

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

57

Harry Sysling

Teḥiyyat Ha-Metim



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Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

57

Tehiyyat Ha-Metim

The Resurrection of the Dead in the Palestinian Targums
of the Pentateuch and Parallel Traditions
in Classical Rabbinic Literature

by
Harry Sysling



J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

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to my teacher and friend
Martin J. Mulder
of blessed memory

*Vous, toutes ses pensées, ses belles espérances,
ses joies, êtes-vous disparues aussi et est-ce
possible? Les morts vivent, m'écrit-je parfois,
soudain réveillé dans la nuit et tout transpirant
de certitude. Les pensées de ma mère, balbutié-je,
se sont enfuies au pays où il n'y a pas de temps
et elles m'attendent*

Albert Cohen, *Le livre de ma mère*

Preface

The study of the Targumim in general and that of the Palestinian Targumim in particular has seen a rapid development during the past decades, mainly owing to the fundamental research pursued by the scholars Paul Kahle and Alejandro Díez Macho. In 1927–1930, the former published the two-volume work *Masoreten des Westens*. The second volume contained a number of targumic fragments found in the Geniza of Cairo, grouped together under the title *Das palästinische Pentateuchtargum*. This publication gave rise to a continuous stream of studies on these fragments and the Palestinian Targumim known so far, on their interrelationship, on their relationship to Targum Onqelos, on the dating of these Targumim and especially on the type of Aramaic in which they were written. Kahle was of the opinion that one has to do here with texts ‘die in der in Palästina üblichen aramäischen Volkssprache geschrieben sind und die ... authentische Denkmäler des in Palästina von den Juden gesprochenen Aramäisch sind.’¹ It was Díez Macho who in 1956 discovered in the Vatican Library a virtually complete MS of a Palestinian Targum, which had at first been kept in the *Pia Domus Neophytorum*. This Targum was given the name of *Codex Neofiti 1*. This discovery resulted in new text editions of all known Palestinian Targumim, and once again in a stream of studies about their interrelationship, about their *Sitz im Leben*, about the dating of the exegetical traditions contained in them, etc.

Only a limited number of studies published in the period referred to above was concerned with the thematic analysis of theological concepts in the Palestinian Targumim. Their authors often took for granted that the Palestinian Targumim contain (very) old material and that this material may explain many of the theological and exegetical concepts current in the period of the Second Temple. Therefore these Targumim seemed pre-eminently suited to shed new light on the exegetical traditions found in the New Testament. In this approach it was often forgotten that the Palestinian Targumim date from the second to fifth centuries CE (with the exception of Pseudo-Yonatan, which is even later), and contain a great deal of rabbinic exegetical material. In many respects they can be seen as a subsidiary current beside the mainstream of rabbinic halakhic and haggadic literature. Recently this was well put by Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, former director of the Hebrew University Bible Project,

¹ See P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens* II, p. 11*.

who died in September 1991. Goshen-Gottstein observes: 'Just as Septuagint studies are connected to the study of the Greek *koine*, Peshitta studies to Syriac, and Saadya studies to medieval Judaeo-Arabic, so Targum studies are connected to Aramaic dialectology and to the study of rabbinic midrash.'²

In the thematic research put forward in this study, I have tried to analyse the exegetical material of the Palestinian Targumim first of all in relation to comparable material that can be found in the contemporary Tannaitic and Amoraic literature. Central in this study, which was presented as a dissertation at the University of Leiden in 1991, are the texts that can be found in the Palestinian Targumim of the Pentateuch relating to the *teḥiyyat ha-metim*, the resurrection of the dead. I have sought to give a detailed analysis of those texts referring by keywords or metaphors to the resurrection of the dead or to related concepts concerning the life of the soul after death, and more specifically to determine the nature of their relationship to parallel traditions about the *teḥiyyat ha-metim* in the classical rabbinic documents.

Many people have, sometimes unwittingly, contributed to the writing of this book, three of whom I would like to mention by name. First of all my teacher Prof. Dr. Martin J. Mulder, former Professor of Old Testament in the University of Leiden. It was he who instructed me in the Aramaic of the Targumim and stimulated me to undertake this investigation. Martin Mulder was first and foremost a Hebrew and Old Testament scholar, who published widely about Israelite religion. At the same time he was a man of broad interests, which also extended to the sphere of the Targumim and that of rabbinic studies. His death in June 1994 meant a great loss to Old Testament scholarship both in the Netherlands and abroad. The growth of this book was also followed with close attention and critical interest by Prof. Dr. Albert van der Heide, Professor of Jewish Studies in the Free University of Amsterdam, a great expert on Hebrew literature and a specialist in the field of medieval Jewish exegesis. Thirdly, I would like to mention here Prof. Yehuda Aschkenasy, Professor Emeritus of the Catholic Theological University of Utrecht, who with great wisdom instructed me in the rabbinic writings and introduced me to rabbinic thought.

In conclusion I would like to say that this book would never have been published without the help of drs. Peter J. Booi, who skilfully translated into English this study fraught with specialist terms. I owe a debt of gratitude to the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research for their willingness to support the translation work financially. I am also very grateful to the editors of the series *Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum*, Prof. Dr. Peter Schäfer and Prof. Dr. Martin Hengel, who have shown themselves prepared to include this study in the series just referred to.

Amersfoort, May 1995

Harry Sysling

² M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'Targum Studies—An Overview of Recent Developments' p. 2.

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Abbreviations

1. *Targum*

CGF	Cairo Geniza Fragments
FT(s)	Fragment-Targum(s)
FTB	Fragment-Targum, in the first <i>Biblia Rabbinica</i> (Venice 1517–18)
FTBr	Fragment-Targum, MS British Museum Or. 10794
FTJ	Fragment-Targum, MS Jewish Theological Seminary (Lutzki) 605
FTL	Fragment-Targum, MS Leipzig – Universität B.H. fol. 1
FTN	Fragment-Targum, MS Nürnberg – Stadtbibliothek Solger 2.2
FTP	Fragment-Targum, MS Paris – Bibliothèque Nationale Hébr. 110
FTV	Fragment-Targum, MS Vatican Ebr. 440
Neof	Codex Neofiti 1
Neof (I)	Codex Neofiti 1, interlinear glosses
Neof (M)	Codex Neofiti 1, marginal glosses
Onq	Targum Onqelos
PsYon	Targum Pseudo-Yonatan
PT(s)	Palestinian Targum(s)
tg.	Targum
tgYon	Targum Yonatan

2. *Rabbinic literature*

ARN	Avot de-Rabbi Natan
b	<i>talmud bavli</i>
Bem. Rabba	Bemidbar Rabba
Ber	(tractate) Berakhot
Ber. Rabba	Bereshit Rabba
Ber. Rabbati	Bereshit Rabbati
DER	Derekh Erets Rabba
Dev. Rabba	Devarim Rabba
j	<i>talmud yerushalmi</i>
L.	Tosefta, edn. Liebermann
m	Mishna
Mass. Soferim	Massekhet Soferim
Midr. Sam.	Midrash Samuel
Midr. Teh.	Midrash Tehillim
Pes	(tractate) Pesahim
Pes. R.	Pesiqta Rabbati

PRE	Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer
PRK	Pesiqta de-Rav Kahana
Qoh. Rabba	Qohelet Rabba
Sanh	(tractate) Sanhedrin
SER	Seder Eliyahu Rabba
Shem. Rabba	Shemot Rabba
Shir Rabba	Shir ha-Shirim Rabba
Sifrei Deut.	Sifrei Deuteronomium
Sifrei Num.	Sifrei Numbers
t	Tosefta
Ta'an	(tractate) Ta'anit / Ta'aniyyot
Way. Rabba	Wayyiqra Rabba
Z.	Tosefta, edn. Zuckermann

3. Other abbreviations

AAÅ	Acta Academiae Åboensis
Adv. Haer.	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus Haereses</i>
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AJT	The American Journal of Theology
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts (Pritchard)
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (Haase-Temporini)
Ant.	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i>
AOB	Acta Orientalia Belgica
Apost. Const.	Apostolic Constitutions
APOT	Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Charles)
Aug	Augustinianum
BA	The Biblical Archaeologist
Bellum	Josephus, <i>Bellum Judaicum</i>
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
BR	Buber-Rosenzweig-translation
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
C. Ap.	Josephus, <i>Contra Apionem</i>
Cat. Myst.	Cyrillus, <i>Catecheses Mystagogicae</i>
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CD	(Cairo) Damascus Document
Compendia	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
De Civ. Dei	Augustinus, <i>De Civitate Dei</i>
Deus	Philo, <i>Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DKP	Der Kleine Pauly. Lexicon der Antike (Ziegler-Sontheimer)
EJ	Encyclopaedia Judaica
ERE	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Hastings)
EstBb	Estudios Bíblicos

ExpT	Expository Times
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IDB	The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
IDBS	The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JE	The Jewish Encyclopedia
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JPS	Jewish Publication Society – A new translation of the Holy Scriptures
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KTU	Dietrich-Loretz-Sanmartín, <i>Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i>
LAB	Pseudo-Philo, <i>Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LXX	Septuagint
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
MT	Masoretic Text
MV	<i>Machzor Vitry</i>
NEV	New English Version
N.F.	Neue Folge
NHC	Nag Hammadi Codices
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
n.s.	new series
NT	New Testament
NTT	Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift
Op. Mundi	Philo, <i>De Opificio Mundi</i>
OTP	Charlesworth, <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i>
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
Pesh	Peshitta
PG	Migne, <i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PIASH	Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities
PL	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina</i>
Ps. Tert.	Pseudo-Tertullianus
1QapGen	Genesis Apocryphon
R.	Rabbi
RAC	Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum
RB	Revue biblique
REJ	Revue des études juives

RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RQ	Revue de Qumran
RSO	Revista degli Studi Orientali
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SamPent	Samaritan Pentateuch
SamTarg	Samaritan Targum
SBB	Studies in Bibliography and Booklore
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SKGG	Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
SVTG	Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graece
ThWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament (Botterweck-Ringgren)
ThWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
ThZ	Theologische Zeitung
TOB	Tradition Oecuménique de la Bible
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
Vulg.	Vulgate
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche

Transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic

For the transliteration of Aramaic and Hebrew words, the following rules have on the whole been observed:

א	'	ב	t	פ	p/f
ב	b/v	ב י	y/i*	צ	ts
ג	g	כ	k/kh	ק	q
ד	d	ל	l	ר	r
ה	h	מ	m	ש	s
ו	w	נ	n	שׁ	sh
ז	z	ס	s	ת	t
ח	h'	ע	'		

Exceptions have been made for (a) titles of rabbinic works and names of tradents, for which sometimes the more traditional forms have been chosen, and (b) current terms (*halakhic*, *Tanakh*).

* (-ei in diphthongs; -ai only in tradents' names)

Chapter 1

Introduction

I. *Teḥiyyat ha-metim*

The rabbinic concept of the *teḥiyyat ha-metim*,¹ the ‘revivification of the dead’, is essentially a reference to the future reunion of body and soul. When a human being dies, its soul leaves the body. This separation does not become final until the body has fallen apart and turned to dust. Until that time the soul wanders around aimlessly:

During the first period after its separation from the body ... the soul exists for a while without a fixed abode until the body has decomposed; that is to say, until its parts have disintegrated. It consequently experiences during this period much misery, occasioned by its knowledge of the worms and the vermin and the like that pass through the body, just as a person would be pained by the knowledge that a house in which he used to live is in ruins and that thorns and thistles grow in it.²

The shadow existence of the soul is ended when the body has turned to dust. The soul is admitted to the ‘treasuries of the souls’³ and kept there until the arrival of the age in which God himself will reunite body and soul and restore the dead to life.

This is in brief the way in which Saadya Gaon (882–942), who was the first to attempt a systematic synthesis of written and oral tradition, describes the concepts relating to the *teḥiyyat ha-metim*.⁴ In his exposition he places particular emphasis on the connection between the creation of the world and the resurrection of the dead. He believes that from a rational point of view this

¹ In Tannaitic sources, the term תחיית המתים occurs a limited number of times; it is found frequently in Amoraic sources, cf. Sawyer, ‘Hebrew Words’ 220. In *mBerakhot* 5:2 תחיית המתים refers to the second *berakha* of the *Shemone 'Esre*, see Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst* 44–45. Its Aramaic equivalent is תחיית מתים (besides תחייה we also find תחייתא, cf. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch* 2:534).

² Rosenblatt, *Saadia Gaon. The Book of Beliefs and Opinions* 257.

³ On this term and related expressions, see ch. 8.

⁴ Cf. Rosenblatt, *id.* 235, 257–58, 264–89. For Saadya’s appeal to the Written and Oral Tora, *id.* 303–04. See Marmorstein, ‘Doctrine of Redemption’ 106.

doctrine⁵ does not present insurmountable difficulties for those who have already accepted the doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo*.⁶

An investigation of the Tannaitic and Amoraic sources referring to the fate of body and soul after death shows that their wording is often determined by apologetic motives.⁷ In defence of the physical resurrection many scriptural references are given, some of which have particular cogency and are counted as one of the ‘reliable promises’ (הַבְּטָחוֹת) of the resurrection.⁸ Scriptural texts are not used by the rabbinic scholars alone, but also by their opponents. Thus Jacob’s refusal to be consoled after Joseph’s supposed death (Gen 37:35) is viewed by opponents of rabbinic opinion as a negation of the resurrection.⁹ In Amoraic sources, the chief focus of this controversy is the question whether that which is only ‘dust, worms and maggots’ can still be restored to life. Rabbinic teachers often answer this question by referring to the *creatio ex nihilo*.¹⁰

In the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch (further referred to as: PTs), which mainly have their *Sitz im Leben* in the liturgy of the synagogue and the didactical instruction of the *beit ha-midrash* (see below), many aspects of the rabbinic eschatological concepts are discussed.¹¹ The *tehiyyat ha-metim* is also frequently alluded to, even if the term itself occurs only sporadically.¹²

This study seeks to investigate the various traditions in the PTs concerning the physical resurrection and related ideas about the condition of the body and/or the soul after death. Central in this investigation is the question to what extent these traditions correspond to or differ from similar traditions in the classical rabbinic sources. Before explaining in more detail the principles and methods applied in our investigation, I will examine a few introductory questions regarding character, origin and function of the Targum¹³ and the question which Targumim should be numbered among the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch.

⁵ In medieval tradition, the bodily resurrection is one of the fundamental religious truths (עֲקָרִים). On the development of dogma and on Maimonides’ Thirteen Principles, see the classical study by Schechter, ‘Dogmas’, esp. 86–87, and the recent studies by Hyman, ‘Maimonides’ “Thirteen Principles”’, and Kellner, *Dogma* 10–65.

⁶ Rosenblatt, *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* 264, 267.

⁷ See the survey offered in Marmorstein, ‘Doctrine of the Resurrection’. On the *locus classicus* of rabbinic apologetics, *mSanhedrin* 10:1, see ch. 5, pp.125–34.

⁸ Cf. *Sifrei Deut* 329 (p. 379). Cf. ch. 9, n. 2 and 10, p. 242.

⁹ Cf. *Ber. Rabba* 84:21 (p. 1027); *Tanḥuma Buber*, *Wayyeshev* 8 (1:91a); *Mass. Soferim* 21:9. See Gershenzon-Slomovic, ‘Jewish-Gnostic Debate’ 33–34.

¹⁰ Cf. Marmorstein, ‘Doctrine of the Resurrection’ 148–57.

¹¹ See Levine, *Aramaic Version* 199–225; Levey, *The Messiah* 1–32; Pérez Fernández, ‘Sobre los textos mesiánicos’; id., *Tradiciones mesiánicas*; Carmona, *Targum y Resurrección*; Gordon, ‘Targumists as Eschatologists’ 115–30.

¹² See FTV, FTN, Neof (M) Gen 19:26; Neof, Neof (M), FTP, FTV Gen 25:34. Cf. Sokoloff, *Dictionary* 579.

¹³ The word *targum* is usually derived from the Akkadic *ta/urgumannu(m)*, ‘translator’, cf. Von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* 3:1329. A derivation from Hittite, *tarkummāi*,

II. Targum: translation, interpretation and instruction

The Targum¹⁴ represents a unique literary genre. It is first of all a translation among others, but it is distinct from the Greek, Latin and Syriac versions in the interpretative elements that it includes, to different degrees¹⁵ and in various forms (halakhic traditions, midrash, liturgical formulas, prayers, poetic fragments). Even such a Targum as that of Onqelos, which is considered to be fairly literal, contains numerous haggadic and halakhic additions. In the Septuagint one also finds explanatory glosses and ‘midrash’, but ‘it is meagre compared to what we find in the Targumim’ (P.S. Alexander).¹⁶ This is also true of the interpretative elements found in the Latin versions¹⁷ and in the Peshitta, which according to some scholars goes back to a targumic tradition or to a specific Targum.¹⁸

As a literary genre, the Targum has been compared with the *midrash* or with the writings referred to by the term ‘rewritten Bible’¹⁹. Although it shares with the midrash the form of lemma + commentary, it does not show the same thematic structure, the form of the dispute, the references to tradents, the frequent use of scriptural quotations,²⁰ or the addition of alternative exegetical traditions. *tarkummiya*, ‘to announce’, ‘declare’, ‘translate’, is defended in Rabin, ‘Hittite Words’ 134–36. Cf. Le Déaut, *Introduction* 19.

¹⁴ Bibliographical information on the Targumim can be found in Grossfeld, *Bibliography* (1 – 1972; 2 – 1977; 3 – 1990); Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1*, 4:11*–16* (1974); 5:13*–25* (1978); Forestell, *Targumic Traditions* (1979), and in the *Newsletter for Targumic and Cognate Studies* (eds. E. G. Clarke, P.-E. Dion; from 1974 onwards).

For a general introduction, one may consult: Le Déaut, *La nuit pascale*, 19–64 (1963); id., *Introduction* (1966); Bowker, *Targums and Rabbinic Literature*, 3–28 (1969); Grossfeld, ‘Aramaic: the Targumim’ (1972); McNamara, *Targum and Testament* (1972); Komlosh, ‘Aramaic: the Targumim’ (1973); Schürer (rev. edn.), *History* 1:99–114 (1973); McNamara, ‘Targums’ (1976); Melammed, *מפרשי המקרא* 1:129–352 (1978); Schäfer, ‘Bibelübersetzungen II. Targumim’ (1980); Levine, ‘Biography’ (1982); Le Déaut, ‘The Targumim’ (1984); Levine, *Aramaic Version* (1988); Alexander, ‘Jewish Aramaic Translations’ (1988).

¹⁵ Scholars distinguish ‘literal’ and strongly paraphrastic Targumim, but see Alexander, ‘Rabbinic Rules’ 17–21 and id., ‘Jewish Aramaic Translations’ 228–37. Alexander makes a useful distinction between the type of Targum (A) that is composed of a base translation and of detachable glosses, and type (B) in which translation and paraphrase are interwoven.

¹⁶ Alexander, ‘Rabbinic Rules’ 15. Other studies emphasize the similarities between LXX and Targum: cf. Churgin, ‘The Targum and the Septuagint’; Brockington, ‘Septuagint und Targum’; Delekat, ‘Ein Septuagintatargum’. Cf. Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition* 1–34, 67–75. Similarities and differences are shown in Le Déaut, ‘La Septante: un Targum?’.

¹⁷ See Kedar, ‘Latin Translations’, esp. 308–13; 331–34.

¹⁸ Cf. Dirksen, ‘Old Testament Peshitta’ 262–63, 267–81, 286–90.

¹⁹ See Nickelsburg, ‘Bible Rewritten’; Alexander, ‘Retelling the Old Testament’ (cf. his definition of the genre on pp. 116–18). Less correct is the term ‘Biblical Midrash’, cf. Schürer (rev. edn.) *History* 3/1:308–41; 3/2:757–808.

²⁰ Scriptural quotations do occur in the more elaborate haggadic passages. Cf. Le Déaut-Robert, *Targum du Pentateuque* 1:55, and see also PsYon Gen 35:22; FTP, FTV, CGF, Neof Gen 38:25–26; FTP Gen 49:9; FTP, FTV, Neof Gen 49:22; Neof, FTV, CGF Exod 12:42; PsYon Exod 14:12; FTP Exod 15:3; FTP Exod 15:18; PsYon Num 2:3. 10. 18. 25; FTP, FTN,

tions.²¹ Many scholars have thought that the *Genesis Apocryphon* (*1QapGen*) should be seen as a Targum,²² but in this document one finds a considerable blending of scriptural text and midrash. The exegesis given in it constitutes a continuous narrative, connected to the lemmata in a rather loose way.²³

The Targum is certainly related to the *peshet*-form found in the writings of Qumran. However, in the *pesharim* the lemma, a prophetic text, is formally separated from the commentary, a running explanation applied to the historical situation of the Qumran sect. In the Targum, on the other hand, the exegesis is closely related to the lemma, and the historical situation of the *meturgemanim* can only be read between the lines.²⁴

All in all, the Targum remains a unique phenomenon, and we can endorse the words used by Ch. Rabin to characterize the Aramaic versions: 'the interpretative translations, whatever their period, constitute a most unusual phenomenon in the history of translation, ...'.²⁵

Characteristic of the Targum as a type of translation is the 'actualization' of Scripture. In the explanatory glosses the scriptural text is related to accepted halakhic practice or to well-known haggadic traditions. These glosses are sometimes elaborate, but they can also be extremely concise. I will give two examples of the latter:

(a) Targum PsYon has the following addition to Gen 1:21b ('... and every living creature that moves, of every kind, with which the waters swarm'): 'with which the *clear* waters (בְּמֵי צִלְיִהָא) swarm'. This gloss, which is in itself obscure, becomes intelligible when seen in contrast to the *murky* waters ('alluvial mud', רִקְקֵי מוּי, of the preceding verse. Both glosses refer *in nuce* to a halakhic debate (familiar to the hearers?) about the question whether the birds were also created out of the water, as is suggested by Gen 1:20 (cf. *bHullin* 27b). The *meturgeman* knows the conclusion drawn from this debate and emphasizes that the birds were created out of the mud, the murky water (that is, the transition from land to water) (cf. *bHullin* 27b: מִן הַרְקֵק, as opposed to the great sea monsters and the fish, which were created out of clear water.²⁶

Neof Num 11:26; FTP Num 12:1; FTP Num 16:1; FTP, FTV, Neof Deut 32:1; FTP, FTV, Neof Deut 32:3, 33:2.

²¹ See Alexander, 'Rabbinic Rules' 16.

²² Thus Kuiper, 'Relationship' 160: 'It is clear that GA is a targumic text' and Lehmann, '1 Q Genesis Apocryphon' 263. Cf. Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon* 6–14.

²³ See Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon* 9: 'It is not simply a *midrash*, just as it is not simply a *targum*.'

²⁴ Cf. Dimant, 'Qumran Sectarian Literature' 505–08.

²⁵ Rabin, 'Translation Process' 17. A similar conclusion is drawn in the recent study by Brock, 'Translating the Old Testament', cf. p. 89: 'The *sustained* presence of interpretative renderings ... is characteristic only of the Jewish targumim'.

²⁶ See also ch. 1, pp. 48–49.

(b) In the PTs of Exod 15:17c (PsYon, FTP, FTV, Neof, CGF) one finds a similar one word reference to a haggadic tradition. The MT has: 'the sanctuary, O Lord, that your hands have established'. This is translated in Targum Neof as: 'Your temple, Lord – both your hands have completed it'. The meaning of this gloss, which reinforces the anthropomorphic image used here, becomes clear when it is put against the explanation given in the *Mekhilta de R. Yishmael*:

Precious is the Temple to him who spoke, and the world came into being.²⁷ For when the Holy One, blessed be he, created his world, he created it with (only) one hand, as it is said: 'My hand (יָד) laid the foundation of the earth' (Isa 48:13). But when he came to build the Temple, he did so as it were (כְּכִיּוֹל)²⁸ with both his hands, as it is said: 'The sanctuary, Lord, that your hands (יָדַי) have established' (Exod 15:17).

Mekhilta, Shirta 10 (p. 150)

It is my opinion that in the above cases the *meturgeman* made use of haggadic or halakhic traditions. It is less probable that the *Bavli*- or *Mekhilta*-text is based on the Targum, as the targumic glosses are meaningless unless seen as conclusions of existing discussions. In my view, the use of these glosses is related to the function of the Targum in didactic instruction (see below).

Actualization, that is the adaptation of the text to the contemporary historical and religious situation, is also manifest in the translation tendencies of the Targum. I will mention a few of these:

1. Removal of anthropomorphisms²⁹

The *meturgemanim* tried to avoid anthropomorphic expressions in the translation in several ways. They did so

(a) by using substitutes for the divine name. The most frequent of these are: *Memra*,³⁰ *Shekhinta*,³¹ *Yeqara*,³² *Dibbura* (also: *Dibbera*),³³ *Mare 'Alma*.³⁴

²⁷ According to the text of Cod. hebr. 117 (Staatsbibliothek München), which seems to fit better here (cf. the preceding, parallel tradition). The Horovitz-Rabin edn. has: '(Precious is the Temple to) the Holy One, blessed be he'.

²⁸ *Terminus technicus* for the mitigation of an antropomorphism, cf. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie* 1:72–73; 2:78–79.

²⁹ Cf. Maybaum, *Anthropomorphien*; Klein, *הגשמת האל*; Chester, *Divine Revelation* 265–92. Saadya was the first to make a list of anti-anthropomorphisms (in tg. Onq), cf. Klein, 'Translation of Anthropomorphisms' 164.

³⁰ Cf. Maybaum, *Anthropomorphien* 40–48. See the survey of studies on the concept of *Memra* in Hayward, *Divine Name* 1–15; Chester, *Divine Revelation* 293–313 and Grossfeld, *Onqelos to Genesis* 25–29.

³¹ Maybaum, *Anthropomorphien* 51–54; Chester, *Divine Revelation* 313–22; Grossfeld, *Onqelos to Genesis* 30. The occurrence of the plural form שְׁכִינִין in FTP Exod 12:2 is conspicuous. Cf. also the indication of God's dwelling-place as *בית שְׁכִינַת קֹדֶשׁ* (מְדוּרָה) in PsYon Exod 15:13, 17; CGF Exod 15:13, 17 (1:247); Deut 26:15 (1:345). Cf. Sokoloff, *Dictionary* 291.

³² Maybaum, *Anthropomorphien* 48–51; Chester, *Divine Revelation* 313–22; Grossfeld, *Onqelos to Genesis* 29. Often in the combination אֱקָרָא / אֱקָרָאִי, see PsYon Gen 2:6, 9:14,

These also occur in such combinations as *Yeḡar* ('*Iḡar*) *Shekhinta*,³⁵ *Shekhinat Mare 'Alma*.³⁶ In addition to these one finds many other substitute names of God, some of which may be connected with the names mentioned above: *Gevura*,³⁷ *Ḥay we-Qayyam*,³⁸ *Ribbun Kol- 'Almayya* (also: *Rabbun 'Alma*),³⁹ *Raḥmana*,⁴⁰ *Shema*,⁴¹ *Taqqifa*,⁴² *Shemayya*,⁴³ *Rama (u-Menaṭṭla)*,⁴⁴ *Qudsha*.⁴⁵ Many of these names, or their Hebrew equivalents, are also found in rabbinic literature.⁴⁶

22:4; Exod 12:37, 18:7, 24:16; Lev 23:43; PsYon, FTV Deut 32:10. Also in the expression יקר אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, see PsYon Gen 2:6, 27:1, 28:12; Exod 4:20, 15:17; Deut 30:2; FTP, FTV Exod 17:16.

³³ Frequent in the Fragment-Targum, cf. FTP Gen 3:10; FTP, FTV Gen 28:10; FTP Exod 14:1; FTP, FTV, FTJ Exod 19:3; FTP, FTV Exod 19:20; FTP Exod 20:1; FTP, FTV Exod 33:23; FTV Lev 1:1. See also CGF Exod 14:30 (1:239), 19:20 (1:263); Neof Exod 19:3; PsYon Gen 28:10; Exod 33:11; Lev 1:1 (twice); Deut 4:12, 5:22, 23; 18:16.

³⁴ Often in PsYon, but see also Neof Gen 21:33; CGF Gen 22:8 (1:35). Cf. *Ber. Rabba* 99:3, p. 1275. See also the doxology עֲלֵמָא דְמַרְיָהּ in PsYon Deut 34:6.

³⁵ This is a very common combination, also with עֵינֵי אֱלֹהֵי שְׂכִינָתָא (עֵינֵי אֱלֹהֵי שְׂכִינָתָא), see Neof Exod 19:4, Lev 23:43; Neof, PsYon Num 10:34; PsYon Exod 34:5; Lev 16:2; Num 11:25, 12:10, 17:7; Deut 1:31; FTV Exod 40:38. Occasionally one also finds the reverse combination: (הַ) יִקְרִי (הַ) שְׂכִינָתָא, cf. PsYon Exod 12:12, Lev 26:11; Num 14:14; Deut 9:3.

³⁶ PsYon Gen 49:27; Exod 12:11; Neof (M) Num 12:16 (עֲלֵמָא).

³⁷ Cf. Neof Exod 31:18.

³⁸ See PsYon Gen 3:22; 16:13, 14; 24:62; 25:11; Num 23:19; Deut 5:3; FTP, FTV, Neof Gen 27:27. Cf. PTs Gen 16:13; CGF Gen 38:25 (1:91), Exod 12:1 (1:189). See the combination with *Memra* in PsYon, Neof Deut 4:33, and see FTP Num 23:19. See also קִיּוּם (אֱלֹהֵי) in Neof Gen 16:13, 14; 25:11.

³⁹ On the vocalisation of *Ribbun/Rabbun*, cf. Kutscher, חזק לשון 95–98. See CGF Gen 17:11 (1:31); 35:9 (1:73) (twice); 37:33 (1:81); 38:25 (1:89); Exod 12:42 (1:221); Exod 17:16 (1:253–55); FTP Gen 37:33; Exod 15:2; Neof, FTP, FTV Num 21:15; PsYon Num 23:19; 25:8; 32:50; Neof Exod 23:17; PsYon, Neof Deut 32:4.

⁴⁰ CGF Gen 4:24 (1:15); FTP Num 12:1. Cf. PsYon, Neof Num 12:13.

⁴¹ Cf. שְׁמַיָּא, CGF Gen 15:1 (1:29). Also occurring in the combination שְׁמַיָּא רַבָּא (see PsYon Exod 28:30; Num 31:8; cf. Deut 32:3) or רַבָּא וִיקְרִיא (PsYon Gen 4:15; Exod 2:21; 4:20; 14:21; Lev 16:21; 24:11; Num 5:19; Deut 9:19 (here also: שְׁמַיָּא רַבָּא; וּדְחִילָא). For the concept of מַפְרָשָׁא, see FTP, FTV Exod 32:25; Deut 32:3; FTP Exod 33:6; Lev 24:11; Neof (M) Exod 15:25; PsYon Exod 21:17; Lev 20:9; Num 20:8.

⁴² Neof, PsYon Deut 32:15, 18, 30, 37; PsYon Deut 32:31; FTP, FTV Gen 49:24 (cf. FTN and Neof); CGF Exod 14:30 (1:233), Deut 32:37 (1:357).

⁴³ Cf. אֱלֹהֵי שְׂמִיָּא in PsYon Num 20:21. Neof Gen 17:1, 28:3 has אֱלֹהֵי שְׂמִיָּא for MT אֱלֹהֵי שְׂמִיָּא.

⁴⁴ PsYon Num 21:30. Cf. PsYon Deut 4:7; CGF Exod 12:1 (1:195, and see 1:193 [אֱנוֹסְמוֹס]).

⁴⁵ Often in the liturgical formula 'The Holy One, blessed be his name', cf. PsYon Gen 38:25; Exod 24:18; Num 16:2; Deut 1:1; FTP, FTV, PsYon Num 21:34; FTV Exod 15:18; FTP Exod 20:2.

⁴⁶ Cf. Marmorstein, *Old Rabbinic Doctrine* 44–107; Kadushin, *Rabbinic Mind*, 332–33. For other divines names and titles in the Targumim, see Chester, *Divine Revelation* 352–60.

(b) by replacing with passive forms active verbal constructions referring to God's 'remembering' (as this implies the possibility of *forgetting*), 'seeing', 'hearing', 'knowing', and similar anthropomorphic expressions.⁴⁷

The translators were far from consistent in their avoidance of anthropomorphic terms. They sometimes preserve highly anthropomorphic images.⁴⁸ This inconsistency has recently been pointed out especially by M. L. Klein.⁴⁹ He is also of the opinion that many scholars are too quick in perceiving anti-anthropomorphisms in certain translated constructions. Thus he regards the preposition *מן קדם ל* as an expression of reverence, used in both human and divine contexts, rather than an anti-anthropomorphism.⁵⁰

2. Defence of the honour of patriarchs and matriarchs⁵¹

When the translators found in the Scriptures expressions which they regarded as dishonourable to the ancestors, they replaced them by euphemistic terms.⁵² (This should be seen in connection with the fact that some passages were not to be translated by the *meturgemanim* at all, because they were supposed to affect the honour and reputation of the patriarch or matriarch concerned).⁵³ I will give two examples of this:

(a) Where Gen 27:35 says of Jacob that he 'came with deceit' (במרמה), Targum Onq renders: 'Your brother came *with wisdom* (בדוכמה)'.⁵⁴ PsYon has a similar rendering, whilst Neof goes even further by saying בסוגי חכמה 'with much wisdom'. This is in agreement with Rabbi Yoḥanan's interpretation in *Ber. Rabba* 67:4 (p. 758): 'Rabbi Yoḥanan said: [Jacob came] *with the wisdom* of his Tora.'⁵⁵

(b) In the *meturgeman's* eyes, the fact that the matriarch Rachel *stole* her father's idols (household gods) (Gen 31:19) casts a slur on her reputation. That is why Targum Onq has the translation 'she *took* her father's idols'.⁵⁶ Jacob's dishonest behaviour towards Laban is described in the Book of Genesis as

⁴⁷ See e.g. PsYon Gen 2:8 'By the Word (*Memra*) of God, the Lord, a garden was planted ...'. Cf. the usage of אהגל to avoid God's 'seeing', 'descending', etc., in Chester, *Divine Revelation* 31–155.

⁴⁸ Cf. Onq and PTs of Exod 31:18.

⁴⁹ Klein, 'Translation of Anthropomorphisms' 164–65.

⁵⁰ Klein, 'The Preposition קדם' 505, 507.

⁵¹ See Komlosh, *המקרא* 208–16.

⁵² Vgl. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts* XXXII.

⁵³ Cf. Geiger, *Urschrift* 367–85; Alexander, 'Rabbinic Lists'; Klein, 'Not to be Translated'; Shinan, *של מתורגמנים* 6–7.

⁵⁴ See Aberbach-Grossfeld, *Targum Onkelos* 165 n. 11. Cf. Onq Gen 34:13.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Tanḥuma Buber, Toledot* 24 (1:72a). Other parallels are given in Komlosh, *המקרא* 209.

⁵⁶ Cf. Onq Gen 31:32; 31:30 (here said of Jacob).

'stealing the heart', i.e. 'deceiving' (Gen 31:20, 26, 27). Again, Onq has a euphemistic translation: 'And Jacob *concealed from* Laban the Aramaean ...'.

3. Reversal of positive statements⁵⁷

Sometimes a text is given a meaning opposite to the original text by the addition of a negative particle. This phenomenon is linked with the one mentioned in the preceding paragraph. When Jacob sees the blood-smeared tunic of his son Joseph, he exclaims: 'A wild animal has devoured him; Joseph is without doubt torn to pieces' (Gen 37:33). The PTs (PsYon, FTP, FTV, CGF (MSS D, E))⁵⁸ ascribe to Jacob the ability to look into the future with the help of the holy spirit. Knowing that Joseph is not dead, he exclaims: 'It was *not* a wild animal that devoured him, without doubt my son has *not* been killed ...' (FTP).⁵⁹

4. Adaptation to halakhic practice

In the explanatory glosses of the Targumim, especially in Targum PsYon, one repeatedly finds references to contemporary halakhic practice.⁶⁰ These references regard the rules of *kashrut*, the regulations concerning clean and unclean animals,⁶¹ ritual slaughter,⁶² the prohibition on eating *tereifa* (the meat of animals devoured by a wild animal),⁶³ the commandment to purify oneself after physical contact with the body of a dead person,⁶⁴ the rules for the paying of tithes,⁶⁵ the putting on of the *tefillin*,⁶⁶ the installation of the *mezuzot*,⁶⁷ the fixation of the 'eruv,⁶⁸ and the 613 commandments.⁶⁹ In the frequently occurring tradition on 'the four lawsuits brought before Moses',⁷⁰ the *meturgeman*

⁵⁷ See Klein, 'Converse Translation'.

⁵⁸ Cf. Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts* 1:81 (in this text the order has been reversed); see also 1:84 (MS E: here the first negation was added to the MS by a copyist). For the sigla used here, see ch. 7, n. 16.

⁵⁹ See Klein, 'Converse Translation' 522–23. Cf. PTs Gen 43:14. In these glosses, Klein looks for a connection with the tradition about Jacob's refusing to be comforted for the loss of his son (see above, n. 9). Another example is found in PsYon Gen 4:23.

⁶⁰ In the following, examples have mainly been taken from the PTs. For TgYon, see Smolar-Aberbach, *Studies* 1–61.

⁶¹ Cf. PsYon Gen 1:21, 24, 25; Exod 16:21.

⁶² PsYon Gen 43:16.

⁶³ PsYon Gen 9:4. Cf. PsYon Lev 11:1 (eighteen *tereifot*, that is, eighteen cases in which an animal is considered to be *tereifa*; see *mHullin* 3:1).

⁶⁴ See PsYon Gen 35:2.

⁶⁵ PsYon Gen 33:20.

⁶⁶ PsYon Exod 13:9; Deut 6:8; 11:18; 28:10.

⁶⁷ PsYon Deut 6:8, 11:20, 20:5.

⁶⁸ PsYon Exod 16:5.

⁶⁹ PsYon Exod 24:12.

⁷⁰ See Neof, PsYon, FTP, FTV Lev 24:12; Neof, PsYon, FTV Num 9:8, 15:34, 27:5.

describes a halakhic procedure with the help of specific technical terms.⁷¹ Such halakhic terminology is found in several targumic passages.⁷²

5. Reference to rabbinic institutions and to the teachers of the Tora

The *meturgemanim* often refer to rabbinic institutions. Thus they mention ‘the 70 elders of the Great Sanhedrin (סנהדרין רבא),’⁷³ or ‘the Sanhedrin of the 70 Sages’,⁷⁴ ‘the heads of the Sanhedrins (רישי סנהדרין),’⁷⁵ and also ‘the heavenly Sanhedrin (סנדרין דלעיל).’⁷⁶ Especially in Targum PsYon the term/סנדרין occurs regularly,⁷⁷ but it is also found in the other PTs.⁷⁸ Moses submits judicial affairs to the *Beit Din* (בי דינא).⁷⁹

Patriarchs and matriarchs visit the house of study. Thus we find Isaac in ‘the house of study of Shem Rabba (בי מדרשא דשם רבא).’⁸⁰ Rebekah, too, goes to this house of study to ‘implore mercy from (before) the Lord.’⁸¹ The patriarch Jacob serves, i.e. *teaches*, in the house of study of Eber (Shem’s son)⁸² and in his turn builds a house of study in Sukkot.⁸³ These traditions about Shem’s (and Eber’s) house of study are based on Gen 9:27, which refers to God’s dwelling in the tents of Shem. Haggadic tradition equates ‘tent’ with ‘house of study.’⁸⁴ Joseph, too, is familiar with the house of study.⁸⁵ When the Israelites come to Egypt and live in the land of Goshen, they build houses of study and

⁷¹ E.g.: שמעיה: לנא שמעיה: ‘I have not heard (this halakha)’ (that is, it has not been handed down to me). See Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie* 2:220–21.

⁷² Cf. PsYon, FTP, FTV Lev 10:19–20, where Moses observes: אנה הוא דאתעלמת דילכתא: ‘the halakha (concerned) escaped me’. Cf. Sokoloff, *Dictionary* 410.

⁷³ PsYon Num 7:85; cf. PsYon Gen 28:3.

⁷⁴ FTP, FTN, Neof (M) Num 21:18; FTV Num 33:9.

⁷⁵ PsYon Lev 24:12, Num 9:8, 15:34, 27:5, Deut 29:9. On these smaller Sanhedrins, see Alon, *The Jews in their Land* 43–45, Safrai, ‘Jewish Self-government’ 403–04.

⁷⁶ PsYon Deut 5:31.

⁷⁷ See Clarke (et al.) *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* 413 s.v. סנהדרין.

⁷⁸ Cf. Neof, FTP, FTV Num 25:4; PTs Lev 19:26; PsYon Num 25:7.

⁷⁹ Onq, PsYon, Neof Deut 22:15; 25:7; PsYon Exod 32:27 *et passim*.

⁸⁰ PsYon Gen 22:19; cf. 24:62.

⁸¹ Neof, PsYon Gen 25:22. Cf. *Ber. Rabba* 63:6, p. 684 and Rashi ad loc. Cf. *Ber. Rabba* 36:8, pp. 342–43.

⁸² PTs Gen 25:27. Targum Onq has a variant reading: ממשיש בית אולפנא.

⁸³ PsYon Gen 33:17.

⁸⁴ See *bBerakhot* 16a; *Ber. Rabba* 63:10, p. 693. Cf. *bYoma* 10a and PsYon, Neof (M) Num 24:5; Neof, PsYon Deut 33:18. For the identification of Shem Rabba with Melchizedek, see PTs Gen 14:18. For the identification of tent with house of study, see Ben-Ami Sarfatti, ‘איהל’.

⁸⁵ PsYon Gen 37:2.

palaces there.⁸⁶ Moses uses the house of study to explain the problems of the priesthood to Aaron and his sons.⁸⁷

Besides the term *בית אולפנא* 'house of instruction',⁸⁸ or also: *משכן בית אולפנא*, 'tent of instruction'.⁸⁹ Moses has his own 'tent of instruction' and hands it on to Joshua.⁹⁰ It is also Moses who learns the words of the Tora (*אליף פיהגמו אורייתא*) from the mouth of the Holy One, blessed be his name⁹¹, and whose duty as a teacher of his people it is to 'ask instruction from (before) the Lord'.⁹²

In the PTs Moses bears the title of 'scribe of Israel'.⁹³ Moses and Aaron together are also called '*soferim* of Israel'.⁹⁴ These *soferim*, the 'scribes and interpreters of the Tora', are mentioned regularly.⁹⁵ The writer is also called *לבבֵר*, *libellarius*.⁹⁶ In addition to the writers, the *hakhamim* appear as 'teachers of the Tora'.⁹⁷

Finally I would like to mention the synagogue (*בית כנישתא*), which is occasionally referred to as a place of prayer in the Targum.⁹⁸

Other examples of the tendency to update the scriptural text might be given. It is also manifest in the adaptation of geographical terms or of names of countries and nations to the the translators' world view and their historical circumstances.⁹⁹

⁸⁶ PsYon Gen 47:27.

⁸⁷ PsYon Exod 39:33. See also PsYon Num 24:2; 24:6; Deut 30:14; Neof, PsYon Deut 33:18; Neof (M) Deut 28:19; FTP, FTV Gen 34:31, 49:7; Deut 28:6; CGF Gen 30:13 (1:45); Deut 28:6 (1:341) (twice).

⁸⁸ Onq Gen 25:27; Onq and PsYon Exod 33:7, 40:20; PsYon Deut 1:38. Cf. PsYon Num 21:29 (*אורייתא*). Cf. Smolar-Aberbach, *Studies* 101–103.

⁸⁹ Onq, PsYon Exod 33:7; PsYon Exod 18:7; Deut 31:1, 32:44; cf. PsYon Exod 33:7 (*משכן אולפנא אורייתא*).

⁹⁰ PsYon Deut 1:38.

⁹¹ PsYon Exod 24:18.

⁹² PsYon Exod 18:15. Cf. PsYon Exod 4:16, 18:19, 28:30; Num 15:32, etc. The expression is often found in Targum Neofiti of the Book of Exodus: cf. Neof Exod 19:3, 24:1, 33:3, 5, 34:9, 28. See also CGF Exod 19:3 (1:257).

⁹³ FTP Exod 12:2; FTP, FTV Gen 27:29; Num 11:26; 24:9; Deut 33:21.

⁹⁴ FTP, FTV, PsYon Num 21:18.

⁹⁵ PsYon Gen 49:10; FTP, FTV Gen 49:7; FTP Num 24:6. On the *sofer*, cf. Bar-Ilan in: Damsky, Bar-Ilan 'Writing' 21–24.

⁹⁶ See FTP Num 12:7. Cf. Krauss, *Lehnwörter* 2:303.

⁹⁷ PsYon Deut 8:9. Cf. also the *Amoraim* in PsYon Num 21:29.

⁹⁸ PsYon Exod 18:20; Neof (M) Num 24:5; Neof Deut 28:19 (twice); FTP, FTV Gen 34:31 (twice); FTP Deut 28:6. Cf. the expression *בית צלו*, 'house of prayer', in FTP Gen 28:17. See also Smolar-Aberbach, *Studies* 106.

⁹⁹ See Smolar-Aberbach, *Studies* 63–128. Cf. Alexander, 'Jewish Aramaic Translations' 226–27; Le Déaut-Robert, *Targum du Pentateuque* 1:58. For other translation tendencies (reconciliation of contradictions in the scriptural text, addition of proper names and pronouns, popular etymology, demetaphorization) and more technical translation techniques (doublets, associative translation, complementary translation, use of hermeneutical rules), see Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts* 1:XXIX–XXXIV; Le Déaut, 'Un phénomène spontané' 510.

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