians and were

⁴⁸ See: www.targum.nl/KritischeEditie/critical.aspx.

⁴⁹ Patmore, *The Transmission of Targum Jonathan in the West*.

⁵⁰ With regard to the liturgical manuscripts, it should be noted that for reasons of practicality only a small part of these witnesses could be included. There are numerous liturgical manuscripts preserved in libraries across the world that could contain 2 Sam 22 for example or another haftara reading from Targum Samuel. See also Chapter 3.

⁵¹ See Chapters 6 and 7.

⁵² See Chapter 2.

⁵³ The Rabbinic Bibles are produced in Italy but form a fourth group, differing from the Italian or mixed western branch of European texts in the stemma by Van Staaldoune-Sulman. Also, the Italian branch from the stemma was later re-named 'mixed-western' by Patmore (Patmore, *The Transmission of Targum Jonathan in the West*, 69-70).

intended for use in the Christian community. This is all the more reason to explicitly include the historical and social setting of the extant texts into the investigation of this textual family.

Table 1 lists the extant texts included in the research. The textual witnesses are grouped into two main categories, namely continuous texts (manuscripts and editions), and liturgical texts. Continuous texts are found in manuscripts or parts of manuscripts that intend to provide the entire text of a Biblical book. The editions form a sub-category of this group. Liturgical texts comprise manuscripts or parts of manuscripts preserving certain haftarot belonging to one or another reading cycle. These are haftarot collections, Mahzorim, Siddurim and Haggadot. The final category comprises fragments of unknown origin where it is not clear if the text is continuous or liturgical.

Table 1 textual witnesses included in the research

siglum critical edition	shelfmark library	(almost) complete, haftarot or fragment	produced for Jewish or Christian readership	date (if known)	region (if known)
continuous texts					
t702s	MS H116	almost complete	Jewish	1487	North-Africa (?)
t703s	MS M1-M3	complete	Christian	1532	Salamanca (Castile)
t704s	MS 7542	complete	Christian	1533	Salamanca (Castile)
t706s	MS Opp Add 4to 75	complete	Jewish	around 1300	Soria (Castile)
t717s	MS Kennicott 5 [85]	complete	Jewish	1486 (?)	Segovia (Castile)
t2649s	MS Opp Add fol.55	fragment	Jewish	13 th century	-
t2565s	C123	fragment	Jewish	14 th /15 th century	-
t2600s	Johanniter Bücher 27	fragment	Jewish	13 th /14 th century	-
t2633s	MS 70121	fragment	Jewish	13 th /14 th century	-

editions					
t734s	Leiria edition	complete	Jewish	1494	Leiria - Portugal
t12sc	Antwerp Polyglot	complete	Christian	1568-1573	Antwerp
t16sc	Paris Polyglot	complete	Christian	1629-1655	Paris
liturgical texts					
t1184f	MS Heb e. 43	fragment	Jewish	CG	-
t3039f	MS T-S AS 70.238,240	fragment	Jewish	CG	-
t3016f	MS T-S B6.14	fragment	Jewish	CG	-
t1104s	MS Parma 2520	haftarot	Jewish	15 th century	-
t181s	MS Vaticanani eb. 21	haftarot	Jewish	14 th century	-
t79	MS Parma 2817	haftarot	Jewish	15 th century	-
t127s	MS hébreu 40	haftarot	Jewish	1335	-
t1188s	MS Or 9916	haftarot	Jewish	18 th century	-
t1611s	MS Sassoon 1017	haftarot	Jewish	15 th century	-
t1710	MS Add 14761	haftarot	Jewish	second half 14 th century	Catalonia
t1642	Mich Add 3-6	haftarot	Jewish	1721/22	Verona
t1634	Valmadonna 89	haftarot	Jewish	19 th century	North Africa
t1630	MS Or 10637	haftarot	Jewish	18 th century	North Africa
unknown					
t3069f	T-S N161.286	fragment	Jewish	CG	-
t2596	MS Mars 116	fragment	Jewish	14 th century (?)	-
t2590	MS Gaster 1478	fragment	Jewish	-	-

We find three early editions among these textual witnesses. One was produced in a Jewish printshop in Lisbon (t734s), the other two by Christian printers outside the Iberian Peninsula (t12sc, t16sc). The stemma locates all three textual witnesses within

the Sephardic text group. These early editions were based on manuscripts and the preparation of the text involved at least some editing of the text.⁵⁴

Only the consonantal text is used for the comparison of the different textual witnesses, the vocalisation has been left out. The *naqdan* was not necessarily the same person as the *sofer* and the vocalisation could be added at a much later stage in the life of the manuscript.⁵⁵ With respect to targum manuscripts the situation is complex: not all targum texts are vocalised, while some texts are only partly vocalised. In those manuscripts with vocalisation, the vocalisation may have been copied from a different manuscript⁵⁶, and sometimes the scribe 'invented' his own system.⁵⁷ The study of the vocalisation of these texts could reveal more aspects of the transmission of the text as well as of its use within the various communities.⁵⁸ This is, however, a highly complex subject that calls for a detailed examination that lies beyond the scope of the present study.

Methodological Approach

The extant textual tradition of Targum Samuel was not produced in a cultural vacuum but by people within a community living in a specific time, place, and culture. Of course, the text of TgSam was not invented by these communities, as by the time of its production it had been handed down for centuries. Emanuel Tov states that the study of the Biblical text “involves an investigation of its development, copying and transmission and of the creation of readings over the centuries”.⁵⁹ He distinguishes between readings that were created earlier at the stage of literary growth of the text and readings that were created during the textual transmission (of a more or less stabilised text).⁶⁰ In this study I focus on the second group of variants named by Tov, namely the ones that were created during the transmission of the text of TgSam on the

⁵⁴ Of course, editing could also be a part of the production of a manuscript. Alfonso de Zamora states in his colophon to t703s that he based his text on 'the oldest and most reliable manuscripts' (*ex antiquissimis fidelissimisque exemplaribus*); see Chapter 6, 162.

⁵⁵ M. Beit-Arié, *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book*, 162.

⁵⁶ As is most likely the case in the Sephardic manuscripts t706s and t717s. The same goes for Italian manuscripts t7i and t701i (see: Patmore, *The Transmission of Targum Jonathan in the West*, xix).

⁵⁷ As is the case with the manuscripts of Alfonso the Zamora, see Chapter 7.

⁵⁸ See also: Van Staaldoune-Sulman, *An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel*, 19-21.

⁵⁹ E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 3rd edn. 2012), 265.

⁶⁰ Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 265.

Iberian Peninsula during the Medieval and early modern period. I compare the texts from this group with each other and with texts from other regions in Europe (Ashkenaz and Italy) and the Middle East. Its aim is not to deduct the most original reading of the text, but to analyse the character of the Sephardic texts of TgSam and the physical objects carrying the text. The Christian European context in which these texts have been produced is thereby taken into consideration.

To relate certain textual variants in the text of the Targum to the historical and political setting in which the scribe worked is extremely complicated. Here, it makes no difference whether one wishes to reconstruct the original reading or a reading as close as possible to the original reading of a verse, or trace the growth and development of a set of later versions of this text: the methodological challenges are basically the same. Many of the manuscripts are undated and do not mention the name of the scribe or his domicile. Of course, careful study of the script, codicology and material of the manuscript can provide us with an estimated date of production as well as an idea of the region where it was produced. With regard to the text itself, the paraphrastic style of translation that can be found in the Targum means that occasionally exegetical comment is included in the Aramaic rendering of the Biblical verse.⁶¹ These exegetical comments attracted scholarly attention and some of these comments have been analysed as actualisations which take the political and social circumstances of their own time into the Aramaic rendering of the verse.⁶² Possible historical allusions in the

⁶¹ For translation techniques used in the targum see among others: M. Taradach, *Le Midrash: Introduction à la littérature midrashique, DRS dans la Bible, les Targumim, les Midrashim* (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1991), 51-62; P.S. Alexander, 'Targum, Targumim' in: D.N. Freedman (ed.) *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol 6 (New York: Yale University Press, 1992), 320-321 and 'Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures', in: M.J. Mulder, and H. Sysling (eds), *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1990), 216-243; W.F. Smelik, 'Translation and Commentary in One: the Interplay of Plusses and Substitutions in the Targum to the Prophets', *JSJ* 29 (1998), 245-260; P.V.M. Flesher, and B. Chilton, *The Targums: A Critical Introduction* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2011), 39-54; M.L. Klein, 'Converse Translation: a Targumic Technique', *Biblia* 57.4 (1976): 515-537 and 'Associative and Complementary Translation in the Targumim' in: B.A. Levin, A. Melamat (eds), *Eretz-Israel Vol 16: Harry M. Orlinsky* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1982), 134*-140* and 'The Aramaic Targumim: Translation and Interpretation' in: J. Krasovec (ed) *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia* (Ljubljana & Sheffield: SAZU & Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 317-331; and for TgSam in particular: E. van Staalduijn-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 63-138.

⁶² For an overview see: R. Hayward, 'Targum', in: M. Goodman and Ph. Alexander, *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late-Roman Palestine* (Oxford: British Academy/Oxford University Press, 2010), 235-252 (239-249).

text of TgJon were initially collected and analysed by Smolar and Aberbach.⁶³ Scholars have since then evaluated historical allusions in the Targum. The historical allusions are, however, often so general, that they can reasonably allude to completely different times, places and situations.⁶⁴ Likewise, it proved to be highly problematic to connect textual variants from the Sephardic texts displaying exegetical variants to particular historical circumstances. The possible allusions are also of a general nature and can for that reason not be connected to a particular historical place, situation or period.

In search of answers to my research question, the investigation of the extant textual witnesses starts with the physical object carrying the text: observations about the manuscript, the consonants, the layout, the text(s) accompanying the targum and more specifically, information about who produced the text, who commissioned the text (when applicable), and who used the text.⁶⁵ This part of the research is based on the information given in the manuscripts and editions, the investigation of the form of the book as a whole and data concerning the use of the manuscripts and editions as far as these are available. I started my research with the information provided by the Targum manuscript database.⁶⁶ I used the available catalogues as well as research carried out previously by specialists in the field of Hebrew bookmaking. The manuscript database of the Targum Institute, SFAR data and the catalogue of the National Library of Israel⁶⁷ have been of utmost value for my research.

The next step is an examination of the text itself in terms of content. Transcriptions of all textual material listed in Table 1 above have been made based on digital images or microfilms of the manuscripts and editions. All manuscripts and editions kept in libraries and archives open to the public have been consulted *in situ*. In this way the transcription could be checked against the original, and the codicological and

⁶³ L. Smolar, M. Aberbach, *Studies in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* & P. Churgin, *Targum Jonathan to the Prophets* (New York/Baltimore: Ktav, 1983), 63-128; for an evaluation of their analysis see: E. van Staalduine, *The Targum of Samuel*, 39-43.

⁶⁴ Hayward, 'Targum', 242.

⁶⁵ A distinction between the user and the producer of a Jewish text is made here. It should be noted however, that much manuscript production in the Jewish community was owner-produced and not commissioned in which case the producer and the (first) user are one and the same person. See: M. Beit-Arié, 'Commissioned and Owner-Produced Manuscripts in the Sephardic Zone and Italy in the Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries', in: J. del Barco (ed.), *The Late Medieval Hebrew Book in the Western Mediterranean. Hebrew Manuscripts and Incunabula in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 15-27 (16).

⁶⁶ www.targum.nl

⁶⁷ Now integrated into the online KTIV database, <https://web.nli.org.il/sites/nlis/en/manuscript/pages/default.aspx>

palaeographical information from catalogues and scholarly literature could be verified and supplemented. A line synopsis containing all transcriptions was produced using TUSTEP (*Tübinger System von Textverarbeitungs-Programmen*).⁶⁸ This line synopsis was subsequently used to locate and analyse the characteristics of the Sephardic texts. The texts were compared with a base text of Yemenite provenance (t710y) representing the eastern textual tradition of Targum Samuel to show the difference between the Sephardic texts and the eastern tradition. The differences among the Sephardic texts themselves were examined as well. Most variants were of little consequence: scribal errors, minor variations in spelling, different uses of *matres lectionis*. Nevertheless, the line synopsis did reveal some interesting aspects of the text. Since it is impossible to present and discuss all variants revealed by the line synopsis, a selection had to be made. Only the more marked features will be presented and analysed here, the full information is stored online.⁶⁹

Structure

This dissertation consists of articles which have previously been published or are submitted for publication, except for this introduction, Chapter 1 and the Review. The fact that the remaining chapters were previously published as separate articles means that there will be a certain amount of overlap between the chapters in this dissertation. Each article was written to be read on its own and this results at times in repetition of information now that the articles are bundled in one book. The articles are reprinted in their original format,⁷⁰ which implies some inconsistencies in style within this dissertation. Three of the chapters in this dissertation are based on co-authored articles (2, 5, 7). These articles are the results of a process of profound cooperation between the different members of the research team. At the beginning of each previously published paper a footnote is added with the original bibliographic details. For the chapters that

⁶⁸ See: www.tustep.uni-tuebingen.de. Dr. G. Reeg (Berlin) patiently taught our team the basics of the program. Th. Kollatz of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur in Mainz tailored the program to the specific needs of textual comparison of relatively long Aramaic texts and was available at all hours to adjust programming details and to solve whatever problem I encountered.

⁶⁹ The line synopses that served as the basis for the textual comparison can be consulted via my Academia profile: [xs4all.academia.edu/JohannaMTanja](https://www.academia.edu/profile/xs4all/academia.edu/JohannaMTanja).

⁷⁰ Some small editorial remarks have been made in the footnote between square brackets. The bibliographies have been left out and are now integrated in the bibliography at the end of this dissertation.

were previously published as a co-authored article, an account of the co-authoring process is given as well.

The chapters have been grouped as follows: Chapters 1 to 4 analyse some aspects of the textual tradition found in the Sephardic manuscripts. Chapters 5 to 7 discuss the manuscripts and editions produced by and for Christians.

The first chapter presents the extant text corpus in terms of its physical appearance. The form of the book, its overall content, and *mise en page* are given to provide the immediate context of the text. The text of 2 Sam 22 (reading for the seventh day of Pesach) is the most attested text within the text corpus in terms of quantity. Chapter 2 is devoted to an analysis of 2 Sam 22, whereby special attention is given to the possible difference in attestations of this targum text between liturgical and continuous manuscripts. The most characteristic feature of the Sephardic text group is the widespread attestation of so-called Tosefta Targums within the running text of the targum. Chapter 3 presents the occurrence of these Tosefta Targums in the extant Sephardic text tradition of TgSam and analyses the textual variegation found among them. The Tosefta Targum to 1 Sam 17.8 is the only Tosefta Targum widely attested in all European textual witnesses. Chapter 4 lists the occurrence of this Tosefta and investigates the variety found in the various attestations. These chapters are more technical in that they focus on the text variation displayed in the manuscripts and editions and not on the content of the Tosefta Targums.

The subsequent three chapters have a different focus, namely the textual witnesses produced for the Christian market. Chapter 5 discusses the motives of Christian editors for including or excluding the text of the Targum in their printed editions. As this is a co-authored article in which some results of two different subprojects (Sephardic text family and Latin translations of Targum texts) are shared, this chapter discusses editions that do not belong to the Sephardic text branch as well. This is followed in Chapter 6 by a description of the four textual witnesses produced for the Christian market and an evaluation of their relation to their 'pure' Jewish counterparts, in terms of content and form. Chapter 7 records and evaluates the paratext⁷¹ of two manuscripts produced by the same scribe and connects these paratextual elements with the specific milieu in which they were produced. I will conclude my dissertation

⁷¹ On the use of the term paratext see the next chapter.

with some summarizing conclusions about the yield of my work for my research questions.

For easy reference, a loose leaf will be inserted in the dissertation with the sigla of textual witnesses included in the research and their traditional names.

Chapter 1. The Sephardic Text Tradition of Targum Samuel

In this preliminary chapter I will categorize and describe the available textual witnesses of Targum Samuel as background information for the rest of the book. But before the actual description, a short sketch will be provided of the cultural and intellectual background of the place and period where these manuscripts and editions were produced, namely the Iberian Peninsula in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern era.

Users and Producers

Books can inform us about various aspects of a certain community during a specific period of time. The content of the text it preserves as well as its production and use disclose a multi-layered history. The text can be one composed in the same period as the book, but it can just as easily contain a tradition handed down for decades or even centuries, such as a Hebrew or Latin Bible or an Aramaic Targum. When examining the book as historical artefact, the materials used, the chosen method of production, the wishes of the commissioner, the use and dissemination of the book once it has been produced, all enlighten us as to the economic, cultural and intellectual conditions of the community which created it.

There are no exact data available on the total amount of Hebrew manuscripts produced in the Iberian Peninsula: the first dated extant Hebrew¹ manuscript was produced in 1119 in Valencia, the last one in Salamanca in the year 1540. Not all manuscripts unveil their date and place of production. On the contrary, the majority do not supply specific information with respect to place and date of production. Therefore, we cannot conclude that there was no manuscript production before 1119.² The table below shows the locations and years of production on the Iberian Peninsula where dated manuscripts are known to have been produced.³ The table is far from

¹ Hebrew manuscripts contain texts written in Hebrew characters. They can preserve non Hebrew texts as well, for example Aramaic texts or Arabic texts written in Hebrew characters.

² Many manuscripts have disappeared over time, most likely as many as 95% of the total number of Hebrew/Jewish manuscripts that were produced. There are several causes for the loss of manuscripts, some natural (use, fire or flood), others man made and caused by the religious and cultural context of the countries where the Jews lived (confiscation and destruction of manuscripts, repurposing of the material, book trade). See: C. Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (trans. N. de Lange, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 243-256.

³ See <http://sfardata.nli.org.il>.

exhaustive: only places where four or more dated manuscripts are preserved have been included in the list.⁴

Table 1

Place	Number of dated mss	Period of production (CE)
Alcala de Henares	15	1516 - 1537
Almazin	4	1476 - 1485
Barcelona	8	1264 - 1477
Burgos	4	1207 - 1488
Catalayud	8	1378/80 - 1473
Gerona	4	1184 - 1408
Granada	5	1399 - 1480
Guadalajara	5	1470 - 1491
Lisboa	23	1278 - 1496
Salamanca	5	1461/62 - 1540
Segovia	5	1437 - 1491
Sevilla	12	1340 - 1474
Soria	5	1284 - 1312
Toledo	27	1197/98 - 1491
Zaragoza	14	1253 - 1491

When we consider the manuscripts and editions which constitute the extant textual tradition of the Sephardic family of TgSam we see that they are dated approximately between the thirteenth and the eighteenth century CE, with the exception of the

⁴ Complete chronological and topological lists of localised Hebrew manuscripts produced on the Iberian Peninsula can be found in: M. Beit-Arié, 'Colophonned Hebrew Manuscripts Produced in Spain and the Distribution of the Localised Codices', *Signo. Revista de historia de la cultura escrita*, 6 (1999): 161-178 (171-6).

fragments from the Cairo Genizah.⁵ Their *mise en page* and place of production reflect the history of the Sephardic Jewish communities during this period. The textual witnesses from liturgical sources span a very long period of time: from Cairo Genizah fragments to eighteenth century North-African⁶ prayer books. The majority of the complete continuous manuscripts⁷ of TgSam produced by Jews come from the fifteenth century CE.⁸ One of the editions was produced towards the end of the fifteenth century in Portugal; one Polyglot Bible was printed in Antwerp in the sixteenth century, the second Polyglot Bible in Paris during the first half of the seventeenth century. After the expulsion of the Jews from the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile in 1492 two manuscripts were produced by a *converso*. Two Polyglot Bibles were also printed after 1492, by Christian theologians and outside the Iberian Peninsula. Ironically, in absolute numbers of extant texts, the peak of production for continuous Sephardic texts of TgSam was after the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian Peninsula.

The targum manuscripts and editions under examination were produced between the thirteenth and sixteenth century (apart from some liturgical texts from a later date). The position of the Jewish community on the Peninsula changed enormously during this period: in 1492 they were expelled from the kingdoms Aragon and Castile and at the beginning of the sixteenth century there was no longer a Jewish community living in the countries we know today as Spain and Portugal.⁹ During the larger part of the Middle Ages, the Peninsula was divided in a Muslim south and a Christian north. The Christian north waged war against the Muslim south for centuries in order to 'reconquer' the Muslim territory, the so-called *Reconquista*. Jewish communities lived in both territories and often found themselves in changing territory: either because the

⁵ For a description of the texts see Text Selection. The Cairo Genizah fragments included in this research are undated.

⁶ For the period after 1492, (liturgical) manuscripts produced outside the Iberian Peninsula have been included when they belong to the Sephardic tradition (in this case referring to the liturgical-halakhic-cultural meaning of the term).

⁷ On the categorisation of continuous and liturgical texts see: Tekst Categorisation.

⁸ The vast majority of extant Hebrew manuscripts stems from this era, see M. Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book. A Codicological Study', in: J. Schonfield (ed.), *The Barcelona Haggadah. An Illuminated Passover Compendium From 14th-Century Catalonia in Facsimile (MS British Library Additional 14761)* (London: Facsimile editions, 1992), 14-23, 45-50.

⁹ Many Jews fled from the Spanish kingdoms to Portugal where initially they were welcomed by king João I; shortly afterwards he declared them slaves. His successor, Manuel I set them free in 1494. When seeking the hand of *infanta* Isabella - the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella-, he yielded to her parents demands and agreed on a complete expulsion (or conversion) of the Jews in his kingdom in 1496.

region they lived in was conquered by another ruler, or because of migration, whether voluntary or in order to flee persecutions. By 1250 the most active phase of the *Reconquista* was over: the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) and the captures of Córdoba (1236) and Seville (1248) marked practically the end of Muslim rule. Only the Muslim kingdom of Granada remained in the south, but it came under Castilian protectorate.¹⁰ The Peninsula was now made up of six Christian kingdoms (Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Portugal and Navarre) and the Muslim kingdom of Granada. The living conditions of the different Jewish communities differed greatly per region and period.¹¹

A late tenth or early eleventh century responsum¹² lists the most common ways in which the Jewish people earned their living at that time: landholding, money lending against agricultural property and products, and commerce. These activities are also documented for the later centuries. The written documentation hardly mentions the poorer classes and their economic activities: presumably they were of little importance for the ruling classes as they paid hardly any taxes.¹³ The rulers of the kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula often granted larger estates to the Jews in their service. Smaller plots of land were generally inherited or bought, sold and exchanged at the local land market.¹⁴ These lands were often used for kosher wine production,¹⁵ but also to grow agricultural produce.¹⁶ Jewish craftspeople and artisans made up a considerable part of the urban population in Reconquista Spain.¹⁷ Jews were involved in trade, but not

¹⁰ I.M. Soifer, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile: Tradition, Coexistence, and Change*, (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016), 151.

¹¹ For an overview see: M.D. Meyerson, 'The Iberian Peninsula Under Christian Rule' in: R. Chazan (ed), *The Cambridge History of Judaism Volume VI The Middle Ages: The Christian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 146-184; For the Jews in Castile see: I.M. Soifer, *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*, 151- 169; For the Jews in Morvedre see: M.D. Meyerson, *Jews in an Iberian Frontier Kingdom: Society, Economy, and Politics in Morvedre, 1248-1391* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

¹² J. Müller (ed), *Responson der Lehrer des Ostens und Westens*, (Berlin: P. Deutsch, 1888), no. 205; the editor erroneously located the responsum in France instead of Muslim Spain. (see: M. Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews: Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 137 note 102.

¹³ M. Toch, 'Economic Activities', in: R. Chazan (ed) *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Volume VI, The Middle Ages: The Christian World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 357-379, 363-364.

¹⁴ M. Toch, 'Economic Activities', 357-379, 361. See also: J. Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier, The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 36-54.

¹⁵ M.A. Motis Dolader, 'Régimen de explotación de las propiedades agrarias de los judíos en el noroeste del reino de Aragón en el siglo XV', *Hispania* 48 (1988): 405-492; A. Blasco Martínez, 'La producción y comercialización del vino entre los judíos de Zaragoza (siglo XIV)', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 19 (1989): 405-449.

¹⁶ M. Toch, 'Economic Activities', 362.

¹⁷ Y. Bear, *A History of the Jews in Christian Spain Volume I*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1978), 197-212, 424-425; J. Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier*, 60-62.

necessary in large numbers and mostly at a local and regional level.¹⁸ A small percentage of the Jewish population also engaged in moneylending to non-Jews.¹⁹

As to intellectual environment: within the scope of this research it is not possible to do justice to the rich history and diversity of Jewish intellectual life at the Peninsula, so a few highlights will be mentioned. When scholars discuss the achievements of Jewish learning and literature on the Iberian Peninsula, they often speak of two 'renaissances'. The first in Muslim Spain (950-1148) born out of the intense exchange with academic trends in the Muslim world. It produced a vast corpus of secular and religious poetry, linguistic studies, Biblical scholarship, and theology with a profound influence on later generations.²⁰ The second 'renaissance' took place in Christian Spain during and after the *Reconquista* in the twelfth and thirteenth century. It is known for two things: the development of the Spanish Kabbala and its canonical text *Sefer Ha-Zohar* and the production of Talmudic commentaries, rabbinic responsa, and legal codices as reflected in the works of Nahmanides and his school.²¹ The fourteenth century is less dynamic than the period before -not at least because the Jewish community was dealing with violence, plagues and famine- but did see the production of the most important legal code of the later Middle Ages: *Arba`ah Turim* by the Ashkenazi immigrant Jacob ben Asher. The last period of Jewish scholarship on the Peninsula (i.e. 1391-1492) had to deal with economic and political challenging periods as well as catastrophes, such as the 1391 riots that destroyed Jewish communities and created a new group of believers: the "new Christians" (converts baptised by force and their descendants, as well as more willing converts). In this context, anti-Christian polemic became a prolific genre for scholars. During the fifteenth century, anti-Christian polemic was written as never before on the Iberian Peninsula using argumentation based on philosophy, the New Testament, and later Christian literature.²² A popular genre in this period were works of dogmatic theology, perhaps also fuelled by the Christian pressure on the community. Authors included scholars like Nissim Gerondi, Hasdai Crescas and Abarbanel.²³ In the field of Biblical interpretation, two works

¹⁸ M. Toch, 'Economic Activities', 369, 371; J. Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier*, 62-66.

¹⁹ J. Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier*, 56-60; M. Toch, 'Economic Activities', 372.

²⁰ See: R. Scheindlin, 'Merchants and Intellectuals, Rabbis and Poets: Judeo-Arabic Culture in the Golden Age of Islam', in: D. Biale (ed), *Cultures of the Jews: A New History* (New York: Schocken, 2002), 313-386.

²¹ E. Lawee, 'Sephardic Intellectuals: Challenges and Creativity' in: J. Ray (ed), *The Jew in Medieval Iberia 1100-1500* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2012), 352-394, 356.

²² Lawee, 'Sephardic Intellectuals', 369.

²³ Lawee, 'Sephardic Intellectuals', 370.

should be mentioned for this period. The first is the *Alba Bible* produced in 1422 under the direction of rabbi Moses Arragel from Guadelaajara, commissioned by Don Luis de Guzman. De Guzman asked Arragel to translate the Bible from the Hebrew and comment on it.²⁴ The other work is the commentary on the Former Prophets by Abarbanel in which he demonstrated his familiarity with several sorts of scholarly skills characteristic of Renaissance humanists.²⁵ Another innovation in the field of Biblical studies was the composition of formal commentaries on Rashi's commentary on the Torah.²⁶

Preliminary Remarks

Codex and Handwriting

The binding, foliation and ruling of the manuscripts will not be discussed unless they deviate from the standard Sephardic practices, or when the origin of the manuscript is unknown, but codicological information is available.²⁷ The script type will be listed for each manuscript. The classification of the script types has been taken from *Specimens of Mediaeval Hebrew Scripts* compiled by Malachi Beit-Arié.²⁸ As mentioned in the Introduction, the Sephardic script type did not confine itself to the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages.²⁹ This is why we find texts not produced on the Iberian Peninsula classified as Sephardic. The script type we call now Sephardic originated in the Muslim territories and was influenced by Arabic script. An interesting feature is that the type of script influenced by Arabic script remained in use after the Christian reconquest of the Peninsula. The Hebrew cursive script before the twelfth century in the northern territories of Catalonia - that were under Christian rule as early as 801 - showed clear influence of Latin script and affinity to Ashkenazic scripts from Germany and France. Contrary to what one might expect, the Latin affected ('Christian') script

²⁴ See: A. Sáenz-Badillos, 'Luis de Gúzman's Patronage and the Spanish Translation and Commentary of the Bible by Arragel', in: E. Alfonso and J. Decter (eds) *Patronage, Production, and Transmission of Texts in Medieval and Early Modern Jewish Cultures* (Turnhout, Brepols, 2014), 361-383.

²⁵ Lawee, 'Sephardic Intellectuals', 376.

²⁶ Lawee, 'Sephardic Intellectuals', 377.

²⁷ For a short description of writing practices common in the Sephardic communities see: M. Beit-Arié, 'La caligrafía hebrea en España: desarrollo, ramificaciones y vicisitudes', in: H. Beinart (ed.), *Morešet Sepharad: el legado de Sepharad* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992), 289-325.

²⁸ M. Beit-Arié, *Specimens of Mediaeval Hebrew Scripts. Volume I: Oriental and Yemenite Scripts* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1987) and M. Beit-Arié and E. Engel, *Specimens of Medieval Hebrew Scripts. Volume II: Sephardic Script* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2002).

²⁹ M. Beit-Arié, *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book. Studies in Palaeography and Codicology* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press of the Hebrew University, 1993), 15.

type disappears after the eleventh century: Catalan documents from the twelfth century onwards are written in the Arabic-influenced (and 'Muslim'-influenced) Sephardic type.³⁰

Paratext

Every written text contains elements that introduce and frame the text. One can think of spaces, titles, prefaces, chapter headings, comments in the margins and so on. Whether or not these elements belong to the text itself is open to discussion. A text cannot exist without these elements, since they are necessary tools to make the 'bare text' accessible to its readers. Not all elements are equally indispensable to understand the plain text. Blanks (interspace to indicate the beginning of new section, paragraph or chapter) and spaces (interspace to indicate the beginning of a new word)³¹ make reading a text much easier, as does the explanation of ambiguous words in the margin of the text. A reader can follow a text without the explanation of the ambiguous words. Leaving out spaces, however, seriously complicates the reading of the text for the average reader. The French literary critic G. Genette introduced the concept of paratext. In his words "the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered to its readers".³² Paratext helps the reader to access to text. One can say that the more elaborate the paratext, the easier it is to read the text. At the same time: the more paratext, the more guided is the reading and interpretation of the text. Therefore, it is defensible that all of the paratextual elements do have an influence on the interpretation and perception of the text.

The majority of the manuscripts and editions of Targum Samuel discussed in this study were produced between the thirteenth and sixteenth century. The text of the Targum, however, was by that time not a completely new text introduced for the first time. In fact, it was composed centuries before, and it had been read and studied during that period.³³ The different sets of paratext function as the 'choreography of

³⁰ M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew dated Medieval Manuscripts*, (2nd ed.) (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1981), 14.

³¹ One could argue that blanks, spaces and interpunction are part of the grammar of the language and thus do not belong to the paratext. This might be true for most modern languages and texts. In the ancient world, however, texts written without spaces and punctuation were common, for example the Greek manuscripts from the first centuries CE.

³² G. Genette, *Paratexts Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.

³³ The Mishna informs us in *M.Meg.* 4.4 on the practice of reading Targum during the liturgy in the synagogue. For a discussion on rabbinical evidence for the use of Targums in the synagogue see: Flesher,

reading',³⁴ the means by which the text is channelled to a contemporary readership or audience. As will become clear later in this chapter, they direct the reading and guide the interpretation of the text. A different intended readership accounts for a different set of paratext. One can easily imagine that a Targum text preserved in a Mahzor has a set of paratextual elements that differs considerably from selected verses of Targum text incorporated into a Biblical commentary. In the last case, the Targum text itself can be regarded as being part of the paratext. This 'choreography of reading' through the paratext becomes especially clear in the Targum manuscripts of Alfonso de Zamora and the Christian Polyglot Bibles. The specific context and readership (Christian Biblical studies) accounts for a completely different set of paratext compared to the 'standard' Targum texts produced by and for members of the Jewish community.

This study deals explicitly with the Christian environment in which all of these Sephardic manuscripts were used, and more specifically if and how this Christian environment influenced the transmission of the text. As I have made clear above, I regard the paratext as the necessary tool to communicate a text to the contemporary audience. Seen in this light, the paratext can be regarded as a form of contextualization of the text and should thus be studied and included in this research. The description of the manuscripts and editions will therefore have two parts (whenever possible)

1. Elements related to the segmentation and pronunciation of the text: indications of various pericopes, chapters, verses and vocalisation. All these elements serve to assist the reading of the text itself but vary in the different geo-cultural zones.
2. Additional information provided to help the reader interpret the text: prefaces, colophons, textual variants, exegetical remarks and so on.

and Chilton, *The Targums: A Critical Introduction*, 287-297, and B. Ego, 'Targumim', in: A. Lange, and E. Tov (eds), *Textual History of the Bible Vol. 1a* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 239-261, 1.3.3.5.1. Modern scholars postulate the use of Targums in the context of school. See for example: P.S. Alexander, 'Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures', in: M.J. Mulder, and H. Sysling (eds), *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1990), 240. But also Kasher: R. Kasher, 'The Aramaic Targumim and Their Sitz Im Leben', *Proceedings of the Ninth WCJS: Panel Sessions Bible and Ancient Near East* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 77-79; and York: A.D. York, 'The Targum in the Synagogue and in the School', *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, 10 (1979): 74-86. For targum in the school in Medieval Europe see: A. Houtman, 'The Role of the Targum in Jewish Education in Medieval Europe', in: A. Houtman, E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, and H.-M. Kirn (eds), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 81-98.

³⁴ This term was introduced by M. Camille in: M. Camille, 'The Book of Signs: Writing and Visual Difference in Gothic Manuscript Illumination', *Word and Image*, I (1985): 133-148 (138).

Text Selection

The selection of texts to be included in the research is a complicated matter. One has to select the texts on the basis of descriptions in catalogues and scholarly literature before collating and studying the entire Targum text provided. Catalogues, however, deal mainly with characteristics of the outward appearance of the text like script type and codicology. In terms of the text itself and the amount of text included, they may give a somewhat less precise description. A catalogue description can suggest that a manuscript contains a part of TgJon while in reality there is no targum included or Targum Onkelos only. The opposite can happen just as well, namely that a catalogue description does not mention targum as content but the manuscript attests targum text nevertheless. For practical reasons, one cannot check the content of all extant manuscripts that could possibly contain TgJon. So there are probably more extant textual witnesses of TgSam of Sephardic provenance than included in this research.

The main condition for acceptance of a text in the Sephardic text family of Targum Samuel is whether the text provides a Sephardic text type. In many cases this will coincide with the use of a Sephardic script type and Sephardic codicological practices, but not necessarily. A scribe could have used a *Vorlage* originating in a different text family. And scribes who emigrated to another region of Europe where a different script type was used and continued their work in their new environment, almost never changed their script.³⁵ For example, an Ashkenazic scribe could have made use of a Sephardic text that was available to him. Likewise, a Sephardic scribe who emigrated to an Ashkenazic region, could copy Ashkenazic texts using his own Sephardic style of writing. An account of the text selection made can be found in the Introduction. The present chapter deals with the outward appearance of texts which are regarded as Sephardic in text type³⁶, but which are not necessarily Sephardic in terms of script, codicology and layout.

³⁵ See for example: E. Engel, 'Immigrant Scribes' Handwriting in Northern Italy From the Late Thirteenth to the Mid-Sixteenth Century: Sephardic and Ashkenazic Attitudes Toward the Italian Script', in: J. del Barco (ed), *The Late Medieval Hebrew Book in the Western Mediterranean. Hebrew Manuscripts and Incunabula in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 28-47.

³⁶ According to the stemma, E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, *An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel*, 36.

Text Categorisation

Before I start with the descriptions, some words about the method of categorisation. Several systems can be chosen to categorise Targum manuscripts. Targum texts can be found in all sorts of manuscripts. There are manuscripts containing a continuous text of Targum Samuel: Targum Jonathan only, volumes of the Former Prophets with the Hebrew and Aramaic text alternating, a Hebrew text of the Former Prophets with Targum Jonathan in the margins accompanied by the commentaries of Rashi, Kimchi or Ben Gershon. Next to this, there are all sorts of manuscripts containing parts of Targum Samuel: haftarot for the entire year, haftarot for the festivals (or certain festivals), Mahzorim and Siddurim preserving portions of the Targum, quotations of the Targum within a Bible commentary or other theological works.

The variety of types of manuscripts just mentioned shows that most of the Targum texts are found in manuscripts containing other texts as well. This variety of texts within one manuscript complicates the categorization of these manuscripts: one and the same manuscript may contain the continuous text of Targum Onkelos, several haftarot with Targum Jonathan as well as Targum quotations within the commentary of Rashi. Since Targum Samuel is the focus of the research, I decided that the most useful approach is to categorize the Targum text and not the entire manuscript in which it is preserved. Following this, the different categories of Targum have been established. The material in the Targum manuscript database shows roughly three different types of Targum texts:³⁷

1. Continuous texts: manuscripts or parts of manuscripts that intend to provide the entire text of a Biblical book.
2. Liturgical texts: manuscripts or parts of manuscripts preserving certain haftarot belonging to a certain reading cycle. Typically, these are haftarot collections, Mahzorim, Siddurim and Haggadot.
3. Sample texts: other manuscripts or parts of manuscripts that include a part or several parts of a Targum text for reasons other than providing the text of a reading cycle. One can think of text selections in commentaries and theological works, but also 'example sentences' taken from the Targum in an Aramaic grammar. Quotations of

³⁷ See also: E. van Staaldune-Sulman, 'A Variety of Targum Texts', in: A. Houtman, H.-M. Kirn, and E. van Staaldune-Sulman (eds), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 9- 31.

very short parts of a Targum text in commentaries, grammars, dictionaries and other theological works have their place in this category as well.

The extant textual traditions of Targum Samuel used in this study stem from the first two categories. The manuscripts and editions will therefore be divided into two categories: (1) continuous texts and (2) liturgical texts. Within the first category a seemingly odd type of Targum text is found, namely four textual witnesses of a Christianised Targum text. These texts were produced by Christians for a Christian readership. At first glance, this is at least odd – after all the Targum is a classical Jewish text composed after the closure of the New Testament canon. However, the contemporary Christian theologians regarded these texts as predating rabbinical Judaism, making them an acceptable text to study unlike the later rabbinical texts that were in their view erroneous and even dangerous.³⁸ To their mind, rabbinical texts were composed after the coming of Christ and the texts that can be found in the Christian New Testament. And for the Christian theologians the rabbinical literature testified to the erroneous interpretation of Scripture in the Jewish community at a point in time where, according to them, they could have known better, namely that Christ was the promised Messiah. I have decided to treat these texts as a specific category to underline their unique position.

One further point of clarification is necessary. The descriptions of the individual manuscripts and editions vary a great deal in length. This imbalance in the amount of information provided is inevitable considering the material we are dealing with. Dated and colophonned complete continuous texts of Targum Samuel incorporated in manuscripts that contain the Hebrew text as well as various rabbinical commentaries, will in all likelihood provide us with an extensive description. On the other hand, only a brief and limited description can be given of a tiny genizah fragment with a few barely legible words from Targum Samuel. In the last example, we know almost

³⁸ This should be seen in the broader context of the acceptability of the use of Jewish texts by Christian scholars, see: E. van Staaldouine-Sulman and J.M. Tanja, 'Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles', in: A. Houtman, E. van Staaldouine-Sulman, and H.-M. Kirn (eds), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 208-230, 214-217; and S.G. Burnett, 'Christian Aramaism: The Birth and Growth of Aramaic Scholarship in the Sixteenth Century', in: R. L. Troxel, K. G. Friebe, and D. R. Magary (eds), *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients. Essays Offered to Honour Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 421-436.

nothing about the paratext of the Targum fragment, nor where and when it was produced.

Continuous Texts

(A) Jewish Continuous Texts

MS H 116, Montefiore 7 [t702s]

t702s contains Targum Jonathan and a part of Targum Writings.³⁹ It gives an almost complete version of Targum Samuel starting with 1 Samuel 5.1. Targum Jonathan to the books of Joshua and Judges are no longer preserved in the manuscript. Parts of Targum Writings are attested in the manuscript: Psalms, Job and Proverbs.⁴⁰ The codex is written on paper and consists of three parts: Targum Jonathan, Targum Writings preserving Psalms 1 to 89, and Targum Writings starting with Psalm 90 followed by the books of Job and Proverbs. It has 342 folios in total. The text is written in a Sephardic semi-cursive script. It is hard to determine whether it is a North African or Spanish variant of the semi-cursive script.⁴¹ The scribe employs the ligature of *alef* and *yod*. The tetragrammaton is represented by triple *yod* in a triangular shape.

Elements related to the segmentation of the text

The codex has a sober layout: each page contains one column with 30 lines. The ruling is not visible on the microfilm.⁴² The only exception to the one column with thirty lines layout is chapter 22 of 2 Samuel. This chapter is written in hemistichs. The scribe used

³⁹ The manuscript used to be a part of the collection of the Montefiore Endowment, London, United Kingdom. The collection was on permanent loan to the library of the former Jews College (now the London School of Jewish Studies, London, United Kingdom. In 2004 part of the collection, including MS H 116, was offered for sale in New York. Manuscript t702s was sold during the auction and eventually returned to the Montefiore Endowment. See: www.montefioreendowment.org.uk/collections/manuscripts.

⁴⁰ H. Hirschfeld, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew Mss of the Montefiore Library* (London: MacMillan and Co, 1904), no 7; A. Neubauer (ed.), *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Jews College London* (Oxford: H. Hart, 1904), 7; NLI system number: 000186386.

⁴¹ Luzzatto considers the manuscript to be North African: S.D. Luzzatto, 'Nachträgliches über die Thargumim', *Wissenschaftliches Zeitschrift für jüdische Theologie*, 5 (1844): 124-137 (132); Kasher has listed it as Spanish: Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets*, siglum ן.

⁴² Unfortunately, this manuscript is not open to the public, so it could not be checked *in situ*.

three different methods to assure an even margin. The simplest method he used was leaving slightly larger spaces before the last one or two words of the line. When there was more space left, he inserted the letters *alef* or *he* as graphic fillers after the last word of the line. The third way to create a straight margin is compressing the last word or words of the line: the scribe abbreviated the last word (abbreviation indicated by two or three dots) or compressed the letters of the last word.

We find blanks before each Hebrew lemma indicating the beginning of a new verse. Larger blanks indicate paragraph division. The beginning of a new Biblical book is indicated by an indent of three lines in the left margin.

The books of the Former and Latter Prophets, with the exception of the first 18 chapters of Jeremiah, have an abbreviation on each recto in the outer margin. The abbreviation indicates the first verse on the folio: Biblical book, chapter and verse in Hebrew characters. The first 18 chapters of Jeremiah have Hebrew chapter numbers in the margin next to the beginning of each chapter. The last-mentioned type of chapter indication is used in the books of Psalms, Job and Proverbs as well. These book, chapter and verse indications may have been added by a later user of the codex.

There are a few more elements to be noted. After the last verse of Isaiah, the first four words of Isa 66.23 (fol 133r) are repeated in Hebrew (והיה מדי חדש בחדשו). After the end of Malachi (fol 257v), verse 24 of Malachi is repeated in Aramaic.⁴³

A note is written after Psalm 89 (fol 287r): נשלם הספר (the book ended). Below this note, the first two words of Psalm 90 are written in Hebrew (תפלה למשה). The second part of the codex begins after Psalm 89. A similar note can be found at the end of the book of Psalms, as well as at the end of Job. After the last verse of the book of Psalms (fol 305v) we read נשלם תרגם תהלים (the Targum of the Psalms is ended). The book of Job is concluded likewise (fol 326v) נשלם תרגם איוב (the Targum of Job is ended). The last page

⁴³ It is a Jewish liturgical reading practice to repeat a previous verse with a positive meaning when the last verse of a Biblical book ends on a negative note. See: I.B. Gottlieb, 'From Formula to Expression in Some Hebrew and Aramaic Texts', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*, 31 (2009): 47-61, 49-50. This applies to the books of Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets, Qohelet and Lamentation. The technical term for this phenomenon is יתקא or יתקא י: for Isaiah, ת for the Twelve (תרי עשר), ק for Qohelet and ק or א for Lamentations (איכה or קינת).

of the codex is missing, but a similar note may have been written at the end of Proverbs.

The text is not vocalized. There are a few words that have sublinear vocalisation. A later user might have added this occasional vocalisation.

Additional information

The remaining paratext of this codex provides the reader with a colophon, indications of Tosefta Targums as well as alternative readings in the margin.

The colophon can be found after the end of Targum Jonathan (folio 257v):

נשלם יום ראש חדש שבת שנת ה'רמ"ז וסימן תודה וקול ז'מ'ר'ה⁴⁴
ונכתב ליקר הנכבר המשכיל הנעים נטע שעשועים ר' דוד ש[י]ן צו'⁴⁵ בן כבוד ר' נסים הרופא נע'⁴⁶
בן ביבש ת'נ'צ'ב'ה

Finished on the day of the new moon in Shebat in the year 5247; a sign of thanksgiving and a voice of singing (cf. Isa 51.3); written for the pleasure of the distinguished, honourable, wise, delightful, His pleasant planting (cf. Isa 5.7) Rabbi David - may His rock and redeemer watch over him - honourable son of Rabbi Nissim the Physician – his soul is in Eden - ben Bibas - may his soul be bound in the bundle of the life - (cf. 1 Sam 25.29).

The colophon tells us that Targum Jonathan is finished on the fourth of January 1487. It has been written for a certain Rabbi David, the son Rabbi Nissim the physician son of Bibas. Nissim and Bibas are common Jewish names. It has not been possible to identify these men.⁴⁷ The scribe is not mentioned in the colophon, neither is a place of origin given.

⁴⁴ Note that the last word from the Isaiah quotation has the same letters as the year 5247 but in reversed order. With thanks to A. Houtman who discovered this clever word-game.

⁴⁵ שמרהו צורו וגואלו.

⁴⁶ נשמחו עדן.

⁴⁷ 'Bibas' is a well attested Jewish family name of a family originating in Spain. Among its members were many rabbis and physicians. See: D. Corcos, and G. Kressel, 'Bibas', in: M. Berenbaum, and F. Skolnik (eds), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 3 (2nd edn, Detroit: Macmillan, 2007), 571-572.

The text of Targum Jonathan preserved in this codex contains quite a few Tosefta Targums. As is common in the Sephardic text family, these Tosefta Targums are incorporated into the running Aramaic text. In most cases the beginning of the Tosefta is indicated in the margin. Two groups of Tosefta Targums are differentiated by the scribe: 'tosefta' and 'tosefta of the land of Israel'. The Tosefta to Obadiah 2.1 is an exception in the sense that it is not incorporated in the running Aramaic text but added by a different hand (possibly at a later date) in the lower margin of the text. The table below lists all the places where Tosefta Targumim are incorporated into the text and the way they are indicated in the margin of the text.⁴⁸

Table 2

1 Sam 17.8	-
1 Sam 17.39	-
1 Sam 17.42	תוספ
1 Sam 18.19	תוספ
2 Sam 12.12	תוספתא

1 Kgs 5.9	הדא תוספ' דארע דישראל
1 Kgs 5.11	'תוספ' דארע די
1 Kgs 5.12-13	'תוספ' דאר' די
1 Kgs 10.18	'תוס' דאר' די
1 Kgs 10.20	'תוס' דא
1 Kgs 14.13	תוספ
1 Kgs 22.21	'תוספת
1 Kgs 22.22	'תוספת
2 Kgs 4.1	תוספתא
2 Kgs 4.6	-
2 Kgs 4.7	תוספתא
Hosea 1.1-2	תוספתא
Obad 2.1	תוספתא

⁴⁸ The verso of the title page contains a list in a semi-cursive Sephardic script different from the Targum text and the marginal notes. The list gives most of the Bible places where a Tosefta Targum is incorporated in the text. I presume that this list was added later.

Another group of marginal notes deals with variant readings. Throughout the codex we see ק (for קרא read) and נ"א (for נסח אחר another version) in the margins followed by a different reading of the Targum text. These two indications might suggest that the scribe differentiated two types of variant readings.

MS Opp. Add. 4to 75-76, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t706s]

t706s is a two-volume codex which comprises the Former and Latter Prophets with Targum Jonathan.⁴⁹ The first volume (MS Opp. Add. 4to 75) has 158 folios, the second volume (MS Opp. Add. 4to 76) 171 folios. The outer folios of both volumes are lacking, resulting in the loss of the last part of Malachi (Mal 3.8 onwards), and incomplete lists of Masoretic notes and Ben Asher and Ben Naftali readings. The text is written in a Sephardic square script. Ligatures of *alef* and *yod* are sparsely used. The tetragrammaton is represented by double *yod* with a third elongated *yod* curved over the left side of the double *yod*.

Since the codex does not preserve a colophon, the precise date of production of the codex and the name of the scribe cannot be established. Scholars have not reached a complete consensus up till now on the date of production and the name of the scribe. According to M. Beit-Arié it was produced around 1300 by someone from the School of Joshua ben Abraham ibn Gaon of Soria. On the basis of his analysis of the handwriting of the square script he concludes that the Biblical text was not written by Joshua ibn Gaon himself.⁵⁰ B. Narkiss attributes the manuscript to the Ibn Gaon School of Soria because he found the size, script, decorations and other codicological details to be similar to the Second Kennicott Bible (MS Kenn. 2, Bodleian Library, Oxford,

⁴⁹ A. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886), nos 68-69; M. Beit-Arié, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. 1a of Neubauer's Catalogue* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), no 68-69; B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles. A Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), no 5; NLI database: 000070867; Th. Metzger, 'Josue Ben Abraham Ibn Gaon et la masora de Mss illuminado', *Codices manuscripti*, 15.5 (1990), 34-95.

⁵⁰ Beit-Arié, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement to Vol. 1a*, nos 68-69.

United Kingdom), and assumes that it was written in the early fourteenth century.⁵¹ K. Kogman-Appel supposes a development in Joshua ibn Gaon's style during his career. On the basis of the style of the designs of all manuscripts attributed to Joshua ibn Gaon, Kogman-Appel concludes that he produced this codex at the beginning of his career and that it predates 1300, the year in which he wrote the Masorah of two other Bibles.⁵²

Elements related to the segmentation of the text

The verse by verse alternating Hebrew and Aramaic text is written in two columns of 37 lines each. The two column layout is not used for Judges 5 and 2 Samuel 22. Both poetic chapters are written in hemistichs in one column. The first part of 2 Sam 23 (1-7) is written in hemistichs as well, but here within the two column layout. The left margin is somewhat uneven, despite the fact that the scribe employed three techniques to ensure an even margin. The first technique was leaving slightly larger spaces between the words at the end of lines. The second technique consisted of compressing the letters of the last word of a line, and the third of elongating the last letter of the line. In two instances the scribe has used large letters and larger spacing between the words on one line for no apparent reason. The last words of the Hebrew text of 1 Kings 10 are written in this manner. Some words of the Aramaic text of 2 Kings 3.13 are written likewise. Masoretic notes are written in the upper and lower margins of each page, and next to the columns. Each upper margin has two lines and each lower margin three lines. On several pages, they are written in micrography.

Larger blanks are used in the text to indicate a *setuma* or *petucha*. Blank lines occur as well. Most of the time, these blank lines occur at the beginning of a new chapter, but they can be found within a chapter as well.

The ending and beginning of a Biblical book are indicated by a red rectangle filled with gold. This rectangle is inserted between the end of 2 Samuel and the beginning of 1 Kings, but is lacking between 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel and 1 Kings and 2 Kings.⁵³ A later

⁵¹ Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, 34.

⁵² K. Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art Between Islam and Christianity. The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 105-6.

⁵³ The transition might be not entirely unmarked, since a blank line has been inserted here.

hand has added the names of the Biblical books, written in a semi-cursive Sephardic script, in the upper margin above the Masorah. Arabic chapter numbers were added later by yet another hand up to 1 Sam 7.

The Hebrew and Aramaic texts have sublinear vocalisation. The *atnach* and *silluq* are added in the Hebrew as well as in the Aramaic.

Additional elements

Neither of the two volumes has a colophon. Since the outer folios of both volumes are missing, we cannot be sure if the codex contained a colophon originally. Three transaction deeds are preserved on the first two folios: the first is dated August 22, 1482 (Elul 7, 5242), the second April 7, 1491 (Nissan 26, 5252), and the third October 16, 1590 (Tishri 18, 5351).

Several Tosefta Targums are preserved in the manuscript. All of them are incorporated into the running text. Some Tosefta Targums are indicated by inserting the word תוספתא into the running text. Two indications are noteworthy. Before 1 Sam 2.2 the plural תוספתאות is inserted, presumably referring to the whole of Hannah's Song (1 Sam 2.2-10). The second deviant indication is the one preceding 1 Sam 17.8. After the common indication תוספתא the Hebrew lemma is inserted as well, which is peculiar since the entire Hebrew verse already preceded the Targum verse. The table below shows the occurrence of Tosefta Targums for the Former Prophets and if and how they are indicated.

Table 3

Josh 5.14	-
Judg 5.3	-
Judg 5.5	-
Judg 5.8	-
Judg 5.11	-
Judg. 5.16	-
Judg. 5.26	-
Judg 11.1	תוספתא
1 Sam 2.2	תוספתות
1 Sam 17.8	תוספתא
1 Sam 17.39	-
2 Sam 12.11	תוספתא
1 Kgs 5.11	תוספתא
1 Kgs 10.18	תוספתא
1 Kgs 10.20	תוספתא
1 Kgs 14.13	תוספת
1 Kgs 22.21	-
2 Kgs 4.1,6,7	-
2 Kgs 4.31	-

In the book of Samuel, a word has been added in the margin four times. All of these words were omitted in the running text and therefore they are not alternative readings, but rather corrections.

The Masoretic notes are written in micrography on several pages. They are usually found on the first, middle and last pages of the quire. We see two types of micrography: either the Masorah are written around all sorts of geometrical forms, or the Masorah are written in a particular shape, for example like a braid or a chain. The geometrical forms come in a large variety and are usually painted in red and gold: V-

shapes enclosed in a triangle, heart shapes, ovals, circles, semi-circles, petals, lozenges, eight-pointed stars, and bands of interlacing geometrical forms.

Next to the micrographic elements, we find three gold motifs representing the arms of the main Iberian kingdoms during the thirteenth century CE: Castile (three-towered castle), Aragon (*fleur de lis*), and Leon (three towered castle with a lion rampant). Invocations can be found in the lower margin Masorah at the end of some quires.

On folio 2v of Volume 1 we find lists of Ben Asher and Ben Naftali readings enclosed in a double gold arcade. The first part of the Ben Asher and Ben Naftali readings for the book of Isaiah can be found on folio 158v. The readings are written in two columns enclosed in gold fillets. The two columns are separated by an interlacing border. The second volume gives the Ben Asher and Ben Naftali readings for Ezekiel and The Twelve on folios 1v and 2r. These readings are enclosed in a double gold arcade as well. A type of Masoretic notes concerning Ezekiel and The Twelve are listed at the end of Volume 2. The notes are enclosed in a single gate-shape with gold fillet.

Joshua ibn Gaon favoured forms and shapes known from Islamic art, such as geometric interlacing elements and carpet pages. At the same time, he used Gothic features like dragons and grotesque animals.⁵⁴ The different religious cultures present in contemporary Catalonia are reflected in his work. The incorporation of the coats of arms of the three Iberian kingdoms points not only to the personal migration scheme of the scribe,⁵⁵ but also convey the message that he - although being part of the minority culture - identified himself with this culture and felt part of it.

MS Kennicott 5, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t717s]

Former Prophets with Targum Jonathan and the commentaries of Rashi, Kimchi, and Levi ben Gershom.⁵⁶ The codex has a total of 262 folios. The Hebrew text is written in a Sephardic square script, the Targum text in the same Sephardic square script in a smaller print, and the commentaries are written in a cursive Sephardic script. Ligature

⁵⁴ Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art Between Islam and Christianity*, 199.

⁵⁵ Kogman-Appel, Heidelberg, November 2014 personal communication.

⁵⁶ Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, no 2329; Beit-Arié, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement to Vol. 1a*, no 2329; NLI system number: 000113096.

of *alef* and *yod* is very common in the Targum text. The Tetragrammaton in the Targum text is represented by a triangle triple *yod* with a shape similar to an elongated gimel on the left side.

Elements related to the segmentation of the text

The Hebrew text is written in two parallel columns in the middle of the page. In general, the columns have 36 lines each. The Targum text is written in small blocks in the outer margins of the two Hebrew columns. The various commentaries are placed in the margins surrounding the Hebrew and Aramaic text. The Hebrew text of Judges 5 and 2 Sam 22 is written in one column in hemistichs. A blank in the entire page layout is used to indicate the transition to a new Bible book. Blanks are inserted in the Hebrew text to indicate a *setuma* or *petucha*.

The haftarot are indicated next to the Hebrew text (see for example fol. 6v 'הפט' יום ראש' (של פסח)). A later hand added in English the names of the Biblical books with chapter numbers above all the Hebrew columns. The same hand also added verse numbers in the Hebrew text. Both the Hebrew and the Aramaic text have sublinear vocalisation.

Additional elements

A colophon is written at the end of the codex (fol. 262v).

נשלם זה הספר על ידי החתום למטה פה העיר שקביא ביום ראשון חמשה ימים לחדש סיון שנת
לא יקרא עוד שמך אברם והיה שמך אברהם כי לאב המון גויים נתתיך [אב]רהם אלאביט

This book is finished by the hands of the below signed, here in the city Segovia on the first day, the fifth of Siwan in the year "no longer shall your name be Abram, but your name shall be Abraham; for I have made you the ancestor of a multitude of nations" (Gen. 17.5), Abraham Alavit.⁵⁷

In the Biblical quotation the year is apparently indicated by dots. Unfortunately, the dots over the letters are no longer clear. Various scholars proposed different years of completion for the codex. M. Beit-Arié assumes the year 1487 CE (5247) is indicated.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ SFAR-data (www.sfardata.nli.org.il) gives no other manuscript by the same scribe.

⁵⁸ M. Beit-Arié, 'Transmission of Texts by Scribes and Copyists', no. 2329. The same year can be found in the IMHM database.

Kasher proposes the year 1594 CE (5354).⁵⁹ Since the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492 and the colophon states that it was written in the city of Segovia, this date is far from convincing. An even more improbable date has been given by B. Kennicott and I.B. de Rossi. They both assume that the codex was written during the fourteenth century.⁶⁰

The Targum preserves several Tosefta Targums. All Tosefta Targums are incorporated in the running text. Some of them are indicated by the abbreviation 'תוס' or 'תוספ'. Hannah's Song (1 Sam 2.1-10) is indicated as Tosefta Targum.

Table 4

Josh. 5.14	-
Josh. 6.1	-
Judg. 5.3	-
Judg. 5.5	-
Judg. 5.8	-
Judg. 5.11	-
Judg. 5.16	-
Judg. 5.26	-
Judg. 11.1	תוספ'
Judg. 11.39	תוס'
1 Sam 2.1	תוספ'
1 Sam 17.8	תוס'
1 Sam 17.43	-
1 Sam 18.25	-
2 Sam 20.22	-
1 Kgs 1.1	תוס'
1 Kgs. 2.30	-

⁵⁹ R. Kasher, 'תרגומי כלאיים' ארמיים לתורה - על פי קטעי גניזה חדשים', *Kiryat Sefer*, 64 (1992): 277-287, siglum ב.

⁶⁰ G.B de Rossi, *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamentii* (Parme, 1784), lxiii; B. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1776), 78.

1 Kgs. 5.9	-
1 Kgs. 5.11	-
1 Kgs. 5.12	-
1 Kgs. 5.13	-
1 Kgs. 10.8	-
1 Kgs 22.21-22	-
2 Kgs. 4.1	-
2 Kgs 4.6	-
2 Kgs 4.7	-
2 Kgs 4.31	-
2 Kgs 10.1	-

The codex contains not only the Hebrew and Aramaic text of the Former Prophets, but also commentaries on this text by Rashi, Kimchi and Levi ben Gershom. The combination of Hebrew and Aramaic text with these commentaries indicate a study purpose for this codex. Therefore, it is remarkable that no Masorah are incorporated.

MS Opp. Add. fol. 55, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t2649]

Under this shelfmark a variegated collection of fragments has been listed.⁶¹ Folios 1 till 25 contain fragments of the Prophets in Ashkenazic⁶² square script most likely produced during the 13th century. It preserves the following parts of Targum Samuel: 1 Sam 3.1-5.4; 2 Sam 9.4-10.13; 13.29-14.13; 17.11-18.2.

C123, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy, St. Petersburg, Russia [t2565]

This volume contains Kimchi's commentary on the Former Prophets until 2 Kings 24.2, probably copied during the 14th or 15th century. In this commentary, Kimchi refers to

⁶¹ Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, no 2421 / 1; Beit-Arié, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement to Vol. 1a*, no 2421 / 1; NLI system number: 000162954. The stemma has placed these fragments in the Sephardic text family.

⁶² The manuscript has been placed in the Sephardic text branch in the stemma by Van Staaldvine-Sulman and is therefore included in the text corpus (see: E. van Staaldvine-Sulman, *An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel*, 35-38).

the Targum. For the book of Samuel, a later, semi-cursive Sephardic hand added Targum verses mentioned in the main text of the commentary.⁶³ All in all, the margins give quite a substantial part of 1 Samuel: 1.1-18; 1.20-3.2; 3.4-14.3; 15.23-28; 15.30-16.1; 16.4-7; 17.9; 17.12-26; 17.42-49.⁶⁴

Johanniter Bücher 27, Institut für Stadtgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main, Germany [t2600]

This text is part of the so called 'European Genizah'.⁶⁵ The sheet of parchment used to bind a volume containing the manual of the Johanniter Order preserves the Hebrew and Aramaic text of 2 Sam 13.10-20. The text is written in three columns in Sephardic square script with sublinear vocalisation. The Hebrew and Aramaic text are alternating, the Masorah magna and parva are preserved. The text is dated in to 13th (IMHM) or 14th century (Lehnardt).⁶⁶

MS 70121, Schocken Institute for Jewish Research, Jerusalem, Israel [t2633]

Fragments of two folios written in Sephardic square script dating from the 13th or 14th CE. The fragment shows Masorah parva, as well as a remnant of Masorah magna.⁶⁷ It preserves parts of 2 Sam 20. The Hebrew and Aramaic texts are alternating, and both have sublinear vocalisation. Only verses 13, 14, 20 and the first half of 21 of the Targum text are legible.

⁶³ NLI system number: 000092271.

⁶⁴ The commentary discusses each verse of the book of Samuel; no selection of text is made. The Targum text added in the margins therefore aims to be a continuous text, in this case an incomplete continuous text.

⁶⁵ See: www.hebrewmanuscript.com.

⁶⁶ NLI system number: 000137498; A. Lehnardt, *Hebräische Einbandfragmente in Frankfurt am Main. Mittelalterliche jüdische Handschriften in ihrem geschichtlichen Kontext* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2011), 133.

⁶⁷ NLI system number: 000197877.

Leiria Edition 1494 [t734s]

The book contains the Hebrew text of the Former Prophets with Targum Jonathan, accompanied by the commentaries of Levi ben Gershom and Kimchi.⁶⁸ It is the first known printed edition of Targum Jonathan. It was printed by Samuel d'Ortas and his sons and was finished between 27 January and 2 February 1494. The Hebrew and Aramaic text is printed in a Sephardic square script. A Sephardic semi-cursive Sephardic type set is used for the commentaries of Kimchi and Levi ben Gershom. The Tetragrammaton in the Targum text is represented by a double *yod* with a third elongated *yod* curved over the left side of the double *yod*.

Elements related to the segmentation of the text

The layout of this edition is similar to the layout of manuscripts containing (a part of) a continuous Biblical text with Targum and added commentaries (like t717s). Each page contains two columns in the middle of various length, one for the Hebrew text, the other for the Aramaic text. Kimchi's commentary is placed around the middle column on the right side of the page and on the left side the commentary of Levi ben Gershom is placed. To ensure an even left margin, the printer has used elongated letters, a practise known from scribes. The Hebrew and Aramaic texts have sublinear vocalisation.

The beginning of a new Biblical book is indicated by the name of the book written in Hebrew placed in a rectangle of interlacing geometrical elements. Chapter division is not made visible by blanks nor otherwise indicated.

Additional elements

The edition closes with a *qina* in which the 1492 expulsion of the Jews from Castile and Aragon is lamented.⁶⁹ As already mentioned above, the edition preserves

⁶⁸ A.K. Offenberg and C. Moed-van Walraven, *Hebrew Incunabula in Public Collections: A First International Consensus* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1990), no 28.

⁶⁹ For text of the *qina* see: A. Freimann (ed), *Thesaurus typographiae hebraicae saeculi XV* (Berlin: Marx, 1924), B27,5.

commentaries on the Biblical text by Kimchi and Levi Ben Gershom, indicating a study purpose. There are no Masorah added.

The edition has incorporated Tosefta Targums to 1 Sam 17.8,39,42,43, 18.20 and 2 Sam 6.23. All of them are indicated by the word **תספתא** in larger print.

(B) Continuous Texts Produced for a Christian Readership⁷⁰

MS M1-M3, Biblioteca General Histórica Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca, Spain [t703s]

This codex consists of three volumes and has been written by Alfonso de Zamora. MS M1 preserves Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets, MS M2 contains Targum Writings to the books of Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Qohelet and Song of Songs and MS M3 includes Targum Jonathan to Ezekiel and The Twelve.⁷¹ MS M1 has 261 folios, MS M2 231 folios and MS M3 144 folios. The colophon on folio 144 reads that the Ezekiel and The Twelve were finished on the third of August 1532. The Aramaic text is written in a Sephardic square script. No ligatures have been employed by the scribe. The Tetragrammaton is represented by a triple *yod* in triangular shape with a fourth elongated *yod* curved over the left side of the triple *yod*. The Aramaic text has sublinear vocalisation. However, a simplified vocalisation system is used, comparable with the vocalisation system in the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Composite vowels are left out completely and replaced by either *qamets* or *segol*. *Rafeh* and *maqgef* are left out as well. It is difficult to discern a system in the use of *patah* and *qamets*.⁷²

⁷⁰ These texts are also discussed in Chapter 6.

⁷¹ N. Allony and E.F. Kupfer, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Libraries of Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland* (Jerusalem: National Library of Israel, 1964), nos 1264-66; NLI system number: 00190039; SFAR data key: ZY142.

⁷² E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, 'Vowels in the Trees: The Role of Vocalisation in Stemmataology', *Aramaic Studies*, 3.2 (2005): 215-240 (230).

Elements related to the segmentation of the text

The three volumes have an identical layout. Every page contains two columns of 32 lines each. The scribe attempted to achieve an even left margin by means of using elongated and truncated letters at the end of the line; writing the last letter of the word above the last word of the line; and, lastly, by word division. Occasionally, blanks are inserted where a chapter consists of two different episodes which do not necessarily coincide with a *setuma* or *petucha*. The blank here indicates here the beginning of the new episode. Half a blank line is inserted in both columns to indicate the beginning of a new chapter. In the Latin column the word 'caput' is written, followed by the appropriate chapter number. In the Aramaic column the abbreviation 'cap' is written also followed by the appropriate chapter number. The first lines of each chapter are written in red ink or in alternating red and black lines. Each page has a running head mentioning the Biblical book and the chapter number in Latin.

The scribe employed two conspicuous signs for segmentation of the text which are most probably introduced in the manuscript to facilitate the Christian reader. The first sign is one graphically similar to the Masoretic *atnach*, a main verse divider. The sign does not seem to have a function similar to the *atnach*. In most cases it is not found in the same place as it is found in the Hebrew text. Overall, its use seems to resemble the use of the Latin comma. The second sign is a wedge-shaped sign written above the first letter of a word. It indicates that the first letter is a prefix (in most cases a preposition) and does not belong to the word itself. Both signs are useful for readers in a Latin speaking environment.

Another typical feature of these manuscripts is the use of rubrication (large red letters). We find eighty-eight instances of words in larger character size than the running text most of them written in red ink. Sixty-six of these words in larger character size correspond with a *setuma* or *petucha* in the Codex Leningradensis. The larger sized characters were probably a layout technique the scribe used to assist the readers either in finding their way in the text or to direct their attention to a point of interest in the text. First, these words in larger character size are used to indicate the beginning of a new section within a chapter (for example in MS 1 fol. 165r, 2 Sam 21.15, fol. 191r, 1 Kgs. 9:10; fol. 223r 2 Kgs. 4.8). Second, they can mark the continuation of the (standard) Biblical text after a long Tosefta Targum (for example in MS 1 fol. 8v, Josh.5.2; fol. 88r, 1 Sam 2.11; fol. 172r, 1 Kgs. 1.2). The words in larger character size are also found

within sections and verses which are not the beginning of a new section and do not contain Tosefta Targums. Here, the red letters occur in verses dealing with specific themes. Therefore, the third function of these letters was most likely to highlight specific themes. The words highlighted throughout the manuscript deal with several recurrent themes, namely kingship, miracles, messianism and verses that could be listed under the theme of 'true religion'. The highlighted verses dealing with kingship are verses stressing the disadvantages of kingship (M1 fol. 96r, 1 Sam 8:11; fol. 223r, 2 Kgs. 4.8; M3 fol. 84r, Hos. 10.9). Three miracle stories are indicated by red letters in large character size (M1 fol. 17v, Josh. 10.8; fol. 52r, Judg. 6.33; M3 fol. 99r, Amos 8.9). The same large red characters can be observed in some verses that have received a christological interpretation in Christian theology (M1 fol. 11v, Josh. 6.26; fol. 84v, Ruth 4.18; M3 fol. 107v, Mic. 4.8). The majority of thus highlighted verses, however, deal with what I have called above 'true religion'. They all have to do with the proper attitude in worship and consist of warnings against idolatry and admonitions to return to the law of God (M1, fol. 39v, Josh. 24.16; fol.51v, Judg. 6.25; fol. 89r, 1 Sam 2.22, 27; fol. 197v, 1 Kgs. 12.20; fol. 243v, 2 Kgs. 16.3-4; M3 fol. 25v, Ezek. 20.22; fol. 53r Ezek. 36.16; fol. 66v, Ezek. 44.15fol. 114r, Mal. 2.13).

We cannot know if these themes were of personal interest to the scribe or if they had to do with the actual topics discussed in contemporary Biblical Studies. We do know that Zamora was interested in miracles. A collection of miscellaneous writings by Zamora preserved in MS Or. 645 (Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, The Netherlands) contains notes on miracles which Zamora collected for a book on miracles he intended to write. As far as the other themes are concerned, kingship, messianism and 'true religion', they were all current themes when Zamora was writing these manuscripts: the Inquisition was guarding the orthodoxy of the Christian faith and the Spanish monarchy was expanding its influence both inside the Peninsula and in other parts of Europe and Latin America.

The first time Saul, David and Elijah are mentioned (M1 fol. 96v, 1 Sam 9:2, M 1. fol 110v, 1 Sam 17.12 an M 1, fol. 205v, 1 Kgs. 17.1 respectively), their names are also written in large red characters. In Psalm 119, the first letter of each strophe is in large red characters as well, directing the attention of the reader to the acrostic structure of the psalm. Hebrew catchwords are used only once in this manuscript (M2 fol. 206v,207r, Qoh. 10.10-17). These catchwords are written in red larger sized characters as well.

A characteristic element of this manuscript is the marked transition between the Biblical books. The ending of one Biblical book and the beginning of the next is always mentioned in both the Aramaic and the Latin columns. Some books have quite simple endings and beginnings, but others have a more elaborate text in rhyming verse in the Aramaic. Several of these use a theme prevalent in the Biblical book it introduces. The simplest transition mentions only the end of a book and the beginning of the next. For example, the ending of the book of Job (M3 fol. 59v) in the Aramaic columns reads **ספר תהלים ונתחיל ספר איוב** (the book of Job is ended, and we begin the book of Psalms). The parallel ending and beginning of the book in the Latin column read *Explicit interpretatio latina translationis chaldaicae in librum Job. Incipit interpretatio latina translationis chaldaice in Psalterum* (the Latin interpretation of the Aramaic translation of the book of Job ends; the Latin interpretation of the Aramaic translation of the book of Psalms begins). The more elaborate Aramaic texts will be given below.

The ending of the book of Ruth and the beginning of the book of Samuel has the usual formula, followed by a poem by Kimchi to introduce the book (fol 55r).⁷³ The book is defined as 'the book of Samuel which our sages also call the first book of Kings'. The book of Samuel begins on the verso side of the folio. The Aramaic column is headed by the phrase **ספר שמואל שהוא ראשון של מלכים** (the book of Samuel which is also the first book of Kings). Above the Latin columns the simple phrase *incipit Liber Regum 1* (the first book of Kings begins) is written. Zamora used the Jewish name of the Biblical book, Samuel, when writing in Hebrew and Aramaic, and the Christian name of the Biblical book, 1 Kings, when writing in Latin. Therefore, the sages mentioned in the concluding and introducing formula on fol 55r (**חכמינו**) are most likely the Christian theologians. By including the prayer which Zamora attributed to Kimchi, Zamora could express his trust in God and ask for His assistance in writing in a language that is not his own (**מכונן מלתי ועד לא שפתי**) as neither Aramaic nor Latin was his first language.

After the last chapter of 2 Samuel the standard formula is written in the Aramaic column, here followed by another prayer attributed to Kimchi. The prayer mentions a theme prevalent in the books of Kings. The David mentioned here, could refer to king

⁷³ For a translation of and commentary on the poem see Chapter 7.

David, whose death is recorded in the beginning of the book of Kings. Alternatively, it could also refer to David Kimchi himself.⁷⁴

Additional elements

The codex starts with an introduction in Aramaic and Latin.

תרגומא דנביאיא קדמאי מפרש עם מליצותא דלישנא דרומאי כתיבא לקבליה
 דאעתיקנא יתיה בהימנותא מספריא קדמאי דאינון מהמנין וקשיטין ויציבין
 די על תרגומא הדא דכל ארבעה ועשרין ספרין דאורייתא בתר דאעשת קנאיתיה עם מליצותיה גזרו
 ופקידו למכתב יתיה הנהו חכימין שלימין ויקירין רישי דשיבתא רבתא דאינון בקרתא יקירתא
 דשאלאמנקה לשואה יתיה בביתא רבתא דספריא דילון דהוא מהחצפא לכולי עלמא בדיל דיהנון
 מיניה כל דיתרעור למידע סתרין סגיאין ומהימנין דאישתכחו בלישנא דתרגומא דאינון מסעדין
 בקשוט להימנותא קדישתא דישוע משיחא בר אלהא חיא
 וכען בסיעתא דשמיא שרינא בסיפרא דיהושע דינא בדיל דהוא סיפרא קדמאה דכן ערע פיתגמא
 כמא דחזינא בסדרא דסיפרא
 ובתרוהי סיפרא דדייני ובתרוהי ארבעה ספרין דמלכין כתיבין בסדריהון כמא דערעו פיתגמיהון
 כמא דמיתחזי בהדין כתיבא דקרינא ביה בדין אורחא

Targum of the Former Prophets explained with a Latin translation⁷⁵ written opposite it; which we copied faithfully, from old books, that are trustworthy and true and fixed, which contained this Targum of all 24 books of the Torah. After we copied it with its translation, the wise and peaceful and respectable heads of the large academy in the respectable city of Salamanca decided and ordered to write it down in order to place it in their large library, which is envied by the entire world, for the profit of those who desire 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. And now, with the assistance of heaven we start the book of Joshua, the judge, so that it may become the first book, that it so happens according to what we see in the order of the story. Thereafter the book of the Judges. And thereafter the four

⁷⁴ For the text of the poem and its translation see Chapter 7.

⁷⁵ The lexicon of the Complutensian Polyglot lists under the root מליץ the word מליץ melis: quod significat interpretem seu eloquentem (melis: which means translator or speaker). However, the lexicon contains also a lemma connected to the root לויץ (from a modern linguistic point of view the correct root) where מליצה interpretatio (translation) is given. See: *Biblia Polyglotta: Hebraicè; Chaldaicè, Graecè et Latinè, de mandata ac sumptibus Francisci Ximenez de Cisneros* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldi Guillelmi de Brocario, 1517), VI. The Aramaic dictionary of Johannes Buxtorf, printed a century later, is even more explicit. Under the root לויץ the word מליץ is given, explained as *orator, interpres linguarum* (speaker, translator of languages). It also mentions מליצה *eloquentia* (in this period not only understood as 'eloquence' but also 'speaking languages, translating'). See J. Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (Basel: Ludovici Regis, 1639), col. 1132-33.

books of the Kings, written in their own order of how their contents came about, in the manner as it appears in the manuscript that we have read.

Translatio Chaldaica omnium librorum historicorum veteris testamenti cum latina interpretatione, quae est secunda pars bibliae, cura jussuque doctissimorum Salmanticensis Academiae procerum ex antiquissimis fidelissimisque exemplaribus ad communem divinae Scripturae studiosiorum utilitatem transcripta.

Aramaic translation of all the historical books of the Old Testament with a Latin interpretation, which is the second part of the Bible. Commissioned by the most learned men of the academy of Salamanca, prepared from the oldest and most reliable manuscripts for the general benefit of students of the divine Scripture.

MS 7542, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Spain [t704s]

This manuscript is a Targum to the Former Prophets, including the book of Ruth, which is placed between the books of Judges and Samuel.⁷⁶ The codex has 235 folios in total. The Targum text is written in a Sephardic square script and has sublinear vocalisation.⁷⁷ The tetragrammaton is represented by three *yods* in one line with a curved stroke starting left of the third *yod* bending underneath the three *yods*.

Elements related to the segmentation of the text

The layout of this codex is similar to that of t703s. The text is written in two columns of 34 lines each. The scribe attempted to achieve an even left margin by means of using elongated and truncated letters at the end of the line, writing the last letter of the word above the last word of the line, and via word division. As in t703s, blanks are inserted occasionally where a chapter consists of two different episodes. The blank indicates here the beginning of the new episode. A half line blank is inserted in both columns to indicate the beginning of a new chapter. In the Latin column the word 'caput' is written

⁷⁶ J.M. Millas Vallicrosa, 'Nuevas aportaciones para el estudio de los manuscritos hebraicos de la Bibliotheca Nacional de Madrid', *Sefarad*, 3 (1943): 289-327 (292-4); Allony, and Kupfer, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Libraries of Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland*, no. 1053; C. del Valle Rodríguez, *Catálogo descriptivo de los manuscritos hebreos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1986), no. 16; J. del Barco, *Catálogo de manuscritos hebreos de la comunidad de Madrid* (Madrid: CSIC, 2003), no 88; NLI system number: 000177665; SFAR data key: OY546.

⁷⁷ We encounter the same method of vocalisation as in t703s.

followed by the appropriate chapter number. In the Aramaic column the abbreviation 'cap' is written also followed by the appropriate chapter number.

The same conspicuous signs for segmentation are used as in t703s: the *atnach*-shaped-sign functioning as a Latin comma and the wedge shaped sign written above the first letter of a word to indicate that the first letter is a prefix (in most cases a preposition) and does not belong to the word itself. As said above, both signs are useful for readers in a Latin speaking environment.

The transition from one Biblical book to another is marked with opening and closing formulae. The book of Joshua is introduced (fol. 1r) by the phrase *Incipit interpretatio latina translationis chaldaicae libri Josue* (the Latin interpretation of the Aramaic translation of the book of Joshua begins). The closing formula (fol. 31r) reads *Explicit liber Josue* (the book of Joshua ends). The books of Samuel are called 1 and 2 Kings.

Additional Elements

The codex contains a colophon in Hebrew and Castilian (fol. 335v).

נכתב הספר הזה על יד אלפונסו די סאמורה ונשלם בחדש מארסו שנת אלף ותק' ולג' שבח לאל
ונכתב לנגיד ומורה וחכם גדול בחכמת אלהים דון אנטוניו ראמיריו די הארו כהן ארבאש האל
ישמרהו ויחיו ויאושר בארץ בחייו ובמלכות השמים אחרי מותו

Fue escrito este libro por mano de Alfonso de Zamora, y fue acabado en el mes de março año de mill y quinientos y treinta y tres. Laus Deo y fue scripto para el s. doctor y sabio grande en la sciencia de Dios don Antonio Ramírez de Haro Abbad de Arvas, Dios le guarde y le de vida y sea bienaventurado en la tierra y en su vida y en el Reyno del cielo después de su muerte corporal.

This book was written by the hand of Alfonso de Zamora and was finished in the month of March in the year 1533; glory to God; it was written for the doctor and great sage in the wisdom of God, don Antonio Ramírez de Haro, Abbot of Arvas, may God keep him and give him life and bless him, during his life on earth as well as in the kingdom of heaven after his (corporeal, Castilian text only) death.

Small letters from the Latin alphabet are written above the Aramaic words. These letters refer to the Hebrew roots of these words written in the outer margins of the page. Once the reader knows the correct root, he can find the word in a dictionary.⁷⁸

Antwerp Polyglot Bible [t12sc]

This is an edition of a complete Christian Bible. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible also known as the *Biblia Regia* (King's Bible), was produced between 1568 and 1573.⁷⁹ It was a highly ambitious enterprise involving many collaborators and sponsors. The French printer Christophe Plantin took the initiative. However, in this period of political instability and religious upheaval, the project needed a powerful patron. He found his patron in King Phillip II, presenting him his ambitions first and foremost as a revision of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.⁸⁰ The king not only granted permission but also promised financial support. He did have one condition, namely that the editing of the text had to be executed by a scholar with an undisputed reputation: Benito Arias Montano (1527-1598).⁸¹ Several versions of the Biblical text were to be included in the Polyglot Bible. For the Old Testament, the text selection encompassed the Hebrew text, the Latin Vulgate, the Greek Septuagint and the Aramaic Targum. For the Aramaic Targum and the Greek Septuagint a Latin translation was to be incorporated as well.

The Hebrew and Aramaic texts are printed in a square script and both have vocalisation. The Tetragrammaton in the Targum text is represented by a triple *yod*.

⁷⁸ J.M. Tanja, and E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, 'A Jewish Targum in a Remarkable Paratext. Paratextual Elements in Two Targum Manuscripts of Alfonso De Zamora', in A. Houtman, E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, and H.-M. Kirn (eds), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 166-184, 174-6.

⁷⁹ For a list of the extant volumes of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, see: 'Th. Dunkelgrün, *The Multiplicity of Scripture: The Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568-1573)*', (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2012), 495-239. TgJon was not included in Complutensian Polyglot Bible, chief editor Jiménez de Cisneros deeming only TgOnk worthy of inclusion in his Bible.

⁸⁰ Ch. Péligré, 'La Bible en Espagne au XVI^e siècle: de la Polyglotte d'Alcalá à celle d'Anvers', in: B.E. Schwarzbach (ed), *La Bible imprimée dans l'Europe moderne* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1999), 306-322, 312.

⁸¹ L. Voet, 'De Antwerpse Polyglot-Bijbel', *Noordgouw*, 13 (1973): 33-52 (39).

Elements related to the segmentation of the text

The layout of the pages in the volumes containing the Old Testament is uniform. Each page has two columns with underneath them a rectangle the width of the two columns. The Hebrew text is printed in the outer columns on the left page, next to the Latin of the Vulgate in the inner column. On the right page the corresponding Greek text is printed in the inner column with an accompanying Latin translation of the Greek in the outer column. Underneath the Hebrew and Latin text on the left page the Aramaic Targum text is printed. The Latin translation of the Targum can be found underneath the Greek and Latin columns on the right page.

The order of the books is the historical one (like in the Vulgate, which copied the order of books from the Septuagint) common in most Christian Bibles. Above each column, with the exception of the Targum column, the name of the book and the chapter number are printed in the language corresponding to the column. The chapters and verses are indicated in Latin numbers in the Latin text. In the Hebrew and Aramaic columns, the chapter numbers are not indicated. The verses are indicated: the end of the verse has a colon, as in most Hebrew manuscripts and editions, and the beginning of the verse has a Latin number in superscript, as is common practice in Christian manuscripts and editions.

Additional elements

The Polyglot Bible was designed as a study Bible. The complete Polyglot comprises eight volumes: four and a half volumes taken up by the texts of the Old and New Testament, the remaining three and a half volumes containing a variety of material related to the Biblical texts. The first volume starts with lengthy prologues and recommendations. In the last volumes we can find, amongst others: letters and mandates, an interlinear Hebrew-Latin version of the Old Testament, treatises, dictionaries, the then new Latin translation by Pagninus, maps and illustrations, drawings of the Temple and architectural drawings. The text of Targum Samuel chosen for the edition was based on a Sefardic manuscript without the Tosefta Targums.⁸² However, the team preparing the Targum text was clearly familiar with

⁸² Targum texts of Sephardic provenance include a varying number of Tosefta Targums. The editor in chief of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, Jiménez de Cisneros, ordered some members of his team to

these so-called Tosefta Targums included in some manuscripts, for Arias Montano found a solution to include the Tosefta Targums. In volume eight of the Polyglot he wrote a paragraph entitled *Variae Lectiones et annotatiunculae, quibus Thargum, id est, Chaldaica paraphrasis infinitis in locis illustrator et emendator*. Clearly indicated as additions, all the Tosefta Targums were listed per Biblical book.

Paris Polyglot Bible [t16sc]

The Paris Polyglot Bible was printed between 1629 and 1655 by Antoine Vitré. The entire project was initiated by François Savary de Brèves, at that time French ambassador in Constantinople. As far as Targum Jonathan is concerned, this edition is a reprint of the Targum text we find in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible.⁸³ However, as a whole, this edition is not an exact reprint of the one produced in Antwerp. Guy-Michel LeJay, its chief editor, added the Peshitta, an Arabic translation as well as the Samaritan Pentateuch. Also, he did not include all the material compiled by Montano in the last three and a half volumes of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible.

The Hebrew and Aramaic texts are printed in a square script and both have sublinear vocalisation. The Tetragrammaton in the Targum text is represented by a triple *yod*.

Elements related to the segmentation of the text

The Paris Polyglot follows by and large the layout of the Antwerp Polyglot. So for the Old Testament, it has two columns on each page with a rectangular text block underneath those columns. On the left side the Hebrew text and the Latin text of the Vulgate are printed, with the Aramaic version of the Targum underneath. The right page contains the Greek version together with a Latin translation of the Greek. The

prepare Targum manuscripts - accompanied by a Latin translation - in which these Tosefta Targums were to be left out as they contained too many references to Jewish exegesis. He justifies his decisions in the prologue to the Complutensian Polyglot Bible ('Prologus ad Lectorum', in: *Biblia Polyglotta: Hebraicè; Chaldaicè, Graecè Et Latinè, De Mandata Ac Sumptibus Francisci Ximenez De Cisneros* (Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldi Guillelmi de Brocario, 1517); Arias Montano describes the manuscript and its origin in his preface to the Targum ('Benedicti Ariae Montani Hispalensis in Chaldicarum paraphraseon libros et interpretationes praefatio', in: *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, and Latine: Philippi II Regis Catholici pietate et studio ad sacrosanctae ecclesiae usum, Vol. II*).

⁸³ The Targum text of the Paris Polyglot Bible is, however, not a replica of the one printed in Antwerp. There is some variation in spelling: *samech* instead of a *sin/shin*, cases of more *plene* spelling as well as some cases that are most likely printing errors.

text printed underneath these two columns is the Latin translation of the Aramaic text of the Targum on the left page.⁸⁴

As in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, the order of the books is the historical order that is common in most Christian Bibles. Above each column, with the exception of the Targum column, the name of the book and the chapter number are printed in the language corresponding to the column. The chapters and verses are indicated in Latin numbers in the Latin text. In the Hebrew and Aramaic columns, the chapter numbers are not indicated. The verses are indicated: the end of the verse has a colon as in most Hebrew manuscripts and editions and the beginning of the verse has a Latin number in superscript as is common practice in Christian manuscripts and editions.

Additional elements

The Paris Polyglot Bible started out as a reprint of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. At the beginning of the Paris Polyglot Bible we can find the prologue written for this Polyglot, as well as the prologue, recommendations, and mandates from the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. As said above, the text of TgSam printed in the Paris Polyglot version is basically the same as the one included in the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, namely a version without the Tosefta Targums. The paragraph containing the excluded Tosefta Targums, written by Arias Montano for the Antwerp Polyglot Bible,⁸⁵ did not find its way into the Paris Polyglot Bible.

⁸⁴ The Samaritan Pentateuch, Peshitta and Arabic translation are printed in separate volumes. See: E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, *Justifying Christian Aramaism. Editions and Latin Translations of the Targums From the Complutensian to the London Polyglot Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 197-198.

⁸⁵ 'Variae Lectiones et annotatiunculae, quibus Thargum, id est, Chaldaica paraphrasis infinitis in locis illustrator et emendator', in *Biblia Sacra Hebraicè, Chaldaicè, Graecè, and Latinè: Philippi II Regis Catholici pietate et studio ad sacrosanctae ecclesiae usum* (Antwerpen: Christophe Plantin, 1572).

Liturgical Texts

(A) Sephardic liturgical texts

This category consists of standard liturgical texts of Sephardic origin: haftarot collections, Mahzorim, Siddurim and Haggadot.

MS Heb. e.43, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t1184f]

This manuscript is a haftarot collection from the Cairo Genizah containing haftarot for parashot נשא (Num 4.21-7.89; Judg. 13.2-24), בהעלתך (Num 8.1-12.16), שלח לך (Num 13:1-15.41), קרח (Num 16.1-18.32), פינסה (Num 25.10-30.1), מטות (Num 30.2-32.42), and מסעי (Num 33.1-36.13).⁸⁶ The text is written in a Sephardic square script with some corrections. Hebrew and Aramaic text alternate and have sublinear vocalisation.⁸⁷ Verses 50-54 of 1 Sam 17 are preserved on fol. 17.

MS T-S AS 70.238, 240, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, United Kingdom [t3039f]

This fragment of the Taylor-Schechter collection contains some incomplete verses of 2 Sam 22. The Hebrew and Aramaic text alternate. The fragment contains the Hebrew text of verses 9-10, 13-17, 23-26.⁸⁸ The Targum is preserved of verses 9-10, and 13-17. Fol 238r contains only the Hebrew text of verses 23-26. The Hebrew text reads the tetragrammaton, in the Targum this is represented by triple *yod* in a triangle shape. The fragment is written in a Sephardic square script in hemistichs and has sublinear vocalisation.

⁸⁶ Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, no.2610/6; NLI system number: 000163193; The catalogues list the script as 'Oriental square'. However, shelfmark Heb. e.43 consists of a variegated collection of separate texts without any apparent cohesion.

⁸⁷ M.L. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986), 33-35; 70-75; 82-86; 88-89; 96-97; M.L. Klein, 'The Translation of Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathisms in the Targumim', in: J.A. Emerton (ed), *Congress Volume-Vienna 1980* (Leiden: Brill, 1981): 162-177, 143; Kasher, 'על פי קטעי גניזה חדשים', 9-278.

⁸⁸ M.L. Klein, *Targum Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), no 1337.

MS T-S B6.14, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, United Kingdom [t3016s]

This fragment of the Taylor-Schechter collection contains verses 26-44 of 2 Samuel 22. Hebrew and Aramaic text alternate, and the text is written in hemistichs. The tetragrammaton is used in the Aramaic text just as in the Hebrew. It is written in a Sephardic square script and both versions have sublinear vocalisation.⁸⁹

MS Parma 2520, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Italy [t1104]

This volume contains Torah, Former Prophets, Megillot and haftarot for parasha וצ (Lev 6:1 – 8:36), Pesach and Shavuot. The Targum is provided for the haftarot. The text is written in a Sephardic square script and was produced in the 15th century. In the book of Judges we find a few decorated headings.⁹⁰

The Hebrew and Aramaic text alternate, both have sublinear vocalisation. Of 2 Sam 22 verses 1-18 and 50-51 are preserved. The text of 2 Sam 22 is written in hemistichs. The tetragrammaton is used in the Hebrew as well as in the Targum text.

MS Vaticanus ebr. 21, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City [t181]

This volume is written in Sephardic square script and contains Leviticus with the prescribed haftarot for the book. Also, Song of Songs is preserved with the haftarot for parasha וצ (Lev 6:1 – 8:36), Pesach, Rosh Chodesh, Machar Chodesh⁹¹ and fast days. The haftarot for parasha וצ and Pesach include the Targum. The text of Leviticus contains Masorah parva, the Song of Songs contains Masorah parva and magna. The text may have been written during the 14th century.⁹²

The Hebrew and Aramaic text alternate, both with sublinear vocalisation. The tetragrammaton is represented with a triple *yod* in a triangle shape. The Hebrew and

⁸⁹ Klein, *Targum Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah*, no 128.

⁹⁰ B. Richler, and M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma* (Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library, 2001), no 183; H. Cassuto, *Codices Vaticani Hebraici Codices 1-115* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1956), no 21; Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets*, siglum װ; NLI system number: 000077280.

⁹¹ If Rosh Chodes falls on a Sunday, a different haftara is used, 1 Sam 20.18-42. Its name is derived from the first verse of the reading: מחר חדש.

⁹² B. Richler, M. Beit-Arié, and N. Pasternak (eds), *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), 14. NLI system number: 000207703.

Aramaic have both sublinear vocalisation. The scribe used a ligature for *alef* and *yod*. Verses 1-14 and 50-51 of 2 Sam 22 are attested. The text of this chapter is written in hemistichs.

MS Parma 2817, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Italy [t79]

The manuscript contains an incomplete version of the Torah with Targum Onkelos, the Megillot with Rashi, and the commentary of Levi ben Gershon is added to the book of Esther alone. The haftarot for the entire year are given. Targum Jonathan is supplied for parasha וצ, Pesach and Shavuot. A later hand added the commentary of Rashi to the haftarot until parasha וישב (Gen 37.1 – 40.23) in Ashkenazic script. Fol 12r preserves a note stating that a list of haftarot according to the Italian rite was added to the manuscript. This list is missing nowadays. The main text is written in Sephardic square script, and was probably written in the 15th century.⁹³

As said above, most of the haftarot are given in Hebrew only. The three haftarot together with the corresponding Targum are written in a tiny print in the left or right margin of the page. Both the Hebrew and the Aramaic text have sublinear vocalisation. Verses 1-25 and 50-51 of 2 Sam 22 are given in Hebrew and Aramaic, the Hebrew text is written in hemistichs.

MS Hébreu 40, Bibliothèque National de France, Paris, France [t127]

The manuscript incorporates Torah with Targum Onkelos written in a separate column, the Megillot, and the haftarot for the entire year. The haftarot for Pesach and Shavuot preserve Targum Jonathan. The text is written in an Ashkenazic square script. The colophon (225r) states that the Torah was written by Matatiah ben Yitzchak for Solomo ben Juda Tovia in 1335.⁹⁴

A large part of 2 Sam 22 is attested.⁹⁵ The first three verses are given in Hebrew, followed by the three corresponding Aramaic verses. Then two Hebrew verses are written, followed by the same two verses in Aramaic. The rest of the chapter, the

⁹³ Richler, and Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma*, no 171; NLI system number: 000083701.

⁹⁴ NLI system number: 000128765; SFAR- data key: OB016.

⁹⁵ The manuscript is online accessible:

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90030200/f283.zoom.r=hebreu%2040.langEN>

Hebrew and Aramaic verses alternate.⁹⁶ The following verses of 2 Sam 22 are given in Aramaic: 1-3, 5-19, 33, 50-51.⁹⁷

MS Or. 9916, British Library, London, United Kingdom [t1188]

This contains haftarot for Pesach copied in the 18th century and written in a Sephardic square script.⁹⁸

Aramaic text alternates with a Ladino translation. Hebrew catchwords are added in small print. The tetragrammaton is represented by double *yod*. All the verses of 2 Sam 22 are preserved.

MS Sassoon 1017, Letchworth, United Kingdom [t1611]

This manuscript is a Siddur according to the Sephardic rite. The Siddur is written in Sephardic square script and was most likely produced in the 15th century.⁹⁹ The haftarot for Pesach are included in both Hebrew and Aramaic. The Hebrew and Aramaic alternate and in both languages the tetragrammaton is written. Almost all verses of 2 Sam 22 are recorded: verse 4 of the Hebrew text and verse 5 of the Targum text are missing. This seems to be a scribal error as folio 339 ends with the Hebrew text of verse 4 and folio 340 starts with the Targum of verse 5.

MS Add. 14761, British Library, London, United Kingdom [t1710]

This manuscript is generally known as the Barcelona Haggadah, an abundantly illuminated Haggadah supplemented by some other texts related to Pesach.¹⁰⁰ It was

⁹⁶ This is the only manuscript I checked where this happens. I encountered verse by verse alternating texts, and texts where three verses of Hebrew were followed by three verses of targum (as in *M Meg* 4:4 where alternating is prescribed for Torah readings but reading and translating three verses a time is allowed for readings from the Prophets).

⁹⁷ The Hebrew and Aramaic text do not always match: 22.4 is left out in the Targum; Hebrew verse 22.47 is followed by Targum 22.22; Hebrew verse 22.48 is followed by Targum 22.33; Hebrew verse 22.49 is followed by an unclear line.

⁹⁸ NLI system number: 000123861.

⁹⁹ D.S. Sassoon (ed), *Ohel David. Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Mss in the Sassoon Library London* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 1017; NLI system number: 000134934; Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets*, 306.

¹⁰⁰ See www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/sacredtexts/barcelona_lg.html; NLI system number: 000121840.

produced in the late fourteenth century in Catalonia.¹⁰¹ The Barcelona Haggadah not only contains the Haggadah itself, but also a range of poetic and other texts: texts for the Sabbath preceding Pesach, all Biblical readings in Hebrew and Aramaic for the remainder of the festival, some texts for Shavuot and a group of fifty-nine *piyyutim*. Where the Haggadah is intended for use in the home, the *piyyutim* were used during the public service in the synagogue. Such an addition of a group of *piyyutim* written specifically for the festival days, the intermediate Sabbath and the Sabbath preceding the festival, occurs in a number of Sephardic illuminated Haggadot from the fourteenth and fifteenth century.¹⁰²

Folios 9r to 100v preserve illuminations and decorations. These are illustrations of Pesach ceremonies, but also scenes from the Bible and Midrash alluded to by the text of the Haggadah.¹⁰³ Some scenes and motives show no direct relation to the text but were merely popular at the time.¹⁰⁴ The decorations are not finished, which is unusual. The style of the illuminations is distinctive and unlike any other illuminated Sephardic manuscript.¹⁰⁵ Folio 61v preserves an illustrated *matzo* formed of eight concentric circles, which represent the cosmos and earthly and heavenly musicians on the side, symbolising universal harmony. Inside this decoration, four unfinished coats of arms in azure and blue stripes are painted. This coat of arms has often been identified as the arms of Barcelona (hence the name Barcelona Haggadah). However, the coat of arms of Barcelona was red and gold.¹⁰⁶ Another possible coat of arms can be seen on folio 26v where a *fleur de lis* is integrated in the decorative frame. Catalonia (as well as Barcelona), the presumed region of production of this part of the Haggadah, was part

¹⁰¹ E. Cohen supposes a date in the second half of the fourteenth century and based her argument on the styles of clothes depicted in the illuminations (E. Cohen, 'The Decoration', in J. Schonfield (ed.), *The Barcelona Haggadah. An Illuminated Passover Compendium From 14th-Century Catalonia in Facsimile (MS British Library Additional 14761)* (London: Facsimile Editions, 1992), 24-43, 41). M. Beit-Arié argues for the year 1360 as the *terminus post quem* and the year 1393 as the *terminus ante quem*, assuming that the poet of poem 7 is the poet by the same name who died in October 1393 (M. Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book. A Codicological Study', in: J. Schonfield (ed), *The Barcelona Haggadah. An Illuminated Passover Compendium From 14th-Century Catalonia in Facsimile (MS British Library Additional 14761)* (London: Facsimile editions, 1992), 14-23, 21-22).

¹⁰² The most famous of these Haggadot are the Sarajevo, Golden and Rylands Haggadot, as well as Or. 1404 (British Library, London, United Kingdom). See: M.H. Schmelzer, 'Hebrew Manuscripts and Printed Books Among the Sephardim Before and After the Expulsion', in: M.H. Schmelzer (ed), *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Medieval Hebrew Poetry* (New York and Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary, 2006), 17*-29*, 65-6.

¹⁰³ For a description of the decorations see: Cohen, 'The Decoration', 25-29.

¹⁰⁴ Cohen, 'The Decoration', 25.

¹⁰⁵ Cohen, 'The Decoration', 39-40.

¹⁰⁶ Cohen, 'The Decoration', 36.

of the Crown of Aragon during the fourteenth century and its coat of arms was a *fleur de lis*.¹⁰⁷ The areas intended for escutcheons of patrons and/or owners of the Haggadah are left blank.¹⁰⁸

The book in its present form shows two distinct sections, most probably produced in two different regions and periods, that were bound together at some point. The central and earlier part is on the present folios 9-151. The material preserved on folios 1-8 and 152-161 was produced later, presumably in the Provence or Bas-Languedoc.¹⁰⁹

The Haggadah preserves the Aramaic version of 2 Sam 22 on fol 127r-132r, the earlier part of the Haggadah that was produced in Catalonia. The semi-cursive Sephardic script used for the Targum is typical for late-medieval Spain (and Provence).¹¹⁰ The Hebrew and Aramaic text alternate and both versions have sublinear vocalisation. The text is written in hemistichs. 2 Sam 22.10-13 are absent in both the Hebrew and the Aramaic text. Verses 9 and 13 have a similar ending in the Aramaic (דלקא ממימריה), so verses 10-13 may have been omitted by accident by the scribe due to homoioteleuton. However, this does not explain the omission of these verses in the Hebrew text, as verses 9 and 13 do not have the same ending in the Hebrew text. The Hebrew text writes the tetragrammaton. The Aramaic text employs it in verses 2-29. In verses 1 and 30-51 the tetragrammaton is represented by a double *yod* with an elongated *yod* on the left side of the double *yod*.

(B) Liturgical Texts Related to the Sephardic Text Family

The texts in this category are not Sephardic in a strict sense. They were produced in the period after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492. The people who left Spain settled in different regions of the world, taking their religious traditions into the Jewish communities they associated with. Over the years the Sephardic liturgical traditions often blended with the local traditions into a new tradition. The following

¹⁰⁷ Cohen suggests that heraldic motives were more often used for their ornamental qualities than actually referring to regions, cities or families, and are as such not reliable to establish the provenance of a manuscript (Cohen, 'The Decoration', 41).

¹⁰⁸ Cohen, 'The Decoration', 41.

¹⁰⁹ Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book', 21.

¹¹⁰ Beit-Arié, 'The Making of the Book', 21.

three liturgical texts make up a specific branch of the Sephardic family. They descend from the Sephardic liturgical tradition, but they also have non-Sephardic roots.

Mich. Add. 3-6, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t1642]

This is a Mahzor for the entire year according to the rite of Avignon. The haftarot are included and Targum Jonathan is added to the haftarot for Pesach and the second day of Sukkot (Mich. Add. 3, fol 34r-101r). MS Mich. Add. 3, the part containing the haftarot, was written by David ben Solomon Tzoreph of Verona in 1721/22.¹¹¹

The text of 2 Sam 22 is written in a semi-cursive Sephardic script with sublinear vocalisation (67v). The Hebrew and Aramaic text alternate. In the outer margins the first word of the Hebrew and Aramaic verse is written in Sephardic square script in large print. The tetragrammaton is reproduced by double *yod*. Verses 14 and 15 are joined together. Verses 18 to 50 are given in Hebrew only. The last verse of the chapter is again in Hebrew and Aramaic.

MS Valmadonna 89, Valmadonna Trust Library, United Kingdom [t1634]

This manuscript contains prayers and readings for Pesach according to the Moroccan rite,¹¹² including Targum and Tafsir of Torah readings and haftarot. The readings are followed by stories about Pesach and Sukkot, Abraham and various liturgical poems. The book concludes with a story, also in Arabic, on the merits of charity, written by a different hand. The book was copied by Makhluḥ David Biton in a North-African script, somewhere during the 19th century.¹¹³

It preserves the Targum of 2 Sam 22. The text is written in two columns. The two inner columns contain Targum Jonathan, the two outer columns the Arabic translation of the Targum. The tetragrammaton is reproduced by double *yod*, the text is not vocalised, and the scribe used a ligature for *alef* and *yod*. The text is sparsely decorated: the first word or words of a reading or prayer are placed in a square decorated with geometrical figures.

¹¹¹ Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, 1073; Beit-Arié, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement to Vol. 1a*, 1073; NLI system number: 000092743.

¹¹² The manuscript uses the word צהיר for this collection of prayers, readings and stories.

¹¹³ B. Richler, *The Hebrew Manuscripts in the Valmadonna Trust Library* (London: The Valmadonna Trust, 1998), 130; NLI system number: 000062981.

MS Or. 10637, British Library, London, United Kingdom [t1630]

This is a Mahzor according to the North-African rite for the three festivals (Pesach, Shavuot, Sukkot) followed by *piyyutim* for the bridegroom (175r onwards), *havdalot* (300v onwards), an index of *piyyutim* (322r-325v), haftarat for Pesach with Targum Jonathan (326r-337v), and the ten commandments according to Saadiah Gaon (338r-350v). It is written in a North-African cursive script and was most likely produced in the 18th century.¹¹⁴

The section with the haftarat for Pesach contains the text of 2 Sam 22. The Hebrew and Aramaic text alternate. Part of the folio containing the haftarat has been torn out, resulting in the loss of verses 4 -16 of 2 Sam 22.

Miscellaneous

The three manuscripts in this subcategory are of unknown origin, but all three texts contain parts of the Targum used in a reading cycle.

The manner in which they were preserved does not inform us as to their possible origin. These are also, short, fragmentary texts which are difficult to assign to a specific textual tradition. Manuscript t3069f is a fragment from the Cairo Genizah. The fragment of Targum Samuel in t2596 has no connection with the rest of the manuscript. The fragment with siglum t2590 consists of a typed copy of a lost manuscript. It does not seem likely that the first two Targum texts originally belonged to a continuous text. The fragment from the Cairo Genizah (t3069f) no longer contains any clues as to whether it once belonged to a continuous or liturgical text.

Information on the origin of these fragments is lacking, but the texts they attest form part of a reading cycle. Therefore, they are listed here as a sub-category of the liturgical texts.

¹¹⁴ NLI system number: 000125333.

MS T-S NS161.286, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, United Kingdom [t3069f]

This fragment of the Cairo Genizah preserves parts of verses of 1 Samuel 17.4-11, and 26-39.¹¹⁵ The text is written in Oriental square script.¹¹⁶ Hebrew and Aramaic text alternate, and the Hebrew text has sublinear vocalisation. Since the margins are gone, it is not possible to determine whether Masorah, catchwords or corrections were added. The tetragrammaton does not occur in this fragment.¹¹⁷ 1 Sam 17 is known to be part of the haftarat, since the haftarah collection preserved in t1184f preserves a part of 1 Sam 17 as haftarah reading to parasha קרה.

MS Mars. 116, Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom [t2596]

The volume consists of a copy of Maimonides' Mishneh Torah. Between part one and two of the manuscript (fol 77v-t181r) the Targum text of 2 Sam 22 is preserved. The text is written in a semi-cursive Sephardic script and might be dated in the 14th century. The colophon (fol 77v) states that the manuscript was written by Mosheh ben Jacob for R. Meir, but it does not give a place or date.¹¹⁸ Each Targum verse is headed by a Hebrew catchword with three small dots above the word. The text is not vocalised, the tetragrammaton is represented with double *yod*. The first line of 2 Sam 22 is written in a different (now faded) colour.

MS Gaster 1478, John Rylands Library, Manchester, United Kingdom [t2590]

This fragment contains lengthy Tosefta Targums to 2 Samuel 21.16-19, Isaiah 47.15 and Ezekiel 1.1. It is part of the collection that once belonged to Dr. Moses Gaster (1856-

¹¹⁵ Digital image available (registered users only) via www.genizah.org.

¹¹⁶ Klein classified the script type as an Oriental square script. However, the script does not show the 'slant' that is characteristic for the Oriental square scripts. Therefore, it is in my view more closely related to the Sephardic square scripts.

¹¹⁷ Klein, *Targum Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah*, no 651. NLI system number: 000141534.

¹¹⁸ Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, no. 576; Beit-Arié, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement to Vol. 1a*, no. 576; NLI system number: 000089712.

1939).¹¹⁹ The original manuscript (MS 1020)¹²⁰ is lost. However, we do have a typed copy of the original manuscript prepared by Gaster himself.¹²¹ This typescript is known under shelfmark MS 1478 of the Gaster Collection, John Rylands Library, Manchester, United Kingdom.¹²² As the original manuscript is not available, we do not know either its provenance or its date.¹²³ The fact that the Sephardic text tradition preserves the largest number of Tosefta Targums accounts for the placement of this text here. The Tosefta Targum connected to 2 Sam 21.16-19 is headed by the remark: The last day of Pesach, from Samuel (יומא בתרה דפסח דשמאל).

¹¹⁹ For more information on M. Gaster see: www.ucl.ac.uk/library/special-collections/a-z/gaster.

¹²⁰ This shelfmark is mentioned by Gaster in an article: M. Gaster, 'Das Buch Josua in Hebräisch-Samaritanischer Rezension', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 62 (1908): 494-549 (532).

¹²¹ The material of this part of the Gaster collection should have been included in the collection of the British Library. In 1927 the British Library bought a substantial part of the collection. Unfortunately, the original manuscript is on the list of untraced manuscripts of this library.

¹²² In 1954, the John Rylands Library, Manchester, purchased the remaining part of the Gaster collection. See: www.library.manchester.ac.uk/search-resources/special-collections/guide-to-special-collections/a-to-z/collection/?match=Moses+Gaster+Papers.

¹²³ Gaster's handlist provides the following information: "Hagadah: Midrash hagadot from Haphtarot [Persian]. Copies of Agadic portions in haphtarot; typeset damaged." (M. Gaster, *Handlist of Gaster Manuscripts Held Mostly in the British Library (Formerly British Museum), London, and in the Johan Rylands Library, Manchester* (London: The British Library, 1995), 1478.

Chapter 2. Initial Observations Concerning the Text of Targum 2 Samuel 22 As Preserved in European Liturgical Manuscripts*

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

* This chapter has been published before as H.M. Patmore & J.M. Tanja, "Initial Observations Concerning the Text of 2 Samuel 22 as Preserved in European Liturgical Manuscripts", in: A. Houtman, H.-M. Kirn & E. van Staalduine-Sulman (eds), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 63-80. It came about in close collaboration between the two authors who both did their own part of the research, discussed it between them and combined it in the present article. The order of the names is alphabetic and is no indication of a first or second author. The text is reprinted from the original publication with permission of the co-author, the editors, and the publisher.

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 used 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 Staalduine 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 Staalduine 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, Universitaetsbibliothek, Jena, Germany (Ashkenaz, thirteenth-fourteenth century) [t713a];
- MS Or. fol. 3, Berlin, Germany (Ashkenaz, fourteenth century) [t5a];
- MS 11 Stiftsbibliothek, Göttingen, 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 [t702a]
- MS M1-3, Biblioteca General Histórica, Salamanca, Spain (Alcalá de Henares, 1532) [t703a]
- MS 7542, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Spain (Castile, 1533) [t704a]
- MS Opp. Add. 4to. 75 (Neubauer 68), Bodleian Library, Oxford, United Kingdom (Soria/Toledo, early thirteenth century) [t706a]

- Leiria edition (Lisbon, 1494) [t734a]
- Antwerp Polyglot Bible (Antwerp, 1568-1572) [t12a]
- Paris Polyglot Bible (Paris, 1629-1645) [t16a]

The number of known liturgical manuscripts is vast. A selection had therefore 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 haftarot, 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 merely the 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 (written in 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]

¹ See also the paper 'Targum Layouts in Ashkenazi Manuscripts. Preliminary Methodological Observations' by Elodie Attia in this volume [= Houtman, Van Staaldoune-Sulman & Kirn, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*].

- 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 Universitaetsbibliothek, Hamburg, Germany (1309 CE, Oxford?) [t159a]
- MS Hébreu 44, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France (1303 CE, Paris) [t99a]
- 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.

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.

Haftarot collections

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

Siddur

- 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]

Unknown origin:

- 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 (שייזיב)!*' 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 דשאול 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 (פתח פומי ומצלי) and pray before the LORD that in every time of distress (דבכל עידן עקא) He may deliver me from my enemies (הוה פריק לי).*' MSS t1639i, t1647i, t1618i also contain this longer text, but omit 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.

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 trembled and were bent down because of the strength of His anger.*' All Italian liturgies, on the other hand, read:

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 [= Houtman, Van Staaldune Sulman & Kirn, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*].

'The earth was shaken and stirred up and disturbed, and the foundations of the heavens trembled, and the mountains were shaken, 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 שנאי פרקני, perhaps showing the influence of the continuous text tradition.

Further examples include the readings 'a band of liars (סיעת שקריון) [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 שכנתיה) 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 (t1188s), 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 משיריין 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) (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 קדמך instead of the expected קדמוהי; at 2 Sam 22:3 t133a omits the clause סמך לי ... בעדן עקא '*in the time of distress...[His Memra] supports me*' (the phrase מן 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 קדמוהי '*like that 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 עננים for עננין '*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*' (כישא) 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 יי קדם), 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 דבביהון ויתיר ואף יד דוד שיזב 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 unvocalised, 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 פָּרַק is used instead of שָׁזַב 'and He saved me' (פָּרַק יְתִי). This is the case in t1104s, t79s and SBH. A kind of conventional rendering (see Patmore 2012a, 30-36) can be found in verse 3 of t2596s. The word 'all' is added here 'He redeemed me from all my enemies' (וְאָף מִיַּד מְכַל חֹטְפִין שָׁזַיַּב יְתִי). 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' (שָׁזַיַּב) again at

the end of the clause. Ms t1601i, for example, reads '[...] *and also David* He saved (שיזביה) *from Saul's sword.*' All the Italian and Ashkenazi liturgical manuscripts used in this article read the verb 'to save' (שיזב), 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 משייזב), 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 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* (פרעה רשיעא)' (t181s, t702s, t1188s, SBH), six follow the Eastern tradition (t79s, t703s, t704s, t706s, t743s, t1104s, t2596s) and two have a shorter version '*smoke went up, His anger was like a burning fire* (סלק תננת רגזיה באישא)' (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). 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* (חטופין) *He saved me.*' MSS t159s, t99s, t133s, t63s, t1614a, and t1631a all read: '*and also from the hand of all robbers* (חטופין) and violent men (אניסין) *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 t1601i, for example, uses ׀- for the first person singular suffix on a plural masculine noun (e.g. דבביי 2 Sam 22:3) and reads הוינא, the first singular perfect form of the verb ‘to be’ (2 Sam 22:3), in place of the pronoun אנא (see Lund 1987). Ms t1639i (and probably t1601i, the text is unclear) uses ׀- 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 (הווינא t1647i), but read דבבי; whereas t1639i and t1618i read דבביי and אנא. In the two Ashkenazi Mahzorim one finds דבביי (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 ת, 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 גדפי רוהא ‘upon the wings of the wind’, the noun גדף replacing its synonym בנף, 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:

- Hébreu 44 and Or fol. 1214= 2 Sam 22:1-14, 50-51
- Levy 19 and Parm. 2894 = 2 Sam 22:1-19, 50-51
- 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 is possible that the preserved units of Targum reflect local liturgical customs, since it is permissible to skip in the prophetic reading (m.Meg 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):

- Vaticani Ebr 21 = 2 Sam 22:1-14, 50-51
- Parma 2817 = 2 Sam 22:1-25, 50-51
- 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.

⁴The 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.

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. Targum 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, Add 27031 British Library, is sixteenth century Ashkenazi), and the Fragment Targums according to 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 were 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 שׁוּב 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 שׁוּב, 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 שׁוּב. 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 text from 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.

Chapter 3. Tosefta Targums in Targum Samuel*

The terms 'Tosefta Targum' and 'targumic Tosefta' are commonly used in scholarly literature to indicate alternative readings within the various text traditions of the Targums.¹ These alternative readings are usually all kinds of expansions of the verse they are connected to: the Aramaic 'tosefta' (תוספתא) means addition. The obvious next question would be: an addition to what exactly? One can think of additions in the Targum text as compared to the Hebrew text, or of additions as compared with other texts of Targum Jonathan or Onkelos (henceforth TgJon and TgOnk). In general, the term is only used for certain more elaborate passages in the Targum that are found in some textual witnesses of the Targum, but not in others. In short, they deal with additions to the Targum text and not with additions in the Targum text as compared to the Hebrew text. The expansions usually called Tosefta Targum (henceforth TosTg) are not found in the extant Babylonian textual witnesses of the Targum.² Unfortunately, their origin and relation to TgJon has not yet been determined.³ As will become clear below, most of these TosTg seem to have been preserved in the European manuscripts and editions and several were attested in specific geographic areas only. This article describes two aspects of the TosTg: the occurrence of TosTg in the extant text tradition of Targum Samuel (henceforth TgSam) and the textual variants which occur in the different attestations of the TosTg.

Within the Sephardic text family of TgSam the word תוספתא or its abbreviation 'תוס' is inserted in the running text to indicate the beginning of a TosTg. It is slightly confusing that this indication is also used in t703s, t704s and t706s⁴ at the beginning of the Song of Hannah (1 Sam 2.1-10), a text that certainly has additions compared to the Hebrew text, but not compared to the other extant targum text of this chapter. Even though the scribes of these manuscripts considered this part a TosTg, I do not call these verses a TosTg, because they do not contain additions compared to the other textual witnesses of the targum text.⁵

* This paper has been submitted for publication in *Aramaic Studies*.

¹ For an overview of research done on the Tosefta Targums see: A. Houtman and H. Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions. The Use of Variant Readings for the Study in Origin and History of Targum Jonathan* (SAIS 9, Leiden: Brill, 2009), 42-48.

² R. Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1996), 60-62.

³ Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 238-47, esp. 246-247.

⁴ For the sigla see: www.targum.nl, at 'Standard List of Sigla'.

⁵ Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 3.

As said above, the origin of the TosTg and their relation(s) to TgJon has not yet been explained sufficiently. There are three basic explanations:

1. TosTg may preserve ancient traditions which were attached somehow to the text of TgJon that became standardized during a later stage.
2. TosTg may have existed alongside the standardized text of TgJon serving a different purpose and/or originating in a different context.
3. TosTg could be extensions that came into being after the genesis of the standardized text of TgJon.

Occurrence of Tosefta Targums

The Sephardic text tradition of TgSam attests a large number of TosTg. In Table 1 the occurrence of TosTg in the Sephardic text tradition and their distribution among the individual manuscripts and editions is made visible. All continuous texts of TgSam are listed and two texts from the miscellaneous category (t2565 and t2590).⁶ t2565 is included because it preserves verses that in other Sephardic manuscripts attest TosTg. t2590 is a fragment of unknown origin containing one lengthy TosTg. All versions but one incorporate the TosTg in the running text of TgSam. The abbreviation 'i' means that the TosTg is indicated with the word תוספתא or its abbreviation 'תוס', the abbreviation 'n.i' means that the TosTg is given without indication and 'm' indicates that the TosTg is attested, but somewhere in the margin and not incorporated in the running text. Occasionally different verses are listed in one cell of the table. This indicates that the same TosTg is attached to different verses in the textual witnesses.

⁶ For a description of the different types of Targum texts see E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, 'A Variety of Targum Texts', in A. Houtman, E. van Staaldoune-Sulman & H.-M. Kirn (eds), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives 27, Leiden: Brill, 2014), 9-31.

Table 1

	t702s	t703s	t704s	t706s	t717s	t734s	t12sc	t12sc.add	t16sc	t2565	t2590
1 Sam 1.29			i								
1 Sam 2.1		i						m			
1 Sam 2.2		i	i	i	i			m			
1 Sam 2.3		i	i					m			
1 Sam 2.4		i	i					m			
1 Sam 2.5		i	i					m			
1 Sam 2.6		i	i					m			
1 Sam 17.8	n.i	i	i	i	i	i		m			
1 Sam 17.39	n.i	i	i	n.i		i					
1 Sam 17.41			i								
1 Sam 17.42	i	i									
1 Sam 17.43					n.i	i					
1 Sam 17.44					n.i						
1 Sam 18.19	i	i	i								
1 Sam 18.20						i					
1 Sam 18.25					n.i						
2 Sam 6.23		i	i			i					
2 Sam 12.11	i	i	i	i							
2 Sam 12.14					n.i						
2 Sam 19.30						i					
2 Sam 20.22					n.i						
2 Sam 21.15											m
2 Sam 21.16											m

Several observations can be made based on this table. t2565, t12sc and t16sc do not contain TosTg at all. t703s and t704s seem to preserve more of them than any of the

other textual witnesses. t717s, t734s and t2590 preserve TosTg not known from other Sephardic sources.

t2565 preserves parts of TgSam (1 Sam 1-17) in the margin of Kimchi's commentary on the Former Prophets. In this manuscript verses 9, 12-26 and 42-49 of chapter 17 are given. The Kimchi commentary is written in Ashkenazic script, but the added Targum text in a semi-cursive Sephardic script. The additions to verses 42 and/or 43 found in other Sephardic texts are not included by the person who added parts of the Targum text to the commentary. This might serve as an argument to deem this Targum text as of non-Sephardic origin. However, the TosTg to 1 Sam 17.8 (attested in the majority of the Ashkenazic texts, see below) is lacking as well.⁷ The addition to verses 42 and 43 is rather long and not mentioned by Rashi in his commentary, which might also explain why the TosTg is not included in the margin. So overall, the absence of TosTg in 1 Samuel 17 does not help us to establish the origin of this marginal text.

The other two textual witnesses lacking TosTg are t12sc and t16sc, the Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp and Paris. The absence of TosTg is easily explained: this was a conscious decision of the editor of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, Benito Arias Montano. Nevertheless, without mentioning the term TosTg, he included one of them in Volume 8 of his Polyglot Bible under the heading *Loca ex Chaldaica paraphrasi reiecta, quae supervacanea esse videbatur* (rejected phrases from the Chaldaic paraphrasis that seem to be superfluous). The list of *Loca ex Chaldaica paraphrasi reiecta* consists of one passage labelled תוספתא in other manuscripts (1 Sam 17.8) and of passages that are additions to the text when compared to the Hebrew text.⁸ Since the editor of the Paris Polyglot Bible, Guy Michel Le Jay, copied the text of TgSam from the Antwerp Polyglot Bible, the TosTg are lacking in the running text of this edition as well. Moreover, Le Jay did not include Montano's list of *Loca ex Chaldaica paraphrasi reiecta* of the eighth volume of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible in his edition, so the Paris Polyglot Bible does not attest any TosTg.

⁷ Rashi mentions the content of the TosTg to 1 Sam 17.8 in his discussion of the verse but does not give the text of the TosTg itself.

⁸ Besides the passage indicated as t12sc.add in Table 2 there are some other verses given in this list: 1 Sam. 2.1-5; 2 Sam 22.3, 5, 7, 9, 27, 28, 32, 36, 47, 49 and 23.4, 6, 8, 31. I consider these passages not as TosTg; these texts show an addition when compared to the Hebrew text of Samuel but do not show an addition when compared to the Aramaic text.

Table 1 seems to suggest that t703s and t704s contain unique TosTg to 1 Sam 2.3-6. However, as I explained above, these additions are no TosTg from my point of view, but only additions when compared to the Hebrew text of these verses, they are attested in all textual witnesses of TgJon. They are nevertheless listed in Table 1 because manuscripts t703s and t704s indicate these verses as a TosTg. Likewise, all textual witnesses from the Sephardic branch (apart from t12sc and t16sc) give exactly the same Aramaic text for these verses,⁹ but indicate those as תוספתא just once (t706s and t717s at the beginning of 1 Sam. 2.2) or not at all (t702s, t734s). Alfonso de Zamora, the scribe of t703s and t704s, seems to have felt the need to underline this deviation of the Targum text from the Hebrew text for his Christian readership. It is curious that in 2 Samuel 22, where a similar phenomenon occurs of deviation of the Targum text as compared to the Hebrew text, he does not indicate these passages as תוספתא even once.¹⁰ This could be explained by the different nature of the expanded passages. In 1 Sam 2 an expansion of the text in line with rabbinic exegesis is given that alters the Hebrew text completely. The expansions in 2 Sam 22 are of a different nature. They are more or less poetical elaborations that can be commonly found in liturgical hymns and barely change the content or meaning of the expanded text.

t2590 preserves a TosTg to 2 Sam 21.15-16. Unfortunately, this textual witness is problematic in terms of its origin. It is a typescript of an unknown manuscript containing only this TosTg. This text is not attested in any other textual witness of the Sephardic text family or any other non-Sephardic text to date. The content of this TosTg has been discussed at length elsewhere and will therefore not be repeated here.¹¹ The style and length differ greatly from the other texts discussed in this paragraph. This text has adequately been defined as 'targumic *derasha*': it can hardly be seen as a Targum itself but more as an elaboration on the basis of the Targum text.¹² The addition to 1 Sam 17.42,43 is constructed as a poem, but similar in style: a lengthy elaborated text based on the Targum text. This addition, however, is found in several Sephardic texts. So, one might conclude that this kind of Targumic tradition was known in

⁹ Basically, the same text is attested in all non-Sephardic witnesses as well.

¹⁰ The editor of the APB has taken out precisely these passages from 1 Sam. 2.1-5 and 2 Sam. 22 of the running text and listed separately in the section *Loca ex Chaldaica paraphrasi reiecta, quae supervacanea esse videbatur* of Volume 8.

¹¹ E. van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel* (SAIS 1, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 620-30; Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 119-127.

¹² *idem*, 127, 133.

Sephardic communities. With respect to the origin of the tradition preserved in t2590 we can assume some familiarity with this type of Targumic expansion in Sephardic circles based on the attestation of the style-wise similar tradition to 1 Sam 17.42.43. However, I have found similar texts in collections of texts for Pesach in two prayer-books from North Africa.¹³ Apart from t2590 there are two more single attestations of a TosTg. One is attested in t717s and connected to 2 Sam 20.22.¹⁴ The second TosTg is preserved in t734s and belongs to 2 Sam 19.30.¹⁵

Let us now broaden the horizon a little and look at the occurrence of TosTg in other text families of TgSam. They are listed in Table 2 below.¹⁶ The manuscripts and editions in Table 2 are (fragments of) continuous texts with the exception of t2661 and t2662 which are both copies of a commentary on the Former Prophets by Kimchi.¹⁷ Kasher regards certain additions to 2 Sam 22 as attested in two Italian Mahzorim as TosTg.¹⁸ Houtman and Sysling concluded that targumic *derasha* would be a more appropriate term for these additions.¹⁹ In 2 Sam 22 the Aramaic text as such already deviates from the Hebrew text and these deviations are attested by all textual representations of TgSam. The two Mahzorim discussed by Kasher and Houtman and Sysling contain several additions as compared to most of the known textual witnesses of this chapter.

¹³ MS Or. 10390, British Library, London, United Kingdom and MS Valmadonna 89, Valmadonna Trust Library, United Kingdom (t1634s).

¹⁴ For text and discussion see: Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot*, 114-5; Van Staaldouine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 612 note 1030; Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 111-3; Van Staaldouine-Sulman list erroneously a second attestation of this Tosefta Targum, namely MS Oxford 2329, mentioned by Kasher. However, this shelfmark does not exist. Lemma 2329 in Neubauer's catalogue (A. Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886) describes t717s. Kasher erred in the siglum and Van Staaldouine interpreted this as a second attestation of the Tosefta Targum.

¹⁵ For text and discussion see: Van Staaldouine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 604; Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 106-7. One fragment from the Cairo Genizah, F3070, could preserve the Tosefta. There is a gap between the last word of verse 30 (אחטתא) and the first word of verse 31.

¹⁶ t2661: MS Parma 2883, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma, Italy; Richler, B., and M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma* (Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library, 2001); NLI system number: 000088136.

t2662: MS Vaticanus ebr. 71, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City; Cassuto, H., *Codices Vaticani Hebraici Codices 1-115* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1956), 71; B. Richler, M. Beit-Arié, and N. Pasternak (eds), *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), 49; NLI system number: 000114162.

t2581: MS Hr. 15, nr. 18, Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Marburg, Germany; Striedl, H., *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland. Band VI,2, Hebräischen Handschriften* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1965) no 300; NLI system number: 000184121.

¹⁷ Both manuscripts were written in Italy in an Italian script during the 14th century. Kimchi is generally thought of as a Sephardic Jew. Kasher labelled these two manuscripts 'Ashkenazic'. Awaiting the results of the textual comparison I have placed them outside the Sephardic text family.

¹⁸ Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot*, 122.

¹⁹ Houtman, and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 128-30.

However, similar additions can be found in other Italian Mahzorim.²⁰ Unlike the TosTg discussed in this paragraph, these additions do not contain additional explanation of the text. They are rather forms of enrichment of the text of a non-exegetical character and even at times simply conventional renderings. Therefore, I do not perceive them as TosTg and have excluded these manuscripts from the table below. t705i preserves a large number of marginal readings related to the Targum. These have been discussed recently by Houtman and Sysling.²¹ I have listed those readings that contain an additional explanation of the text of an exegetical nature in the table below. Marginal readings attesting a reading which presents merely a revision towards the Hebrew text or a clarification (explicating the implied sense by means of an addition or explicating the implied sense by substituting vocabulary) are not listed, because I reckon those as variant readings and not as TosTg.

²⁰ 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 A. Houtman, H.-M. Kirn, and E. van Staaldvine-Sulman (eds), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives 27, Leiden: Brill, 2014), 63-80 (68-9).

²¹ Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 61-97.

Apart from some TosTg which are attested in the Sephardic textual witnesses as well, the table shows additions that might be called TosTg that have not been found in the Sephardic tradition until now. These are all single occurrences and all but one come from t705i (Codex Reuchlin).²² t3013f (T-S NS 128.14)²³ contains a TosTg to 1 Sam 2.9. It is written in a semi-square Oriental script.²⁴ This tradition is not known from any other source and is incorporated in the running text without indication.²⁵

t705i (Codex Reuchlin) is a rather special case. It is the oldest known extant manuscript of TgJon. It contains the Hebrew text of the Prophets alternating with the Aramaic. What is of interest in this context is the large number of marginal readings related to the Targum text.²⁶ There is one TosTg incorporated in the running text of TgJon without any indication. It concerns an expansion of 1 Sam 2.6 not attested in any other known manuscript.²⁷ The only marginal reading in t705i bearing similarities to a Sephardic TosTg is a variant attached to 1 Sam 17.8 indicated as 'ירוש' Jerushalmi. Several of the other marginal readings are close to traditions occurring elsewhere as TosTg²⁸ but are not attested in any of the Sephardic textual witnesses. These marginal readings are clearly indicated in both the running text and the margin where they are headed by three different designations. First, they can be marked 'ספ' אה' an abbreviation for Hebrew ספר אחר or Aramaic ספרא אחרניא (another book). Second, the abbreviation 'ירו' or 'ירוש' for 'ירושלמי' (Jerushalmi) or 'תרג' ירוש' for 'תרגום ירושלמי' (Targum Jerushalmi) is used. And third, they can be indicated by the abbreviation 'ל' א' for Hebrew לשון אחר or Aramaic לישנא אחרניא (another version). The ספר אחר readings are connected to 1 Sam 2.22, 1 Sam 4.12, 2 Sam 3.5 and 2 Sam 6.19. The ירושלמי and תרגום ירושלמי marginal readings are found next to 1 Sam 3.14, 6.19, 10.22, 11.2, 12.5, and

²² Italian Mahzorim attest some additions to 2 Sam 22.

²³ Klein, *Targum Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah* no 615.

²⁴ M. Beit-Arié, *Specimens of Mediaeval Hebrew Scripts. Volume I. Oriental and Yemenite Scripts* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1987) plate 32.

²⁵ Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 109-10.

²⁶ For a discussion of the marginalia and their possible origin see: H.M. Patmore, 'The Marginal Notes to the Targum Text of Codex Reuchlianus No.3' *AS* 10 (2012), 23-52 and Patmore, *The Transmission of Targum Jonathan in the West. A Study of Italian and Ashkenazic Manuscripts of the Targum to Samuel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), chapter 9.

²⁷ Van Staaldvine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 213-14; Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 108.

²⁸ Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 133.

17.4.5.10.18. Finally, the marginal readings called **לישנא אחריונא** are connected to 1 Sam 11.11, 1 Sam 12.2 and 1 Sam 12.11.²⁹

Textual Comparison of Attested Tosefta Targums

The TosTg attested in more than one Sephardic manuscript or edition will be compared on the textual level. Up till now, the TosTg to 1 Sam 17.8 seems to be the only one attested widely outside the Sephardic family.³⁰ This TosTg will not be discussed in this article. The other TosTg occurring outside the Sephardic text family are attached to 2 Sam 6.23 and 12.11. These non-Sephardic textual witnesses will also be taken into account here. Before turning to the text of the TosTg, I give a short explanation of the way the Aramaic text is displayed. Since t710y, the text normally used as base text for the line-synopsis, does not contain any TosTg, another text had to be chosen. Despite the fact that t734s is an edition based on manuscripts and published later than some of the manuscripts it is used here as the base text for the line-synopses of the TosTg. The main reason for doing so is of a technical nature, namely that it preserves all TosTg but one (2 Sam 12.11). This choice does not imply in any way that t734s is the oldest text or possibly the best attestation of the TosTg. The layout of the text of the TosTg in the following paragraphs attempts to present the different versions of the text of this TosTg in a visible way. Words printed in larger characters indicate a variation of a single word in certain manuscripts. Underlined words designate alternative readings in some textual witnesses of several words' length. An 'a' and 'b' version of a line is used when a larger textual unit of the text differs with regard to content. Minor grammatical differences or spelling variants found in the manuscripts and editions which do not present an actual difference in meaning are given in the footnotes. Letters placed between brackets indicate that the manuscript is difficult to read at that point, while dots between brackets mean that the text is illegible.

²⁹ There are many more marginal readings preserved in t705i under the designation **לישנא אחריונא** or **ספר אחר**, but since I do not define them as TosTg, they are not mentioned here.

³⁰ No fragments from the Cairo Genizah preserving the Targum verses of 1 Sam 17.8 are known. We therefore cannot know if the TosTg to this verse was attested or not in these manuscripts.

1 Sam 17.39

וזריז³¹ דוד ית חרביה מעל ללבושוהי ולא אבה³² למיזל ארי לא אליף³³ ואמר דוד לשאול לית אנא יכיל למיזל באלין³⁴ ארי לית בהון ניסא ואעדינון דוד מיניה דלא אזיל לגביה אלא באבנא ותרמילא משום דמגרפנא הוא ודיניה בסקילה³⁵ דהכין כתיב בספר אוריתא דמשה דמאן דארגז קדם יי אלהא דישיא³⁶ ואפיק שמיה קדישה בחיסודין דלירגמוניה³⁷ באבנא ואעדינון דוד מניה

And David girded his sword over his clothing. But he did not want to go because he had not learned so. And David said to Saul: "I cannot go in these because there is no miracle in them.³⁸ (And David removed them.) And I will go towards him only with my stone and bag because he is a blasphemer. His judgement will be by stoning because thus is written in the book of the Torah of Moses, that whoever makes the LORD the God of heaven angry and brings forth His holy name in shame, they will stone him with stones." And David removed them from him.

The TosTg is attested in t702s, t703s, t704s, t706s, t734s and I700 with very little variation in the different textual witnesses. There is only one larger variant. t734s reads the clause *ואעדינון דוד מניה* twice, at the end of the standard text of TgJon of this verse and again at the end of the TosTg. The word *תוספתא* is inserted after the first time the clause is given.³⁹ All other textual witnesses give this clause at the end of the TosTg only. The occurrence of this TosTg in only one non-Sephardic manuscript does not give enough textual evidence to conclude that this TosTg cannot be a tradition preserved in the Sephardic tradition. Even more so considering the fact that I700 is of Italian (or mixed western) provenance and its (poorly transmitted) Targum text is influenced by unknown Sephardic sources.⁴⁰

³¹ Both t734s and t704s read *זרח* (peal perf. 3.masc.sing.) from the root *זרח* (to spread, shine, sparkle) thus reading and David spread his sword over his clothing. The Latin translation in t704s reads 'accinxit' (perf.ind.act. 3 sing.masc.) of the verb 'accingo' to gird, put on with a girdle. The latin translation in t703s reads a different form of the same verb 'accingit' (pres.ind.act. 3 sing.masc.). Thus where the Zamora manuscripts use a different verb in the Aramaic text, the Latin translation preserves two different forms of the same verb.

³² t702s, t703s, t704s and t700i read *אבא*, a common minor spelling variant.

³³ t700i attests the minor spelling variation *אלוף*; t703s, t704s and t706s preserve the same spelling variant with plene spelling reading *אילוף*.

³⁴ t703s, t704s, t706s, t700i attest the plene spelling *באילין*.

³⁵ t704s preserves a minor spelling variant *בסקילא*.

³⁶ t734s erroneously reads *דישיא*.

³⁷ t734s reads *זירגמוניה* (peal impf. 3 pl.masc.) from the root *רגם* (to stone); All other versions read *דלירגמוניה*.

³⁸ Double translation of Hebrew *נסה* and *נסיתי*: the first with *אילוף* *being trained*, the second with *נסא* *miracle*.

³⁹ t703s and t704s place the words indicating the Tosefta Targum at the beginning of the verse with the words *תוס* and *תוספתא* respectively. t704s also gives the Hebrew lemma (*ויחגר*).

⁴⁰ Van Staaldoune-Sulman, *An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel*, 31.

1 Sam 17.42

ואיסתכי פלישתאה וחזא ית דויד ושטייה ארי הוה יניק וסימוק שפיר בריויה
 ואמר ליה
 אַיזיל לך⁴¹ חוס על טליותך למה את מתגרי עם בר ארייוון
 בחירת⁴² טליא⁴³ ושפירתא⁴⁴ לחדא אמר⁴⁵ גלית לדויד
 גנינא⁴⁶ דהלולא⁴⁷ לא גנז⁴⁸ עלך⁴⁹ אבוך⁵⁰ אידכר⁵¹ גנגך⁵² והדר לאחורך
 דמי זינד לזינא⁵³ דמלכי דרצנא⁵⁴ בכ דאת ירתת מלכו
 חבל⁵⁵ עלך טליא⁵⁶ דגמרך⁵⁷ מצרך⁵⁸ חבל על ינקותך דבעית לאיתקטלא⁵⁹
 ווי לך אימרא דמתגריית עם דובא ולית אימרא דיכיל למיקם ברובא⁶⁰

⁴¹ t703s and t717s add the word טליא boy.

⁴² t734s and t717s read בחירתא (peal perf. 2 masc.sing.); t703s and t704s preserve the form בחיר (paal imper. 2 masc.sing.).

⁴³ t717s reads טליתא girl.

⁴⁴ t703s and t704s attest ושפיר (adjective, masc. sing. st. constr.) which seems more logical than the form attested by the other witnesses ושפירתא (adjective, fem.sing. st.det.).

⁴⁵ t717s adds ליה to him resulting in a double dative.

⁴⁶ t703s attests נגנונא the music for the weddingfeast.

⁴⁷ t704s and t734s repeat the word דהלולא.

⁴⁸ t704s, t717s and t734s read גנז (peal perf. 3 sing.masc.) he surrounded.

⁴⁹ t703s, t704s and t717s attest לך.

⁵⁰ t702s repeats the word אבוך; t703s and t704s add עלך.

⁵¹ t704s, t717s and t734s preserve אידגר (afel imper. 2 masc. sing.) of the root דגר be frightened (conform M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002) pp. 314).

⁵² t703s and t704s attest נגנך your music/instrument. Likewise, the Latin translation in both manuscripts reads 'psalterii tui' your lute/psaltery.

⁵³ t717s preserves זינד לזינא your weapon equals the weapon of kings or your clothes equal the clothes of kings. (CAL, accessed May 23, 2014)

⁵⁴ t734s preserves דרחינא (peal ptc masc, sing with enclitic personal pronoun; see: A. Gianto, 'Lost and Found in the Grammar of First-Millennium Aramaic', in H. Gzella, and M.L. Folmer (eds), *Aramaic in Its Historical and Linguistic Setting* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008) pp. 11-25 (22)) from the root רחך therefore I rely on you; t703s and t704s preserve דרחינא from the root רחם to love. The corresponding Latin translation reads 'diligebam enim te' from the verb 'diligere' (impf.ind.act. 1.s.c.) Therefore I love you; t717s preserves דרחינא, a scribal error but probably also intended to be a form of the root רחם. The form attested in t702s appears to be a scribal error.

⁵⁵ t702s reads חשל it will crush you.

⁵⁶ t734s reads נטליא a printing error.

⁵⁷ t717s attests דגרמך most likely a case of metathesis. Sperber reads דגרמך and attributes this reading to t702s and t734s. Kasher gives דגרמך as well. Van Staaldvine-Sulman followed the tekst given by Sperber (Van Staaldvine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel* pp. 366) and Houtman and Sysling follow Kasher's text, both attesting a form of גמד (Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions* pp. 114-5).

⁵⁸ t717s preserves a spelling variant מסרך.

⁵⁹ t734s attests להתקטלא a Hebraism.

⁶⁰ t717s adds the preposition קדם.

זַעֲרֵא אַתּ וּלִיבְךָ קָשִׁי וְוִי לְךָ דַּאת מִתְגַּרִּית בְּמִן דְּקָשִׁי מִינְךָ
 תִּיזוּךְ וּבִשְׂרָךְ אַתְּן לְעוֹפֵא דְשָׁמְיָא אִם לֹא תִזִּיל וְתִרְעִי עֵנְךָ
 טוֹבְךָ טְלִיָּא אִם תִּזִּיל⁶¹ מִן קְדָמִי⁶² דְּלֹא אִירוֹק בְּךָ וְתִטְבַּע בְּרוֹקִי
 יוֹמָא בִּישָׂא דְנִפְקַת בְּגַדְיָה⁶³ אֲבוּךָ צוּחַ וְאִימְךָ מִלְּלָא⁶⁴ וְוִי וְוִי⁶⁵
 בּוּף⁶⁶ רִישְׁךָ וְהַדְרָ לְאַחֲרֹךְ דְּלֹא יִשְׁלוּט בְּךָ סִיפִי⁶⁷ דְּחַרְיִף
 לְבַךְ דְּרִמָּא יִי מִשְׁפִּיל יִתְיָה⁶⁸ אֲמַר דּוּד לְגַלִּית⁶⁹
 מִימֵר אֱלֹהֵי דַּאתָּא עִימִי הוּא יִשְׁיִיב⁷⁰ אִימְרָא מְפוּס דּוּבָא
 נִיחָא דִּילִי וְרוּגְזָא דִּילְךָ אַתְּ בְּשׁוּם טְעוּתְךָ⁷¹ וְאַנָּא בְּשָׁמָא דִּי צְבָאוֹת
 סִיפְךָ דְּחַרְיִף אֲנָא אֲפְסִיק בִּיהַּ יִתְּ רִישְׁךָ אֲמַר דּוּד לְגַלִּית
 עֲנוּתְנוּתִיָּה דְשָׁאוּל בְּרִ קִישׁ⁷² דְּחַסִּידְתָּא יִתְיָה הִיא תִּיגְרוּם לְךָ וְתִפּוּל קוּמְתְךָ
 פְּתַחנָא פּוּמִי וּבִלְעֵנָא יִתְךָ אֲמַר גַּלִּית לְדוּד
 צוּרַת אֲפֻךְ⁷³ שְׁפִירָא וְסוּמְקָא וְשְׁפִירַת⁷⁴ בְּרִיּוּא וְיֵאִית בְּחִיּוּזָא⁷⁵
 קְלָא אִישְׁתַּמַּעַת⁷⁶ בְּפִלִּישְׁתָּאֵי דְאִימְרָא מְכַתֵּשׁ עִם דּוּבָא
 רִיגְשָׂא רְבָא הוּהוּ בְּחַמְשָׂא אֲבַנִּין דְּדָא⁷⁷ אֲמַרְהָ לְדָא אֲנָא אִיִּסְק בְּקְדָמִיתָא
 שְׁמִיָּה דְאַבְרָהָם צְדִיקָא כְּתִיבָא עַל קְדָמָאָה דִּיצְחָק עֲקִידָא כְּתִיבָא עַל תְּנִינָא דִיעֶקֶב בְּ[וֹכְרָא] כְּתִיבָא עַל
 תְּלִיתָאָה עַל רְבִיעִיתָא וְחַמִּישִׁיתָא כְּתִיב שׁוּמְהוֹן דְּמִשָּׁה וְאַהֲרֹן נְבִיאֵיָּא

⁶¹ t717s reads נִזִּיל (pael perf. 1.pl.c.) *we go away*.

⁶² t717s preserves קְדָמְךָ *from you*.

⁶³ t717s and t734s preserve בְּגוּהָ *with your body*. t704s attests בְּנִדְיָהָ *with your prominence*. The Latin translation of t703s and t704s renders 'et in malo sidere' (fut.indic.pass. 2 sing.) *and you will sink in evil*. This translation fits the Aramaic word בְּנִדְיָהָ better than the Aramaic of t704s בְּנִדְיָהָ. As נ and ג are graphically similar I presume that בְּנִדְיָהָ is a scribal error.

⁶⁴ t734s attests מְכַלְלָא (afel ptc. fem. sing.) *included*.

⁶⁵ t734s and t704s preserve וְוִי once. t717s leaves it out altogether.

⁶⁶ t717 reads כִּיִּף.

⁶⁷ The whole line in t717s reads כִּיִּף רִישְׁךָ וְהַרִים אַחֲיִדְךָ דִּי לְמָא אֲקַטְלִינְךָ בְּסִיפִי דְּחַרְיִף *which might mean something like bow your head and take up your possessions so that I will not kill you with my sharp sword*.

⁶⁸ Underlined clause left out in t717s.

⁶⁹ Underlined clause omitted in t717s.

⁷⁰ t717s attaches a suffix to the verb יִשְׁיִיב and adds the word מְנַסִּיבַת and thus reading *He will save me from a free-will offering*.

⁷¹ t734s preserves טְעוּתָא *the idol*.

⁷² Underlined clause left out in t717s.

⁷³ t734s reads here the text of verses 44, 45 and half of 46. After the TosTg has ended these verses are given again.

⁷⁴ t704s adds the second half of verse 45. This is not translated accordingly in the parallel Latin text in the manuscript.

⁷⁵ t734s reads בְּהוּא *in it*.

⁷⁶ t717s attests אִישְׁתַּמַּעַת most likely a scribal error.

⁷⁷ Underlined clause omitted in t717s.

שמה דאברהם אמרה⁷⁸ אנא איסק⁷⁹ לקילעא בקדמיתא ואימחי ית פלישתאה עורלאה הדין על עורלתיה
 ואעדי חיסודין מן דבית ושראל
 בהשעתא ההיא זקיף דויד עינוהי למרומא וחזא מלאכין⁸⁰ דתמתיעצין על גלית פלישתאה בהשעתא ההיא
 הות רעוא מן קדם יי דעל אבנא דאהכן וסליקת לקילעא על דהוה רדיף שלמא ומחת פלישתאה על בית
 עינוהי למישרי שלמא על ידיה בתחומא דישראל
 בהשעתא ההיא זיויה דאפיה אישת[...]⁸¹ וארכובתי ונקשן וסיפיה נפל ואעא דמורניתיה
 איתבר ודיעבד עם ההוא דרא⁸² ליעביד עימנא לעלם

The Philistine looked and saw David and despised him since he was a small boy, reddish with a handsome countenance. He said to him:

"Go away, care about your youth. Why would you attack a son of lions? You are chosen, boy, and very handsome," said Goliath to David. "Your father has not yet reserved for you a bridal chamber for the wedding feast. Remember your bridal chamber and turn back! Your appearance equals the appearance of kings. Therefore, I rely on you that you will inherit the kingdom. Sorry for you, boy, for your shortness will destroy you. Sorry for your youth, because you beg to be killed. Woe to you, lamb, because you incited a bear. And there is no lamb that can stop a bear. You are young but your heart is strong. Woe to you, because you incited someone stronger than you. Your appearance and your flesh shall I give to the birds of heaven if you do not go away and tend your sheep. It will be good for you to go away from me, boy. So that I will not spit on you and you will drown in my spittle. It was a bad day for your fortune on which you went out. Your father cried out and your mother said: 'woe, woe'. Bow your head and return so that my sharp sword will not prevail over you." "Your heart is proud, the Lord will humble it." David said to Goliath: "The Memra of the Lord which goes with me, He will save the lamb from the mouth of the bear. Rest will be mine and wrath yours, for you in the name of your idol and for me in the name of the Lord of Hosts. Your sharp sword, with that I will cut your head off," said David to Goliath. "The humility of Saul the son of Kish, who you have treated with disdain, will cause your stature to fall." "I will open my mouth and I will swallow you," said Goliath to David. "The image of your face is beautiful and reddish and handsome your countenance." A rumour was heard by the Philistines that the lamb would fight with the bear. A great tumult was among the five stones, saying to each other: "I will go out first". The name of Abraham the righteous was written on the first, that of Isaac, the bound one, was written in the second, that of Jacob, the firstborn, was written on the third one, on the

⁷⁸ t734s, t703s and t704s read אמר (peal perf. 3. sing.masc.) in congruence with the male subject of the clause. The erroneously female form of t702s can be explained by the female subject in the previous clauses (אבנין).

⁷⁹ t734s preserves אפוק (peal imperf. 1.sing.com.) from the near synonymous root נפק *I will leave*.

⁸⁰ t703s and t704s attest מלאכא (nom. masc. sing. st. det.) *the angel*. The Latin translation, however, gives a plural 'angelos'.

⁸¹ t703s, t704s and t734s add וקטרי חרציה אשתרו *and the joint of his loins loosened*.

⁸² Reversed word order in t703s and t704s.

fourth and the fifth one were written the names of Moses and Aaron, the prophets. The name of Abraham said: "I will go out in the sling first and I will strike that uncircumcised Philistine first on his foreskin and I shall take away the shame from the house of Israel. At that time David lifted his eyes up to the height and saw the angels taking council with one another on Goliath the Philistine and at that moment it was the will of the Lord: the stone of Aaron. And it went out in the sling since he was following peace. And it struck the Philistine against his forehead to make peace inhabit in the borders of Israel by his hand. At that time the countenance of his face changed also his knees shook and his sword fell and the wood of his spear was broken. What He did with that generation, may He do with us forever.

t717s from strophe ק onward:

קלא איתמעט בפלש- אבנין אמרה דא לדא אנא איסק בקדמיתא דאברהם צדיק- בתיבא⁸³ על קדמיתא
 על תניינא שמיה דיצחק על תליתאה שמיה דיעקב על רביעאה שמיה דמשה על חמישתא שמיה דאהרן
 אבנא דאברהם אמרת אנא איפוק לעילא בקדמית- ואמחי ית פלשתאה ערלאה הדין על ערלתיה ואעדי
 חיסודין מדבית ישראל בהאשעתא זקן דוד עינוהי למרומא מלאכין מתיעצין על גלית פלשתא- בהאשעתא
 הות רעוא מן קדם יי דעל אבנא דאהרן דסליקת לעילא דהוה רדיף שלמא ומחא ית פלשתא- על בית
 עינוהי למשרא שלמא על ידיה בחותמא⁸⁴ דישראל בתר דאמ- פלשת- לדוד שטיא אנא דאתי עלי
 בחטר-⁸⁵ ולאית פלשתא- ית דוד בטעוותיה

A rumour was heard by the Philistines that the stones spoke to one another: "I will go out first." On the first was Abraham the righteous written; on the second was the name of Isaac; on the third the name of Jacob; on the fourth the name of Moses; on the fifth the name of Aaron. The stone of Abraham said: "I will go out in the sling first and I will strike that uncircumcised Philistine first on his foreskin and I shall take away the shame from the house of Israel. The moment David lifted his eyes to the height the angels were taking council with one another on Goliath the Philistine. The moment it was the will of the Lord: the stone of Aaron. That it would go out in the sling since he was following peace. And it struck the Philistine against his forehead to make peace inhabit the borders of Israel by his hand, after the Philistine had said to David: "Am I mad that you come to me with a stick?" And the Philistine cursed David by his idol.

⁸³ Most manuscripts read כתיבא here.

⁸⁴ Most likely a case of metathesis: all other manuscripts attest בתחומא.

⁸⁵ The spelling with double *resh* is curious.

This lengthy TosTg⁸⁶ is attested by t702s, t703s, t704s, t717s and t734s.⁸⁷ Apart for the common minor spelling and syntax variation that are listed in the footnotes, we do see several textual variants among the different attestations of this TosTg.⁸⁸

The majority of the variants occur in t717s and t734s. To a large extent this can be explained by the fact that unlike t702s, t703s and t704s, the writers of these manuscripts distributed the text of the TosTg over more than one verse of the continuous text of TgJon. t734s begins the TosTg after verse 43 and integrates verses 44, 45 and half of 46 into the text of the TosTg after strophe ז. Verses 44, 45 and 46 are preserved again after the end of the TosTg. t717s starts the TosTg in verse 42 and ends it with verse 43. t717s gives a different text after strophe ק. The part on the 5 stones is shorter and the ending attested by the other texts is omitted (*At that time the countenance of his face changed also his knees shook and his sword fell and the wood of his spear was broken. What He did with that generation, may He do with us forever*).

t703s and t704s preserve a variant in section ג. Where all other textual witness read *Your father has not yet reserved for you a bridal chamber for the wedding feast. Remember your bridal chamber, they attest Your father has not surrounded you with the music for the wedding feast. Remember your music.* This is mirrored in the Latin translation which reads 'canticum nuptiarum patris tuis non est servatum tibi: memento psalterii tui' *A wedding song is not delivered for you by your father: remember your music.*

Strophe ט contains the first textual variant of t717s. It reads זינך לזינא דמלכי *your weapon equals the weapon of kings.* All other textual witnesses read *Your appearance equals the appearance of kings* which seems to fit the context better as David's countenance was mentioned just before. t717s gives a different clause in strophe ט *it will be good for you boy if we turn away from you* so in this case David is not to turn away from Goliath, but

⁸⁶ The Aramaic text is not taken from t734s but from t702s since t734s distributes the TosTg differently over the verses.

⁸⁷ Kasher claims that his collation of this Tosefta Targum is based on MS Cod. Hebr. 5, (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München, Germany) a Rashi commentary to the Pentateuch and Prophets (Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot*, 109-110). Houtman followed Kashers collation and likewise attributes the text given to MS Cod. Hebr. 5 (Houtman, and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions*, 114-5). Van Staalduine-Sulman used t717s for her collation of the TosTg, but lists variants from MS Cod. Hebr. 5 based on the text collated by Kasher (Van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 364-77). However, the manuscript does not preserve this TosTg at all (*in situ* check August 6, 2013).

⁸⁸ For a detailed discussion of the text of this TosTg, see: E. van Staalduine-Sulman, 'The Aramaic Song of the Lamb', in J.C. de Moor, W.G.E. Watson (eds), *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose*, (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 42, Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1993), 265-292. Also: E. van Staalduine-Sulman and J.C. de Moor, 'The Aramaic Song of the Lamb', *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period*, 24/2 (1993): 266-279.

Goliath and the Philistines could turn away from David. In strophe כ t717s contains an unclear variant *bow your head and take up your possessions so that I will not kill you with my (sharp) sword*. The verb *והרים* is curious, it might be a Hebraism as it resembles an hifil of the root *רום*. Strophe מ contains an exegetically interesting addition, again in t717s: *ישׁיבני מנסיבת* turning the clause into *He will save me from a free-will offering*. It emphasizes that God will not allow His servant to be sacrificed. In the last strophe t703s, t704s and t734s add *and the joint of his loins loosened*.

1 Sam 18.19/20/25

והוה בעדן דמטא איתיהבא ית מירב בת שאול לדוד והיא אתיהיבת לעדריאל דמימחולת לאיתו דהוה קא סבר בקידושהא⁸⁹ בטעות נינהו משום דמלוה הוא ואף מיכל מבתר דאינסבה ליה אפקא מיניה בלא גט משום דסבר בקידושהא⁹⁰ נמי בטעות נינהו⁹¹ דבפחות משהו פרוטה קידשה ומן דמקדיש בפחות⁹² מן שוה פרוטה לא קדיש ולא מידי ודוד לא אפסיק קליה מיניה⁹³ דקא סבר⁹⁴ דערליא⁹⁵ טבי משהו פרוטה נינהו משום דחזו לכלביה⁹⁶ דשאול ולשונריה⁹⁷

So when the time had come that Merab, daughter of Saul, should have been given to David, she was given in marriage to Adriel who was from Meholath. And it was always thought about her engagement that they were in error because it was a debt. The same for Michal, after being married off to him she left him without a writ of divorce because they thought her engagement in error as well, for he betrothed her for less than a penny's worth; Anyone who is engaged for less than a penny is not betrothed and it is nothing. But David did not forfeit his right to her, for he thought the foreskins more than a penny's worth, because they were good for the dogs of Saul and for his cats.

⁸⁹ t734s reads *קסבר דקדושהא* *it was thought concerning her engagement*; *קסבר* possibly a contraction of *קא סבר*; relative pronoun *ד* is used instead of preposition *ב*.

⁹⁰ t734s reads again *דקדושהא*.

⁹¹ t734s leaves out this clause.

⁹² t734s reads *מפחות* out of error.

⁹³ t702s substitutes the accusative particle *ית* for *מיניה*.

⁹⁴ t734s reads *דקסבר*, contraction of *דקא סבר*.

⁹⁵ t703s attests *דמאתן ערליא* (correction written in the margin) *for he thought one hundred foreskins*.

⁹⁶ t703s and t704s preserve the word without the suffix *לכלבי*.

⁹⁷ t703s and t704s preserve the word without the suffix *ולשונרי*.

t717s:

ואמר שאול כדין תימרון לדוד לא רעזא למלכ- במוהרין אלהן במאה ערלית פלישתאי לאתפרעא בסנאי
מלכא ושאול חשיב לממסר ית דוד בידא דפלשתאי
והוה כד סבר דקדושהא בטעות נינהו משום דמליה הוא ואף מיכל מבתר דאיתנסבא ליה אפיקה מינה
בלא גט משום דסבר דקידושיה נמי בטעות נינהו ופחות משה פרוטה נינהו דחזו לכלבאי דשאול ולשונייה

Saul said: "You shall say so to David: 'The king does not wish for a dowry, only for one hundred foreskins of the Philistines to be avenged on the enemies of the king'". Saul planned to hand over David in the hand of the Philistines. It was always thought about her engagement that they were in error because it was a debt. The same for Michal, after being married off to him he took her away from him without a writ of divorce, because they thought her engagement in error as well and less than a penny's worth, because they were good for the dogs of Saul and for his cats.

The TosTg discussing the validity of David's engagement to both Merab and Michal is attested in t702s, t703s, t704s (after verse 19) and t734s (after verse 20). A shorter version of the TosTg is attested in t717s connected to 1 Sam 18.25. Verse 19 deals with the marriage of Merab and verses 20 and 25 with Michal's marriage, so all three verses match one way or another with the TosTg. Since t734s connects the TosTg with verse 20 this verse is given before the actual TosTg *ורחמת מיכל בת שאול ית דוד וחויאו לדוד וכשר* *But Michal daughter of Saul loved David and they told Saul and the matter was fitting in his eyes.* The three attestations that connected the TosTg to verse 19 are almost identical. The version in t734s that is preserved after verse 20 has some smaller syntactical variants. The TosTg attested in t717s is not only shorter but gives a different exegesis as well. The main difference is that David's opinion on the matter is not included. Here the dowry of one hundred Philistine foreskins is considered to be less than a penny's worth and thus invalid because they were good only for feeding the dogs and cats of Saul. In the longer version of the TosTg David claims that the dowry had some value because the foreskins were of some value as they could be used as food for the dogs and cats of Saul. Therefore, David deemed his engagement valid.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ A similar reasoning is followed in *b.Sanh* 19b.

2 Sam 6.23

ברם ביום מותא הוה לה בר ושמיה יתרעם ומיכל בת שאול לא הוה לה ולד עד יום מותא⁹⁹

Michal, daughter of Saul, had no children until the day of her death. However, on the day of her death she had a son and his name was Ithream.

This short TosTg which gives the name of Michal's youngest son is attested in three Sephardic texts, t703s, t704s and t734s, but also in t3054f¹⁰⁰ a fragment from the Cairo Genizah. It is remarkable that all four textual witnesses give an identical text but for one small and insignificant variation in spelling.

2 Sam 12.11¹⁰¹

כדנן אמר יי האנא מקים עלך בישא מביתך ואידבר ית נשך לעינד ואיתן לחברך וישכוב עם נשך לעיני שימשא הדא וכמא¹⁰² דאמרת ישרים¹⁰³ על חד ארבע הכי תיהוי¹⁰⁴ ארבע נפשן יפקון מבנד בדיל נפשיה דאוריה רביא ואמנון ואבשלום ואדניה

So said the Lord: "Look, I will establish evil over you from your own house; and I will take your wives before your eyes and I will give them to your companions, they will lie with your wives in sight of this sun. Just as you have said that he should make a fourfold restitution, likewise four of your sons will die on account of the life of Uriah: the boy, Amnon, Absalom and Adonia."

The TosTg is attested five times, in t702s, t703s, t704s, t717s and t2561f.¹⁰⁵ t702s, t703s, t704s and t2561f preserve an identical text apart from a few minor variations in spelling. t717s preserves the TosTg after verse 14 of the same chapter. t717s attests a

⁹⁹ t703s preserves מותה *her death* a minor variation.

¹⁰⁰ Klein, *Targum Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah* no 261; semi-cursive Oriental script most likely Egyptian (Beit-Arié, *Specimens of Mediaeval Hebrew Scripts. Volume I* plate 63).

¹⁰¹ From a content point of view this TosTg is a preceding expansion and thus belongs to verse 12. I have decided to follow the manuscript which connects the TosTg with verse 11.

¹⁰² Kasher (Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot*, pp. 114), Van Staaldouine-Sulman (Van Staaldouine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel* pp. 552) and Houtman (Houtman and Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions* pp. 105), the latter two following Kasher, read ולמא. Sperber lists the TosTg taken from t702s in the apparatus and reads ולמא as well. However, all of the above-mentioned textual witnesses attest וכמא or וכמה.

¹⁰³ Omitted in t717s.

¹⁰⁴ t717s reads בן יהי לך.

¹⁰⁵ Cairo Genizah fragment MS III, 51, Jacques Mosseri, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, United Kingdom. Semi-cursive Oriental script, most likely Egyptian (Beit-Arié, *Specimens of Mediaeval Hebrew Scripts. Volume I* plate 63).

variant at the beginning of the actual TosTg. After **דאמרת וכמא** it omits **ישלים** and reads **על חד ארבעה** after **כן יהי לך** *Just as you have said fourfold likewise will it be for you.*

Conclusive Summary

The short(er) TosTg display very little textual variation. The texts examined here show only minor variants in spelling and syntax and these variants are similar to the variants attested in the standard running text of TgJon of these manuscripts and editions.

Variation in content of the TosTg is found in the three larger Tosefta Targums, namely the ones attached to 1 Sam 17.8, 17.42 and 18.19/20/25. Another conclusion is that t717s preserves TosTg that deviate more than any of the other textual witnesses in both length and content.

The TosTg attached to 1 Sam 17.8 is the most widely attested one and at the same time the one that is attested in rather different versions.

The variation in the TosTg to 1 Sam 17.42 can partly be explained by the different attribution over the verses of the running text. However, t717s in particular preserves quite a few textual differences compared to the other attestations: several variants in strophes, a shortened strophe explaining the five stones and a different ending.

The variants in the TosTg connected to 1 Sam 18.19/20/25 can also be attributed for the most part to their distribution over different verses of TgJon. Again, the TosTg attested in t717s is different in both content and length.

Chapter 4. David and Goliath in Europe*

Most of the known Tosefta Targums (henceforth TosTg) can be found in the Sephardic text family. There is, however, one exception: the TosTg to 1 Sam 17.8. This TosTg is widely attested in European manuscripts and even found in some manuscripts of Eastern provenance. This article analyses the extant textual tradition of this TosTg.

1 Sam 17.8 in Previous Research

The comparison of 1 Sam 17.8 in European textual witnesses known to preserve Targum Samuel (henceforth TgSam) and included in our research, exhibit a diversity in phrasing and length of the TosTg. These differences have been noted and discussed in previous research. Bacher assumes that the TosTg preserved in t705¹ – the shortest version known - formed the basis of this tradition and that all other versions were changing and expanding it.²

Kasher discriminates a Sephardic and an Ashkenazic branch among the witnesses of this particular TosTg.³ Van Staalduine-Sulman follows the division made by Kasher⁴, whereas Houtman, after comparing the so-called Sephardic and Ashkenazic branches, concludes that the division is not very strict.⁵ The different attestations of the verse will be compared and discussed below. Based on this comparison, I will argue that what we have here is a European tradition of unknown origin, and that within this European TosTg tradition the Sephardic text family preserves its own version of the TosTg.

1 Sam 17.8 in Codex Reuchlinianus 3 [t705i]

t705i preserves a version of 1 Sam 17.8 that is not attested in any other known manuscript or edition. It is a shorter and slightly different text compared to the other attestations of this TosTg. For this reason, the text of t705i is given separately and not included in the comparison below. The Aramaic rendering of the Hebrew verse is given in the running text of the manuscript. The marginal reading gives the addition

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¹ For the sigla see: www.targum.nl, 'Standard List of Sigla'.

² W. Bacher, 'Kritische Untersuchungen Zum Prophetentargum', ZDMG 28 (1874), 1-72 (17-8).

³ R. Kasher, 'האם יש מקור אחד לתוספתות התרגום לנביאים?', AJS Review 21 (1996): 1-21 (9-13, 13); R. Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1996), 106-8.

⁴ E. van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel* (SAIS 1, Leiden: Brill, 2002), 350.

⁵ A. Houtman and H. Sysling, *Alternative Targum Traditions. The Use of Variant Readings for the Study in Origin and History of Targum Jonathan* (SAIS 9, Leiden: Brill, 2009), 101-2.

which is designated ירושלמי. Text placed between brackets indicate that the manuscript is difficult to read at that point, dots between brackets mean that the text is illegible

t705i:

וקם ואכלי על סידרי ישראל ואמר להון למא תיפקון לסדרא קרבא הלא אנא פלישתאה ואתון עבדין
 לשאול בחרו לכון גברא ויחות לוותי ירוש' הלא אנא גלית פלישתאה דעבדי[ת] עימכון קרבא [באפק]
 ונצחית יתכון ו[נסבית] מן ידיכון ית ארו[נא] דיי ואתון עבדין לשאול ואם אתון [אמרין] על מימרא דיי מרי
 נצחן קרביא א[נחנא] מתרחצין קרו ליה ויחות לוותי

And he stood up and shouted against the ranks of Israel and said to them: "Why did you go out to arrange a battle? Am I not the Philistine? And you the servants of Saul? Choose for yourselves a man and let him come down to me." Jerushalmi "Am I not Goliath the Philistine who made war with you at Aphek? And who conquered you and who took the Ark of the Lord from your hands? You are the servants of Saul. If you say 'We are trusting on the Memra of the Lord, the master of the victories in wars' then call Him and let Him come down to me."

Goliath boasts that he has personally captured the Ark of the Lord and informs the reader that this battle took place in Aphek. Goliath's further reasoning is remarkable in the sense that he challenges God to battle with him and not a human being as indicated in both the Hebrew and Aramaic main text.

1 Sam 17.8 in Other European Textual Witnesses

Text and Translation

Before turning to the text of the other attestations of this TosTg, I give a short explanation of the way the Aramaic text is displayed below. The layout attempts to present the different versions of the text of this TosTg in a visible way. Words printed in larger characters indicate a variation of a single word in certain manuscripts. Underlined words designate alternative readings in some textual witnesses of several words' length. An 'a' and 'b' version of a line is used when a larger textual unit of the text differs with regard to content. Minor grammatical differences or spelling variants found in the manuscripts and editions which do not present an actual difference in meaning are given in the footnotes.

- 1 וקם ואכריז על סדרי⁶ קרבא⁷ דישראל ואמר להון למה תפקון לסדרא קרבא עם פלישתא⁸
- 2 הלא אנא פלשתאה ואתון עבדין לשאול בחרו לכון גברא ויחות לותי
- 3 תוס הלא⁹ אנא גלית פלישתאה דמן גת דקטלת תרין בני עלי כהנא חפני ופינחס
- 4 ושבית¹⁰ ית ארון קיימא די ואובילית יתיה לבית דגון טעוותי
- 5 והוה תמן בקרוי פלישתאי שתא ירחין ולא יכיל לי מרי קוניכון
- 6 ועל כל קרב וקרב דהוה להון לפלשתאי
- 7a אנא נפקנא לפום קלא ונצחנא ורמינא קטילין כעפרא דארעא כל דא עבדית להו ולא
- 8a ממנן יתי עליהון לא מלכא ולא אצטרטיגא והדין שאול דמן גבעת בנימן מה עביד לכון
- 7b אנא נפיק בריש חילא ונצחנא בקרבא ורמינא קטילין בעפרא דארעא ועד כען לא
- 8b אכשרו¹¹ יתי פלישתאי למיהוי רב אלפא עלוויהון ואתון דבית ישראל מא עבר לכון שאול בר קיש דמן גבעתא¹²
- 9 ארי מניתון יתיה מלכא עליכון כען אמרו ליה
- 10 אם גבר תקף הוא יחות ויעביד עמי קרבא
- 11 ואם חלש בחרו לכון גברא ויחות לותי

⁶ t6a, t706s and t717s read בס(י)דרא (sing.masc.det.) *to the battle line*; t713a and t720a omit the preposition reading ב instead; t714 and t4a read בסידרי (pl.masc. constr.) *to the battle lines* whereas t720a reads בסידרא (sing.masc.det.) *to the battle line*; t727y and t4a give a double preposition על בסידרי (t727y reads בדרי a scribal error); t232i/s reads סידריה (pl.masc.constr. + suffix 3 masc.sing.) thus attesting a proleptic d- relation (for this type of construction see: R.J. Kutty, *Studies in the Syntax of Targum Jonathan to Samuel* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series 30, Leuven: Peeters, 2010) pp. 100-1; variant readings attesting the proleptic d- relation can be found in most European textual witnesses of TgSam, see Patmore, *The Transmission of Targum Jonathan in the West* pp. 259 note 21 for some examples).

⁷ Omitted by t722y, t727y, t232i/s and t11r.

⁸ Omitted by t702s, t734s, t722y, t727y, t4a, t713a, t232i/s and t11r.

⁹ Underlined part of line 2 up to this point is left out in t11r, most likely a case of parablepsis.

¹⁰ t718i and t11r read ואייתתי and I took away.

¹¹ t6a reads אקשה and t232i/s reads אכשא. I assume both variants are scribal errors.

¹² דמן גבעתא is only preserved in t4a, t6a, t713a, t720a and t727y.

(1) And he stood up and shouted against the battle lines of Israel and said to them: "Why did you go out to arrange for battle (with the Philistine)? (2) Am I not the Philistine and are you not the servants of Saul? Choose for yourselves a man and have him go down to me. (3) tosefta Am I not Goliath the Philistine from Gath, who has killed the two sons of Eli the priest, Hofni and Pinechas? (4) And have I not captured the ark of the covenant of the Lord and carried it to the house of Dagon, my idol? (5) And it was there in the midst of the Philistines for six months and the master, your owner,¹³ could not overpower me. (6) And concerning each of the battles the Philistines had

(7a) I went out shouting and was victorious, throwing around the ones that were killed like the dust of the earth. All of this I have done for them and not even (8a) did they appoint me as king or commander over them. But this Saul from Gibeon of Benjamin, what has he ever done for you.

(7b) I went out at the head of the army and was victorious in battle, throwing the ones that were killed like the dust of the earth. But until now (8b) the Philistines did not see it fitting for me even to be a commander of thousand over them. And you who are from the house of Israel, what has Saul the son of Kish (from the hills) done for you

(9) that you appointed him king over you? Now, say to him: (10) If he is a strong man, let him come down and wage war with me! (11) But if he is a weak man, choose for yourselves a man and let him come down to me."

Textual Variegation

The different attestations indicated above will now be examined in sequence. A table of the distribution of each variant among the textual witnesses is given followed by a brief discussion. Note that the first three variants that are discussed are not strictly a part of the TosTg. They occur in the continuous text of TgSam as translated from the Hebrew. These variants are included in this discussion of variants within the Tosefta Targum because the Tosefta Targum only occurs in conjunction with a verse of the continuous text of TgJon and they thus form together a textual unity. An 'x' in a table indicates that the word(s) or phrase listed in the other columns of the table are absent in the manuscripts and editions mentioned in the 'x' column.

¹³ Another possible translation could be *The Lord, your creator*.

Table 1

ואכריז	ואכלי
t734s	t232i/s
t6a	t705i
t713a	t703s
t720a	t704s
t725a ¹⁴	t706s
t2661	t717s
t2662	t12sc
t4a	t16sc
t718i ¹⁶	t702s ¹⁵
t10r	
t11r	
t727y	

Twelve texts read the verb *ואכריז* *he shouted* (afel, perf.3.masc.sing). The remaining nine texts attest the verb *ואכלי* *he shouted* (afel, perf.3.masc.sing.). The two verbs *כרז* and *כלי* are synonymous and translate the Hebrew verb *קרא*.¹⁷ This variant cannot be used as a proof for the existence of a Sephardic version of the TosTg versus an Ashkenazic version. All the Ashkenazic texts attest the verb *כרז*. However, both verbs are preserved among the Sephardic and Italian manuscripts.

The next variant is also part of the continuous text of TgSam and thus has a Hebrew equivalent. The majority of the textual witnesses read *על סדרי קרבא דישראל* or *בסדרא*

¹⁴ t725a preserves the form *וכריז*, peal instead of afel.

¹⁵ t702s reads the plural *ואכלי*, most likely a scribal error.

¹⁶ t718i preserves the form *וכריז*, peal instead of afel.

¹⁷ According to BCTP 1 Sam 17.8 is the only instance where an afel of the verb *כלא* is used as an equivalent for the Hebrew *קרא* in the book of Samuel. (E. van Staaldune-Sulman, *BCTP Volume IV Samuel* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 139).

ל קרבא דישראל *to the battle line(s) of Israel*. Manuscript t232i/s and t11r, t722y and t727y omit קרבא reading only *to the ranks of Israel*. This reading is closer to the Hebrew text (ל מערכת ישראל *to the ranks of Israel*).

The third variant, like the previous two is part of the continuous text of TgSam as it is a translation of the Hebrew. However, the clause עם פלישתא is not attested in the Hebrew text, so the reading without this clause is closer to the Hebrew text. Both readings are distributed among all textual witnesses.

Table 2

למה תפקון	למא אתון נפקין
t702s ¹⁸	t6a
t734s	t713a
t727y	t720a
t232i/s	t725a
t705i	t2661
t10r	t2662
	t4a
	t718i
	t11r
	t703s
	t704s
	t706s
	t717s

¹⁸ t702s preserves the form תנפקון (afel, impf.2.masc.pl). Unassimilated forms of the root נפק occur in the stem afel. See: Stevenson, W.B., *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic* (2nd edn, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), § 24.8. (BCTP does not attest any unassimilated forms of the root in the books of Samuel, Van Staaldoune-Sulman, *BCTP, Vol. IV*, 302).

In table 2 we find two different grammatical constructions with basically the same meaning. Six textual witnesses attest למה תפקון (peal, impf.2.masc.pl.): two Sephardic texts, two Italian texts, t727y and the Second Rabbinic Bible. The remaining texts attest למא אתון נפקין (pron.pers. 2.masc.pl. + peal, ptc.act.masc.pl.): four Sephardic texts, one Italian text, t2661 and t2662 (Kimchi version), five Ashkenazic texts and the First Rabbinic Bible. This variant does not attest to the discrimination of an Ashkenazic versus a Sephardic version of this TosTg, even though all Ashkenazic texts read the variant with the participle construction. Among the Sephardic and Italian texts as well as in the Rabbinic Bibles both the participle construction and the peal imperfect have been preserved. The construction למה תפקון is closer to the Hebrew text.

Table 3

הלא אנא גלית פלישתאה	הלא אנא גלית	הלא אנא פלישתאה	הלא אנא הוא גלית	הלא אנא הוא גלית פלישתאה
t4a	t703s	t734s	t722y	t727y
t713a	t704s	t702s		t6a
t720a		t232i/s		t11r
t725a		[t705i]		t12sc.add
t2661				
t2662				
t10r				
t706s				
t717s				

The way Goliath presents himself is attested in five slightly different ways. The majority of the texts included in this comparison read הלא אנא גלית פלישתאה *Am I not Goliath the Philistine?* Several witnesses preserve a small variation by reading הלא אנא פלישתאה *Am I not the Philistine?* (t734s, t702s, t232i/s, t705i) or הלא אנא גלית *Am I not Goliath?* (t703s, t704s). The first variation is in accordance with the Hebrew text. The remaining two variations of the clause contain an additional personal pronoun הלא

הוא גלית פלישתאה thus stressing Goliath's superior *position* *Is it not me, Goliath the Philistine* (t6a, t11r, t727y, t12sc.add). t722y preserves the personal pronoun הוא, but leaves out פלישתאה reading *Is it not me, Goliath*. All attested variants can be seen as a type of conventional rendering of the clause and they are found across all textual families. Therefore, none of the variants is typical for either a Sephardic or Ashkenazic version of the TosTg.

Table 4

כהנא	x
t4a	t702s
t713a	t703s
t725a	t704s
t2661	t706s
t2662	t717s
t232i/s	t734s
t718i	t6a
t10r	
t11r	
t722y	
t727y	
t12sc.add	

Most manuscripts and editions read עלי כהנא *Eli the priest*. The Sephardic texts and manuscript t6a do not attest the 'epithet' כהנא. Since this variant presents us with a variation of a very common phrase, coincidence cannot be excluded. Therefore, the variant is no indication for either of the versions of the TosTg.

Table 5

בקירו פלשתאי	x
t6a	t702s
t713a	t703s
t720a	t704s
t725a	t706s
t2661	t717s
t2662	t734s
t727y	[t705i]
t4a	
t232i/s	
t718i	
t10r	
t11r	

None of the Sephardic textual witnesses attest the clause בקירו פלשתאי *in the midst of the Philistines*. t705i - preserving a different version of the TosTg - is up till this point more or less equal to the attestations of the TosTg under discussion. It is the only non-Sephardic textual witness not preserving this clause. Leaving out בקירו פלשתאי in this place might be characteristic for the Sephardic version of the Tosefta Targum.

Table 6

שתא	שבעא	תלתא
t702s	t6a	t2661
t734s	t713a	t2662
t725a	t720a	t232i/s
t718i	t727y	
t10r	t4a	
	t11r	
	t703s	
	t704s	
	t706s	
	t717s	
	t12sc.add	

This variant deals with the duration of the stay of the Ark in the land of the Philistines. Kasher considers the variation in duration of stay to be a major difference between the supposed two branches of the TosTg.¹⁹ The majority of the texts reads **שבעא** *seven* which is in accordance with 1 Sam 6.1. The reading is attested in textual witnesses from all families. Two Sphardic texts, one Ashkenazic and one Italian manuscript as well as the First Rabbinic Bible read **שתא** *six*. The reading **תלתא** *three* is attested by manuscripts of Italian provenance only. On the basis of this textual evidence we can only conclude that the reading **תלתא** *three* seems to be characteristic for texts of Italian provenance. The texts reading **שתא** and **שבעא** come from all European textual families and do not point to an origin in a distinctive region.

¹⁹Kasher, 9-12. האם יש מקור אחד לתוספתות התרגום לנביאים?

Table 7

x	קוניבון	קימבון
t6a	t734s	t702s
t713a	t703s	t704s
t720a		t706s
t725a		t717s
t2661		
t727y		
t4a		
t232i/s		
t718i		
t10r		
t11r		
t12sc.add		

All Sephardic texts attest an addition in line four in which God is challenged: ולא יביל לי מרי קימבון *the Master of your covenant could not overpower me* or ולא יביל לי מרי קוניבון *the Master, your owner, could not overpower me*. This addition containing Goliath's challenge to God, is representative of the Sephardic version of the TosTg.

Table 8

אף	על
t6a	t702s
t713a	t703s
t720a	t704s
t725a	t706s
t2661	t717s
t727y	t734s
t4a	
t232i/s	
t718i	
t10r	
t11r	

The Sephardic texts, which preserved an addition just before this clause attest the preposition על *and concerning each of the battles*. The other texts read the adverb אף at the beginning of the clause which could be translated *and also each battle*. These are two different ways to introduce the next argument by Goliath.

Table 9

לפום קלא	לחקלא	בריש חילא
t725a	t703s	t6a
t2661	t704s	t713a
t2662		t720a
t232i/s		t722y
t718i		t727y
t10r		t4a
t702s		t11r
t706s, t717s ²⁰		t12sc.add

These variants occur within a section that I have divided in version a and version b. However, within this small section a similar phrase occurs in both versions. Three variants with three different meanings are attested. The phrase *לפום קלא* *with shouting* is attested by the Italian witnesses, most of the Sephardic witnesses, one Ashkenazic witness and the First Rabbinic Bible. The Sephardic witnesses preserving *לחקלא* *into the field* (with its Latin equivalent 'in agrum'), t703s and t704s, were both written by the same scribe (Alfonso de Zamora). Most Ashkenazic witnesses, two Yemenite manuscripts and the Second Rabbinic Bible as well as t12sc.add read *בריש חילא* *at the head of the army*. It is noteworthy that the Ashkenazic t725a preserves the reading *לפום קלא* otherwise attested by the Sephardic and Italian manuscripts only. With regard to the two supposed branches, we see that the reading *בריש חילא* has not been preserved in any of the Sephardic or Italian texts and that both *בריש חילא* and *לפום קלא* are attested among the Ashkenazic texts and Rabbinic Bibles. Since the reading *לחקלא* occurs only in two manuscripts prepared by the same scribe, we cannot exclude the possibility of an emendation of the scribe.

²⁰ Contra Bacher, Kasher and Van Staaldwine-Sulman who all proposed the reading *לפוסקלא*. Bacher, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 40; Kasher, *האם יש מקור אחד לתוספתות התרגום לנביאים?*, 9. Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets*, 106-7; Van Staaldwine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 351, note 1155.

Table 10

7a-8a	7b-8b
t702s	t6a
t703s	t713a
t704s	t720a
t706s	t725a
t717s	t2661
t734s	t2662
	t2581
	t722y
	t727y
	t4a
	t232i/s
	t718i
	t10r
	t11r
	t12sc.add

In the Aramaic text of the TosTg at the beginning of this paragraph lines 7 and 8 have been displayed twice: 7a and 7b, likewise 8a and 8b. Table 10 shows that version 'a' is attested by Sephardic witnesses only.

Table 11

a	b
<p>כל דא עבדית</p> <p><i>all of this I have done</i></p>	<p>ועד כען</p> <p><i>but until now</i></p>
<p>ולא ממנן יתי</p> <p><i>and they did not appoint me</i></p>	<p>לא אכשרו</p> <p><i>they did not see it fitting</i></p>
<p>לא מלכא ולא אצטרטיגא</p> <p><i>as king or commander</i></p>	<p>רב אלפא</p> <p><i>commander of 1000</i></p>
<p>שאול דמן גבעת בנימן</p> <p><i>Saul from Gibeath of Benjamin</i></p>	<p>שאול בר קיש (דמן) גבעתא</p> <p><i>Saul the son of Kish (from the hills)</i></p>

Version a is only attested in Sephardic texts, all other European texts preserve version b with a few minor variations. Goliath underlines his own achievements in the phrase כל דא עבדית, and lists as possible positions suited to such a man not only that of a commander, but also that of a king. Version b mentions only the relatively humble position as commander of 1000, pointing out that not even this position is deemed necessary for such a warrior. Version a can be seen as typical for the Sephardic version of the TosTg.

Table 12

גיבר	תקיף
t6a	t702s
t713a	t703s
t720a	t704s
t725a	t706s
t2661	t717s
t2662	t734s
t2581	
t722y	
t727y	
t4a	
t232i/s	
t718i	
t10r	
t11r	
t12sc.add	

The words גיבר and תקיף are nearly synonymous adjectives meaning *strong*. All Sephardic texts preserve תקיף while all other witnesses read גיבר.

Other Points of Comparison

Now that the different attestations of this TosTg have been discussed, some observations on the possible interdependence of certain textual witnesses will be made.

t2661 and t2662, both copies of Kimchi's commentary to the Prophets, give an identical text apart from six spelling variants. They certainly stem from the same textual

tradition, even more so since they both display the less widely attested variant in which the Ark of the Lord stays in the land of the Philistines for three months (line 5). The line synopsis reveals a marked difference between t10r and t11r. The largest textual variant is, however, most likely a printing error. The omission of the clause הלא פלישתאה ואתון עבדין לשאול בחרו לכון גברא ויחות לותי אנא פלישתאה can easily be explained as a case of parablepsis. Furthermore, t11r displays two rarely attested variants not found in t10r. t11r leaves out the word קרבא (line 1) in the clause before the actual TosTg. As said above, this reading is closer to the Hebrew text. This reading is attested in t232i/s and t722y and t727y as well. Since t722y and t727y copied their text of the TosTg from t11r (see below) we have just one other attestation of this particular variant from a manuscript. The second variant comes from line 4, where the verb ואייתיתי and *I took away* is given in t10r. This variant is attested once more in a manuscript, namely t718i. The remaining differences concern variants we find across all the different attestations of this TosTg (for example בריש חילא in t11r where t10r reads לפום קלא). The editor of t11r had t10r at his disposal, but obviously made different editorial choices with regard to this text based on different textual sources.

The writers of t722y and t727y in all likelihood copied their text from t11r, the editor of t12sc.add informed his readers that he did so. The text of the TosTg is not incorporated in the running text of TgJon of these three textual witnesses. t12sc.add consists of a list of rejected or seemingly superfluous passages from the Targum that are left out in the running text of the Targum but are nevertheless included in Volume 8 of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. The editor informs the reader that the given passage from 1 Sam 17.8 is taken from 'Venice', i.e. the Second Rabbinic Bible (t11r). In manuscripts t722y and t727y the text has been added in the margin by another hand. t722y and t727y display one textual variant each when compared to t11r. Compared to t11r, t722y leaves out a part of the clause at the beginning of the TosTg in which Goliath introduces himself. It attests אנא הוא גלית *I am Goliath* and omits the phrase פלישתאה דמן גת *a Philistine from Gath*. t727y leaves out בני in the phrase ואתון בני ישראל (line 8b) thus reading *and you, Israel*. Both textual variants are minor variations in common phrases that occur frequently in the continuous text of TgSam as well and therefore do not point to the use of another source text than t11r. t11r was a widely circulated printed Bible within the Jewish communities so it is not surprising that the one-time owners

of t722y and t727y added the text of this well-known and widely attested Tosefta Targum in the margin of the manuscript.²¹

Recapitulation

Having said the above concerning the possible relatedness of the different attestations, the most distinguishing features of the different textual families (Sephardic, Italian and Ashkenazic) will now be given.

The Sephardic sources show five marked features that are not attested in the other textual families:

1. All Sephardic texts read עלי where the other witnesses read עלי כהנא *Eli the priest* in line 3. However, this is not exclusively Sephardic as t6a attests the same and since it is a variation in a very common phrase in TgSam it is not particularly distinguishing.
2. None of the Sephardic witnesses attests the phrase בקירו פלישתאי *in the midst of the Philistines* in line 5.
3. All of the Sephardic witnesses add an extra challenge to the Israelites, or more precisely to God himself in line 5 reading מרי קימכון ולא יכיל לי מרי קוניכון or מרי קוניכון *and the master of your covenant/the master, your owner, could not overpower me*.
4. the reading בריש חילא in line 7b *at the head of the army* is not attested in any of the Sephardic sources.
5. The longer variant as preserved in lines 7a and 8a is exclusively Sephardic. In this version the superiority of Goliath is underlined more strongly compared to the version in lines 7b and 8b (all of this I have done, and they did not appoint me as king or commander).

The Italian tradition presents us with three noteworthy variants. However, none of these variants are found in all Italian sources.²² The first variant found in Italian sources only, but not in all Italian sources (not in t718i), concerns the duration of the stay of the Ark which in line 5 is said to be three months. The other two variants are readings

²¹ The addition of variant readings and (exegetical) remarks in the margin by later owners of a manuscript is quite common in Jewish manuscripts. See: C. Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (trans. N. de Lange, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 287.

²² Note that only two continuous manuscripts of Italian provenance are known to us today.

found in only one Italian manuscript and the First or Second Rabbinic Bible (t11r, t12r). In line 1 the word **קרבא** is left out in t232i/s and t11r (and therefore lacking in t722y and t727y as well). t718i and t11r read the verb **ואייתיתי** *and I took away* where all other sources attest **ושביתי** *and I have captured*.

Among the Ashkenazic sources two variants can be observed that are attested by all Ashkenazic sources. Unfortunately, none of these are exclusively Ashkenazic and next to that, they are variants with no difference in meaning. In line 1 all Ashkenazic sources attest a form of the verb **ברז**, none of them uses the word **כלא**. And in the same line they all read the construction **למא איתון נפקין**.

Overall, these findings indicate that the Sephardic sources display their own tradition of the TosTg, most clearly in lines 5, 7 and 8 where they have variants with a different meaning exclusive for this tradition. The Ashkenazic and Italian sources are not clearly distinguishable from each other. t705i preserves a version of the TosTg taken from an unknown source. What we see is a mixed Western tradition in which the Sephardic sources attest a tradition in some lines not attested by any other European witnesses.

Chapter 5. Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles*

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 only concern the Targums, but the entire project of the polyglot Bible. We will indicate these circumstances, where necessary.

* This Chapter has been published before as E. van Staaldoune-Sulman & J.M. Tanja, 'Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles', in: A. Houtman, E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, and H.-M. Kirn (eds), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 208-230. Van Staaldoune-Sulman is the first author of the paper, Tanja brought in the material from the Sephardic tradition. The paper came about in close cooperation between the authors. The text is reprinted from the original publication with permission of the co-author, the editors, and the publisher.

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;

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.

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).
- Guy Michel le Jay († 1675), under whose patronage the Paris Polyglot Bible (PPB) was edited, and printed by Antoine Vitre (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 following manner:

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 VIII (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; Elias Hutter's Psalter in four languages (1602); and the Leipzig Polyglot Bible (1750-1751) of Christianus Reineccius.

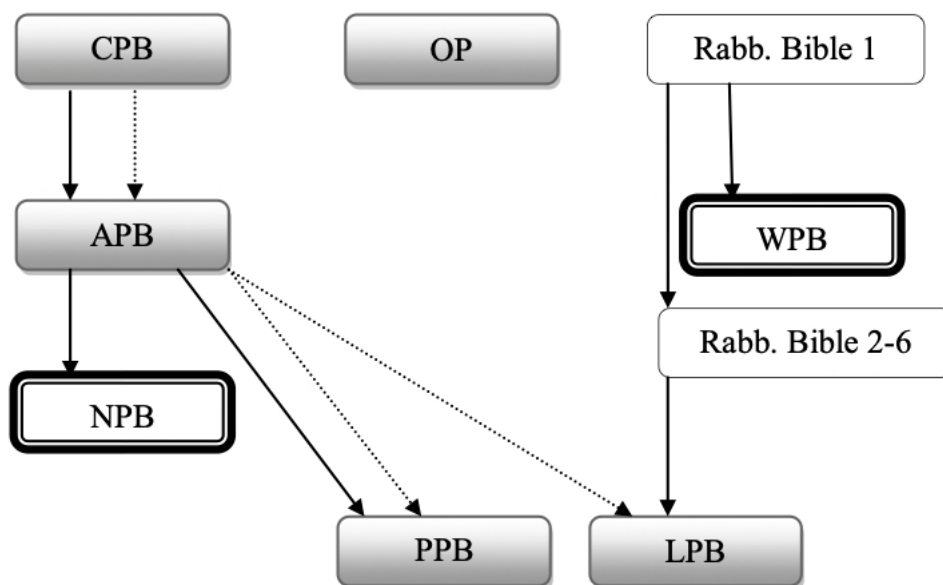


Fig. 1 Stemma of Targum text (unbroken arrow) and Latin translation of the Targum text (broken line) in the various polyglot Bibles. The bold polyglot Bibles do not provide a Latin translation.

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-Krakotzkin 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 4; 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 nor correct the authoritative Vulgate against the Hebrew original (Hall 1990, 25-29).

³ All the original wordings can be found in the appendix of this article.

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. These pluses and minuses had destroyed the references to Christian dogmas such as the Trinity and the Incarnation (Text 9; CPB II,2). 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 Stalduine-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, Leiden University Library).

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 favour, 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 the same 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 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 1968, 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 had done in his recommendation to the APB. He had 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’ (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 interlinear 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 beatific 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 Hebraeae*), 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,

⁴ See further G.W. Lorein, 'The Latin Versions of the Old Testament from Jerome to the *Editio Clementina*', in this volume [= Houtman, Van Staaldoune-Sulman & Kirn, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*].

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. 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 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 *alef* 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 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).



Fig. 2 Note in the margin of Draconites' polyglot version of Genesis 1:1, referring to the Trinity (Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam).

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 old 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

⁵ See further the discussion on the 'ancient Rabbis' and 'modern Rabbis' in Hans-Martin Kirn, 'Traces of Targum Reception in the Work of Martin Luther' in this volume [= Houtman, Van Staalduine-Sulman & Kirn, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*].

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, Leiden University Library).

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) 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 pernicioso 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 Thargum appellant, quid loquar? vitiata 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 rursus 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 consecravit.

Text 13: Verum quia quibusdam in locis ubi integra est littera et incorrupta; mirum in modo favet Christianae religioni [...]

Text 14: [...] et multa adducit electissima ac rara in favorem Christiani religionis [...]

Text 15:

ודא עבד בדיל למידע ולמילף סתרין סגיאין וקשיטין ומהימנין ויצייבין דאישתכחו בלישנא דעבראן
לסעדא להימנותנא 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 Judaeos 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 Paraphrastae quae habuerunt ex antiquis traditionum et expositionum reliquiis quas ex Prophetis hauserunt.

Text 22: [...] non solum propter Judaeos ad Christum convertendos iuxta prophetiam apostoli, sed etiam propter Christianos iam conversos [...]

Text 23: [...] ad Religionem Catholicam adversus Orientalium haereses propugnandam.

Text 24: [...] ad Religionis Christianae adversus Ethnicos et Mahumetanos ex tot populorum etiam Iudaeorum et Samaritanorum Christiano nomini infensissimorum hostium suffragio comprobationem et commendationem.

Text 25: [...] ad revincendas et confutandas plurimis in locis malignas haereticorum versiones.

Text 26: [...] opponerentur falsis et impiis haereticorum translationibus quibus fucum imperitis linguarum facere conantur.

Text 27: [...] nam quis non videt totum Antichristi regnum et haereses omnes ex sola ignorantia scripturae et Christi manere?

Text 28: [...] ut iam his adminiculis adiuti Hebraeorum (ut ait beatus Hieronymus) nauseam et ructum fastidientes praeceptores eorum consulere non egeamus.

Text 29: Cum his qui divinae 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 conscripta sunt [...]

Text 30: Neque enim solùm quid à Spiritu sancto, eiusque Prophetis, ministris, ac interpretibus dictum, sed quomodo dictum sit, potiùsim observandum est.

Text 31: Et ipsius translatio merito caeteris antefertur quia est verborum tenacior et perspicuitate sententiae 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 Chaldaeas 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 פיתגמיא דתרגומא כל חד מנהון באתריה. ויטרון יתהון בליבהון.

Text 42: Non tamen omnia in Targum approbanda, sed triticum a Zizaniis, noxium a salutary deiscernendum, juxta ilud Talmudicum "Comede dactylum, sed porjice corticem foras".

Chapter 6. Brothers or Stepbrothers? Christianised Targum Manuscripts in the Sephardic Text Family*

Abstract

Half of the textual witnesses of the Sephardic text group of Targum Samuel are of Christian origin, two manuscripts and two editions. This leads to two questions: How did a typically Jewish text like the Targum end up in the accepted corpus of Christian Biblical Studies in sixteenth century Spain? And how did it function?

Keywords

Targum Jonathan; Targum Samuel; Sepharad; Alfonso de Zamora; Polyglot Bibles

Within the family tree of Targum Samuel, the Sephardic branch consists of eight members: four of Jewish and four of Christian origin. After introducing the group as a whole, we will focus on the Christian witnesses, and try to discover some of their background and their purpose. The leading questions are: How did a typically Jewish text like the Targum end up in the accepted corpus of Christian Biblical Studies in sixteenth century Europe? And how did it function? A possible third question whether these manuscripts can still be considered part of the family, will be treated by Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman in this volume.¹

The Sephardic Text Group

The Sephardic branch of the extended Targum textual family consists of eight complete textual witnesses known to us today. Let me briefly introduce them to you. Four of them are typically Jewish: three manuscripts and one printed edition. MS Opp. Add. 4to 75 (Bodleian Library, Oxford) is the oldest member of this family. It is generally thought to have been produced around 1300 in Soria or Toledo. Its pages are decorated in a style very similar to those of the early fourteenth century school of Ibn

* This Chapter has been published before as J.M. Tanja, 'Brothers or Stepbrothers? Christianized Targum Manuscripts in the Sephardic Text Family', *Aramaic Studies*, 10 (2012): 87-113. The text is reprinted from the original publication with permission of the publisher.

¹ [= 'Christianized Targums: The Usefulness of the Zamora Manuscripts and the Antwerp Polyglot Bible for an Edition of the Targum of the Former Prophets', *Aramaic Studies*, 10 (2012): 79-114.]

Gaon in Soria.² The volume contains the Former and Latter Prophets Targum alternating with the Hebrew verse and (incomplete) lists of Ben Asher and Ben Naftali readings. The next one is almost two centuries more recent. MS H. 116, also known as Montefiore 7, contains Targum Jonathan to the Prophets from 1 Sam. 5.11 onwards, as well as the Targum to Psalms, Job and Proverbs.³ Each verse is introduced by some words of the corresponding Hebrew verse. The colophon states that the manuscript was finished in 5247 (1487 CE), but does not mention a place. The third manuscript is of almost the same age: MS Kennicott 5 [85] (Bodleian Library, Oxford). It contains the Hebrew text of the Former Prophets with Targum Jonathan, accompanied by the commentaries of Rashi, Kimchi and Levi ben Gershon. The colophon of this manuscript gives highly puzzling clues regarding the date the manuscript was finished. However, the year 1487 seems the most likely option.⁴ Their youngest brother is the Leiria edition of 1494, printed by Samuel Dortas. This is the first printed edition of Targum Jonathan to the Former Prophets. It contains the Hebrew text of the Former Prophets with Targum Jonathan and commentaries by Kimchi and Levi ben Gershon.⁵ So, this part of the family, Jewish in every aspect, consists of four different versions: Targum Jonathan only (MS H. 116), a luxurious version of Targum Jonathan alternating with the Hebrew text (MS Opp. Add. 4to 75), and Targum Jonathan with the Hebrew text and additional commentaries (MS Kennicott 5 [85] and the Leiria edition of 1494). The remaining four textual witnesses, two manuscripts and two editions, raise a lot of questions: they were produced in the sixteenth century by Christians for a Christian readership. The manuscripts, MS 7542 (Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid) and MS M-1 (Biblioteca General Histórica de la Universidad, Salamanca) were both written in the first half of the sixteenth century by Alfonso de Zamora, a *converso* scholar working at the University in Alcalá de Henares. The two editions are the Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp (1568-1572) and Paris (1629-1645). Both Polyglot Bibles contain a Sephardic

² M. Beit-Arié, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Supplement of Addenda and Corrigenda to Vol. 1a. of Neubauer's Catalogue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), nos. 68-9; B. Narkiss, *Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Isles. A Catalogue Raisonné* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), no. 5.

³ This manuscript, part of the Montefiore collection, used to be kept in Jews College (the present London School of Jewish Studies), London. The owner of the collection, the Montefiore endowment, sold part of the collection in 2004, including MS H. 116. Its present whereabouts are unknown. [it returned to the Montefiore Endowment]

⁴ For further details, see the manuscript database at www.targum.nl.

⁵ A.K. Offenber, and C. Moed-van Walraven, *Hebrew Incunabula in Public Collections: A First International Consensus* (Bibliotheca Humanistica et Reformatorica XLVII; Nieuwkoop: Hes en De Graaf, 1990), no.28.

version of Targum Samuel.

Intellectual and Theological Climate

In order to answer the first question of how the Jewish Targum ended up in the accepted corpus of Christian Biblical Studies in sixteenth century Europe, we have to start with some observations on the intellectual and theological climate of the sixteenth century. Two opposing trends can be noted during this period: on the one hand, the Renaissance with its motto *ad fontes* strives for the accessibility of as many source texts as possible. On the other hand, we see the institution of an elaborate system of censoring by the church authorities: a way to control written texts and thus to maintain orthodoxy and unity. Hebrew and Aramaic texts were not exempted from this process. In this sense, authority became a very important issue during this period. More rules were developed concerning who was allowed to produce a certain text and who was allowed to use it.

The general theological understanding of Judaism during the Middle Ages was shaped by Saint Augustine: as they continued to live according to the Torah, Jews were regarded as 'living letters' of the Biblical text, and as such a witness to the truth of Christianity.⁶ Contacts and intellectual exchange between Jews and Christians existed to different degrees over the times and areas of Europe.⁷ Despite these contacts, during the larger part of the Middle Ages, most Christian theologians were not aware of the existence of a Jewish textual corpus other than the Hebrew Bible. The thirteenth century showed a renewed interest of Christian theologians in the Hebrew Bible text as well as a growing awareness of the existence of a living rabbinical tradition. This newly gained familiarity of the Christian scholars with post-biblical rabbinical traditions made them realize, among other things, that their view of Jews as a fossilized remnant of Biblical times did not reflect the living religion of medieval Jewry.⁸

Christians could easily justify the study of Biblical Hebrew and the Hebrew Bible text, because this was part of their own Biblical canon. The study of post-biblical Aramaic

⁶ See, for example: Augustinus, *Adversus Iudaeos*, PL 42.51-67.

⁷ See, for example, A. Grabois, 'The "Hebraica Veritas" and Jewish-Christian Intellectual Relations in the Twelfth Century', *Speculum* 50/4 (1975), pp. 592-613 (599, 605-608).

⁸ J. Cohen, 'Scholarship and Intolerance in the Medieval Academy: The Study and Evaluation of Judaism in European Christendom', *American Historical Review* 91 (1986), pp. 592-613 (604-607).

literature, however, was yet another issue. The Targums, as well as the Talmud and the Zohar, were texts written by Jews and for Jews, but unlike the Hebrew Bible, they were not part of the canon of Christian literature. The texts raised serious theological problems for Christian theologians: the newly discovered rabbinical tradition challenged not only their clear-cut ideas about Judaism, but also their own way of interpreting the texts of the Hebrew Bible.

Alongside this theological issue, there was also a practical problem: Christian scholars willing to cross the religious border were often stopped by the language border due to the lack of Aramaic grammars and dictionaries in Latin. The assistance of professing Jews or converts was necessary for acquiring the language.⁹ There was some Christian Aramaic learning during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but this was mainly used for anti-Jewish polemics and proselytizing. Targum, Talmud and Kabbala were searched for blasphemous passages or, on the contrary, for passages that could support Christianity. By the late fifteenth century scholars came to the conclusion that these Aramaic texts might be helpful for Christian theology itself, apart from using it to attack and undermine Judaism. Biblical commentators and polemicists alike had found the Targums useful.¹⁰ Subsequently, more Christians became involved in Aramaic Studies and much progress was made in the availability of Targum texts.¹¹ During the sixteenth century quite a few Targum manuscripts accompanied by a Latin translation were produced.¹² Notwithstanding this growth in popularity, the demand for Aramaic books was never particularly high. Having a powerful patron to whom you dedicated the work was very useful for the production of these texts. Neither were these Jewish texts automatically accepted by the Christian authorities: here too a distinguished patron was desirable. The issue of authority was constantly present and Aramaic and Hebrew texts were suspect because of their undeniable relation with Judaism. Having the right patron for your Aramaic text was one of the ways to secure its production and acceptance.

⁹ S.G. Burnett, 'Christian Aramaism: The Birth and Growth of Aramaic Scholarship in the Sixteenth Century', in Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebel, and Dennis R. Magary (eds), *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients. Essays Offered to Honour Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), pp. 421-436 (422).

¹⁰ Burnett, 'Christian Aramaism', p. 423.

¹¹ Burnett, 'Christian Aramaism', p. 432.

¹² For a list of Targums with Latin translation produced in the sixteenth century see: M. McNamara, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966), pp. 7-14.

Two Manuscripts by Alfonso de Zamora

Now that we have some background on the circumstances under which the texts came into being we will describe them in more detail. The two manuscripts of Christian origin, MS M-1 of Salamanca and MS 7542 of Madrid, are both written by Alfonso de Zamora. Alfonso was born around 1474 in Zamora; his father was Rabbi Juan de Zamora. It is not known when he converted to Christianity. We find his last known dated activity in a colophon of August 28, 1545. He mentions in this colophon that he is ill (כשהיה חולה).¹³ According to the acts of the University of Salamanca, Alfonso de Zamora was appointed as lecturer in Hebrew in February 1511.¹⁴ On 4th of July 1512 he came to the university in Alcalá de Henares on the request of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros (1436-1517) to teach Hebrew and to become one of the editors of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.¹⁵ He was a very active scribe and translator. In addition to his teaching activities, he copied and translated Bible and Targum texts, grammars and works by David Kimchi.¹⁶ He also wrote an apologetic work in defence of Christianity: *Sefer Hohmat Elohim*, 'The Book of the Wisdom of God'.¹⁷ He made extensive use of both Targum Onkelos and Jonathan in his apologetic work. He had a partiality for the Targum of Isaiah, probably because of its messianic tendencies. He gave chapters 52 and 53 of Isaiah the title תרגום נבואת המשיח (Targum of the prophecy of the Messiah).¹⁸

MS 7542 has a bilingual colophon in Hebrew and Castilian:¹⁹

¹³ MS Or. 645 (*olim* Warner 65, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden) fol D46r (*olim* 2r), online available: https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl/webclient/DeliveryManager?custom_att_2=simple_viewer&pid=2049894. (retrieved July 6, 2011) I am indebted to Jesús de Prado Plumed for sharing this information. [= present url: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1563008>]

¹⁴ F. Pérez Castro, *El manuscrito apologetico de Alfonso de Zamora. Traducción y estudio del sefer hokmat Elohim* (Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1950), p. XVI.

¹⁵ Pérez Castro, *El manuscrito apologetico*, p. XX. According to Juan de Vallejo, Zamora had been an editor of the Complutensian Polyglot since 1502, 10 years before he came to the University of Alcalá de Henares. See: J. de Vallejo, *Memorial de la vida de fray Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros: publicado, con prólogo y notas por Antonio de la Torre y del Cerro* (Madrid: Bailly-Baillièrre, 1913), p. 56.

¹⁶ Called Camhi in Latin by Zamora, in accordance with the Sephardic tradition.

¹⁷ MS G-I-8 (Escorial, Madrid).

¹⁸ MS G-I-8, f. 233r.

¹⁹ MS 7542 f. 235v. The English translation is mine.

נכתב הספר הזה על יד אלפונסו די סאמורה ונשלם בחדש מארסו שנת אלף ותק' ולג' שבת לאל ונכתב
 לנגיד ומורה וחכם גדול בחכמת אלהים דון אנטוניו ראמירז די הארו
 כהן ארבאש האל ישמרהו ויחיו ויאושר בארץ בחייו ובמלכות השמים אחרי מותו

Fue escrito este libro por mano de Alfonso de Zamora, y fue acabado en el mes de março año de mill y quinientos y treinta y tres. Laus Deo y fue scripto para el s. doctor y sabio grande en la sciencia de Dios don Antonio Ramírez de Haro Abbad de Arvas, Dios le guarde y le de vida y sea bienaventurado en la tierra y en su vida y en el Reyno del cielo después de su muerte corporal.

This book is written by the hand of Alfonso de Zamora and is finished in the month of March in the year 1533; glory to God; it is written for the doctor and great sage in the wisdom of God, don Antonio Ramírez de Haro, Abbot of Arbas, may God keep him and give him life and bless him, during his life on earth as well as in the kingdom of heaven after his (corporeal, *Castilian text only*) death.

We learn from the colophon that the manuscript was completed in March 1533 and copied for Don Antonio Ramírez de Haro, then Abbot of Santa María de Arbas, in the current Spanish province of León, who later became the bishop of Segovia. The commissioner of the work is explicitly mentioned, being praised by Zamora as 'the doctor and great sage in the wisdom of God'.²⁰ Moreover, he adds a eulogy for his wellbeing ('may God keep him and give him life and bless him, during his life on earth as well as in the kingdom of heaven after his corporal death'). The manuscript contains the Targum version of the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel and Kings with a Latin translation. Small letters from the Latin alphabet above the Aramaic words refer to the root of the word which is written in the margin.²¹ He uses a sign in the form of a wedge to mark a prefix, alerting the reader to the fact that this element does not belong to the word itself. The verses are divided by a sort of *atnach*, not in the same way as used in the Masoretic system, but more like a comma in Latin, i.e. a general division marker. The text is vocalized according to a simplified system, comparable with the vocalization system used in the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Composite vowels are left out and replaced by a *qamets* or *segol*. The *rafef* and *maqgef* are left out. It is difficult to retrieve a system behind the use of *patah* and *qamets*, but it is very likely

²⁰ Zamora uses the term חכמת אלהים for theology.

²¹ The same system is used in the Complutensian Polyglot, the *Prologus ad Lectorem* explains how to use it.

that its use indicates the Sephardic pronunciation tradition.²² All of this shows that the text is meant for readers who do not have a thorough knowledge of Aramaic.

MS M-1 was completed in 1532. It contains the Targum to the Prophets and the Writings accompanied by a Latin translation. It has an introduction in Aramaic and Latin.²³

תרגומא דנביאיא קדמאי מפרש עם מליצותא דלישנא דרומאי כתיבא לקבליה:
 דאעתקנא יתיה בהימנותא מספריא קדמאי דאינון מהמנין וקשיטין ויציבין:
 די על תרגומא הדא דכל ארבעה ועשרין ספרין דאוריתא:
 בתר דאעתקנא יתיה עם מליצותיה גזרו ופקידו למכתב יתיה הנהו חכימין שלימין ויקירין
 רישי דשיבתא רבתא דאינון בקרתא יקירתא דשאלאמנקה לשואה יתיה בביתא רבתא
 דספריא דילהון דהוא מהחצפא לכולי עלמא בדיל דיהנון מיניה כל דיתרעון למידע סתרין
 סגיאי ומהימנין דאישתכחו בלישנא דתרגומא דאינון מסעדין בקשוט להימנותא קדישתא
 דישוע משיחא בר אלהא חיא:
 וכען בסיעתא דשמיא שרינא בסיפרא דיהושע דיינא בדיל דהוא סיפרא קדמא דכן ערע
 פיתגמא כמא דחזינא בסדרא דסיפורה: ובתרוהי סיפרא דדייני: ובתרוהי ארבעה ספרין
 דמלכין כתיבין בסדרהון כמא דערעו פיתגמיהון: כמא דמיתחזי בהדין כתיבא דקרינא ביה
 בדין אורחא:

Targum of the Former Prophets explained with a Latin translation²⁴ written opposite it; which we copied faithfully, from former books, that are trustworthy

²² See also: E. van Staaldune-Sulman, 'Vowels in the Trees: The Role of Vocalisation in Stemmatology', *AS* 3.2 (2005), pp. 215-240 (230).

²³ MS Or. 645 (*olim* Warner 65, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden) contains on fol. 110r a draft for an Aramaic introduction to the Targum, also by Alfonso de Zamora. For a translation and discussion of this text see: C. Alonso Fontela, 'Prólogo arameo y anotaciones hebreas de Alfonso de Zamora para una copia manuscrita del Targum a los profetas encargada por la Universidad de Salamanca', *Sef* 69.2 (2009), pp. 382-396.

²⁴ The lexicon of the Complutensian Polyglot lists under the root מלץ the word מליץ *melis: quod significat interpretem seu eloquentem* (melis: which means translator or speaker). However, the lexicon contains also a lemma connected to the root לויץ (from a modern linguistic point of view the correct root) where *מליצה interpretatio* (translation) is given. See *Biblia Polyglotta: Hebraiceae; Chaldaiceae, Graeceae et Latineae, de mandata ac sumptibus Francisci Ximenez de Cisneros*, VI (Alcalá de Henares: Arnaldi Guillelmi de Brocario: 1517). The Aramaic dictionary of Johannes Buxtorf, printed a century later, is even more explicit. Under the root לויץ the word מליץ is given, explained as *orator, interpres linguarum* (speaker, translator of languages). It also mentions *מליצה eloquentia* (in this period not only understood as 'eloquence' but also 'speaking languages, translating'). See J. Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum Et Rabbinicum* (Basel: Ludovici Regis, 1639), col 1132-33.

and true and fixed, which contained this Targum of all 24 books of the Law. After we copied it with its translation, the wise and peaceful and respectable heads of the large academy in the respectable city of Salamanca decided and ordered to write it down in order to place it in their large library, which is envied by the entire world, for the profit of those who desire 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.

And now, with the assistance of heaven we start the book of Joshua, the judge, so that it may become the first book, that it so happens according to what we see in the order of the story. Thereafter the book of the Judges. And thereafter the four books of the Kings, written in their own order of how their contents came about, in the manner that is visible in the manuscript which I have mentioned.²⁵

Translatio Chaldaica omnium librorum historicorum veteris testamenti cum latina interpretatione, quae est secunda pars bibliae, cura jussuque doctissimorum Salmanticensis Academiae procerum ex antiquissimis fidelissimisque exemplaribus ad communem divinae Scripturae studiosiorum utilitatem transcripta.

Aramaic translation of all the historical books of the Old Testament with a Latin interpretation, which is the second part of the Bible. Commissioned by the most learned men of the academy of Salamanca, prepared from the oldest and most reliable manuscripts for the general benefit of students of the divine Scripture.

The Aramaic introduction mentions that the book was ordered by the University of Salamanca for its library (גזרו ופקידו למכתב יתיה הנהו חכימין שלימין ויקירין רישי דשיבתא רבתא) (דאינון בקרתא יקירתא דשאלאמנקה לשואה יתיה בביתא רבתא דספריא דילהון). There are some interesting differences between the two introductions. In the Aramaic introduction Zamora explains which books can be found in the manuscript: he writes that he now starts the book of Joshua, the judge (שרינא בסיפרא דיהושע דיינא) and will continue with the book of the Judges (ובתרוהי סיפרא דדייני) and thereafter the four books of the Kings (ובתרוהי ארבעה ספרין דמלכין). In the Latin introduction he mentions that the reader can expect the Aramaic text and its Latin translation of the historical books of the Old Testament (*Translatio Chaldaica omnium librorum historicorum veteris testamenti cum latina interpretatione*). In the manuscript, the book of Ruth is placed between the books

²⁵ Again the English translation is mine.

of Judges and Samuel, as is common in the Christian tradition, but unlike the Jewish tradition where it is part of the Megillot. Strangely, Zamora does not mention the book of Ruth in his Aramaic introduction. The intended purpose of the text is mentioned briefly in both introductions.

According to the Latin version the text is written for the general benefit of students of the divine Scripture (*ad communem divinae Scripturae studiosiorum utilitatem*). In the Aramaic version it is phrased slightly differently: for the profit of those who desire to know many and trustworthy secrets that can be found in the language of the Targum, in truth supporting our holy faith in Jesus Christ, the son of the living God בדיל דיהנון מיניה כלדיתרעון למידע סתרין סגיאין ומהימנין דאישתכחו בלישנא דתרגומא דאינון מסעדין בקשוט (להימנותנא קדישתא דישוע משיחא בר אלהא חיא). The last part of this sentence contains an allusion to Mt 16.16. With the sentence 'you are the Messiah, the Son of the Living God' the apostle Peter confesses in this particular verse his belief in who Jesus is. What could be the point of inserting such a confessional statement in the Aramaic text only? A disguised missionary motive on the part of the writer is unlikely: after 1492 there were officially no professing Jews and therefore no potential converts left in Spain. Was his motive to convince his Christian employers of his loyalty to the Christian faith? Then it would have made more sense to place such a phrase in the Latin text since not too many Christian theologians were fluent in Aramaic.

This manuscript does not give the roots of the verbs in the margins of the text like MS 7542, but it does use the same simplified vocalization system as well as the wedge shaped sign to indicate a prefix not belonging to the word itself. And also here the *atnach* is used as a general division marker, unconnected to the Hebrew base text.

The paratext of the manuscripts is manifestly Christian: first of all, the binding goes from left to right. Second, the book of Ruth is placed between the books of Judges and Samuel. This is typical for the Christian division into historical books as found in the Vulgate, following the tradition of the Septuagint. In the Jewish arrangement it is part of the Megillot. Third, the text is divided into chapters according to the Christian division, and the beginning of a new chapter is indicated by the Latin abbreviation 'cap'. Moreover, the book of Samuel is split up into 1 and 2 Samuel, which was not usual in the Jewish tradition at the time. Both manuscripts use in the Latin text the names 1 and 2 Kings for 1 and 2 Samuel (labelling the books of Samuel and Kings

together 1 to 4 Kings is another Septuagint tradition followed by the Vulgate).²⁶ However, MS M-1 uses in the Aramaic column the names 1 and 2 Samuel, with an explanation in Hebrew at the beginning and end of both books that these are also called 1 and 2 Kings (ספר שמואל שהוא ספר ראשון של מלכים²⁷). Finally, the Masora Magna and Parva have completely disappeared from the text.²⁸

The Aramaic text itself does not show signs of adaptation to the Christian readership. One of the most remarkable characteristics of the Sephardic text tradition is the large number of Tosefta Targums.²⁹ In the Sephardic Targum tradition it was common to copy the Tosefta Targums in the main text of Targum Onkelos and Jonathan. The Tosefta Targum is indicated by תוס' or תוספתא. This habit is adopted by Zamora. In the Latin text he indicates them as well, here with the Latin *additio* or its abbreviation *add.* The two manuscripts show only minor textual variations that can be explained by copying. So it is very likely that he used the same base text for both manuscripts. We do not know how much editing has been done by Zamora. The Latin introduction to MS M-1 states that the oldest and most reliable manuscripts were used to produce the copy (*procerum³⁰ ex antiquissimis fidelissimisque exemplaribus*). The Aramaic introduction phrases it as follows: 'we copied it faithfully, from ancient books, that are trustworthy and true and fixed' (דאעתקנא יתיה בהימנותא מספריא קדמאידאינון מהמנין וקשיטין ויציבין). This information could point to some form of editing, but the use of the plural (ancient books) can also refer to use of different manuscripts for different Biblical books.

The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp and Paris

In 1517 the famous Complutensian Polyglot Bible was completed, just before the death of its chief editor and sponsor, Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros (1436-1517). Cisneros made his intentions clear in the foreword to the Polyglot Bible³¹: to publish a Bible in

²⁶ See also the contribution by Alberdina Houtman in this volume, *fig. 1*. [= A. Houtman, 'The Use of Paratextual Elements in Targum Research', *Aramaic Studies*, 10 (2012), *fig. 1*.]

²⁷ MS M-1, f. 75v.

²⁸ See also the contribution by Eveline van Staaldune-Sulman in this volume. [= E. van Staaldune-Sulman, 'Christianized Targums: The Usefulness of the Zamora Manuscripts and the Antwerp Polyglot Bible for an Edition of the Targum of the Former Prophets', *Aramaic Studies*, 10 (2012): 79-114]

²⁹ E. van Staaldune-Sulman, 'An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel' (Protestant Theological University, Kampen, 2009; available for download at www.targum.nl under the button 'Introduction to the Critical Edition'), p. 35. See also: A. Houtman, 'Different Kinds of Tradition in Targum Jonathan to Isaiah', in P. Th. van Reenen et al. (eds), *Studies in Stemmatology II* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing, 2009), pp. 269-283 (278).

³⁰ [*procerum* should have been left out of the Latin citation]

³¹ 'Prologus ad Lectorum', in: *Biblia Polyglotta*, I.

all relevant languages, to be used for the proper training of the clergy. He collected manuscripts from all over Europe and appointed several editors, one of them was Alfonso de Zamora. The layout of the page of the Old Testament consists of three large vertical columns: the Vulgate in the middle, on the left side the Hebrew text and on the right side the Greek text of the Septuagint, both accompanied by an interlinear Latin translation. The type page of the books of the Pentateuch have two additional, smaller columns: a wider column containing the Aramaic text and its Latin translation in a narrow column. Cisneros left out the Aramaic text of the rest of the Biblical books. According to him the Aramaic outside the Pentateuch is 'corrupted in certain places and littered with tales and nonsense talk of the Talmudists, completely unworthy to be inserted in the holy books' (*nam Chaldaica in caeteris libris praeterquam in Pentateuch corrupta est aliquibus in locis et fabulis merisque Thalmudistarum nugis conspersa, indigna prorsus quae sacris codicibus inseratur*).³² However, he gave orders to translate the other Biblical books from the Aramaic into Latin and to have them written down carefully to be stored in the public library of the Complutensian University (*idcirco reliquos libros totius Veteris testamenti e Chaldaica lingua in latinam verti fecimus et diligentissime cum sua Latina traductione conscriptos in publica Complutensis nostrae Universitatis Bibliotheca reponi*). Cisneros gives the following reason for doing so: 'the manuscript is in certain places flawless and uncorrupted and thus favouring the Christian faith in a miraculous way' (*Verum quia quibusdam in locis, ubi integra est littera et incorrupta, mirum in modum favet Christianae religioni*).

In order to achieve the humanistic ideal of establishing a text coming close to the original, the user of the Polyglot should have a basic knowledge of the original languages. Therefore Volume 6 of the Polyglot contains a Hebrew and Aramaic thesaurus with an accompanying Latin index, an explanation of all the proper names in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek plus a Hebrew grammar.

The French printer Christophe Plantin took the initiative for the production of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible. In February 1565 he expressed his wish to publish a Bible in several languages to his friend Andreas Masius. The following year at the fair in Frankfurt he was able to show potential buyers some proof texts. Unfortunately, the political and religious circumstances in the Low Countries deteriorated and Plantin found himself in a precarious situation. He had financial relations with the now openly

³² 'Prologus ad Lectorum', in: *Biblia Polyglotta*, I.

Calvinist family Van Bomberghen, and one of his former employees, Augustijn van Hasselt, had installed a press in Vianen and started to publish anti-government pamphlets. Plantin soon realized his need of a powerful patron if he wanted to continue working his press. Cleverly, he appealed to Philip II and suggested that the heritage of Cisneros be made available for Christianity by republishing the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. He convinced the King of his loyalty and orthodoxy and proposed a total revision of the Complutensian Bible.³³ After long deliberations and extensive advice from the professors of the University of Alcalá de Henares, the King granted his permission on the 25th of March 1567. He promised 12,000 Guilders and stipulated that the editing of the texts would be done by a scholar with a good reputation: Benito Arias Montano.³⁴ Plantin thus secured his position: he had a powerful patron, King Philip II himself and he worked with the material of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, whose authority in the Church was undisputed.

Benito Arias Montano was born in 1527. He studied Arts in Seville and Theology and Languages in Alcalá de Henares. He participated as theological advisor in the Council of Trent (1562-1563). In 1568 King Philip entrusted him with the edition of the Antwerp Polyglot. A few years later, in 1571, he prepared an *Index expurgatorius librorum*, for which he was praised because of his capability and tolerance in its compilation.³⁵

In March 1568 King Philip sent a letter with detailed instructions to Montano in Antwerp.³⁶ Among other things, the King interfered with Plantin's plan to print the Pagninus Latin translation of the Hebrew text instead of the text of the Vulgate. Montano had to keep in mind that the Vulgate should be given the same place as in the Complutensian Polyglot given its authorized status in the entire Church.³⁷ Where in the Complutensian Polyglot only Targum Onkelos was printed, its successor was to contain the Targum to all the Bible books accompanied by a Latin translation. Montano had to make sure that 'from the Pentateuch to the end of the Old Testament the

³³ Ch. Péligré, 'La Bible en Espagne au XVI^e Siècle: de la polyglotte d'Alcalá à celle d'Anvers', in B.E. Schwarzbach (ed.), *La Bible imprimée dans l'Europe moderne* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1999), pp. 306-322 (312).

³⁴ L. Voet, 'De Antwerpse Polyglot-Bijbel', *Noordgouw*, 13 (1973), pp. 33-52 (39).

³⁵ E. Fernández Tejero and N. Fernández Marcos, 'Scriptural Interpretation in Renaissance Spain', in M. Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation, II From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2008), pp. 231-253 (242-3).

³⁶ MS Stock. A 902, ff. 183-186, in: B. Macías Rosendo, *La biblia políglota de Amberes en la correspondencia de Benito Arias Montano (MS Estoc. A 902)* (Bibliotheca Montaniana; Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 1998), pp. 76-83.

³⁷ 'Quod Plantino significabis curabisque ut quem locum in editione Complutensi Vulgata versio Latina obtinet, eundem propter eius in universa Ecclesia auctoritatem retineat.'

Aramaic text should be followed as it was printed in Rome and in Venice'.³⁸

The text of Targum Samuel in the Antwerp Polyglot is however not the same text as used in the second Rabbinic Bible.³⁹ Neither is the text the same as the two Zamora manuscripts MSS 7542 and M-1. In his preface⁴⁰ to the Targum in the Antwerp Polyglot Montano explains what kind of manuscript has been used for the book of Samuel: Andreas Masius, a collaborator of Montano and friend of Plantin, bought a Targum manuscript in Rome. The manuscript is dated 1517 and contains a purged or shortened version of Targum Jonathan to the Former Prophets: the Tosefta Targums are left out. The manuscript contains only the beginning of a Latin translation of Joshua. Montano states that he immediately recognized this writing as the hand of one of the Complutensian editors. According to Montano this manuscript was purged on the request of Cisneros: the Targum of the Former Prophets contains 'several interpolations and passages incoherent neither with the style of the author and the rest of the work, nor with the simple Hebrew truth' (*sed nonnullis adiectionibus, plerisque in locis auctum, quae neque cum reliquo auctoris stylo, si bene conferantur, neque etiam cum simplici Hebraicae veritatis sentential omnino convenient*). Montano supposed that the unfinished manuscript was sold after the death of Cisneros and was brought to Rome where it was bought by Masius. Montano accepted the shortened version of the Former Prophets of this manuscript as the base text for the Targum text of the Polyglot Bible. He translated the text into Latin himself. He gives account for his translation method: the books of Joshua and Judges have a very literal translation for the benefit of the student learning Aramaic. The books of Samuel and Kings are translated less literally and more in conformity with the rules of Latin grammar. Montano could not restrain himself from noting that although he respected Cisneros' opinion on the Tosefta Targums, he did not see much of a problem in them. In his opinion they contain

³⁸ 'Curabis ut a Pentateucho ad finem usque Veteris Testamenti Chaldaica versio, sicut Romae et Venetiis impressa est, continuetur.' Philip II seems to refer to a Targum edition printed in Rome before 1568. However, Antonella Lumini's catalogue of sixteenth century Bible editions does not list a Targum printed in Rome. See A. Lumini, *La Bibbia: Edizioni del XVI Secolo* (Bibliotheca de Bibliografia Italiana, CLXII; Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2000).

³⁹ This not only applies for the book of Samuel. Carlos Alonso Fontela has shown, for example, that the Aramaic text of Song of Songs printed in the Antwerp Polyglot is a combination of the text of the second Rabbinic Bible and MS Villa-Amil 5 (or a text similar to this manuscript). See C. Alonso Fontela, 'Examen del tratamiento dado al Targum del Cantar de los Cantares en la biblia poliglota de Amberes', *Sef* 46 (1986), pp. 49-55.

⁴⁰ 'Benedicti Ariae Montani Hispalensis in Chaldicarum paraphraseon libros et interpretationes praefatio', in: *Biblia Sacra Hebraicè, Chaldaicè, Graecè, and Latinè: Philippi II regis catholici pietate et studio ad sacrosanctae ecclesiae usum* (Antwerpen: Christophe Plantin, 1572).

nothing that can possibly offend the reader and it is very clear that these passages contain apocryphal commentary and compositions of a specific genre.⁴¹ Clearly indicated as additions, they can be consulted in Volume 8 of the Polyglot at the end of the paragraph entitled *Variae Lectiones et annotatiunculae, quibus Thargum, id est, Chaldaica paraphrasis infinitis in locis illustrator et emendator*.

After the completion of the Polyglot some problems arose with the Church authorities. It was not totally unexpected that Pope Pius V refused his consent—he had never shown his enthusiasm for the project—but when he died shortly afterwards, his successor Gregorius XIII gave his *approbatio* on 23 August 1572.⁴² However, this was not the end of the discussion: in the Netherlands bishop Lindanus of Roermond accused Montano of using incorrect Hebrew texts. The opposition in Spain caused more serious problems for Montano. León de Castro, professor in Salamanca, attacked Montano's translations of the Targum and other versions as undermining the dogmas of the Church. He was opposed to using any Hebrew or Aramaic text whatever: these were Jewish and therefore unworthy of the Church.⁴³ The file was sent from Madrid to Rome and back again to Madrid. The critique accentuates the six points in which the Antwerp Polyglot Bible differed from the Complutensian.⁴⁴ It seems that no one wanted to get their fingers burnt on the issue: Arias Montano was an authority in the Church and the entire project was sponsored by the King himself. Finally, the Jesuit Juan de Mariana was entrusted with the file. He took his time but in 1580 he made his verdict public: Montano was freed from all accusations of heresy and the Polyglot was allowed to circulate freely without alterations. Mariana nevertheless made use of the opportunity to point to a number of liberties Montano had taken with the Holy Scriptures.⁴⁵

The battle continued even after the death of Montano: the 1607 *Index of Rome* and the 1612 *Index of Madrid* included several works by Montano. In the 1612 *Index* it was ordered that the annotation *caute legatur* had to be inserted next to the Targum texts of the Antwerp Polyglot. The precise meaning and importance of this label was disputed,

⁴¹ '...quorum magna pars, licet nihil habeat, quod lectorum possit offendere, quia tamen apocryphum argumentum et certum quoddam orationis genus continent.'

⁴² Voet, 'De Antwerpse Polyglot-Bijbel', p. 42.

⁴³ Péligny, 'La Bible en Espagne au XVIe siècle', p. 320.

⁴⁴ E. Fernández Tejero and N. Fernández Marcos, 'Luis de Estrada y Arias Montano', *Sef* 42 (1982): pp. 41-57 (44-5).

⁴⁵ Voet, 'De Antwerpse Polyglot-Bijbel', p. 47.

at least in seventeenth century Spain. Adversaries of the use of Targum texts interpreted it as a denouncing label, used for a dangerous work full of errors. Allies of the use of the Targum text stated that it was a common formula used by the Church to make the readers aware of possible erroneous interpretations and ambiguities in Catholic works. Such works could be read without danger at any time.⁴⁶

The Paris Polyglot was printed between 1629 and 1655 by Antoine Vitré. The chief editor was Guy-Michel LeJay. The project was initiated by François Savary de Brèves, the French ambassador in Constantinople, who promoted the publication of works in Oriental languages. LeJay added the Peshitta, an Arabic translation and the Samaritan Pentateuch.⁴⁷ The Paris Polyglot never became as important as the ones from Alcalá and Antwerp. The reason was twofold: it was first and foremost a reprint of the Antwerp Polyglot. The second reason was the almost simultaneous publication of the London Polyglot Bible of Brian Walton which was brought into circulation between 1654 and 1657. The Targum text of the Paris Polyglot is almost the same as the Antwerp Polyglot,⁴⁸ including the lack of Tosefta Targums in the book of Samuel. LeJay asked the University of Alcalá for advice concerning the project. He sent some proofs of the first volume to Spain. These proofs were inspected by Andrés de León, a fierce adversary of the Targum version of Arias Montano. He criticized the carelessness of the Antwerp Polyglot and gave his opinion on the Targum: completely worthless, corrupt and filled with Talmudic fables.⁴⁹ This was not the sort of advice LeJay was anticipating and this letter of Andrés de León marked the end of their correspondence. Without further consultation, LeJay decided to reprint in full the first five volumes of the Antwerp Polyglot.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ J.A. Jones, 'Las advertentias de Pedro de Valencia y Juan Ramírez acerca de la impresión de la 'paraphrasis chaldaica' de la "Biblia Regia"', *Bulletin Hispanique* 84 (1982), pp. 328-346 (337).

⁴⁷ J. Barnard, D.F. McKenzie (eds) with the assistance of Maureen Bell, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: 1557-1695*, IV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 649.

⁴⁸ There are some variations in spelling, like a *samech* instead of a *sin/shin*, more *plene* spelling, and some cases that may probably be mistakes.

⁴⁹ 'De Paraphrasi Chaldaica, quam Rabbini Thargum appellant, quid loquar? vitiata et corrupta nimis, degenerans ab illo primo nitore et candore; plene Thalmudicis fabulis, impietatibus sacrilegis foedata, in quo conveniunt omnes', cited in: Jones, 'Las advertentias de Pedro de Valencia', p. 329.

⁵⁰ E. Fernández Tejero and N. Fernández Marcos, 'La polémica en torno la biblia regia de Arias de Montano', *Sef* 54 (1994): pp. 259-270 (269).

Purpose and Function

It is likely that the purpose of the production of these four Christianized Targum versions was twofold: first, to provide Christian scholars with the opportunity to learn Aramaic and second to regulate access to texts that might contain relevant but at the same time heretical information, and thus dangerous information in the eyes of the Church authorities.⁵¹

The didactical aspect can be found in all four textual witnesses: the Zamora manuscripts with their interlinear Latin translation give the reader the opportunity to learn the language. MS 7542 offers extra support, namely listing the roots of the words in the margin of the book. Both Polyglot Bibles provide the reader with an interlinear translation of the Aramaic text as well as a dictionary and Hebrew grammar. The *Prologus ad Lectorem* of the Complutensian Polyglot gives some very rudimentary information on the structure of the Hebrew and Aramaic. The Antwerp Polyglot provides the reader with an Aramaic grammar. Montano explicitly mentions the didactic aspect when he explains his literal Latin translation of Targum Joshua and Judges: to assist the reader in learning the Aramaic language. We can assume that the texts actually functioned in this way: MS M-1 was (and is) stored in the University Library of Salamanca. As the introduction states it was produced on the request of the professors to be used for (advanced) Biblical Studies. The Antwerp Polyglot Bible found its way into many Protestant⁵² and Catholic institutions.⁵³

Regarding regulated access to the text, let us return to the authority question of the beginning of this article. Censoring of texts was the consequence of the desire of the authorities to control access to texts in the hope of maintaining orthodoxy and unity. This censoring affected the Jewish community as well as the Christian Hebraist

⁵¹ Another more general motivation for the production of the Polyglot Bibles was their intended use for missionary and polemic activities. Only the Paris Polyglot mentions this explicitly in the Prologue: *...ad revincendas et confutandas plurimis in locis malignas haereticorum versiones ad Religionis Christianae adversus ethnicos et mahumatanos ex tot populorum etiam Iudaeorum et Samaritanorum Christiano nomini infensissimorum hostium suffragio comprobationem et commendationem* ('to refute and vindicate in many places the detrimental variants of the heretics; to approve and recommend the Christian religion to pagans and Muslims through so many people, even through the Jews and Samaritans, who are grim enemies of Christianity').

⁵² Out of gratitude for the perseverance of the city of Leiden during the Dutch Revolt, William of Orange donated a set to the newly founded University of Leiden. See A. van der Heide, *Hebraica Veritas. Christoffel Plantin en de christelijke Hebraïsten* (Antwerpen: Museum Plantin-Moretus/Prentenkabinet, 2008), p. 94.

⁵³ Voet, 'De Antwerpse Polyglot-Bijbel', p. 47.

discourse. Ammon Raz-Krakotzkin makes in my view an accurate observation concerning this process: ‘censorship embodies two contradictory but at the same time complementary dimensions of Christian Hebraist discourse: separation and integration—separation of the Jews from Christians and the integration of Jewish literature in Christian culture.’⁵⁴ These two dimensions of separation and integration can also be noted during the production and reception of the four Christian versions of Targum Samuel discussed in this chapter. By developing adequate tools to learn Aramaic, the Christian theologians became independent of Jewish teachers,⁵⁵ while at the same time becoming acquainted with the content of these writings. In the case of Spain this was a necessity: due to the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, there were no Jewish teachers left. The Jewish heritage still known to the *conversos* had to be safeguarded before this generation died out. By ‘Christianizing’ the Jewish Targum texts they were separated from their Jewish origin and made acceptable—be it still conditional—for Christian theologians. The Church hoped both purposes would be met in this way: the humanist ideals of studying ancient texts, out of philological interest and for reasons of content, as well as restricting their possible harmful consequences.

Conclusion

A stepbrother implies one ‘other’ parent. In the case of the Christianized Targum texts discussed in this article, there is one ‘other’ parent: the mindset of Christian theology. It left its genetic stamp mainly on the layout of the text: the binding order from left to right, the Christian division of the Biblical books, the division into chapters and verses, and the disappearance of the Masora. The text itself is for the larger part unaltered, except for the omission of certain Tosefta Targums in the Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp and Paris. The intellectual and theological climate of the sixteenth century was an ideal breeding ground for these Christianized Targum texts. On the one hand there was the

⁵⁴ A. Raz-Krakotzkin, ‘Censorship, Editing, and the Reshaping of Jewish Identity: The Catholic Church and Hebrew Literature in the Sixteenth Century’, in A.P. Coudert, and Shoulson J.S. (eds), *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Jewish Culture and Context; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 125-155 (126).

⁵⁵ This is explicitly mentioned in the *Prologus ad Lectorem* of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible: *ut iam his adminiculis adiuti Hebraeorum (ut ait beatus Hieronymus) nauseam et ructum fastidientes preceptores eorum consulere non egeamus* (‘when we shrink from the disgust and outpourings of the Hebrews [thus says beatific Jerome], assisted by these tools we do not have to consult their teachers’).

humanist atmosphere of admiration for ancient texts and the related urge to learn neglected ancient languages, while on the other hand there was the Catholic Church that tried to keep a strong grip on the purity of the doctrines of the Christian faith by censorship. These four stepbrothers of the Sephardic Targum family can be seen as a compromise between these two tendencies. It made the material available in a way that accommodated the urge to learn a foreign language, Aramaic, to gain familiarity with the content of these ancient texts, while at the same time the authorities were able to keep an eye on the use of these texts (at least they hoped so) and their possible harmful influence on Christian orthodoxy.

Chapter 7. A Jewish Targum in a Remarkable Paratext: Paratextual Elements in Two Targum Manuscripts of Alfonso de Zamora*

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

* This Chapter has been published before as J.M. Tanja, and E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, 'A Jewish Targum in a Remarkable Paratext. Paratextual Elements in Two Targum Manuscripts of Alfonso De Zamora', in A. Houtman, E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, and H.-M. Kirn (eds), *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 166-184. Tanja studied the Zamora manuscripts from the perspective of the Sephardic Targum tradition, while Van Staaldoune-Sulman studied the Latin translations contained in the same manuscripts. Their findings are combined in the present article. The text is reprinted from the original publication with permission of the co-author, the editors, and the publisher.

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.

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 second 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.

¹ See our article 'Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles' in this volume [= Houtman, Van Staalduine-Sulman & Kirn, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*].

² See H. van Nes, E. van Staalduine-Sulman, 'The "Jewish" Rabbinic Bibles and the "Christian" Polyglot Bibles' in this volume [= Houtman, Van Staalduine-Sulman & Kirn, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*].

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 found in MS Or. 645 (University Library, Leiden; see Alonso Fontela 2009, 395f.). The Aramaic colophon (fol. 1v) 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 historicum*) 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-Krakotzkin 2005, 104). Jewish correctors of Hebrew books regularly complain 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 Staaldoune-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

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 נתחיל 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):

³ See <https://www.sfordata.nli.org.il>, accessed August 27, 2013.

⁴ See <https://www.sfordata.nli.org.il>, accessed August 27, 2013.

נשלם ספר רות	The book of Ruth ends
ונתחיל ספר שמואל	and we begin the book of Samuel
שחכמינו קורין לו ספר ראשון של מלכים	which our sages also call the first book of Kings.

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 וחמשא 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:

נשלם ספר אסתר ונתחיל ספר איוב	The book of Esther ends and we begin the book of Job.
סכום פסוקיא דסיפרא דאחשורוש	The number of verses of the book of Ahasuerus
מאה וששים ושבעה סיכמהון ק'ס"ז	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, haftarot and the Writings. It announced the book of Esther as *Megillat Ahasuerus* (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:

<p>סימן יתקק בנוטריקון ישעיהו תרי עשר קהלת קינות</p>	<p>YTQQ marks, with an abbreviation of Isaiah, the Twelve, Qohelet, Lamentations,</p>
<p>שבאלה הארבעה ספרים חוזרים תמיד העברים</p>	<p>that in these four books the Jews always repeat the penultimate verse at the end of the book</p>
<p>הפסוק שלמעלה בסוף הספר</p>	<p>in order not to conclude with harsh words.</p>
<p>כדי שלא לסיים במלות קשות</p>	

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, providing 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 נתחיל ספר הושע* ('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-Krakotzkin 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 grace 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 אויבינו תמיד יכביד ויעמוס	with the help of God who always hardens 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 (M1, fol. 85r):

דברי קמחי בחרוז
והם תפלה

The words of Kimchi in rhyme
and they are a prayer:

מכונן מלתי
ועד לא שפתי
מכונן גופתי
ויוצר נשמתי
היה נא עזרתי
וישר דברתי
בספר אפרתי
שמואל רמתי

He who establishes my word
even though not in my own tongue
He who establishes my body
and forms my soul.
Please, be my help
and make right my utterance
in the book of the Ephrathite
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 תנייתא 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 Staalduine-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 אחר, 'another version', or perhaps for the Aramaic אחריןא, נוסחא), 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 **לֹא יִפְרָקִינָנָא יוֹמָא דִּין**, ‘He will not save us that day’. The alternative in the margin says **וְגַא קִמְחֵי תִפְרָקִינָנָא כְּלָפֵי שְׂכִינָה אִמְרוּ**, ‘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 **תּוֹרִין דְּפִיטְמָא**, ‘cows of fat’. The variant **תּוֹרִין דְּפִטְימָא** 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)	לֹא תִשְׁתַּלַּחַף בְּפִיטְלוֹן דְּמֵן אוֹפִיר בְּבִירוֹלִין יְקִיר וּשְׁבִיזָא
English	‘It cannot be compared with gold from Ophir, [nor] with precious beryl and sapphire.’
M2	לֹא תִשְׁתַּלַּחַף בְּפִיטְלוֹן דְּמֵן בְּכִלוֹרִין יְקִיר וּשְׁבִיזָא
M2 גַּא	לֹא תִשְׁתַּלַּחַף בְּפִיטְלוֹן דְּמֵן אוֹפִיר יְקִיר וּשְׁבִיזָא
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 **בְּבִירוֹלִין**, ‘with beryl’ (Greek loan word from βηρύλλιον, ‘beryl’) is replaced by the mysterious word **בְּכִלוֹרִין**. 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: הנון 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. 208v). In the margin next to the verse the following remark is written: ס רבתא מאותיו 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 Qoh 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, '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. Erub 100b; Nid 24b; Shab 151b). Men are warned not to sleep alone in a house, lest Lilith will 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.

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

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

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 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 תוספתא.

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 (Díez 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. Alfonso 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,

⁷ See also our article 'Christian Arguments for Including Targums in Polyglot Bibles' in this volume [= Houtman, Van Staaldoune-Sulman & Kirn, *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*].

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.

Review

After a long journey that took me literally from libraries and archives in Oxford, to Jerusalem, to Saint Petersburg, and quite a few places in between, it is time to reflect on what this journey has brought to light with regard to the Sephardic text tradition of TgSam. I set out to describe the extant textual tradition of Sephardic provenance. To that end, I planned to examine the physical objects carrying the text as well as the text version they attested. I chose to pay special attention to the fact that they were produced in an environment where Christianity was the dominant religion. Previous research on textual attestations of TgSam of European provenance had suggested that the richer text found there and specific textual variants in certain verses might be influenced by the fact that they were produced in a predominantly Christian society. Based on these preliminary findings, I expected to find traces of Christian influence in the Jewish Targum texts: variants of an exegetical nature that were the repercussions of the experiences of the Jewish communities with their Christian neighbours and rulers - in short variants created by members of the Jewish community at the time of production of the manuscripts and edition included in my research. And I assumed I would be able to connect these exegetical innovations with the sociological and historical circumstances on the Iberian Peninsula. Rapidly I became aware not only of the complications and difficulties in the history and historiography of the Jewish communities in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia, but also of the vast variety of experiences of Jewish people there and then. Their experiences and consequently their narrative differed greatly depending on time, place and social class. This made me realise that, should I encounter exegetical variants that exhibit a reaction to either Christian theology or historical events, it would be almost impossible to relate these to specific doctrines and historical circumstances. Moreover, the textual evidence displayed in the manuscripts and editions proved to be less distinctive than I expected at the outset of my research and contained only a few variants of an exegetical nature. Yet, the research question remained the same; I merely had to adjust my preconceived notions on what I would find. The manuscripts and editions proved in the end to be a rich source of information for the textual history of TgSam and the Jewish communities in Medieval Iberia. This applies both to the content of the text and the form in which these texts were produced. And where I initially expected to find traces of Christian

influence on the Jewish targum text, it turned out to be different. The Sephardic extant textual tradition unveiled more of the dealings of Christian theologians with the Jewish targum text (in this case TgSam) than that it revealed traces of adapting the text within the Jewish community under Christian influence. For this reason, it seemed fitting to divide the research into two parts, where the first part focussed on the Sephardic text tradition as a whole and the second part paid attention to the position of TgSam within Christianity. The most representative features of the text in terms of content and the way the text is presented in the codex or edition were explored under these two focal points.

At the end of each separate chapter a recapitulation, or conclusive summary has been given. These will not be repeated here. What I intend to do here is to connect the patterns that showed themselves in the subsequent chapters and relate these to the patterns found in the manuscripts from the other European geo-cultural zones, namely Ashkenaz and Italy. I hope to conclude with some observations on the results of the investigation of the Sephardic text tradition with regard to the type of texts produced in the Sephardic region, desiderata for an edition and the supposed origin of the variants that are characteristic for the Sephardic text tradition of TgSam.

Conclusive summary

I distinguish five patterns that I encountered in the analysis of the text corpus. They relate to the physical objects carrying the text as well as the text itself in terms of content.

(A) Relatedness of Form and Function

The relatedness of form and function is most striking in the two manuscripts prepared by Alfonso de Zamora: t703s and t704s.

Manuscript t704s had a more or less educational goal, namely undertaking Biblical studies in the original languages; 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. By contrast, the intended

readership of t703s at the University of Salamanca was supposedly more interested in typically Jewish items given the inclusion of Hebrew headings and closing formulas, poems by David Kimchi, some Masoretic notes, remarks from the works of Levi ben Gershom, the explanation of the reading of the penultimate verse in four Bible books, and the Hebrew names of the books. However, this did not stop Zamora from including topics meaningful for Christian theologians only, namely Latin remarks to Christian interests and a probable reference to Jerome.

The two most contrasting manuscripts produced for the Jewish market are t702s and t706s. t702s is a rather no-nonsense version: only Targum Jonathan with a minimum of paratextual elements; it is the most minimalistic version in the extant Sephardic text tradition. It could almost be compared to a present-day pocketbook. In t706s the targum text is not the main focus of the codex: the main text here is the Hebrew Bible text, and the targum and the commentaries and additions are there to better understand the Hebrew text. But I am also convinced that t706s is at the same time a showpiece: a sign of the pride the Sephardic Jews took in their own culture. It applied elements from all surrounding cultures (Muslim, Jewish and Christian). The incorporation of the coats of arms of the three Iberian kingdoms points not only to the personal migration scheme of the scribe, but also conveys the message that scribe (and patron) although being part of the minority culture, identified themselves with the dominant culture and felt part of it.

*(B) Strategies to Make the Study of the Jewish Targum
Acceptable within Orthodox Christian Theology*

This second pattern is found in the two Zamora manuscripts (t703 and t704) and the Paris and Antwerp Polyglot Bibles. It finds its *raison d'être* in the contemporary debate in Christian theological circles as to whether it was acceptable for Christian scholars to study Jewish texts. An affirmative answer to the previous question led to questions on the intended purpose and value of the study. The introduction to t703s and the Prologue to the Antwerp Polyglot each explain in their own way the usefulness of the study of the Targum for Christian readers. The use of rubrication in t703s and t704s serves the same end: it draws attention to passages of interest to Christian scholars and

warns them about passages that deviate from the standard Biblical text they know as is the case with the texts preserved in the Tosefta Targums.

(C) Patterns in Text Variants

Hector M. Patmore distinguishes in his study of the Italian and Ashkenazic manuscripts of TgSam five main patterns of textual variegation: (1) influence of the Hebrew text, (2) conventional or contextual changes, (3) exegetical variants, (4) clarifications and (5) agreement with Ancient Versions and Hebrew manuscripts. I chose not to include the last category as I did not encounter a significant amount of these, and neither were these variants unique to the Sephardic text tradition. Moreover, as Patmore mentions as well¹ these so-called agreements occur mostly - if not exclusively - in clauses where the underlying Hebrew text is difficult to interpret for one reason or another. Looking at the evidence for agreement with Hebrew Biblical manuscripts, it is good to keep in mind that many Hebrew manuscripts are lost, unknown at present or not studied, and for that reason it is almost impossible to make a balanced selection. Secondly, two of the Ancient Versions included by Patmore, the LXX and Vulgate, are written in Greek and Latin respectively. These languages come with their own syntactical peculiarities. If the Hebrew is difficult or ambiguous a translator simply has to make a decision. Such a decision by nature always involves the translator's interpretation of the case. Therefore, it is in my view easy to imagine different people writing in different languages arriving at the same interpretation in different places and at different periods in time. With regard to the Latin translation: the two manuscripts of Zamora and the Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp and Paris that were commissioned by Christians do not display unique variants in the Aramaic that can be connected to the text of the Vulgate.

Nevertheless, the first four main categories, namely (1) the influence of the Hebrew text, (2) conventional or contextual changes, (3) exegetical variants, and (4) clarifications, are found in the Sephardic manuscripts and editions. Examples of these variants are listed and analysed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Variants of the most interesting

¹ Patmore, H.M., *The Transmission of Targum Jonathan in the West. A Study of Italian and Ashkenazic Manuscripts of the Targum to Samuel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 355.

category - the exegetical variants - are found sporadically. Nevertheless, they do occur in all types of targum text: in liturgical texts, continuous texts and Tosefta Targums.

(D) Inclusion and Occurrence of Tosefta Targums

The most characteristic textual feature of the Sephardic textual tradition of TgSam is the occurrence of Tosefta Targums and their inclusion in the running text. The vast majority of the Tosefta Targums attested do not occur outside the Sephardic text branch as such. This does not mean that they are unique to the Sephardic targum tradition in content, style, or exegesis. None of it is unique or new in that sense. The shorter Tosefta Targums display little textual variation, apart from some minor divergence in spelling and syntax. The larger textual units come with more textual variation, a variety that can partly be explained by different distribution among the verses of the standard running text. Different manuscripts can, however, also attest a version of a Tosefta Targum incorporating a different exegesis as is the case with the Tosefta Targum to 1 Sam 18.19/20/25.

Of the one Tosefta Targum attested widely in European manuscripts, the one connected to 1 Sam 17.8, the Sephardic attestations exhibit their own distinguishable version with its own exegesis, such as the extra challenge added by Goliath to God and the underlining of the superiority of Goliath.

(E) Continuity in Transmission of Liturgical and Continuous Texts

The most attested part of TgSam within the Sephardic tradition is the text of 2 Sam 22, the haftarah for the seventh day of Pesach. The comparison of the textual evidence showed difference between the text attested in continuous texts and the liturgical texts, but these were not clear cut. There are readings occurring only in some liturgical texts, readings that are found in both continuous and liturgical texts and readings which are found only in certain continuous texts. In the texts examined in this study (for examples see Chapter 2), no distinct liturgical Sephardic variants become apparent, such as we find in the Italian liturgical tradition. In short, the Sephardic textual

tradition does display some textual variation similar to the variants widely attested in the liturgical texts of other Western traditions, but these variants are not attested in all manuscripts and - unlike the Italian and Ashkenazic texts - do not confine themselves to liturgical texts only.

Implications

A careful study of the form of a manuscript or edition informs us about its intended function. It can reveal aspects of the use of the targum at the time of its production. Moreover, the traces that later users left behind in the margins of the manuscripts can inform us to what ends the text was used in later times. This applies to both Jewish and Christian users of the Targum texts.

The strategies used by Christian editors of the text affected most of all the layout of the text and hardly the text itself. By means of specific paratext, layout and a Latin introduction, the scribe of t703s and t704s as well as the editors of the Antwerp and Paris Polyglot facilitated the reading of the Aramaic texts, on the linguistic level as well as on the theological level. The editor of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible did alter the text by not including the Tosefta Targums he encountered in the manuscripts he used to prepare the edition. However, he informed the reader that he had done so and printed them separately in another volume of the edition. The editor of the Paris Polyglot Bible decided to include the Targum text as in the version printed in the Antwerp Polyglot but excluded the list of Tosefta Targums printed in a separate volume of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible.

As to the question of the status and merit of these texts, I would say all four of them are true representatives of the Sephardic text tradition. However, the inclusion of the texts of the Antwerp and Paris Polyglot in a new critical edition of TgSam has for me no particular added value: we know on which manuscripts the text has been based and as such it does not provide a different text or text branch. On the other hand, this was the version of TgSam that was relatively easily accessible to Christian theologians for centuries, together with the Rabbinic Bibles. Inclusion of these texts into a critical edition facilitates, for example, research on the use of Jewish texts by 17th and 18th century Christian scholars. A critical edition should be able to facilitate different sorts of research.

The patterns in text variants do not inform us as to the origin of the textual variation found in the extant textual tradition. They do show that the text was transmitted with a certain freedom. In this respect they do not differ from the other European manuscripts from Italy and Ashkenaz.²

The inclusion of Tosefta Targums in Sephardic texts of TgSam is the most marked feature of this tradition. Although unique to this tradition, they should be included in a critical edition as they belong to the history of the textual transmission of TgJon. The Tosefta Targums are also the most outspoken example of the freedom in transmission that Sephardic texts display.

The continuity of transmission of liturgical and continuous texts in these manuscripts implies that as far as the Sephardic tradition is concerned, liturgical texts can be included in an edition and that it is not necessary to mark them specifically as such. All extant manuscripts and editions included in this study are useful for researching the Sephardic text tradition of TgSam. They show the living tradition of Targum study in the Iberian Peninsula and other places in Europe as they were the texts read and studied by members of the Jewish communities. The textual evidence analysed in this study cannot serve to prove that the textual variation found in it, especially where the texts differ from the extant Eastern tradition, entered the text from the thirteenth century onwards – the time of production of the earliest extant texts -, but neither can it prove that the Jewish communities in Iberia used and produced this type of richer text from the fifth century CE – the supposed date for the final redaction of the text of TgJon in Babylonia. Thus, we cannot positively date the variation to either later than the thirteenth century or between the fifth and thirteenth century. For me it does prove that the text of Targum Samuel was in use in the Sephardic communities between the thirteenth and fifteenth century CE, that the text had found its way into the Christian academic world of the sixteenth century CE), and that it was transmitted with a certain degree of textual freedom. The free adaptation of the text in the process of transmission that we see reflected in these manuscripts is for me not necessarily 'new' or 'not original'. I assume that a certain degree of fluidity is in the nature of the targum from its oral beginnings to the extant European Medieval written texts. Therefore, I do not

² Following Patmore, *The Transmission of Targum Jonathan in the West. A Study of Italian and Ashkenazic Manuscripts of the Targum to Samuel*, 356-7.

wish to exclude the possibility that the communities in Europe kept some of this fluidity where other communities, i.e. those in the East, preserved a less fluid and shorter text.

Samenvatting

Heilige teksten zijn voortdurend in beweging, niet alleen vanuit het land van hun oorsprong naar andere landen, maar ook van hun oorspronkelijke taal naar vertalingen in andere talen. In eerste instantie worden ze gelezen en uitgelegd in de oorspronkelijke taal en door de aanhangers van de eigen religie. In een latere periode krijgen de teksten vaak bekendheid in een bredere lezerskring. Met name na de uitvinding van de boekdrukkunst werd het eenvoudiger om een groter lezerspubliek te bereiken.

Dit onderzoek richt zich op één specifieke tekst, het bijbelboek Samuël en stelt de vraag hoe één specifieke vertaling van die tekst, de Aramese vertaling (targoem), is ontvangen en doorgegeven op het Iberisch schiereiland tijdens de late middeleeuwen en vroegmoderne tijd. Er wordt gekeken naar de uitleg en overlevering binnen de Joodse gemeenschappen, maar ook naar christelijke geleerden die deze teksten redigeerden en uitgaven voor hun eigen doeleinden en gericht op een christelijk lezerspubliek in handschriften en Polyglotten.

Het voorliggende onderzoek beoogt de Sefardische tak van de overgeleverde teksttraditie van Targoem Samuel te onderzoeken binnen de historische en sociale setting waarin deze teksten zijn geproduceerd. Binnen dit onderzoek wordt de term “Sefardisch” gebruikt voor zowel de lettertypen en codicologische gewoonten die binnen de boekwetenschap over het algemeen als Sefardisch worden gezien als voor de tekstkenmerken. Voor dit laatste volg ik het door E. van Staalduine-Sulman opgestelde stemma van de handschriften en vroege drukken van Targoem Samuel. Eerder onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat de targoemteksten die zijn overgeleverd in middeleeuws Europa, een uitgebreidere tekst laten zien dan de teksten die zijn overgeleverd buiten Europa, met name die uit het Midden-Oosten (de Babylonisch en Jemenitische teksten in het stemma). Concrete voorbeelden hiervan zijn de Tosefta Targoems die zijn opgenomen in Sefardische handschriften en de uitgebreidere versies van 2 Samuël 22 die te vinden zijn in Italiaanse liturgische manuscripten. Maar niet alleen op het niveau van de tekst van de targoem vallen bepaalde zaken op. Ook

wanneer we naar de uiterlijke vorm kijken waarin Targoem Samuel is overgeleverd in Europa, springen verschillende aspecten in het oog. Ten eerste valt een veelheid aan vormen van overlevering op: handschriften met alleen de tekst van de targoem, handschriften waar de Hebreeuwse en de Aramese tekst elkaar afwisselen, bijbels die niet alleen de Hebreeuwse en Aramese tekst weergeven maar ook allerlei middeleeuwse commentaren, en liturgische teksten - met name gebedenboeken en haftarot collecties - die alleen delen van de targoem bevatten. Ten tweede, wanneer we naar de Sefardische tekstfamilie kijken, valt op dat er ook targoemteksten zijn geproduceerd buiten de Joodse gemeenschap, namelijk twee handschriften en twee drukken die voor en door christelijke wetenschappers zijn vervaardigd en vergezeld gaan van een Latijnse vertaling. Deze observaties roepen vragen op: wat is de relatie tussen de weergave van de teksten en de culturele context waarin ze zijn ontstaan, en waar en met welke reden zijn de tekstuele uitbreidingen opgenomen in de targoemtekst?

De centrale onderzoeksvraag die ten grondslag ligt aan dit onderzoek is tweeledig en luidt als volgt: *Wat is het karakter van de teksttraditie van Targoem Samuel van Sefardische oorsprong – handschriften en vroege drukken – met betrekking tot de overgeleverde tekst en de fysieke dragers van het tekstmateriaal? En ten tweede, heeft het feit dat deze teksten zijn geproduceerd binnen een overwegend christelijke cultuur sporen achter gelaten in de tekst zelf en/of in de fysieke vorm waarin de tekst is overgeleverd?*

In zeven hoofdstukken worden de meest kenmerkende eigenschappen van deze Sefardische tekstfamilie besproken. Met uitzondering van hoofdstuk één en de review zijn deze hoofdstukken afzonderlijk gepubliceerd als artikel of aangeboden ter publicatie. Drie hoofdstukken bestaan uit artikelen die geschreven zijn door twee auteurs (hoofdstukken 2, 5 en 7). Met name in deze hoofdstukken komen ook kenmerken van de niet-Sefardische tekstgetuigen aan de orde en worden deze verschillende tradities met elkaar vergeleken.

Om de onderzoeksvraag te kunnen beantwoorden, wordt in het eerste hoofdstuk een beschrijving gegeven van de uiterlijke verschijningsvorm van de tekstgetuigen die in deze studie worden behandeld. De betrokken teksten zijn geproduceerd tussen

ruwweg de 12^e en de 17^e eeuw, met uitzondering van enkele liturgische manuscripten van later datum. Er zijn negen handschriften overgeleverd die een doorlopende tekst bieden van Targoem Samuel, al dan niet compleet. Daarnaast zijn er drie edities verschenen. De overige tekstgetuigen zijn te vinden in diverse liturgische handschriften. Het betreft haftarotlezingen die overgeleverd zijn in afzonderlijke haftarot-collecties of in gebedenboeken.

In termen van kwantiteit zijn van de targoem tekst van 2 Samuël 22 de meeste tekstgetuigen bewaard gebleven. Dit hangt nauw samen met het feit dat (een deel van) dit hoofdstuk wordt gelezen op de zevende dag van Pesach. Hoofdstuk twee analyseert de tekstuele verschillen tussen de diverse tekstgetuigen van dit hoofdstuk uit de Asjkenazische, Italiaanse en Sefardische traditie. Hierbij is bijzondere aandacht besteed aan de mogelijke verschillen in tekstoverlevering tussen handschriften met een doorlopende tekst van Targoem Samuel en liturgische handschriften. De liturgische handschriften van Italiaanse oorsprong laten een duidelijk eigen overleveringstraditie zien. In de Sefardische teksttraditie komt dit verschil in overleveringstraditie niet voor. Er is weliswaar sprake van tekstuele variatie in de teksten onderling, maar de betrokken varianten zijn niet exclusief voor de doorlopende dan wel de liturgische handschriften.

De kenmerkendste eigenschap van de Sefardische teksttraditie is de overlevering van de zogenaamde Tosefta Targoems in de doorlopende tekst van Targoem Samuel. Deze Tosefta Targoems bevatten meer of minder uitgebreide interpreterende versies van het betreffende vers. In hoofdstuk 3 wordt beschreven welke Tosefta Targoems voorkomen in de handschriften en edities en wordt tevens de tekstuele variatie die de diverse tekstgetuigen laten zien, geanalyseerd. Er is echter één Tosefta Targoem die in vrijwel alle Europese tekstgetuigen overgeleverd wordt, de Tosefta Targoem die verbonden is met 1 Samuël 17.8. In hoofdstuk vier wordt het voorkomen van deze Tosefta Targoem in de verschillende Europese handschriften en edities beschreven. De tekstuele variatie wordt ook geanalyseerd, zowel die binnen de Sefardische tekstfamilie als de variatie in de verschillende Europese tekstfamilies onderling (Asjkenazisch, Italiaans en Sefardisch).

De drie hoofdstukken die hierop volgen richten zich specifiek op die tekstgetuigen die zijn geproduceerd voor een christelijk lezerspubliek. Hoofdstuk vijf bespreekt en analyseert de verschillende motieven van christelijke redacteuren om de tekst van de Targoom al dan niet op te nemen in hun editie. Hier komen ook edities aan de orde die niet binnen de Sefardische tekstfamilie vallen. In hoofdstuk zes worden de vier tekstgetuigen die voor de christelijke markt zijn geproduceerd uitgebreid beschreven en wordt hun verhouding tot de tekstgetuigen die voor de Joodse markt zijn geproduceerd, geëvalueerd. In hoofdstuk zeven worden ten slotte twee handschriften van dezelfde schrijver, Alfonso de Zamora (1474 – 1545), die beiden zijn geproduceerd voor een christelijk lezerspubliek, besproken. Hier wordt de paratekst (de elementen die de tekst inleiden en toegankelijk maken) beschreven en geanalyseerd en verbonden met het milieu waarin de teksten zijn geproduceerd.

Uit deze analyse van de kenmerkendste aspecten van de Sefardische teksttraditie komen vijf patronen naar voren die het karakter van deze traditie vormgeven. Deze vijf patronen hebben zowel betrekking op de tekst zelf als op de vormgeving van de fysieke tekstdragers. In sommige patronen is duidelijk sprake van christelijke invloed, in andere patronen speelt dat geen enkele rol.

1. Verwantschap tussen vorm en functie van de tekst. Deze komt het meest expliciet naar voren in de twee handschriften van de hand van dezelfde schrijver, Alfonso de Zamora. Het handschrift met vooral een educatief doeleinde (t704s), namelijk het zo toegankelijk mogelijk maken van een oude tekstgetuige van het Oude Testament voor christelijke geleerden, heeft een paratekst die vrijwel uitsluitend uit Latijnse elementen bestaat en daarnaast een aantal handvatten bevat om Aramees te leren. Het andere handschrift (t703s) is bedoeld voor christelijke geleerden die interesse hebben in de meer joodse elementen van de targoemtekst. Dit is te zien in het gebruik van Hebreeuwse openings- en sluitformules, elementen afkomstig uit het werk van middeleeuwse joodse bijbelwetenschappers David Kimchi en Levi ben Gershom, het verklaren van de Hebreeuwse namen van de bijbelboeken, het opnemen van bepaalde masoretische opmerkingen en de uitleg van specifieke leesgewoonten uit de joodse traditie. Tegelijkertijd vinden we ook in dit handschrift Latijnse opmerkingen bij onderwerpen die vooral voor christelijke theologen interessant zijn.

2. *Strategieën om de studie van de joodse Targoem aanvaardbaar te maken binnen de orthodoxe christelijke theologie.* Dit patroon is alleen zichtbaar in de tekstgetuigen die geproduceerd zijn voor de christelijke markt, de twee handschriften van Alfonso de Zamora (1532, 1533) en de Antwerpse en Parijse Polyglotten (1573, 1655). Het vindt zijn oorsprong in het contemporaine debat in christelijk theologisch kring over de vraag of het toegestaan is voor christelijke geleerden om joodse teksten te bestuderen. De proloog bij de Antwerpse Polyglot en de inleiding bij handschrift t703s benoemen expliciet de waarde van de targoemtekst voor christelijke lezers. Handschriften t703s en t704s gebruiken rubricatie (markeringen in rode inkt) om hun lezers te bepalen bij die passages die van belang zijn voor christelijke geleerden, maar ook om hen te waarschuwen wanneer de tekst afwijkt van de bijbeltekst zoals zij die kennen.

3. *Patronen in tekstvariatie.* De tekstoverlevering laat vier categorieën van tekstvariatie zien: invloed van de onderliggende Hebreeuwse tekst (1), conventionele of contextuele veranderingen (2), exegetische varianten (3) en verduidelijkingen (4). Exegetische varianten worden slechts sporadisch aangetroffen in de tekstgetuigen.

4. *Het overleveren van Tosefta Targoems in de lopende tekst.* Dit is de kenmerkendste eigenschap van de Sefardische teksttraditie. De overgrote meerderheid van de Tosefta Targoems wordt exclusief overgeleverd binnen de Sefardische tekstfamilie. De korte Tosefta Targoems verschillen onderling weinig qua tekst, de langere laten meer variatie zien.

5. *Continuïteit in overlevering van liturgische en doorlopende teksten.* De vergelijking van varianten uit tekstgetuigen met een doorlopende tekst van Targoem Samuël en varianten uit liturgische handschriften die 2 Samuël 22 bevatten, brengt variatie in de tekstoverlevering aan het licht. Sommige varianten komen alleen in enkele liturgische handschriften voor, andere komen zowel in liturgische als in doorlopende teksten voor en weer andere varianten zijn alleen te vinden in bepaalde doorlopende tekstgetuigen. In de tekstgetuigen die onderzocht zijn in deze studie, zijn geen varianten aangetroffen die exclusief zijn voor Sefardische teksten.

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Digital Bodleian

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Gallica- Bibliothèque nationale de France

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/accueil/fr/content/accueil-fr?mode=desktop>

KTIV- National Library of Israel

<https://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/>

Leiden University Libraries- Digital Collections

<https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/>

Targum Manuscript Database

<http://www.targum.nl/MSDB/searchMS.aspx>

SFAR Data

<http://sfardata.nli.org>

Standard List of Sigla, Targum Institute

<http://www.targum.nl/>

TUSTEP – Tübinger System von Textverarbeitungs-Programmen

<https://www.tustep.uni-tuebingen.de/>

Curriculum Vitae

Johanna Tanja werd geboren op 20 augustus 1979 in Grijskerke. Van 1991 tot 1997 volgde zij het Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (gymnasium) aan het Carolus Clusius College in Zwolle. Daarna studeerde zij theologie, eerst aan de Universiteit Leiden, later aan de Theologische Universiteit Kampen (nu opgegaan in de Protestantse Theologische Universiteit). In september 2007 studeerde zij af met als hoofdvak Oude Testament en als bijvakken Vrouwenstudies en Semitische Talen. Van 2008 tot 2013 was zij als AIO verbonden aan het NWO project *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World* aan de Protestantse Theologische Universiteit. Vanaf 2011 geeft zij colleges op het gebied van Hebreeuws, de Hebreeuwse Bijbel en Jodendom.