An Electronic Edition of Targum Samuel

by

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Chapter 1
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The Problems

The first known writing that could be described as a critical edition of the Targum to the Prophets was that of Serah ben Jehuda, written in 1105. He copied a running text, vocalised it according to a highly sophisticated, Palestinian system,[1] and supplied alternative translations, commentaries and additions in the margin. It was this manuscript, known as the *Codex Reuchlinianus 3*, that enriched Targumic studies in the nineteenth century, first through its edition by Paul de Lagarde[2] and later through a stream of articles by Wilhelm Bacher.[3] New interest in the Targums eventually resulted in the edition of 1959, made by Alexander Sperber.[4]

　　　Anyone wishing to make a new critical edition of the Targum to the Prophets, in this case to the Books of Samuel, will be confronted by a range of problems. The Sperber edition is not of sufficient assistance in uncovering the original text. There are so many manuscripts that a selection needs to be made. Furthermore, all these manuscripts have to be described and placed in a stemma in order to be able to discern families and traditions. And last but not least, the aim of the edition must be stated precisely in such a way as to facilitate the choice of the best way to edit the material. In this chapter we will only explore the problems.

1.1 The Problem of the Current Editions

In 1959 Alexander Sperber published the first and only modern critical edition of the Targum text of the Former Prophets. He used MS Or. 2210 of the British Museum as a basic text, a Yemenite manuscript dated 1469 CE.[5] He only deviated from it in cases of obvious scribal errors. In addition, Sperber offered a small selection of variant readings. For the Targum of Samuel he used four Yemenite[6] and three Western manuscripts, two manuscripts containing *haftarot*, three early printed editions and, indiscriminately, some fragments of the Taylor-Schechter Collection in Cambridge.[7] Sperber divided the variant readings into two critical apparatuses, one for variants in the vocalisation and orthography and a second for textual variants.[8]

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[1] S. Morag, 'The Vocalization of Codex Reuchlinianus: Is the "Pre-Masoretic" Bible Pre-Masoretic?' *JSSt* (1959), 217-237, esp. 237.

[2] P. de Lagarde, *Prophetae chaldaice e fide codicis Reuchliniani* (Leipzig 1872); Alexander Sperber published a *fascimile* edition in his series *The Pre-Masoretic Bible* (Copenhagen 1956-1959).

[3] W. Bacher, 'Kritische Untersuchungen zum Prophetentargum', *ZDMG* 28 (1874), 1-72; G. Klein, 'Bemerkungen zu Herrn Dr. Bacher's "Kritischen Untersuchungen zum Prophetntargum"', *ZDMG* 29 (1875), 157-161; Bacher, 'Gegenbermerkungen und Nachträge das Prophetentargum betreffend', *ZDMG* 29 (1875), 319-320; Idem, 'Notes on the Critique of the Text to the Targum of the Prophets', *JQR* 11 (1899), 651-655; see further E. van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel* (SAIS, 1; Leiden 2002), 4-8.

[4] A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, Vol. 2: The Former Prophets (Leiden 1959).

[5] Sperber, *The Former Prophets*, v.

[6] Sperber, *The Former Prophets*, vi mentions five Yemenite manuscripts, but ms Or. qu. 578 of the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (his siglum x) only contains Joshua and Judges.

[7] Sperber, *The Former Prophets*, v-vi.

[8] Sperber, *The Former Prophets*, viii-ix.

With regard to the first apparatus, he derived his material from manuscripts with supralinear vocalisation, while he 'disregarded the actual Tiberian vocalization as being unreliable.'[9] Some variants are not mentioned at all in this apparatus, 'in order to avoid overcrowding it with repetitious details.'[10] Sperber only mentions five examples of such variants, namely the spelling of the relative particle, inflections of the verb הוה, and the vocalisations of the words קדם ,אנש, and אלהין. The deviant use of the *matres lectionis* is also placed in the first apparatus, *e.g.* the Hebrew spelling וֹעלֹב instead of עלבן in 1 Sam. 1:15.

Naturally, there are variants the categorisation of which is disputable. The word בה in 1 Sam. 2:2 not only has a vocalisation different from ביה, it may also be the result of a different gender: is the miracle performed to 'him' (Sennacherib) or to 'her' (Jerusalem)? The spelling מתה in 1 Sam. 2:3 is no matter of vocalisation, it represents an active participle, rather than a passive one: He, *i.e.* the Lord, who knows everything, metes out judgment. And is the deviant form ושמע in 1 Sam. 2:22 of the other Yemenite manuscripts a matter of vocalisation or does it represent a participle rather than a perfect tense?

Soon after the publication of *The Bible in Aramaic*, criticism was expressed about the edition. The fact that Sperber gave neither a description of the manuscripts collated, nor any explanation for his selection caused some surprise.[11] He was criticised fiercely because of his lack of accuracy and his neglect of Babylonian manuscripts.[12]

The neglect of Babylonian manuscripts has been compensated for by Martínez Borobio's edition of the Targum to Samuel in the Babylonian tradition.[13] This edition shows that there is no Babylonian manuscript that can function as a basic text, because there is no complete manuscript for the whole of Targum Samuel. The major manuscript (Eb 1)[14] had to be supplemented with parts of two other manuscripts, Eb 66 and Eb 76,[15] neither of which is genuinely Babylonian.[16] 'So Sperber's choice of a well-executed Yemenite MS was not so injudicious after all.'[17]

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[9] Sperber, *The Former Prophets*, viii.

[10] Sperber, *The Former Prophets*, viii.

[11] D. Winton Thomas, 'A. Sperber (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic*, etc.', *JSSt* 5 (1960), 286-288, esp. 287.

[12] *E.g.* P. Kahle, 'Die Aussprache des Hebräischen in Palästina vor der Zeit der Tiberischen Masoreten', *VT* 10 (1960), 375-385, esp. 383; M. Martin, 'The Babylonian Tradition and Targum', in: R. de Langhe (ed.), *Le Psautier: Ses origines. Ses problèmes littéraires. Son influence* (OBL, 4 ; Louvain 1962), 425-451; A. Díez Macho, 'A. Sperber (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic*, etc.', *JSJ* 96 (1975), 217-236; E. Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatan de los Profetas Primeros en tradición babilónica*, Vol. 2 : I-II Samuel (TECC, 38; Madrid 1987), 9-10; R.P. Gordon, 'Sperber's Edition of the Targum to the Prophets : A Critique', *JQR* 64 (1973/74), 314-321; W.F. Smelik, *The Targum of Judges* (OTS, 36; Leiden 1996), 114-115; A. Houtman, 'Planning a New Targum Edition: Look Before You Leap', *JAB* 2 (2000), 213-231; Van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 49-53.

[13] E. Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatan de los Profetas Primeros en tradición babilónica*, Vol. 2 : I-II Samuel (TECC, 38; Madrid 1987).

[14] Ms L 229 (EMC 105) of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, containing Judges 16:17-21:25, Samuel (except 1 Sam. 4:20-6:16; 12:17-14:3), 1 Kings-2 Kings 5:24 of the Former Prophets.

[15] Ms L 230 (EMC 5) of the JTS, New York, containing Josh. 15:18-24:14(5), Judg. 1:4-11:8, 11:34-40, 12:1-21:25; 1 Sam. 1:1-18:17, 29:4-2 Sam. 24:25; 1 Kgs 1:1-8:7, 2 Kings 2:24-3:14, and Ms 2 of the Qafih collection in Jerusalem, containing Josh. 19:49-22:23; Judg. 9:3-16:28; 18:24-19:5; 21:8-21:25; 1 Sam. 1:8-14:50; 1 Sam. 17:12-2 Sam. 24:25; 1 Kgs 1:1-2:8; 1 Kgs 2:23-2 Kgs 10:25.

[16] Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatan de los Profetas Primeros*, 17-18.

[17] Smelik, *The Targum of Judges*, 115-116.

1.2 The Problems of the Manuscript Selection

A search operation in catalogues from all over the world has resulted in a list of 29 manuscripts containing the text of Targum Samuel, either in its entirety or most of it. In addition, there are more than 150 *haftarot* collections, containing parts of Targum Samuel. Since the *Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts* in Jerusalem is still searching for new material, the list will grow during the coming years. A new critical edition cannot possibly contain the variants of all these manuscripts and *haftarot*. A selection needs to be made.

There are several problems connected with the selection of manuscripts. In the first place, it is not clear at all how many families of manuscripts exist. There is the tendency to divide the manuscripts into two main traditions: Eastern and Western. Both traditions are subdivided. Spanish studies tend to underline the importance of the Babylonian tradition within the Eastern tradition, but is there a real, discernible Babylonian family? The Western family consists of Sephardic and Ashkenazic manuscripts, but is that all? How must we categorise Codex Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles? What is the place of Codex Reuchlin within the Western tradition? These questions have to be solved by thorough stemmatological investigation.

A further problem with the selection of manuscripts is: how many manuscripts of one family must an editor use to give a clear image of that family in the critical apparatus. Since Sperber's edition only uses one Ashkenazic manuscript (Ms. Add. 26,897 of the British Museum), it is completely impossible to discern an Ashkenazic tradition. Even the Sephardic tradition is only represented by one manuscript (Ms. p.116 of the Montefiori Library), complemented with the Leiria edition and the Antwerp Polyglot. Only the Yemenite family, represented by five manuscripts and two *haftarot* collections, appears to be large enough to indicate the borders of the family. To mention an example, the addition of אם after ברם in 1 Sam. 1:23 is indicated by Sperber by 'J j T', meaning that all the manuscripts and editions add the particle, except for the text of Or. 2210 and the *haftarot* collection Or. 2364 of the British Museum. A greater collection[18] of manuscripts can show a much greater diversity:

family and number of manuscripts in it	number of manuscripts reading only ברם	number of manuscripts reading ברם אם
Babylonian – 5 mss	2 mss	3 mss
Yemenite – 12 mss	4 mss	8 mss
Italian – 8 mss	2 mss	6 mss
Sefardic – 8 mss	2 mss	6 mss
Ashkenazic – 6 mss	0 mss	6 mss
Solger and RB – 4 mss	2 mss	2 mss

Sperber's edition gives the impression that the Yemenite family was divided with regard to this variant reading. The seven manuscripts used show that a minority of the Yemenite family dropped the second particle. A greater collection concurs with that impression. Sperber's edition, however, also suggests that the Western manuscripts all have the double particle. This is not true, except for the Ashkenazic family. All other

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[18] For the division into families, see Chapter 4.

families show the same division as the Yemenite family: most manuscripts contain both particles, a minority have only one.

A last problem that has to be faced is the status of the liturgical texts. Do these manuscripts form a separate family, enriched with liturgical phrases and homiletical expansions? Or are they just part of the existing families?

1.3 The Problem of the Sigla Systems

A critical edition based on several manuscripts must make use of a clear and not too complicated sigla system. Using only thirteen manuscripts and early editions, Sperber chose the lower-case letters of the Latin alphabet for the volume on the Former Prophets in *The Bible in Aramaic*. Later publications on the Former Prophets preferred upper-case letters, either as their basic system[19] or as addition to Sperber's sigla[20], Hebrew letters,[21] or a combination of letters, indicating vocalisation and content of the manuscripts, followed by an arbitrary number[22].

The problem with arbitrary letters is that the editor cannot use more than twenty-six manuscripts, or fifty-two if lower-case and upper-case letters are both used, and that they give the user of the edition no information whatsoever. The sigla system of the Babylonian manuscripts[23] gives information on the vocalisation system—K for 'kompliziert' and E for 'einfach'—and the content of the manuscripts—a for Onqelos, b for Prophets, c for Writings—, but it is not applicable to other text traditions within Targumic studies. For example, there is no clear distinction between a simple and a more elaborated vocalisation within the Sephardic tradition. And what to do with the unvocalised manuscripts? The letters referring to the content of a manuscript are not always useful either. Several manuscripts contain all three parts of the Bible. Must these manuscripts have three different sigla? And what should one do with *haftarot* and manuscripts combining Onqelos, *haftarot* and Megillot? It is therefore time to devise a sigla system that can be used for all Targumic traditions and manuscripts.

1.4 The Problems of the Editor's Aim

According to B.K. Waltke, there are at least five approaches in contemporary textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.[24] All have their advantages and disadvantages, but these are highly dependent on the aim of the editor. Targum editing can learn from these approaches, not in the least by phrasing an ultimate aim. Waltke formulates the five approaches as follows:

1. Restoring the original composition, i.e. recovering 'as much as possible the *ipsissima verba* of the inspired person'. This is out of the question for Targumic studies, since translation is involved.

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[19] Smelik, *The Targum of Judges*, 662.
[20] E. van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel* (SAIS, 1; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 53-58.
[21] R. Kasher, תרגום לנביאים תוספתות (SSJC, 2; Jerusalem 1996), 303-306.
[22] E. Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatan de los Profetas Primeros en tradición babilónica*, Vol. 2 : I-II Samuel (TECC, 38; Madrid 1987), 34, n. 7.
[23] So P. Kahle, 'Die hebräischen Bibelhandschriften aus Babylonien', *ZAW* 46 (1928), 113-137.
[24] B.K. Waltke, 'Aims of Textual Criticism', *WThJ* 51 (1989), 93-108.

2. Restoring the final text, i.e. 'the end product of the genetic processes and, at the same time, the starting point of the processes of written transmission.'[25] This has the advantage of an almost objective text from which 'many or possibly most intentions of later contributors' have been removed. It has the disadvantage of a reconstructed, non-extant text.[26] One can also take a single manuscript as a basic text, if there is a text very close to what would be the final text; a so-called diplomatic edition.

3. Restoring the earliest attested text by limiting the editorial 'work to textual options actually extant in ancient texts and versions'. It has the advantage of using only extant texts, but the disadvantage of using much later texts. Especially in the case of the Targum, many manuscripts originate after 1100. Earlier manuscripts are fragmentary and cannot be used as the basic text for the entire edition.

4. Restoring accepted texts, i.e. isolating 'a number of textual layers and/or traditions belonging to varying communities of faith'. This would mean for the Targum of Samuel that an edition could be made of each textual tradition, *e.g.* a Babylonian[27] or a Sephardic edition. This has the advantage that scribes can 'be seen as helpful publishers, making the text accessible, intelligible, and sometimes even freshly relevant to their immediate audiences.' However, it also lowers the ideal of recovering the original text.

5. Reconstructing final texts, i.e. recognising 'original literary variants' in contrast to 'secondary transmissional variants'. This presupposes that there never was a single final text, but that the text always had existed in more than one edition. This might be true for some Biblical Books, but it is not necessarily the case with Targum Jonathan. Research on the problem of the origin of Targum Samuel, including the origin of the tosefta-targumim and the deviating quotations in Jewish literature, must show whether there was more than one edition of Targum Samuel. If so, a possible approach would be to edit a 'literal' and a 'rich' text.

Since option 1 is not relevant to Targumic studies, a choice must be made between the other four. A search for the original, final text seems natural, since a search for the most recent extant text will only end in editing fragments. This rules out option 3. Neglecting all the extra material of Western scribes, who wanted to make the text as intelligible and relevant as possible, would be a waste. This material can be made fruitful by studying it in relation to the growth of the various Jewish communities and the possible external influences, both in the Islamic and in the Christian world. It is also important to establish the origin of all the extra material: has there ever been a rich text of Targum Samuel? For the time being, it is deemed best both to reconstruct the original text and to give such a broad critical apparatus that the reader can see the history of the text within the Jewish communities.[28] This also enables the editor to include quotations and citations, in order to show how the texts were remembered in

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[25] See F.E. Deist, *Toward the Text of the Old Testament* (Pretoria, 1978), 24.

[26] However, a construct should first of all be regarded as an instrument for studying the evidence. And secondly, one can treat an eclectic text as the most recent manuscript. Cf. H.P.S. Bakker, *Towards a Critical Edition of the Old Slavic New Testament: A Transparent and Heuristic Approach*, Amsterdam (diss.) 1996, 9.

[27] As is done by Martínez Borobio.

[28] In comparison to the HUB project, described in J.A. Sanders, '*The Hebrew University Bible* and *Biblica Hebraica Quinta*', *SBL* 118 (1999), 518-26, esp. 521.

these communities. Further investigation will give more definite answers to these editorial questions.

1.5 Conclusions

Before attempting to create a new critical edition of Targum Samuel, one must learn from the past and explore the needs of the present. What we learn from the past is that the process of selecting manuscripts is one of the basic tasks of editing: what families are there, by how many manuscripts must a family be represented, and what is the status of liturgical texts. What we learn from the present is that scholarly needs can best be satisfied with a combination of reconstructing the original text and representing such a broad variety of manuscripts in the critical apparatus that the user can distinguish the spread of variant readings and expansions within the various communities that used the Targum. A thorough investigation into the origins of Targum Samuel, including all the extra material of tosefta-targumim and quotations, must give a definite answer to these editorial questions.

Chapter 2

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Towards a New Sigla System

This research is based on 63 manuscripts, some of which are complete, others are fragmentary. We chose to use all complete and nearly-complete manuscripts of all possible families. In order to be able to reconstruct the Babylonian tradition, as many Babylonian manuscripts were used. Similarly, all possible Cairo Genizah fragments were used to enable us to reconstruct this tradition. Four Yemenite haftarot collections were randomly chosen with the view of reaching well-founded conclusions about liturgical texts. It soon became clear that a new sigla system was needed. This chapter deals with deliberations on this problem and suggests a new, elaborated sigla system.

2.1 Considerations beforehand

The first decision that was made, was that the sigla system must be designed for the critical apparatus of an edition. A database system of sigla requires much information about the manuscripts, such as contents, date, library or city and kind of handwriting. This will result in a complicated and long siglum, not useful for a critical apparatus. Moreover, this system will be subject to changes, because manuscript collections can move from place to place and manuscripts can be re-dated following new insights.

It is therefore better to develop a sigla system specifically for a critical apparatus. This must be as short as possible and only give information about the text. Such a sigla system must meet the following desiderata:

- A siglum must be short to avoid a protracted apparatus.
- A siglum must be permanent, *i.e.* not containing information that is subject to change, to avoid continual re-assigning of sigla.
- A sigla system must be unbounded, so that any number of new manuscripts of fragments can be accommodated. Since more than 1500 manuscripts and fragments containing parts of a Targumic text are now known, the alphabet will not suffice. Numbers must be used.
- A sigla system must be applicable to all Targumic traditions, including *haftarot*, *mahzorim*, etc.
- A siglum must be easy to type and to read. Therefore, it is advisable to keep to the ascii-typeset which is available on any computer keyboard and to avoid symbols and complications such as superscript.
- By preference a siglum should be informative, so that one glance can give the user of an edition some insight without having to check the list of sigla.

It therefore omits information on (1) the city and library where the manuscript is preserved, since this is not important for the text itself and it is also subject to change; (2) contents, since this is too complicated and not important for the apparatus: within the books of Samuel all the manuscripts that were used, contain Samuel or parts of it as a matter of course; (3) vocalisation or spelling, since this does not provide information about the textual tradition itself; (4) earlier sigla or class marks, since this

is totally impossible within a univocal system; (5) age, since this is nearly impossible for manuscripts lacking a colophon and will therefore be subject to change; (6) the kind of manuscript at hand, since liturgical texts do not present a different text from non-liturgical texts;[29] (7) completeness of a manuscript, since hardly any manuscript is complete; besides, the beginning and the end of a fragment must be indicated elsewhere in a critical edition; (8) the place where a manuscript was found, *e.g.* the Cairo Genizah, since this does not give information about the text, only about the history of the manuscript;[30] (9) the hand in which a certain variant reading is written, since it is almost impossible to definitely distinguish between writers, punctuators and correctors.

2.2 The Sigla System

A sigla system designed for a critical apparatus must apply information on four items:

(1) a reference to the actual manuscript itself;
(2) the tradition in which the manuscript is written, so as to group the variant readings within the families;
(3) an indication whether the variant stems from the main text or can be found between the lines or in the margins of manuscripts;
(4) any references to other manuscripts and books which contain quotations from or allusions to the text.

Ad 1. Every manuscript must have its unique code. The best way to establish this, is to number all the manuscripts. Because the main continuous manuscripts will be used more than the non-continuous and the fragments, it makes sense to start the numbering with them. This will mean that the lower numbers will be used more and the higher numbers will not expand the apparatus too much. It seems practical to stick to the following order: complete manuscripts, continuous manuscripts containing Onqelos, then those containing Jonathan, then those containing the Writings, followed by the non-continuous manuscripts and finally the fragments. This numbering can be carried out at any time, without stemmatological research.

The original purpose of manuscripts will determine whether volumes belong together or not. For example, the volumes of Codex Solger were meant as one complete Bible. So Codex Solger will only receive one siglum. Even a fragmented manuscript, such as Eb 4, must bear one number.[31] By contrast, the texts which Sperber used as the basis for his *The Bible in Aramaic*—mss 2210 and 2211—will receive two sigla, because they were never a unity.

Ad 2. The tradition in which a manuscript is written cannot be deduced from the handwriting, but must be determined by stemmatology. The process of stemmatology

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[29] See below, section 4.3.1. Moreover, it is hard to decide between liturgical and non-liturgical texts. Onqelos is always used in the liturgy, but is every manuscript containing Onqelos therefore a liturgical text? The division between continuous and non-continuous is likewise hard to make, because there are manuscripts containing a continuous Onqelos with non-continuous *haftarot* and because there are many fragments about which it is unclear whether they are from a continuous text or from a *haftarot* collection.

[30] Due to stemmatological problems, this rule is overridden. See below, section 4.2.7.

[31] Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatan de los Profetas Primeros en tradición babilónica*, Vol. 2 : I-II Samuel, 19-20.

reduces the tradition to the text, which is the most important item in a critical edition, and leaves out all palaeographic and codicological information. This means that a possible Sephardic text in an Ashkenazic handwriting is classified as Sephardic.[32] We suggest a system of letters to indicate the tradition: O for Oriental—which can be subdivided into B for Babylonian[33] and Y for Yemenite—, S for Sephardic and A for Ashkenazic. The latter case actually stands for all the Western, non-Sephardic texts, since one cannot speak of one univocal Ashkenazic tradition (or: there is no univocal Ashkenazic tradition). We chose at first not to subdivide A, because that would lead to a variety of very small divisions, which is no longer informative. The stemma, however, shows a separate Italian tradition (see below, section 4.2.3). The letter U can be used for genuinely unidentifiable manuscripts and fragments.[34] A disadvantage of this system is that the complete sigla cannot be assigned until stemmatological research has been carried out into the place of every manuscript within the stemma.

This letter is placed before the unique number of the manuscript. An advantage of the categorisation according to text tradition is that the tradition can be indicated with one simple letter if all the textual witnesses of that tradition concur. If all the Sephardic manuscripts give the same variant reading, the letter S in the apparatus is sufficient to indicate that.[35] Even if not all the manuscripts of a tradition concur, a short notation can reduce the critical apparatus: S13, S24 and S56 can be notated as S13,24,56.[36]

In the rare case that a manuscript combines two traditions, the number will stay the same, but the letter will change with the tradition. The hypothetical manuscript 74 can be S74 for the Former, but A74 for the Latter Prophets. The number 74 indicates that it refers to one and the same manuscript.

Ad 3. Variant readings, marginalia and corrections must be indicated separately. The choice of a sigla system uniquely designed for a critical apparatus implies that the placing of the variant—between the lines or in one of the margins—is not important. Since a critical apparatus does not contain obvious errors, straight corrections of the text will be considered the main text. This means that there is no need to indicate the difference between a correction and an alternative reading. Only alternative readings will be given. Since the 'a' of 'alternative' is also used for the Ashkenazic tradition, and since the 'm' suggests information about the placing in the margin and the 'v' of 'variant' can be confusing, because all readings in the critical apparatus are variants, it is best to choose the neutral 'n' of 'notation'. Traditionally, this kind of information is given in superscript or subscript, but this will complicate the typing. Therefore an alternative reading in the margin of a Yemenite manuscript will be indicated with Y727n, while the original text will be indicated by Y727o.

Toseftot in the margin must also be regarded as notations and are classified as 'n'. Toseftot in the main text must be considered a plus in the main text. The introductory formulae of variant readings or toseftot must be included within the variant itself. It is

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[32] See below, section 5.1.3: I232 is an Italian text, written in Sephardic handwriting.

[33] If Babylonian texts are stemmatologically not distinct from Yemenite texts, then they must be either classified as Oriental or the editor must give a set of criteria on which he/she based his/her distinction.

[34] This means that a manuscript does not fit within the stemma, whether the handwriting is identified or not. If a stemma gives a group of unidentifiable manuscripts as one branch of the stemma, the editor must choose a letter to indicate this group. The letter U must be used on as few occasions as possible.

[35] Sperber had to use extra letters to indicate traditions as a whole: J for Yemenite and T for Tiberian vocalisation; cf. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, Vol. 2, vi.

[36] This is not desirable in an internet publication, because the ability to search for a specific siglum is lost in the short notation.

not necessary to include these formulae in the siglum, as Sperber did for *Codex Reuchlinianus*.[37]

Ad 4. Targumic quotes can technically be divided into two types: (a) quotations with an introductory formula; and (b) embedded quotes, i.e. quotations embedded in a midrashic unit without introductory formula. As is suggested for the toseftot, the introductory formulae must be included within the quotation. There is no need to develop a complicated system of indicating introductions.

Within these two types, the Aramaic portions can be proper quotations or quotes of a dubious nature, *e.g.* allusions, combinations of two or more Biblical verses, alternative renderings of lexical or exegetical interest, or lexical variants to known Targums. It is sometimes hard to distinguish between the proper quotations and the on-the-spot spontaneous Aramaic renderings of the Hebrew verses.[38] A critical edition is basically interested in the real quotations, with or without introduction. An electronic edition, however, can find ways to edit every quotation, indicating the status of the quote.

A special apparatus must be developed which deals with quotations. The references to these quotes can best begin with the Q, followed by the abbreviation of the book from which the quote was taken, *e.g.* QBerR85:14, which is a quotation from TgJosh 7:21 in *Bereshit Rabba* 85:14. It seems useless to make a further distinction between text types, *e.g.* Palestinian, Babylonian and dialectically unmarked texts, or between *ad locum* and *non ad locum* quotations.

2.3 Practical Recommendations

The database of Targum manuscripts developed in Kampen Theological University, now part of the Protestant Theological University (PThU), contains about 1560 items. A siglum number has been allocated to each item on the basis of the following general list. Numbers have been left vacant between the various categories.

1-9 Complete Bibles: Pentateuch with Onqelos, Prophets with Jonathan, Writings with Targum Writings[39]
1 ms Solger Ms. 1-7 2to, Nuremberg (dated 1291)
2 ms Urbinas Ebreo 1, Vatican City State (dated 1294)
3 ms Barberini Or. 161-164, Vatican City State (dated 1297)
4 ms Or. fol. 1210-1211, Berlin (dated 1343)
5 ms Or. fol. 1-4, Berlin (14th Century)
6 ms Hébreu 17-18, Paris (14th-15th Century)
7 ms B.H. I-VII, Genova (dated 1438)

10-19 Editions with Onqelos and Jonathan (and Targum Writings)
    10 Rabbinic Bible I (Venice 1517)
    11 Rabbinic Bible II (Venice 1525)

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[37] Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, Vol. 2, ix.
[38] See M. Goshen-Gottstein, *Fragments of Lost Targumim*, Vol. 1, (Sources and Studies, 1), Bar-Ilan 1983, xvii.
[39] Only in the Italian and Ashkenazic tradition, cf. D.J.D. Kroeze, E. van Staalduine-Sulman, 'A Giant Among Bibles: "Erfurt 1" or Cod. Or. Fol. 1210-1211 at the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*,' *AS* 4 (2006), 197-209.

12 Antwerp Polyglot (1569)
13 London Polyglot (1654-1657)
14 Complutensian Polyglot (1516-1517)
15 Rabbinic Bible VI (Basel 1618-1619)
16 Paris Polyglot (1629-1645)

20-689 Manuscripts starting with Onqelos

20-47 Pentateuch with Onqelos, Prophets, Writings
48-159 Pentateuch with Onqelos, Haftarot, Megillot
160-211 Pentateuch with Onqelos, Haftarot; Pentateuch with Onqelos, Megillot
       172 Edition Tag (Tel Aviv 1894-1901)
212-244 Targum Onqelos, with or without other Targum
       232 ms hébreu 75, Paris (14th-15th Century)
245-485 Pentateuch with Onqelos

690-699 Palestinian Targums

690 ms hébreu 110/1, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
691 ms Neofiti 1, Biblioteca Vaticana, Rome
692 ms Add. 27031 (TpsJ), British Museum, London

700-799 Manuscripts starting with Jonathan

700-704 Prophets with Jonathan; Writings with Targum, and Jonathan only with Targum Writings
700 ms parm. 3187, 3188, 3189, Parma (13th-14th Century)
701 ms Or. 72, Rome (dated 1323)
702 ms H. 116, London (dated 1487)
703 ms M1-M3, Salamanca (dated 1532)
704 ms 7542, Madrid (dated 1533)
705-736 Prophets with Jonathan; and Jonathan only
      705 ms Reuchlinianus No. 3, Karlsruhe (dated 1105/6)
      706 ms Opp. Add. 4to, 75, 76, Oxford (dated 1300)
707 ms L 229 + L 505/2, New York + fragments (12th-13th Century)
      709 ms L230, New York (15th Century)
      710 ms Or. 1472, London (dated 1512/3)
      711 ms Or. 2210, London (dated 1468)
      713 ms El. f.6, Jena (13th-14th Century)
      716 ms Or. 2371, London (dated 1642?)
      717 ms 'Kennicott 5', Oxford (dated 1487?)
      718 ms Laud Or. 326, Oxford (12th Century)
      720 ms Add. 26,879, London (13th Century)
      721 ms 63/2, Kapach Collection (16th-17th Century)
      722 ms 13, Yemenite Immigrants Collection (16th-17th Century)
      724 ms 2, Kapach Collection (dated 1431)
      725 ms 11, Göttweig (14th Century)
      727 ms Or. 1471, London (dated 1589)
      729 ms 888/3, Jerusalem (19th Century)
      734 Edition Prophets (Leiria 1494)

800-812 Writings with Targum

813-1099 *Megillot* **with Targum**

1100-1599 *Haftarot* (including *haftarot* fragments)
       1126 ms B 133, St. Petersburg (14th Century)
       1169 ms C 91, St. Petersburg (18th Century)
       1200 ms Or. 5556 F/12, London
       1262 ms Heb. d. 64, fols. 19-24, Oxford
       1269 ms Cod Add. 3452, Cambridge (18th Century)
       1270 ms Heb. 38vo 6919, Jerusalem (18th-19th Century)
       1272 ms fol. 18, Jerusalem (18th Century)

1600-1999 Liturgy: *Mahzor*, *Siddur*, *Tiklal*

2000- Fragments
2000-2338 Fragments of Pentateuch with Onqelos and of Onqelos only
       2190 ms Add. 9403/1, London (14th-15th Century script)
2450-2474 Fragments of the Palestinian Targum
2500-2659 Fragments of the Prophets with Jonathan and of Jonathan only
       2520 ms 4084/1, Strasbourg (13th-14th Century)
       2565 ms C123, St. Petersburg (14th-15th Century)
       2649 ms Opp. Add. fol. 55, Oxford (13th Century)
2800-2831 Fragments of Writings with Targum Writings or Targum Writings only.
2950-2964 Currently unidentified Targum texts and Lost manuscripts
3000- Cambridge Genizah fragments (not belonging to other categories)
       3000 ms T-S B 6.11
       3001 ms T-S B 12.6
       3002 ms T-S B 15.3
       3003 ms T-S B 15.5
       3004 ms T-S B 16.20
       3005 ms T-S B 17.9
       3006 ms T-S NS 32.98
       3007 ms T-S NS 60.20
       3008 ms T-S NS 164.77
       3009 ms T-S NS 216.16
       3010 ms T-S AS 41.2
       3011 ms T-S AS 69.224
       3012 ms T-S K 26.2
       3013 ms T-S NS 128.14
       3014 ms T-S AS 69.200
       3015 ms T-S NS 167.36

Chapter 3

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Stemmatological Research in Progress

3.1 Introduction[40]

Stemmatology is the discipline that attempts to reconstruct the transmission of a text, especially a text in manuscript form, on the basis of the relations between the surviving manuscripts. Until recently, stemmatological methods were not applied to Targum Studies, but now that they are, the question arises of what adaptation the methods must undergo before they can accommodate all the peculiarities of the Targums.[41]

This chapter joins this discussion by describing research into the role of vocalisation within stemmatology. It was triggered by Smelik's remark about vocalisation that 'the use of variant vocalization is fraught with difficulties. The systems of vocalization differ, the scribe did not always vocalise the text himself, or, as seems likely in case of Alfonso de Zamora, he invented the vocalization himself.'[42] During earlier collations of Targum texts, the impression arose that local vocalisation habits existed, even within one vocalisation system. Therefore, research was started to solve the problems of comparison, the separate vocalisator and the vocalisation invented during a new process of collating.

3.2 Collation of Texts

Before adding the uncertain data of vocalisation to stemmatological research, one must establish a method to produce a 'safe' stemma of the manuscripts on the basis of the consonantal text. This stemma can serve to check the outcome of stemmas including vocalisation.

A feasible start to the stemmatological research is to begin with the continuous text tradition in order to have enough material to create reliability. Fragments and *haftarot* can be used in a later stage to fill in the stemma.[43] For this part of the collation, all the available continuous manuscripts with legible vocalisation on

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[40] This chapter is a revised version of the first part of E. van Staalduine-Sulman, 'Vowels in the Tree: The Role of Vocalisation in Stemmatology', *AS* 3 (2005), 215-40.

[41] See *e.g.* W.F. Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees! Variant selection and tree construction illustrated by the texts of Targum Judges,' in: P. van Reenen *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology II* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 167-204, also published in *Aramaic Studies* 1.2 (2003), 247-287; A. Houtman, 'Different kinds of tradition in Targum Jonathan to Isaiah,' in: *Idem*, 269-283.

[42] Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees!' 172.

[43] It is not necessary to exclude the liturgical haftarot from a stemma, because a stemma only establishes interrelationships and does not say anything about the oldest text. H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt hergestellt auf Grund ihrer Textgeschichte*, Berlin 1902-Göttingen 1913, excluded the lectionaries with New Testament texts. If these texts were to be regarded as variants in order to establish the most probable text, their number would have forced Von Soden to edit a late-Byzantine, liturgical text of the New Testament, according to T. van Lopik, 'Tekstkritiek: telt het wegen of weegt het tellen?' *NedThT* 45 (1991), 101-106.

microfilm and early editions have been used. One Babylonian fragment was also included to provide a point of comparison with a markedly different tradition.

Because of the abundance of the material,[44] one must look for a way to create a reliable stemma without having to scrutinise all the textual material first. A possible way to do this is a sample survey.[45] For this project I have composed a sample of five theologically 'neutral' verses from each cluster of five chapters of the Books of Samuel. It is advisable to spread the sample across the entire text, because of the possibility of successive contamination, i.e. the observation that some manuscripts have more than one *Vorlage*, even within one Biblical book.[46] The sample of Targum Samuel also includes a representative selection of haftarah readings (indicated by *h*).

1 Samuel	2 Samuel
1:17-21 *h*	3:17-21
8:11-15	6:10-14 *h*
12:16-20 *h*	10:9-13
16:7-11	15:21-25
20:7-11 *h*	19:21-25
23:14-18	22:21-25 *h*
30:6-10	

No citations were included, because research into the reliability of these citations and their textual tradition has not been fully done. Furthermore, 'since these texts were copied in later centuries by copyists who normally knew their Bible text well, the citations were "corrected" to conform to contemporary text forms, and as a result the citations do not represent the actual text used (...) at all.'[47]

The program *Collate* was used for the actual collation.[48] The outcome was an unselected list of variant readings.

3.3 Selecting Variants for Stemmatology

In order to establish relationships between manuscripts, one must have at least two variant readings, both witnessed in at least two manuscripts.[49] The variant readings must be selected: only readings revealing a stemmatological relation can be used. Other variants, *e.g.* those revealing the scribe's carelessness, must be excluded.

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[44] I.e. Bible verses. The number of 25 complete manuscripts is small compared to New Testament studies with *e.g.* 1785 manuscripts containing the Gospel of John, cf. K. Wachtel, 'Kinds of variants in the manuscript tradition of the Greek New Testament,' in: P. van Reenen *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology II* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 87-98, esp. 96.

[45] A. Houtman, 'Textual Tradition of Targum Jonathan of Isaiah', in: J. Targarona Borrás, A. Sáenz-Badillos, *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 1, Leiden 1999, 145-153.

[46] This can be established by the so-called shock wave method, cf. E. Wattel and M.J.P. van Mulken, 'Shock Waves in Text Traditions', in: P. van Reenen and M.J.P. van Mulken (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1996), 105-121.

[47] J.W. Wevers, 'Die Methode,' in: *Das Göttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1977), 14.

[48] P.M.W. Robinson, *Collate: Collation of Large Textual Traditions*, Version 2 (Oxford: University Centre for Humanities Computing, 1994).

[49] B. Salemans, 'Varianten als bouwstenen van stemma's: een pleidooi voor eenvoud en openheid bij het opstellen van tekststambomen,' in: G.R.W. Dibbets and P.W.M. Wackers (eds.), *Wat Duikers vent is dit! Opstellen voor W.M.H. van Hummelen* (Wijhe: Quarto, 1989), 319-343, esp. 331.

Variants must be taken in portions that are as small as possible. The text may contain several variant readings in each biblical verse. A plus can be treated as one variant reading, regardless of the number of words it contains.

Singular readings are not significant for genealogical relationships.[50] They can, however, be used in giving manuscripts their definite place within the stemma. A manuscript containing many singular readings is not likely to be the direct *Vorlage* of another one.[51] And, having only 25 complete manuscripts of Targum Samuel, we cannot entirely exclude these singular readings for establishing the original reading.[52] They have a justified place within the critical apparatus of an edition.

The hotly debated issue among stemmatologists is whether one must use all the variants or only a selection of variants. And if only a selection is to be used, what are the selection criteria? The risk in selecting variants is that this may lead to a wrong or manipulated outcome.[53] The risk in not selecting, however, is even greater: a *Variantenfriedhof*.[54] Many variants do not reveal relationships, because copyists are inclined to correct texts according to their own view of text and language, or according to the original Hebrew text in the case of the Targum. Every kind of text and every language must create its own lists of non-revealing types of variants, because what a scribe allows himself to correct, depends on the kind of text, and what a scribe is able to correct, depends on the language. For example, the use of capitals in medieval Dutch is non-revealing, but no issue at all in Aramaic (language); the introduction of speakers is non-revealing in mediaeval Dutch, but is added very consistently in the Targum (kind of text: sacred) and may therefore be revealing.[55] Recent research tends to select very strictly:[56]

- Scribal conventions, such as orthography and word boundaries, seem to be unreliable for stemmatology.[57] 'Any scribe could adapt these things to his usage, without affecting the quality of the copy.'[58]

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[50] E.J. Epp, 'Toward the Clarification of the Term "Textual Variant",' in: J.K. Elliot (ed.), *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Leiden, 1976), 153-173, esp. 161. Yet some singular readings can be useful as opposed to a single group of readings, cf. E. Wattel, M.J.P. van Mulken, 'Weighted Formal Support of a Pedigree', in: P. van Reenen and M. van Mulken (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1996), pp.135-167, esp. 155.

[51] See below, section 5.2.2.

[52] It is completely different within New Testament Studies, since the chance that a singular reading among hundreds of manuscripts represents the original reading, is very small, cf. E.C. Colwell and E.W. Tune, 'Method in Classifying and Evaluating Variant Readings,' in: E.C. Colwell (ed.), *Studies in Methodology in Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1969), 96-105, esp. 103.

[53] A.A. den Hollander, *De Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen 1522-1545* (Nieuwkoop: diss., 1997), 135.

[54] H.P.S. Bakker, *Towards a Critical Edition of the Old Slavic New Testament: A Transparent and Heuristic Approach* (Amsterdam: diss., 1996), 9. Cf. E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 301: 'Textual Criticism does not proceed according to democratic rules'.

[55] Cf. Salemans, 'Varianten als bouwstenen', 336.

[56] I follow the categories in Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees!' 182-183.

[57] This is said of Dutch by Salemans, 'Varianten als bouwstenen', 336; of Targum Aramaic by Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees! 185; Houtman, 'Different kinds of tradition', 272. Epp, 'Toward the Clarification', 169 states that the orthography of names is revealing in New Testament Greek. This is not likely in Aramaic. Salemans 338 considers orthography of names non-revealing in Dutch.

[58] G. Mink, 'Problems of a highly contaminated tradition: the New Testament. Stemmata of variants as a source of a genealogy for witnesses,' in: P. van Reenen *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology II* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 13-85, esp. 28.

- The use of variant vocalisation is fraught with difficulties.[59] Therefore, an examination must be made into whether vocalisation is a reliable source for genealogical insight and which aspects are the most reliable.
- Errors and dislocated readings do not reveal genealogical relationships,[60] because scribal errors are often typical and susceptible to correction.[61] Smelik concludes that 'this category seems to yield the most unreliable results of all'.[62]
- Grammatical properties, such as number, gender and state, seem to achieve more stable results, but still suffer from noise.[63]
- Prepositions, copula and relativa do not seem to be entirely reliable.[64]
- Substitutions, pluses, minuses and semantic shifts yield the most convincing results.[65] Naturally, substitutions reflecting a variant in the Hebrew text, haplography and dittography should not be taken into account.
- Word order is considered revealing, unless it is against grammatical rules.[66] Changes in word order do not often occur in the Targumim.
- Paratextual evidence such as tosefta-targums must not be included in the procedure of stemmatology. They are useful 'as additional evidence in the reconstruction of the textual history'.[67]

Throughout the process of selecting variants and producing a stemma, incidental contamination is the most powerful disturbance. One category of contamination consists of independently occurring, but identical, errors.[68] Another category is built by identical corrections and errors which occur independently. 'A scribe who knew his Hebrew text would be quite unconsciously influenced by that knowledge into making changes sporadically in the copy.'[69]

3.4 The Three-Level Method

All the selected variants must now be examined with regard to their interrelationships. This is done by the *Three-Level Method*, developed by Antonij Dees for the construction of a tree.[70] A. Houtman described the method as follows:[71]

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[59] Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees!' 172.

[60] Salemans, 'Varianten als bouwstenen' 324; cf. Epp, 'Toward the Clarification,' 160, who speaks of 'clear and demonstrable scribal errors'; cf. also 168.

[61] Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees!' 172.

[62] Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees!' 185.

[63] Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees!' 185-187. Cf. Houtman, 'Different kinds of tradition,' 272.

[64] Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees!' 189. Cf. Houtman, 'Different kinds of tradition,' 272.

[65] Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees!' 189. Cf. Houtman, 'Different kinds of tradition,' 272; Salemans, 'Varianten als bouwstenen,' 338.

[66] Salemans, 'Varianten als bouwstenen,' 338.

[67] Houtman, 'Different kinds of tradition,' 275.

[68] Cf. Zamora's minuses and pluses in Smelik, 'Trouble in the trees!' 178. See also 191-193.

[69] J.W. Wevers, 'Die Methode', in: *Das Göttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmen* (Gottingen, 1977), 17.

[70] A. Dees, 'Sur une constellation de quatre manuscrits,' in: A. Dees *et al.* (eds.), *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à Lein Geschiere par ses amis, collèges et élèves* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1975), 1-9; 'Considérations théoriques sur la tradition manuscrite du lai de l'Ombre,' *Neophilologus* 60 (1976), 481-504; 'Over stambomen en handschriften,' *Forum der Letteren* 18 (1977), 63-78. Some *pros* and *cons* are reflected upon in K.-H. Uthemann, 'Which Variants are Useful in Discovering the Deep Structure of the Manuscript Tradition of a Text? Contra a so-called Essentially

According to this method, in the first step the witnesses are clustered into subfamilies on purely quantitative grounds. In the second step, witnesses that might have been intermediary in the process of transmission are identified. These two steps produce the chain of relationships that underlies the genealogical tree. At this stage, the nature of the relationships between the different members is settled, but not as yet their direction. This must be determined at the third step, where the point of suspension, i.e. the root of the tree, is established on the basis of qualitative arguments. This last step is the most difficult one, and all possible means must be employed to arrive at a well-founded decision, such as: assessment of the origins of the variants, palaeographical and codicological data, and historical information.

3.4.1 The First Level

All the relevant variants are clustered and provided with a valuation. The selection of variants described induces a valuation system, in which substitutions, semantic shifts, pluses and minuses—if not due to clear scribal errors—are valued most. Grammatical and syntactical changes can be used, but will be given a relatively low value Other variants, such as orthography, prepositions or copulae, must either be omitted or be given a very low value.[72] Paratextual evidence, such as tosefta-targums, illustrations and masoretic notes, cannot be used either. The following valuation was used for the consonantal variants:

Valuation *Criteria 1-6 include the consonantal text*	*counts for*
1 = strong semantic difference	3.5
2 = strong omission or addition	2.2
3 = weak semantic difference	1.5
4 = weak omission or addition	1.2
5 = syntactic difference	-
6 = other differences, *e.g* orthography	-[73]

The selected variants are used in four different methods, in order to establish relationships between the manuscripts. The outcome consists of four trees, each representing the network of relations between the witnesses. This procedure was developed by Dr. Evert Wattel (Free University, Amsterdam) and is based on the similarities or dissimilarities of the manuscripts, working with single manuscripts or pairs.

Furthermore, the four rough versions provide a degree of relatedness: for example, while the relations between the Yemenite manuscripts have values between 15 and 27 (and therefore rather close), the relations between the Yemenite family on the one hand and the Western family on the other hand have values of more than 99

Quantitative Approach,' in: P. van Reenen and M. van Mulken (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1996), 249-261, esp. 250-253.

[71] Houtman, 'Different kinds of tradition,' 272-273.

[72] Houtman, 'Different kinds of tradition,' 272 describes her valuation system as: orthography 0.5, minor syntactical changes 1, substitutions, additions and omissions 2. An extensive discussion of weighting systems is given in M. Spencer *et al.*, 'The effects of weighting kinds of variants,' in: P. van Reenen *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology II* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 227-239 with its final conclusion: 'Determining appropriate weightings in these cases is an open problem' (238).

[73] These categories were actually counted as 0.001, to avoid relationship-less manuscripts.

(and therefore very loose). In most cases a compilation must be made on the basis of the entire outcome.

3.4.2 The Second Level

In the second level intermediate manuscripts must be discerned. When two manuscripts are close together in the stemma, one can accept the hypothesis that one is the direct *Vorlage* of the other. Historical data, examination of the variant readings and the number of singular readings can provide a degree of probability. If all the variants of the second manuscript can be explained as logical errors or changes of a copyist using the first manuscript, the probability becomes an almost certainty.[74]

3.4.3 The Third Level

The last step to be made is the establishment of a historical orientation: which manuscript most likely represents the oldest version and can be taken as the origin of all the others? If we believe that the Babylonian tradition is the oldest, and that MS Eb 1 is the best representative of this tradition,[75] the orientation is not difficult. The Babylonian tradition is then the most original, from which two branches appear: the Yemenite and the Western tradition. Before agreeing with this conclusion, however, we must examine the form of the stemma and the historical orientation of the branches.[76]

3.5 Examining Contamination

After completing the orientated stemma, two examinations must be carried out with regard to contamination. A first category, incidental contamination, was discussed at the end of section 3, and is important for the selection of variants. Two other forms of contamination can only be checked after the selection has taken place.[77]

3.5.1 Simultaneous Contamination

Simultaneous contamination takes place when one scribe uses several manuscripts to compile a new text. It is safe to assume that during quiet times, this kind of contamination stays within the tradition: 'The assumption is that, if contamination occurs, it emerges from those texts which were at the disposal of the scribe, i.e. texts in his direct environment, i.e. texts which are, for the most part, closely related with each other.'[78] The result is that contamination in a dense textual tradition, such as the tenth Century New Testament manuscripts, occurs in very small steps and does not radically affect the stemma. Contamination appears to have had a much greater impact on less dense textual traditions, such as the early New Testament manuscripts, because of the many missing links.[79] In these cases a highly contaminated manuscript will float within the trees and it will be impossible to determine its actual place. In times when Jews were expelled from certain areas, simultaneous contamination across

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[74] Intermediate places can be made plausible, but cannot be proven; cf. A.A. den Hollander, *De Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen 1522-1545*, Nieuwkoop 1997, 138.

[75] So E. Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatan de los profetas primeros en tradición babilónica* (Madrid : CSIC, 1987), 9.

[76] See below, section 4.4.5.

[77] Den Hollander, *De Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen*, 138.

[78] Mink, 'Problems,' 14.

[79] Mink, 'Problems,' 22-23.

the borders of traditions could occur. Therefore, the term 'branch' of the tree must be interpreted loosely.[80]

3.5.2 Successive Contamination

Successive contamination occurs when one scribe uses two or more manuscripts successively. It can be determined by the shock-wave method, in which various stages of the manuscripts are compared with each other. If a manuscripts changed from one to another *Vorlage*, the outcome of this method will clearly show it.[81] The shock-wave method does not reveal any successive contamination within the sample of Targum Samuel.

3.6 Method of Including Vocalisation

The use of variant vocalisation is said to be fraught with difficulties. The comparison of the simple and complex systems was made by excluding the presence and place of the Shewa quiescens, Dagesh and other extra indicators (valuation 9).[82] Two difficulties remained:[83]

- The scribe may not always have vocalised the text himself: this is probably true for MSS Or. Fol. 1-4, Solger 3.2°, Reuchlin 3, Kennicott 5 [85], Jena El f.6, and Hébreu 75.[84]
- The scribe or punctuator may have used an unknown vocalisation system, or invented the vocalisation himself and was not very consistent in doing so; this is probably true for MSS Reuchlin 3, Salamanca 1 and 7542 Madrid.

The first problem was solved by making two stemmas: one based on the consonantal text only and the other based on the vocalisation. A system was invented for separating the data for the two stemmas. The vocalisation variants were therefore given a separate valuation system (7-9).

The second problem was solved by comparing pronunciation patterns (valuation 7) and not merely vocalisation (valuation 8). By studying the vocalisation systems of Codex Reuchlin and of Alfonso de Zamora one can detect whether these manuscripts really had a different pronunciation, or only different vowel signs. I

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[80] Cf. Smelik, 'Trouble in the Trees!' 196.

[81] Cf. E. Wattel and M. van Mulken, 'Shock Waves in Text Traditions,' in: P. van Reenen and M.J.P. van Mulken (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1996), 105-121; an example is given in A.A. den Hollander, 'How shock waves revealed successive contamination: A cardiogram of early sixteenth-century printed Dutch Bibles,' in: P. van Reenen *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology II* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2004), 99-112.

[82] If these signs had been been included, it would for example divide the Yemenite tradition into two categories: one not using these signs (MSS London 2210, 2371 and Qafih 2) and the other using them (MSS London 1471, 1472 and Qafih 63/2).

[83] Smelik, 'Trouble in the Trees!' 256.

[84] The name of the *naqdan* and the date of vocalisation is mentioned in the Jena manuscript: a century after the original writing. The other manuscripts show signs of a separate *naqdan*, because the vowels often correct the consonantal text. In Codex Reuchlin it is clear that the *naqdan* of the Aramaic text was different from the one of the Hebrew text, since a different set of vowel signs was used. The difference in writing the Qames is the most clear feature.

considered those as orthographical data, which is not included in the consonantal stemma either. All variants had to be evaluated at least three times:[85]

- on the consonantal text regardless of grammar and orthography (valuation 1-6)
- on the pronunciation regardless of its exact vocalisation and the presence of Shewa or Dagesh (valuation 7)
- on the exact vocalisation regardless of the presence of Shewa or Dagesh (valuation 8)

3.7 Conclusions

Comparison of the three stemmas—consonants, vocalisation and pronunciation patterns—leads to the conclusion that vocalisation can play a role in stemmatology. Pure vocalisation does not give reliable data, but pronunciation patterns do. The main families of the consonantal stemmas correspond to those of our pronunciation stemmas, except in the case of Codex Reuchlin, the position of which must be studied in greater detail.

 The vocalisation stemma shows that the Yemenite tradition is not only very coherent in its consonantal tradition, but also in its vocalisation. This must be due to a largely written tradition, since the stemma based on pure vocalisation also gives evidence of a consistent Yemenite family.

 Stemmatology of vocalisation and pronunciation was helpful in the case of the second Rabbinic Bible, which appears to have been influenced by traditions other than the first Rabbinic Bible only.[86]

 The fact—or the assumption—that a vocalisation is not from the same hand and/or does not originate in the same century as the consonantal text, has no dominant influence on the stemma. We suspect a different punctuator in MSS Or. Fol. 1-4, Solger 3.2°, Kennicott 5, Jena El f.6 and Opp. Add. 4[to] 75, but these manuscripts do not vary extensively in the pronunciation stemma. We may safely assume, then, that the first difficulty with vocalisation—that of the separate punctuator—is not well-defined. Whether there is a separate punctuator is not the problem, but whether the punctuator—whoever he was—stood in the same local tradition. This can only be established by making a pronunciation stemma.

 Therefore, we must also assume that the Western vocalisation tradition was not a written, but primarily an oral tradition. Regardless of the precise spelling, the pronunciation patterns appear to be divided along the same lines as the consonantal patterns. As long as manuscripts remained within the same school of scribes, their vocalisation could differ, but the pronunciation patterns stayed the same.

 The fact that punctuators used an unknown vocalisation system—or even invented one—appears to have no dominant influence on the stemma either. We know that Alfonso de Zamora fairly inconsistently used his own system and that Codex Reuchlin has a unique vocalisation system. The position of the Zamora manuscripts is identical in both the consonantal and the pronunciation stemmas, including their numerical valuation: the pronunciation patterns are as much related as the consonantal texts. The position of Codex Reuchlin has moved from 'intermediate' to Western.

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[85] I made a valuation system including grammar, orthography and punctuation, first in order to make the system complete and secondly to avoid complete absence of any relationship between manuscripts. For the examples and the results, see Van Staalduine-Sulman, 'Vowels in the Tree'.

[86] See below, section 4.2.6.

Both positions need further investigation. We may assume, then, that the second difficulty with vocalisation—that of the invented or inconsistent vocalisation system—is not as great as we thought. Furthermore, we conclude that the distinction between pronunciation patterns and vocalisation appears to be valid.

To put it briefly, addition of vocalisation—or rather: pronunciation patterns—to stemmatology may well be helpful to the refining of a stemma of Targumic manuscripts and in establishing whether the punctuator used a different *Vorlage*.[87] The only two problems that remain are the amount of time needed to collate manuscripts including vocalisation and the subsequent problem of comparing the findings with unvocalised manuscripts.

3.8 Recommendations

The aforementioned conclusions clearly lead to a number of recommendations on the topic of editing:

- Research into the patterns of orthography and vocalisation is needed, especially in the Western traditions.
- If the edition of Targum Samuel includes vocalisation, it is recommended to use the Yemenite or the Babylonian tradition, since these manuscripts have the most consistent vocalisation.
- There is no place for a separate critical apparatus for orthography and vocalisation in a new edition of the Targums, unless these items are fully investigated. It would only be useful where different vocalisations lead to different meanings.

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[87] The same tenor is found in W.F. Smelik, 'How to Grow a Tree: Computerised Stemmatology and Variant Selection in Targum Studies', in: Johann Cook (ed.), *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference: Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique 'From Alpha to Byte', University of Stellenbosch 17-21 July, 2000* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 495-518, esp. 512-513.

Chapter 4

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The Stemma

Comparison of the text of 1 Samuel 1-3 in all 63 manuscripts[88] led to a long list of similarities and differences. This list was sent to the section Mathematics of the Free University at Amsterdam, where Dr. Evert Wattel converted it into a stemma. This stemma will be described in this chapter, first in general, then in detail. Some problems and details of the new stemma will be discussed, such as the place of the small fragments, the place of liturgical manuscripts, and the spread of expansions. Finally, recommendations will be made in view of the critical edition.

4.1 The Stemma in General

4.1.1 Branches and Families[89]

The initial stemma shows a clear trichotomy: (1) the bare text of the Eastern, i.e. Babylonian and Yemenite, manuscripts, together with the somewhat richer text of the Italian tradition; (2) Codex Solger, the Rabbinic Bibles and the London Polyglot; and (3) the rich text tradition of the Sephardic and Ashkenazic traditions. There is a Babylonian subgroup within the Eastern branch, but it is not far removed from the Yemenite manuscripts. There are clearly discernible Sephardic and Ashkenazic subgroups within the Western branch. And although the Italian family is linked to the Eastern branch, there are many similarities with the other Western families, such as the Ashkenazic handwriting and the spread of tosefta-targumim and other expansions.

      Hardly any Cairo Genizah fragments could be given place in the stemma, because the fragments are too small. Placing these fragments would be based on one or two variant readings, often of orthographical nature. They will be dealt with separately, receiving the letter F (fragment).

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[88] See above, Chapter 2.
[89] See Stemma 1: Overview of all the traditions. This stemma is, of course, a compression of the entire stemma that Dr. Wattel sent me.

Stemma 1: Overview of all the traditions
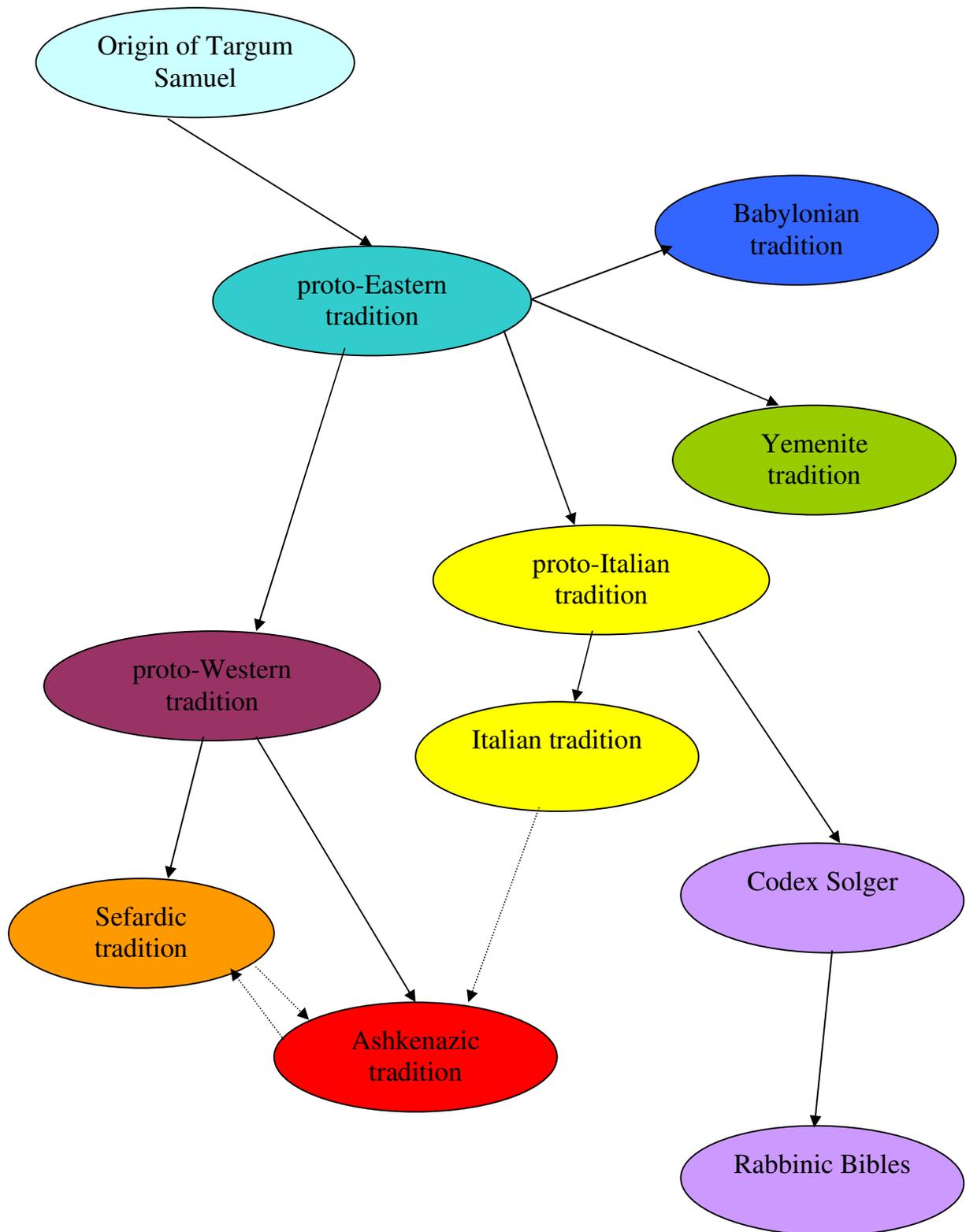
4.1.2 Historical Orientation of the Families
The branches of the stemma show three kinds of historical orientation. Some branches provide the manuscripts in historical order; others show the reverse order, whereas the Ashkenazic and Italian branches have no historical order.

Historical Order
The Babylonian family provides the manuscripts in historical order. The oldest manuscript shows the closest kinship with the other branches, especially with the Yemenite one. One may object that a relatively young manuscript could represent a relatively old text, but it is very unlikely that this reversal applies to the entire branch. The conclusion is therefore justified that the Babylonian branch has the right historical orientation: the manuscripts appearing first in the stemma represent the oldest text. There may be one exception, viz. B1126, which is rather late and yet closest to the Yemenite tradition. This also means that in general there has been little contamination with the other families, except in the case of B1126.

The Yemenite family shows the same historical order in general, but not in detail. The oldest manuscripts, Y710 and Y711, are at the beginning of the branch, closest to the Babylonian family, as expected. The other manuscripts do not show this order, but place all the manuscripts together. The branch also shows a very high internal coherence, making it difficult to maintain the metaphor of a branch with twigs and leaves. The Yemenite tradition is more like the blossom of the tree: it has different petals, which together form one flower. This means, also for the Yemenite family, that there has been little simultaneous contamination.

The historical conclusion must be that the roots of the Babylonian family and the roots of the Yemenite family lie in the beginning of the branch. Since these two branches stem from the same spot within the stemma, the conclusion is justified that there has been one proto-Eastern tradition prior to the Babylonian and the Yemenite family.

Reverse Order
The family of Codex Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles clearly shows a reverse order. The London Polyglot is closest to the other families, and Codex Solger shows the least kinship. Since we know that the historical order is reversed, this means that contamination with the other families took place during the copying. Each copy shows more affinity with the other, Western, branches. The roots of this branch lie in a proto-Solger text, although it is completely unknown what kind of text that might have been.

The Sephardic branch shows a similar reverse order, although not as clear as the Rabbinic Bibles family. The oldest manuscripts (S706 and S717), both of which were copied during the process of the *Reconquista*, show the least kinship with the other families; the Zamora manuscripts (S703 and S704) are closer, and the Antwerp and the Paris Polyglots (S12 and S16) are closest to the rest of the stemma. The picture is slightly complicated by the Leiria edition, which is relatively early (1494), but still very close to the other families. This means that the expulsion of Islam resulted in a contamination with other, mostly Ashkenazic, traditions. The roots of this branch lie in a separate proto-Sephardic text, although is it unknown from where it came.

No Order

The Italian and the Ashkenazic family show no historical order. Older and younger manuscripts are mixed in the branch. If there has been a proto-Italian or a proto-Ashkenazic tradition, it must be placed somewhere in the middle of the branch.

4.1.3 Historical Orientation of the Stemma

The order of the branches provides information on the roots of the families. The Babylonian and Yemenite families have their roots in the beginning of the branches, both being relatively untouched by simultaneous contamination. These roots lie very closely together. The Rabbinic Bibles and the Sephardic families have their roots at the end of the branches, showing much simultaneous contamination. The roots of the Italian and Ashkenizic families are not so easily detected.

This leaves us with three clear roots and two vague ones, from which the entire stemma can be orientated: the proto-Eastern, the proto-Solger and the proto-Sephardic roots are clear, whereas the proto-Italian and the proto-Ashkenazic roots are unclear. Considering these five origins as points of suspension from which one can unfold the stemma, it is historically very likely that the proto-Eastern roots are indeed the origin of the entire stemma. The fact that all Babylonian manuscripts, which also represent the oldest vocalisation system,[90] are older than the Yemenite manuscripts, favours them as the best representatives of the original Targum Samuel.

Taking into account the diversity of the other manuscripts (Italian, Sephardic, Ashkenazic, Rabbinic Bibles), we must assume that the text of Targum Samuel made its entrance into North Africa and Europe in at least four different stages. One led to the Italian tradition, a second one to the Solger Codex and the other two to the richer Sephardic and Ashkenazic traditions. Contamination led to more similarities between these Western traditions.

4.2 Description of the Families

In the following sections, each of the families will be described. Although contamination between these families must be taken into account, especially within the Eastern and Western branches, there is a sufficient number of manuscripts that are not highly contaminated to enable us to distinguish between families.[91]

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[90] See M. Martin, 'The Babylonian Tradition and Targum', in: R. de Langhe, Le Psautier: Ses origines. Ses problèmes littéraires. Son influence: Études présentées aux XIIe Journées Bibliques (29-31 août 1960), Louvain 1962, 425-51; E. Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatan de los profetas primeros en tradición Babilónica*, Vol. 2: I-II Samuel, Madrid 1987, 9.

[91] The problem is not as great as in the Septuaginta editions, cf. A. Sperber, 'How to Edit the Septuagint', in: L.W. Schwarz (ed.), *Harry Austryn Wolfson: Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Vol. 2, Jerusalem 1965, 751-73, esp. 752; J.W. Wevers, 'Die Methode', in: *Das Göttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmen*, Göttingen, 1977, 12-19.

Stemma 2: The Babylonian Tradition (B)
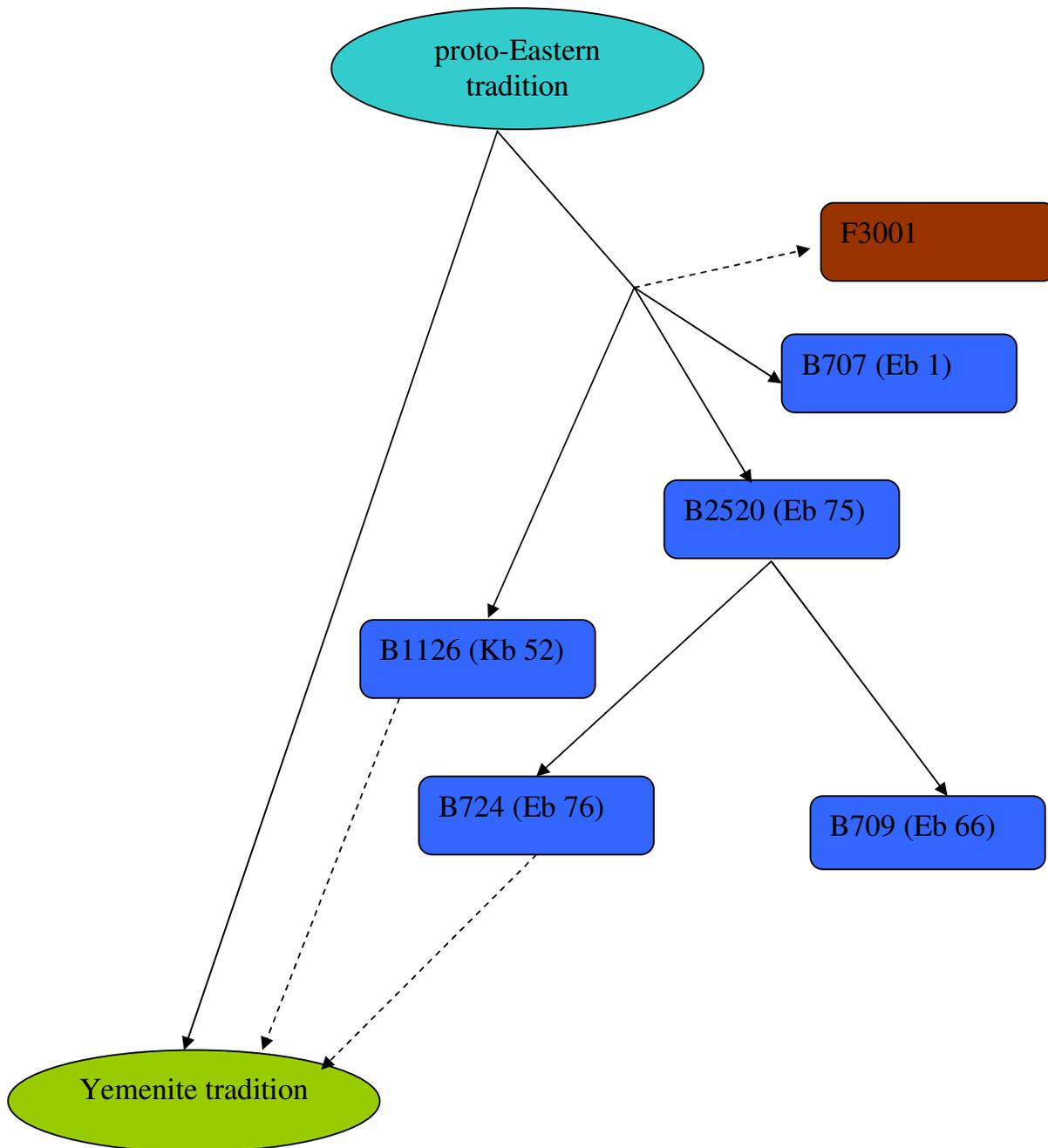
4.2.1 The Babylonian Tradition (B)[92]

Five more or less Babylonian manuscripts form the first group of manuscripts. This group shows much internal coherence and is closely related to the Yemenite tradition:

- B707 (Eb 1; Ms. L 229, New York), 12th-13th Century
- B2520 (Eb 75; Ms. 4084/1, Strasbourg), 13th-14th Century
- B1126 (Kb 52; Ms. B 133, *haftarot*, St. Petersburg), 14th Century
- B724 (Eb 76; Ms. 2, Qafih Collection), 1431
- B709 (Eb 66; Ms. L 230, New York), 15th Century

The group is an integral part of the greater Eastern family, but is here separately dealt with because of its internal coherence and unique vocalisation.[93] Fragment F3001 (T-S B 12.6) may be part of this group, but the fragment is too small to give it a fixed place within the stemma.

Although the Babylonian tradition is a separate group, the emerging Yemenite tradition has had its influence on the individual manuscripts of the Babylonian tradition, especially on the orthography and vocalisation. From all the manuscripts in this group, B1126 (Kb 52) is the closest relative to the Yemenite tradition. Since it is a rather late manuscript (14th Century), it certainly does not represent the beginning of the Babylonian stemma.

B707 (Eb 1) contains quite a few singular readings. They mainly represent orthographical changes. There are also some minor errors, such as dittography (1:7; 1:20), haplography (2:13), and a singular reading instead of a plural, *e.g.* ליואה (2:1). Some non-Babylonian readings of B707 are also attested in other manuscripts, but there is no discernible pattern of external influence. Conclusively, B707 cannot be an intermediate manuscript, because of all these singular and strange readings.

Fragment F3001 (T-S B12.6) is somewhat related to B707. It reads ולֹה instead of וליה (1:2),[94] which is also attested in B707; and it has the singular והוא instead of the plural והוו (1:2), whereas B707 has the singular והוה. These examples are too few to give F3001 a definite place within the stemma.

Since B2520 (Eb 75) does not contain any singular readings, it is safe to assume that it was in some way the intermediate between the proto-Eastern source on the one hand, and B709 (Eb 66) and B724 (Eb 76) on the other.[95] This is also a historical possibility, since B2520 is from the thirteenth or fourteenth Century, whereas the other two manuscripts are from the fifteenth Century. B709 could be the intermediate between B2520 and B724, since B709 contains only three singular readings, which could easily have been 'corrected' by a next scribe: שם instead of שום (1:2); בהיכלא instead of דהיכלא (1:10); and the omission of לבעלה (1:22). It is, however, impossible to definitely determine the position of B709, since the date of origin is rather vague (15th Century). It can be earlier or later than B724. On the other hand, B724 has more variants compared to the other Babylonian manuscripts. Some of them are also found in the Yemenite Y721. Since the latter manuscript is of a very late date (16th or 17th Century), it cannot be the direct ancestor. B724 is then influenced by one of the ancestors of Y721. Some of these Yemenite variants are: ולֹא instead of לֹא

(2:3), which is attested in the entire Yemenite tradition, except for Y711 (London, Or. 2210); the plural דייניא (2:25), which is attested in Y721, although it is corrected in B724; and likewise the variant לעולימא instead of לרביא, attested in Y721 and corrected in B724.

Typical variant readings of the Babylonian tradition, not occurring in other traditions, are

- מתח instead of מתיח in 2:3 (B707, B709, B724)
- the addition of קדם יי in 2:14 (B709, B724, B2520*)
- כרהך instead of כרחך in 2:16 (B707, B709, B724, B2520).

4.2.2 The Yemenite Tradition (Y)[96]

A second group within the Eastern tradition is the Yemenite family. It shows such a strong internal coherence, in spite of the differences in age, that it is almost impossible to establish which manuscript is a direct or indirect *Vorlage* of which. This group consists of continuous and liturgical manuscripts, divided into two subgroups. The first subgroup consists of three manuscripts:

- Y711 (Ms. Or. 2210, London), 1468
- Y1272 (Ms. qu. 18, *haftarot*, Jerusalem), 18th Century
- Y1270 (Ms. Heb. 38vo 6919, *haftarot*, Jerusalem), 18th-19th Century

The second subgroup is larger and consists of

- Y710 (Ms. Or. 1472, London), 1512/3
- Y727 (Ms. Or. 1471, London), 1589
- Y721 (Ms. 63/2, Kapach Collection), 16th-17th Century
- Y722 (Ms. 13, Yemenite Immigrant Collection), 16th-17th Century
- Y716 (Ms. Or. 2371, London), 1642?
- Y1169 (Ms. C 91, *haftarot*, St. Petersburg), 18th Century
- Y1269 (Ms. Add. 3452, *haftarot*, Cambridge), 18th century
- Y729 (Ms. 888/3, Jerusalem), 19th Century
- Y172 (edition TAG, *haftarot*), Tel Aviv 1894-1901

There is one Cairo Genizah fragment that seems to belong to this latter group, viz. F1262 (Ms. Heb. d. 64, fols. 19-24, Oxford), but this is only based on the emphatic reading אפודא in 2:28.[97] The fragment is too small to enable us to establish a fixed position within the stemma.

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[96] See Stemma 3: the Yemenite tradition.
[97] This emphatic form is also found in some Ashkenazic manuscripts, so F1262 could also be part of the proto-Italian or even the proto-Western tradition.

Stemma 3: The Yemenite Tradition (Y)
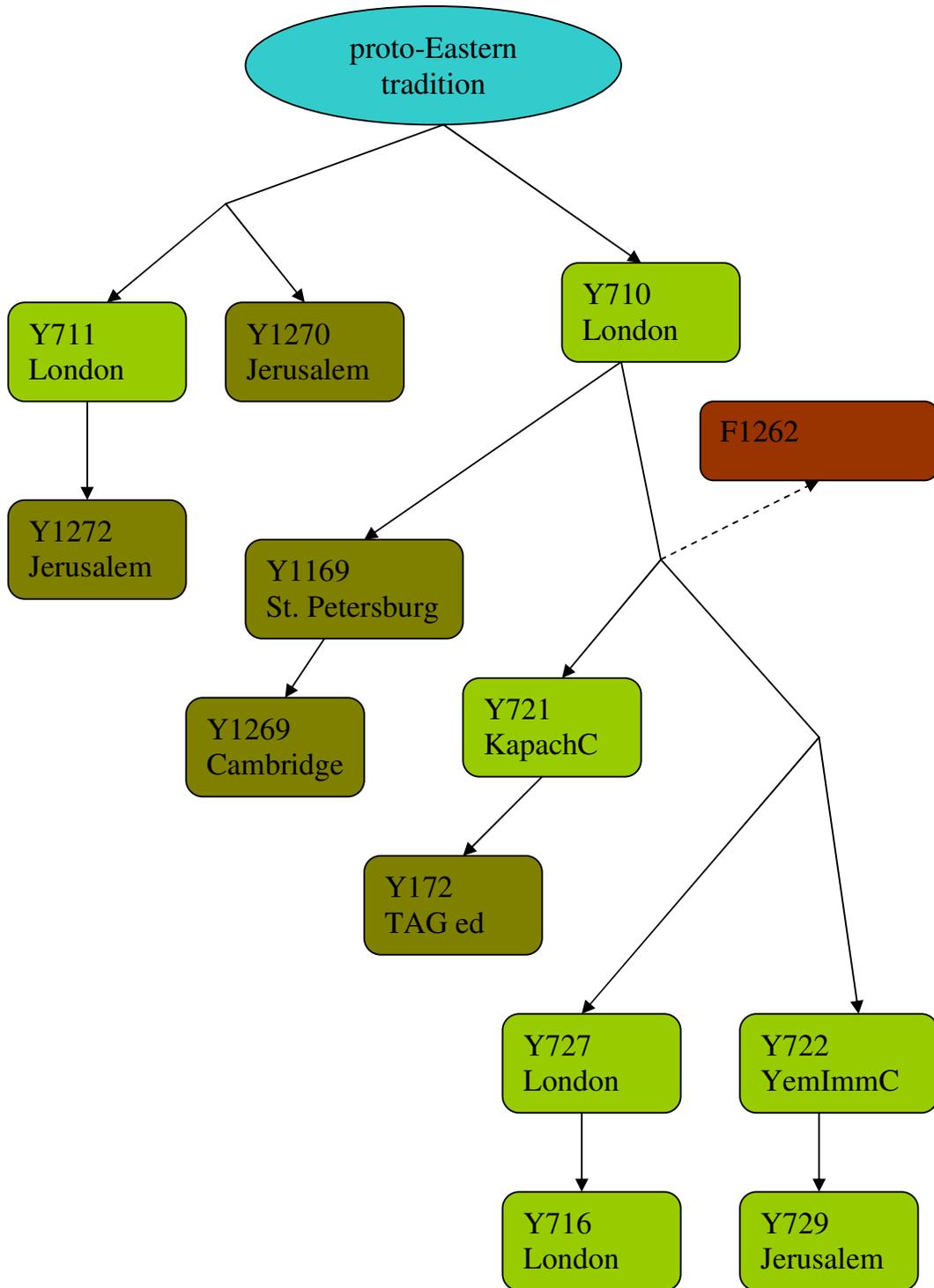
Within the first subgroup, Y711 may have functioned as the *Vorlage* of Y1272. The first manuscript dates from 1468, and the second is from the eighteenth Century. It is also possible to discern close relationships in the second subgroup. It is possible that Y710, dated 1512, is the ancestor of all the other manuscripts. Y1169 may be the *Vorlage* of Y1269. Y721, from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, might be the ancestor of the edition TAG, at least for the *haftara* of 1 Sam. 1:1-2:10. Y727, dating 1589, may be the *Vorlage* of Y716, from the sixteenth or seventeenth century. And Y722, also from the sixteenth or seventeenth century, could be the forebear of Y729, from the nineteenth century.

Typical variant readings in the Yemenite tradition, not occurring in other traditions, are:

- the omission of ואתיבת חנה in 1:15 (Y716*, Y727*), although corrected in both manuscripts;
- the spelling ואותיתיה in 1:24 (Y172, Y716, Y722, Y729, Y727);
- the plural קדשאי in 2:29 (Y716, Y722, Y727, Y729);
- the variant למיקרין in 2:30 (Y722, Y727);
- the variant לֹאתחזאה instead of לאתגלאה in 3:21 (Y716, Y722, Y727).

4.2.3 The Italian Tradition (I)[98]

There are two Ashkenazic families within the stemma of Targum Samuel, both of which lack strong internal coherence. One family is related to the Eastern tradition, whereas the other is more related to the Sephardic tradition. Because one family contains several manuscripts that are now preserved in Italy (I2, I3, I7, I700, I701) and two manuscripts are written in Italian script and are of Italian provenance (I701, I705), I decided to call it the Italian family.[99] This family consists of relatively early manuscripts. The other family kept its name of Ashkenazic family throughout this paper and is relatively late (see below, section 4.2.5). The Italian family consists of nine manuscripts, which can be grouped into two subfamilies. The first consists of

- I705 (Ms. Reuchlinianus No. 3, Karlsruhe), 1105/6
- I2 (Ms. Urbinas Ebreo 1, Vatican City), 1294
- I3 (Ms. Barberini Or. 161-164, Vatican City), 1297
- I701 (Ms. Or. 72, Rome), 1323
- I232 (Ms. hébreu 75, Paris), 14th-15th Century

The last of these manuscripts stands a bit aloof, not only through its text but also through its Sephardic handwriting. The second subfamily consists of

- I718 (Ms. Laud Or. 326, Oxford), 12th Century
- I700 (Ms. parm. 3187-89, Parma), 13th-14th Century
- I2190 (Ms. Add. 9403/1, London), 14th-15th Century
- I7 (Mss. B.H. I-VII, Genova), 1438

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[98] See Stemma 4: the Italian tradition.
[99] The other manuscripts are preserved in England (I718, I2190), Germany (I705), and France (I232). Hebrew codicology also discerns an Italian tradition, cf. M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Mediaeval Manuscripts*, Paris 1977, repr. Jerusalem 1981, 15.

Stemma 4: The Italian Tradition (I)
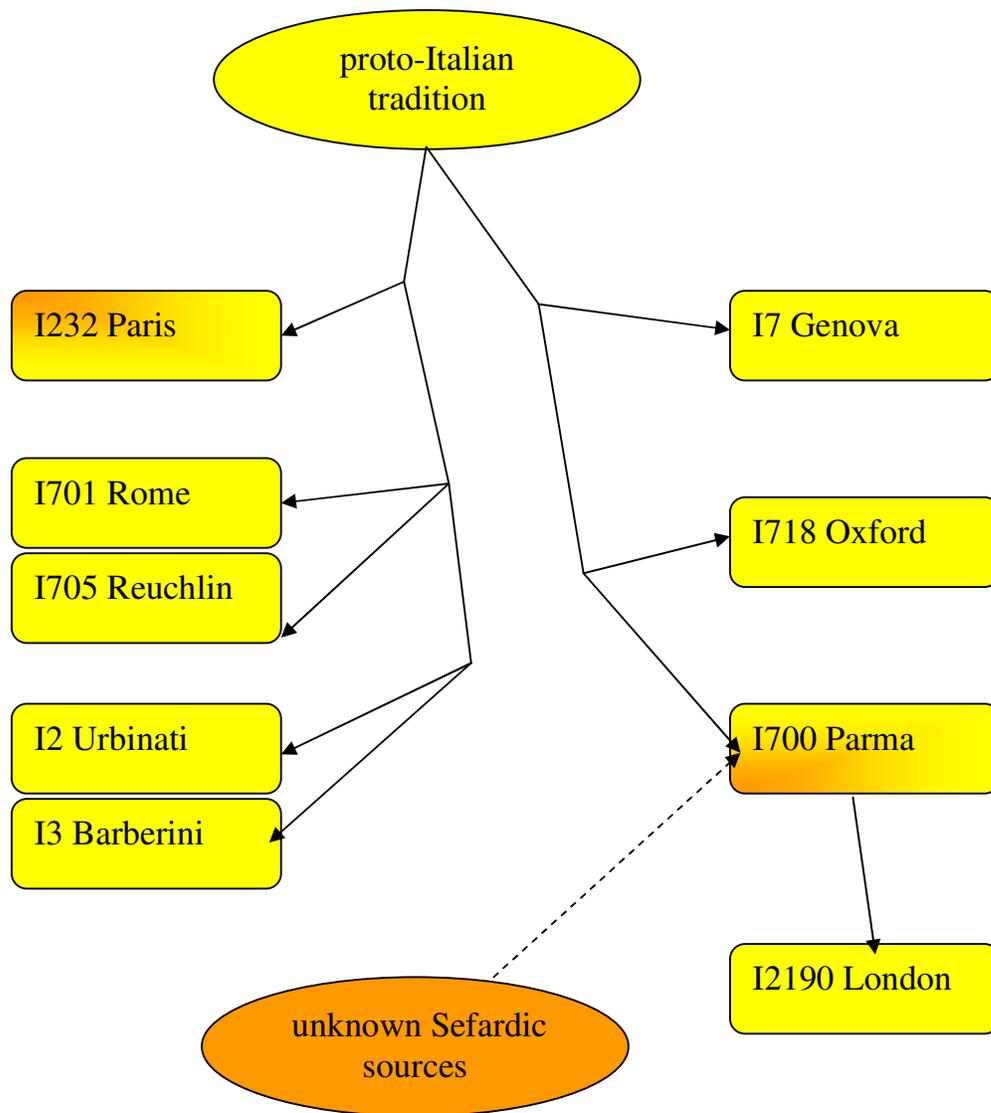
Since it is impossible to give this branch a historical orientation, it is given here as it was in the raw stemma of Dr. Wattel.

In the first group, there is one case of possible dependence. I2 and I3 are very similar, but not identical. It is chronologically possible that I2 was used as the *Vorlage* of I3, since they originate from 1294 and 1297. I2, however, has certain characteristics that do not match the style of I3, *e.g.*, the splitting up of the *pronomen relativum* and the following word and the splitting up of the name of Nebuchadnezzar. It is, therefore, more likely that both manuscripts were copied from the same original. I705 and I701 are also similar, both in terms of text and of Italian handwriting, although they are less similar than I2 and I3. Since I705 is very unique in orthography and marginal readings (Reuchlin 3), it is not very likely that this manuscript served as the direct *Vorlage* of I701.

In the second group, I700 is rather exceptional. It contains many errors and singular readings, but it is also clearly influenced by a Sephardic tradition. It is very likely that fragment I2190 was copied from I700. It is chronologically possible, since I700 originates from the thirteenth or fourteenth Century, whereas I2190 is written in an Ashkenazic cursive script from the fourteenth or fifteenth Century.[100] This dependence is shown by identical features that only occur in these two manuscripts, *e.g.* the omission of בשירא in 2:1; the error דייסין instead of דיסק in 2:2; the plural וניסין in 2:2; the omission of אומיא in 2:2; the addition of די in 2:3; the spelling קשת in 2:4; the doubling of the abbreviated word מלכ- in 2:4 and the peculiar omission of the last words of 2:5, the complete verses 2:6-2:9 and the first words of 2:10. Both manuscripts have the same, corrupted text in the last lines. Some differences between the two texts can be explained as carelessness of the later copyist, since there are cases of errors, haplography, exchange of Waw and Yodh, omissions, etc. Some differences can be explained as the later copyist's misinterpreting of an abbreviation in I700, *e.g.* the masculine וארבע in 2:1 and the odd אילן in 2:2.

Typical variant readings in the Italian tradition, not occurring in other traditions, are

- the maintenance of the word אפרתי in 1:1 (I700, I701);
- the spelling בעלֹא instead of בעלה in 1:8 and 1:23 (I700, I718);
- the masculine איזיל in 1:17 (I3^c, I700);
- the omission of עד עלמא in 1:22 (I700, I718);
- the omission of בשירא in 2:1 and of אומיא in 2:2 (I700, I2190);
- the spelling קשת in 2:4 (I700, I2190);
- the spelling מקיקילתא in 2:8 (I7, I705, I718);[101]
- the omission of שמיא ומ in 2:10 (I2, I718);
- the grammatical variant פיתגמיא ית in 2:23 (I701, I705);
- the spelling נין(י)דד in 2:24 (I2, I232, I701, I718);
- the absolute form גבר in 2:25 (I2, I7, I705);
- the grammatical variant לאשתפא in 2:36 (I2, I718);
- the single mentioning of Samuel in 3:10 (I700, I718).

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[100] The manuscript itself stems from the twelfth or the thirteenth century, but the Targum fragment is later written in the margin of the original text.

[101] Also attested in the Cairo Genizah fragment F3009.

Stemma 5: The Ashkenazic tradition (A)
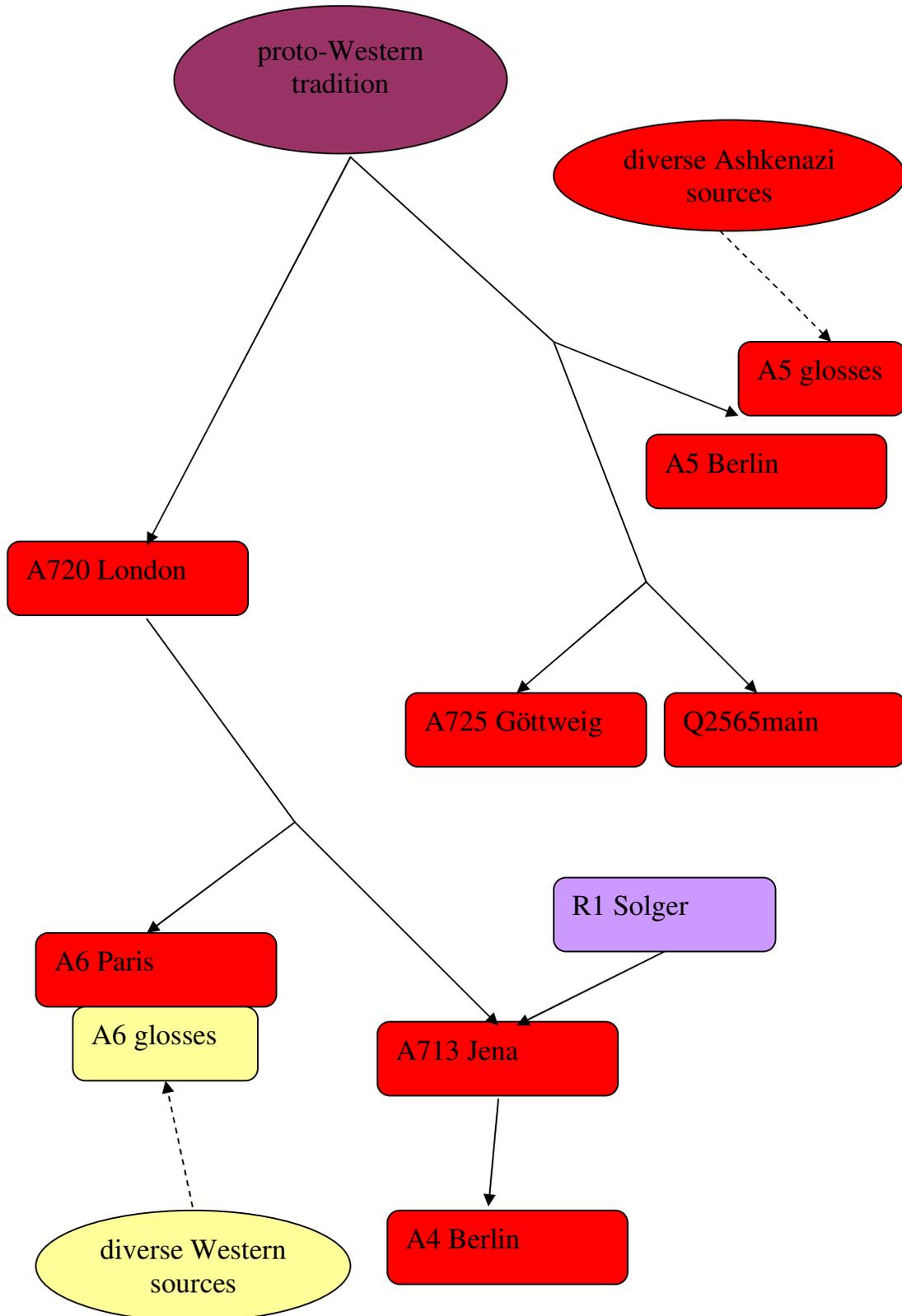
4.2.4 The Ashkenazic Tradition (A)[102]

The second Ashkenazic family consists of six manuscripts, which show little internal coherence:

- A720 (Ms. Add. 26,879, London), 13th Century
- A713 (Ms. El. f.6, Jena), 13th-14th Century
- A4 (Ms. Or. fol. 1210-1211, Berlin), 1343
- A5 (Ms. Or. fol. 1-4, Berlin), 14th Century
- A725 (Ms. 11, Göttweig), 14th Century
- A6 (Ms. hébreu 18, Paris), 14th-15th Century

The main text of Kimhi's commentary on Samuel, as attested in Ms. C123 of St. Petersburg (now Q2565), contains quotations from the Targum which appear to be related to this tradition, especially to A725 and A5.

Four manuscripts of the Ashkenazic family are closely related to each other: A720, A6, A713, and A4. It is probable that A720 from the thirteenth century has directly or indirectly served as the *Vorlage* of A6, A713, and A4. This manuscript has hardly any singular readings. A6 has too many singular readings to be a direct *Vorlage* of the next manuscripts. The corrections in A6, dated 1512, are in most cases variants that can be found all over Europe: Ashkenazic, Sephardic, Italian, and the Rabbinic Bibles tradition.

A713 has some deviating readings, some of which are errors and others are most probably adopted from the Solger Codex. It has the variant תיכלין in 1:8 (תיכלי in Solger); הוא משמש in 1:28; and the preposition in the addition עברי על מימריה in 2:8.[103] These variants are otherwise unique to the Rabbinic Bibles family. Since A713 originates from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, they could only have been adopted from the Solger Codex itself or from one of its lost copies. A713 has probably served as the *Vorlage* of A4. There are hardly any differences between these two manuscripts and A4 is most probably the latest manuscript. Deviations in A4 from A713 are due to corrections of A713 or errors made in A4. These corrections are based on other Ashkenazic manuscripts.

The other manuscripts of the Ashkenazic family, A5 and A725, both stem from the fourteenth Century. A5 contains many corrections in the margin, but many of these are errors based on the erroneous text of the main text (*Verschlimmbesserung*). Other marginal glosses are corrections based on the other Ashkenazic manuscripts. A5 contains too many singular readings to be the direct *Vorlage* of A725. The text quoted in Kimhi's commentary in Ms. C123 of St. Petersburg (Q2565) is related to A725, though not closely.

Typical variant readings of the Ashkenazic tradition, not occurring in other traditions, are

- מדבית in 1:1 (A713, A4);
- the omission of יום in 1:4 (A720, A713);
- the spelling דישתיאו in 1:9 (A6, A713);

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[102] See Stemma 5: the Ashkenazic tradition.
[103] The latter variant is not found in Codex Solger, as it is now, since that folio is missing. But the variant is found in the first Rabbinic Bible, and it is most probably adopted from the original Codex Solger.

- the spelling ומיבכי in 1:10 (A720, A6*, A4), corrupted into ומיבכו in A713;
- the imperfect יגלי in 1:11 (A713, A4);
- the short reading דישמש in 1:11 (A720, A6, A713, A4);
- the spelling נדן in 1:13 (A6, A713, A4);
- the spelling בנת in 1:16 (A713, A4);
- קודמך instead of בעינך in 1:18 (A720, A6*, A713, A4)[104];
- the order of דיהב יי לי in 2:1 (A713, A4);
- the spelling עמיא in 2:3 (A5*, A720);
- the variant with suffix of אלהנא in 2:3 (A5, A720);
- the addition of המן ובנוהי after דהוו in 2:5 (A713, A4);
- the feminine עקרתא in 2:5 (A720, A5*);
- the preposition בין instead of עם in 2:8 (A713, A4);
- the addition of יכלי after בקל רם in 2:10 (A5, A720, A6, A713), corrupted into יבלי in A4;
- the subsequent וישקיף in 2:10 (A720, A6, A713, A4);
- the copula in ויעביד in 2:10 (A720, A6, A713);
- the omission of פורענות in 2:10 (A713, A4);
- the addition of למדבחא after תרביא in 2:16 (A5ᶜ, A725, A720, A6, A713, A4);
- ולמיליהו in 2:25 (A720, A6, A713, A4);
- the addition of the interrogative particle in האיתגלאה in 2:27 (A720, A713, A4);
- the addition of 'house' in דבית ישראל in 2:28 (A720, A713, A4);
- the form ויקרתא in 2:29 (A4, A713, A720);
- the variant ודמרגזין instead of בסריקודמ in 2:30 (A4, A6*, A713);
- the variant כהנותא instead of כהניא in 2:36 (A4, A713, A720);
- the omission of בית in 3:3 (A4, A720);
- the prepositions in למדן in 3:20 (A4, A713, A720).

4.2.5 The Sephardic Tradition (S)[105]

The group containing the most tosefta-targumim is the Sephardic Tradition. It does not show strong internal coherence, except in some individual cases. The two Zamora manuscripts (S703 and S704) are almost identical, and the two Polyglots share the same text. The group consists of

- S706 (Opp. Add. 4to, 75, 76, Oxford), 1300
- the running Targum text in the margin of S2565, a commentary of Kimhi on Samuel (Ms. C123, St. Petersburg), 14th-15th Century
- S717 (Ms. 'Kennicott 5', Oxford), 1487 (?)
- S734 (Leiria Edition), 1494
- S703 (Ms. M1-M3, Salamanca, written by Alfonso de Zamora), 1532
- S704 (Ms. 7542, written by Alfonso de Zamora), 1533
- S12 (the Antwerp Polyglot), 1569
- S16 (the Paris Polyglot), 1629-45

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[104] Allso attested in F3008*, but corrected there.
[105] See Stemma 6: the Sephardic tradition.

Stemma 6: The Sephardic Tradition (S)
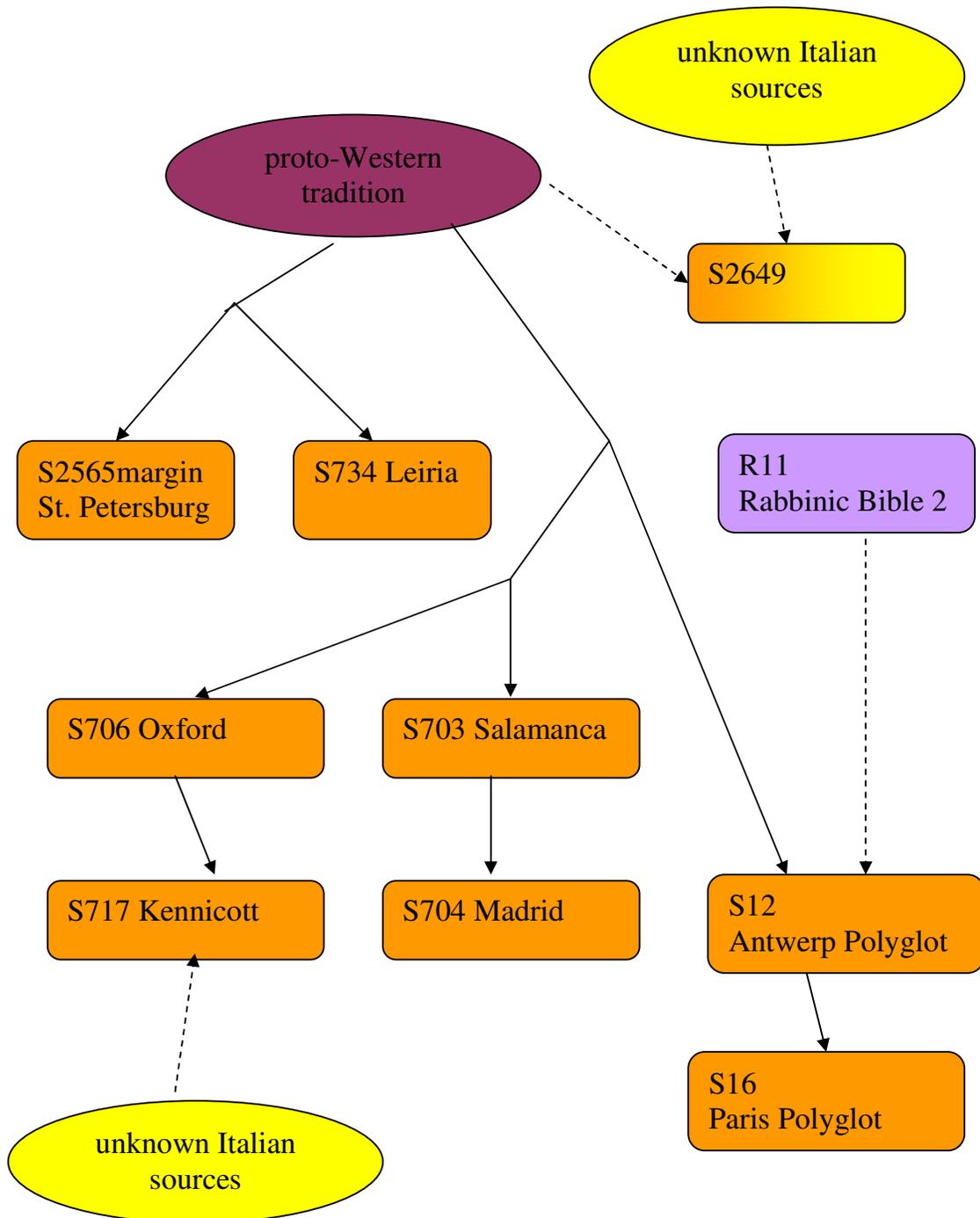
It is to be expected that Ms. H 116 (London) is also part of the Sephardic tradition, but since this manuscript does not contain 1 Sam. 1-3, it was not included in this investigation. If so, it will be called S702.

There is one fragment, S2649 (Ms. Opp. Add. fol. 55, Oxford), which concurs several times with the Sephardic tradition. It cannot be given a fixed place within the stemma, because it is too short. It is a very early manuscript, probably of the thirteenth Century, written in a Sephardic hand. This fragment, however, also contains some Italian spellings and variants. It has the word עד instead of ועד in 3:7, as several Western manuscripts have; the imperfect יתגלי in 3:7, as does I705; the absolute form נבואה in 3:7, as do the Sephardic manuscripts, although it is also attested in some other Western manuscripts; after that word the standardized מן קדם יי, as does I700; the word למקרי in 3:8, which occurs in both the Italian and Rabbinic Bible tradition; the spelling שכיב in 3:9, which is typically Sephardic; and the variant לעלי in 3:12, which is also typically Sephardic. We may conclude that it is highly contaminated.

The Leiria edition (S734) and the marginal text of the Kimhi commentary (S2565) have the most connections with the other Western traditions. Both have too many singular readings for either to be the *Vorlage* of the other. Both Spanish manuscripts (S703 and S704) were written by Alfonso de Zamora, S703 in 1532 and S704 in 1533. Because they are almost identical, it is likely that Zamora copied the latter from the first, or both from the same *Vorlage*. The texts of the two polyglots (S12 and S16) are identical. The Paris Polyglot (S16) copied the text from the Antwerp Polyglot (S12).[106]

The two English manuscripts (S706 and S717) are not identical, but very much connected. Since S706 stems from 1300 and S717 from 1487, it is possible that S717 was transcribed from S706. It could also be that it was transcribed from its *Vorlage*. However, there are some variants in S717 which are not Sephardic, but Italian. The omission of לה in 1:6 of S717 is also attested in I2; the imperfect ויהי instead of והוה in 1:12 also occurs in I232; the variant אסגיאת כד instead of the single word מדאסגיאת in 1:12 is also attested in I3; I718 has the same erroneous רביא instead of רויא in 1:13; and both I232 and I701 also add the copula before על in 1:27. The layout of S717 also shows similarities with the Italian layout of I700 (Parma) and I701 (Rome).

Typical variant readings of the Sephardic tradition, not occurring in other traditions, are

- תאחד instead of חדא in 1:2 (S703, S704, S706, S717);
- תמנע instead of אתמנע in 1:5 (S703, S704, S706, S717);
- ללביך instead of ליך לביך in 1:8 (S12, S16, S703, S704, S717);
- the spelling דיהא instead of דיהי in 1:11 (all) and in 1:28 (S12, S16, S703, S704, S717, S734);
- the spelling תהא instead of תהי in 1:11 (S12, S16, S703, S704, S734);
- the absolute form כאתת in 1:13 (S12, S16, S703, S704, S706, S717) and in 2:5 (S703, S704, S706, S717), whereas the absolute ואתת also occurs there (S12, S16);
- the Hebraism עלבון in 1:15 (S12, S16, S703, S704, S706, S717);
- the addition of מן before קדם in 1:21 (S703, S704, S706, S717);

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[106] So also with the Targum to Canticles, see C. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum al cantar de los cantares (edición crítica)*, Madrid 1987, 81.

- the indication of 'toseftot' in the Hannah's Prayer (S703, S704, S706, S703), which led to the shorter text in the Antwerp and Paris Polyglot (S12, S16);
- the form סגיא instead of סגי in 2:2 (S703, S704, S706, S717);
- ותבו including the copula in 2:5 (S703, S704, S706, S717, S734, S2565);
- ומרדכי including the copula in 2:5 (S703, S704);
- the infinitive לאיתמלי (S12, S16, S703, S704) and the masculine forms דאתמלי (S706, S717) and דיתמלי (S734) instead of דתתמלי in 2:5;
- הוה בגבורתא instead of גבורתא in 2:6 (S703, S704);
- the spelling מקלקולתא in 2:8 (S703, S704, S706, S717);
- the omission of the tetragrammaton and the word עמיה in 2:10 (S703, S704, S12, S16);
- the deviant spelling בסילסא in 2:14 (S703, S704, S706, S717);
- ואף including the copula in 2:15 (S12, S16, S703, S704, S706, S717);
- the omission of קדמי in 2:28 (S12, S16);
- the variant וקלא דיי instead of וקלא אשתמע in 3:3 (S12, S16, S703, S704, S717);
- the addition of ליה after ואתגלי in 3:10 (S12, S16, S703, S704, S717);
- the omission of בית in 3:15 (S12, S16, S703, S704, S706);
- the variant לא instead of ולא in 3:18 (S12, S703, S704*, S706);
- the grammatical variant חדא in 3:19 (S12, S16, S703, S704);
- the grammatical variant יתגלי in 3:21 (S703, S706).

4.2.6 Codex Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles (R)[107]

The final group that contains manuscripts and editions with strong internal coherence, consists of

- R1 (Codex Solger, Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg), 1291
- R10 (First Rabbinic Bible, Venice), 1516/17
- R11 (Second Rabbinic Bible, Venice), 1524/25
- R13 (London Polyglot), 1654/57

All of these are complete Bibles.[108] They belong to the Western tradition, but further research did not disclose a clear relationship to any of the other Western subgroups.

Two variant readings point to a distant kinship with two Cairo Genizah fragments, which are too small to justify a definite place in the stemma: F3003 (T-S B.15.5) and F3004 (T-S B 16.20). Fragment F3003 has the same addition in 1 Sam. 1:28, *viz.* הוא before ישמיש.[109] Fragment F3004 reads the same feminine singular in 1 Sam. 1:9, *viz.* דשתיאת instead of the masculine plural דשתיאו.[110]

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[107] See Stemma 7: Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles.

[108] This confirms the categorisation as Western, cf. D.J.D. Kroeze, E. van Staalduine-Sulman, 'A Giant Among Bibles: "Erfurt 1", or Cod. Or. Fol. 1210-1211 at the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*,' *AS* 4 (2006), 197-209, esp. 199.

[109] Although it must be admitted that R1, R10, R11 and R13 read משמיש instead of ישמיש. The text of the Solger group concurs with that of A4 and A713.

[110] The feminine form also occurs R10, R11, R13, and in the Leiria edition.

Stemma 7: Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles (R)
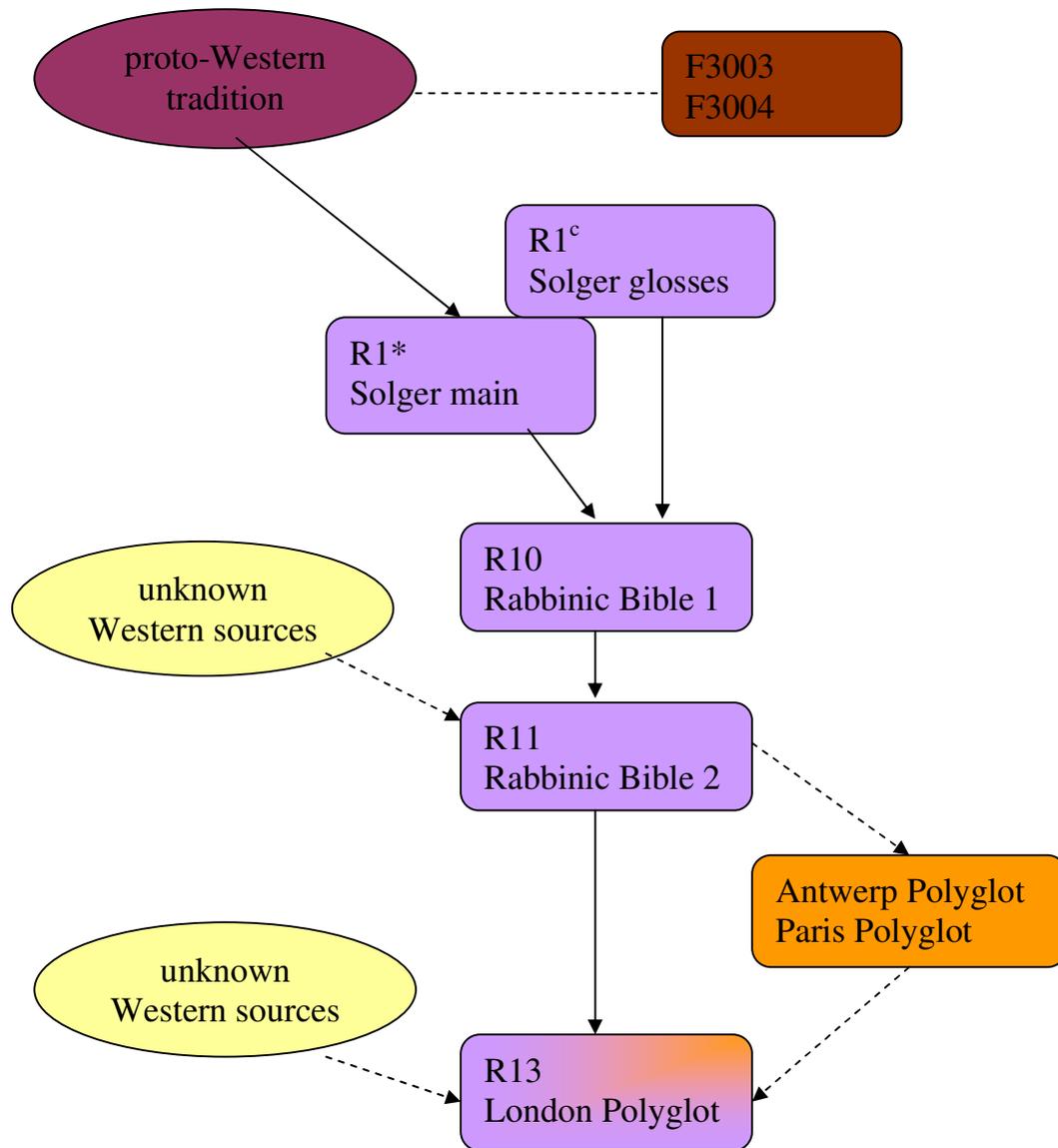
Many scholars have already pointed at the close kinship between the Solger Codex and the first Rabbinic Bible.[111] It has been proven for the Targum to Isaiah that Solger served as the sole *Vorlage* of that Bible.[112] The texts of Targum Samuel confirm this conclusion: The first Rabbinic Bible was based on the Solger text, including most of its corrections. Several verses of the printed edition show that Felix Pratensis has adopted the corrections.

verse	Solger original text	Solger corrected text	First Rabbinic Bible
1:6	מרגזה	מרגזא	מרגזא
1:7	אכלה	אכלת	אכלת
1:10	מרירת	מרירא	מרירא
1:26	בהכה	הכא	הכא
2:2	יי אלא יי אלהא	יי אלא	יי אלא
3:7	מידע	למידע	למידע
3:7	עד	ועד	ועד
3:8	מיקרי	למיקרי	למיקרי

There are three marginal notations in 1 Sam. 1-3 that are not adopted by Pratensis. In all three cases an explanation can be given, although it is hard to give any proof. The first example concerns an alternative spelling of the word. It was not necessary for the editor of the first Rabbinic Bible to follow. The second example, the erroneous omission of the words 'no, my lord', could have the same reason, if Pratensis interpreted the Lamed-Aleph as the abbreviation of לישנא אחרינא, 'another tongue', and simply left out these words because he did not recognize it as the official text. The third example is written in a completely different handwriting, in what seems a rather late semi-cursive Ashkenazic hand. It may not have existed at the time of the edition of the first Rabbinic Bible.

verse	Solger original text	Solger corrected text	First Rabbinic Bible
1:15	עייקת	סא עקת	עייקת
1:15	omitted	לֹא רבוני	omitted
2:1	איפתח	אתפתחת	איפתח

The second Rabbinic Bible is dependent on the first, but also has other sources. Examples where this edition deviates from the preceding one are: אוריך instead of מוריך (1 Sam. 1:12); ואיתחזי instead of ויאחזי (1 Sam. 1:22; Sephardic variant); כדתקין instead of דתקין (1 Sam. 1:23; Ashkenazic variant); and the omission of the

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[111] Cf. S. Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', in: C. Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien, Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Vol. 1, Gießen 1906, 505-12, at 508; M.L. Klein, 'The Extant Sources of the Fragmentary Targum to the Pentateuch', *HUCA* 46 (1975) 115-37, esp. 126; Idem, *The Fragment Targums of the Pentateuch According to Their Extant Sources*, Rome 1980, I.26; B. Grossfeld, *The Two Targums of Esther*, Collegeville 1991, 6-7; D.R.G. Beattie, 'The Textual Tradition of Targum Ruth', in: D.R.G. Beattie & M.J. McNamara (eds), *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in Their Historical Context,* Sheffield 1994, 340-48; W.F. Smelik*, Targum of Judges,* Leiden 1996, 150-53. D. Shepherd, 'Before Bomberg: The Case of the Targum of Job in the Rabbinic Bible and the Solger Codex', *Biblica* 79 (1998) 360-79.

[112] A. Houtman, 'Targum Isaiah According to Felix Pratensis', *JAB* 1 (1999) 191-202.

tetragrammaton (1 Sam. 2:3), apart from various orthographic and minor grammatical variants. These variants cannot be tracked down to a single source.

Many new editions follow the first and the second Rabbinic Bible, which were not used in this research. The sixth edition of the Rabbinic Bible (Basel, 1618/19) became the main source for the London Polyglot, made by Brian Walton (London, 1654/57), at least for Ezekiel and Song of Songs.[113] This conclusion is not contradicted by the results of this stemmatological research: the London Polyglot stands in the tradition of the Rabbinic Bibles. Some variants, however, were adopted from the Sephardic tradition of the Antwerp Polyglot. The 'extra' text in Hannah's Prayer (1 Sam. 2:1-10) is put in brackets in the Aramaic column and is edited in cursive letters in the Latin column, to indicate that this text was added to the Hebrew text. These parts agree even more with the second Rabbinic Bible than the main text itself. Exactly these parts of the Targum text are absent in the Antwerp Polyglot. Other variants, like the addition of מסכנין (1 Sam. 2:5), are from an Ashkenazic source.

Typical variant readings of the Rabbinic Bible family, not occurring in other traditions, are

- יתיכל instead of אכלת in 1:8;
- the addition of מזוזי על before בסטר in 1:9;
- אוריך instead of מוריך in 1:12 (R11, R13);
- the spelling כאתתא in 1:13 (R10, R11, R13);
- the omission of רבוני לא in 1:15 (R1*, R10);
- the omission of the ד- before ישראל in 1:17;
- the strange spelling of לאורחהא in 1:18 (R1, R10);
- דיקום instead of דיסק in 2:2;
- the addition of the suffix in דיניה (2:3);
- the reading מגוג מן instead of מגוג in 2:10, replacing Gog by Magog (R11, R13);
- the emphatic form רשיעיא in 2:12 (R10, R11, R13);
- the omission of the preposition before קדירא in 2:14 (R10, R11, R13);
- דלא עד instead of לא עד in 2:15 (R10, R11, R13), which also occurs in 3:7 (R1, R10, R11, R13);
- the plural קודשיא in 2:29 (R10, R11, R13);
- the plural שריאו in 3:2 (R10, R11, R13);
- the variant לארעא instead of חד in 3:19 (R1, R10, R11).

4.2.7 The Place of Cairo Genizah Fragments (F)[114]

Most Cairo Genizah fragments are too small to be given a well-argued place in a family. Three fragments are large enough: F3003 and F3004 seem to be related to the roots of Codex Solger, F3001 has kinship to the Babylonian tradition. Three other fragments received a place between two families: F3008 and F3009 must be placed

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[113] S. Silbermann, *Das Targum zu Ezechiel*, Strassbourg 1902; C. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum al Cantar de los Cantares (Edición Crítica)*, Madrid 1987, 72-73; L. Díez Merino, 'Targum al Cantar de los Cantares (texto arameo del Codice Urbinati 1 y su traduccion)', *Anuario de Filología* 7 (1981), 237-284, esp. 245.
[114] See Stemma 8: Overview of all the traditions, including Cairo Genizah fragments.

somewhere between the Eastern and the Italian tradition,[115] whereas F3000 stands somewhere between the Eastern and Italian tradition on the one hand and the other Western traditions on the other.[116] It must be said that F3008 is a fragment containing many singular readings. These readings, however, consist for almost fifty percent of errors.

All other fragments can only receive a place on the basis of one or two minor variant readings. They will end up somewhere between the Eastern and Western tradition; some of them more to the Eastern side, like F1200, F1262, F3002 (with Babylonian vocalisation), F3005, F3006, F3007, F3011, and F3015; others more to the Western side, like F3010, F3012, F3013, and F014. Only in the case of F3013 is there enough textual evidence to regard it as at least proto-Italian. To mention one example, it has the addition עברי מימריה in 2:8, which is a typically Western addition that is attested in the Sephardic family but also occurs in some manuscripts of the Italian and Ashkenazic families.[117]

The Cairo Genizah was used for many centuries, which is visible in the placing of the fragments within the stemma. Most of these fragments are more or less related to the Yemenite tradition, one to the Babylonian family. Other fragments appear to be proto-Italian or proto-Western or even related to the family of Codex Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles. The Cairo Genizah appears to be a link between Eastern and Western Jewry.

4.3 Details of the Stemma

4.3.1 Comparison of Two Stemmas

When we compare this stemma with the one in *Aramaic Studies*,[118] several differences have to be explained. The basic explanation for differences must be that the present stemma is based on three times as many manuscripts.

The link between the Ashkenazic and the Sephardic family is confirmed in the present stemma. The separate status of Codex Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles is also confirmed. The latter group is enlarged by, amongst others, the London Polyglot. The close internal coherence of the Yemenite family is the third similarity between the two stemmas.

The surprising position of Codex Reuchlin and the Babylonian Eb 1 in the stemma in *Aramaic Studies* can now be explained by taking into consideration that both are the only representative of a family. Codex Reuchlin (now I705) is the oldest representative of the Italian family. Eb 1 (now B707) is one of the five Babylonian manuscripts. Both manuscripts are now components of different subgroups, both within the Eastern-Italian branch. It is not surprising that the mathematical programme could do nothing but link these two manuscripts together in the earlier stemma.

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[115] The placing of F3008 is mainly based on the addition of ארי in 1:20 (also attested in I705), which could also be a coincidental error, the 3rd person fem. דבעית instead of the 1st person in 1:27 (also attested in Y1270, I232, R1, R10, R11), and the form אפתח in 2:1 (also attested in F3009, I232, R1*, R10, R11, R13, and A725). The placing of F3009 mainly on the variant of 2:1.

[116] The placing of F3000 is mainly based on the addition of אם in 1:11, a widely spread Western addition.

[117] A slightly different addition is found in R10, R11, R13, and A713. Ms. A4 contains a corrupted version of this addition.

[118] See Chapter 3, note 1.

The splitting up of Ashkenazic manuscripts can be seen in both stemmas. A difference is that the earlier stemma connects two Ashkenazic manuscripts (A5 and A725) with the Yemenite branch, whereas/whilst the present stemma links them with the Sephardic tradition. It must still be said that in the entire Ashkenazic-Sephardic branch, A5 and A725 have the closest connections with the Eastern-Italian branch. The involvement of more manuscripts must have altered the ability of the mathematic programme to link manuscripts. It is now also clear that age has nothing to do with the dichotomy of the Ashkenazic family. A5 and A725 originate from the fourteenth and fifteenth Century, whereas the other manuscripts date from the thirteenth until the sixteenth Century.

4.3.2 The Relation Between Liturgical and Continuous Texts

With 1 Sam. 1-3 as the basis, there are only *haftarot* texts in the Yemenite tradition and from the Cairo Genizah. Out of the twelve Yemenite manuscripts there are five *haftarot* collections. These *haftarot* collections are not confined to one subgroup, but occur in both subgroups. Most of the Cairo Genizah fragments are *haftarot* collections. Some of the fragments are so small that they cannot be identified as continuous text of a *haftarot* collection. Still, there is such a variety of textual variants among these fragments that one can state that there is no textual division between continuous and liturgical texts.

This phenomenon leads to three possible conclusions: (1) with regard to Yemenite and Cairo Genizah manuscripts, no distinction needs to be made between continuous and non-continuous texts for the edition, because there is no tendency to add liturgical phrases or homiletical expansions to the text in *haftarot* collections;[119] (2) the *haftarot* manuscripts in these traditions do not have to be indicated separately, because they are an integral part of this tradition; there is no need to give these manuscripts an extra letter or number in their sigla; (3) there must have been several composers of *haftarot* within these traditions, who each composed a *haftarot* manuscript by taking the various liturgical readings from continuous manuscripts. There was no separate *haftarot* tradition in which *haftarot* manuscripts were copied from *haftarot* manuscripts only.

Since this research only includes Yemenite and Cairo Genizah *haftarot*, it is recommendable that a broad stemma of 2 Sam. 22 be made, which includes the liturgical texts of the Western traditions. This stemma will show whether *haftarot* collections and *mahzorim* in Western traditions have a copying tradition that is separate from the continuous manuscripts.

4.3.3 The Placing of Ms. C123 (St. Petersburg)

The position of Ms. C 123 of St. Petersburg is a peculiarity. The main text consists of Kimhi's commentary on the Books of Samuel. His comments contain many quotations from Targum Samuel, all in an Ashkenazic style. There is a running text of Targum Samuel in the margins. This text is Sephardic. For this reason, the manuscript deserves two sigla: S2565 for the margins and Q2565 for the quotations in Kimhi's commentary.

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[119] In contrast with the manuscript collections of the New Testament, in which liturgical texts tend to be expanded with liturgical notes and phrases; cf. T. van Lopik, 'Tekstkritiek: telt het wegen of weegt het tellen?' *NedThT* 45 (1991), 101-106, esp. 105.

4.3.4 The Spread of Expansions

The spread of expansions in the main text which are neither indicated with 'tosefta' nor placed in the margin, is complicated. There are eleven expansions of more than one word in 1 Sam. 1-3, excluding dittographies:

- 1 Sam. 1:9, על מזוזי (R1, R10, R11, R13)
- 1 Sam. 2:5, המן ובנוהי (A713, A4)
- 1 Sam. 2:5, דלא ילדא (I3, S734, S717, S703 with variant ילדת, S704, S706, S12, S16, A5, A6[n], A725, A720)
- 1 Sam. 2:8-9
  - ○ (A) עברי מימריה either in verse 8 or in verse 9 (CG fragment, Italian tradition, Sephardic tradition, Ashkenazic tradition), or in both verses (most Sephardic manuscripts)
    - ▪ 2:8 (F3013, I3 with error עבדי, I701, I705, I718, S734, S2565, A6, A720)
    - ▪ 2:9 (I7 with error חברי, A725)
    - ▪ 2:8 and 2:9 (S12, S16, S703, S704, S706, S717)
  - ○ (B) עברי על יהמימר either in verse 8 (Ashkenazic tradition, Rabbinic Bibles) or in verse 9 (Ashkenazic tradition)
    - ▪ 2:8 (A713, A4 with errors עבדי אל מימריה, R10, R11, R13)
    - ▪ 2:9 (A5)
- 1 Sam. 2:14, קדם יי (B709, B724, B2520)
- 1 Sam. 2:16, יומא דין (S734)
- 1 Sam. 3:10, והוה ביזמן ביעיתאר (B707)

Two expansions are spread around the Western family, albeit that one has several variations. Contamination of the families may have played a role here. The Ashkenazic and the Sephardic families are most diverse here. The most widespread Western expansion has its roots in earlier times, because it is also attested in one Cairo Genizah fragment. It is as expected that the Yemenite family is reserved on this point, but it is striking that there are two typically Babylonian expansions. In scheme:

	Y mss	B mss	I mss	S mss	A mss	R mss	F mss
1:9						4	
2:5 [1]					2		
2:5 [2]			1	7	4		
2:8-9							
• A			5	8	3		1
• B					3	3	
2:14		3					
2:16				1			
3:10		1					

4.4 Conclusions and Recommendations

Now that the manuscripts have been placed within a stemma, they can receive their final siglum. This will take place in Chapter 5, where the manuscripts will briefly be

described. The completion of the stemma leads to various conclusions and recommendations, which have been collected below.

4.4.1 *Haftarot* Collections
The Yemenite *haftarot* collections are an integral part of the entire Yemenite tradition. No separate Yemenite *haftarot* tradition is discernible, not even within a subgroup. This outcome is not necessarily the same for the Western *haftarot* and liturgical texts.

- It is therefore recommendable to investigate the stemma of texts that include 2 Sam. 22, in order to fix the placing of Western liturgical texts.
- It is also recommended to exclude the Yemenite *haftarot* collections from a critical edition of Targum Samuel. They do not add any data to the edition and only represent a few pericopes.

4.4.2 Variant Readings
There are far too few extant Targum manuscripts to lead to any conclusions about points in time when each of the variant readings came into being. We know of one Western expansion that also occurs in a Cairo Genizah fragment. We know of a long expansion or tosefta-targum in a Genizah fragment, which is not repeated in any other manuscript. We know the marginal readings of Codex Reuchlin, but we have no manuscripts that confirm these alternative readings.

- Therefore, it is recommendable to withhold any conclusions about the date of variants, expansions and toseftot on the basis of the manuscripts alone.
- It is also recommended to include as many variants as possible, to show the richness of the Targum tradition, leaving open the possibility that a newly found manuscript may concur with one of the edited variant readings.
- Singular readings should not be excluded either, for they can represent a tradition that is much wider and much older than the manuscript itself.

4.4.3 Representation of the Families
The codicological data of manuscripts was used to create a more or less proportional representation of the families. In most cases, these data correspond to the final place in the stemma. This means that codicology can be used in order to create a provisional stemma.[120]

A comparison of two stemmas, one with considerably fewer manuscripts than the other, leads to the conclusion that several manuscripts per family are needed to provide a measure of certainty about the stemma. When a family is only represented by one manuscript, the placing of this manuscript is by definition erroneous. Representation by two or three manuscripts provides the opportunity of linking to other families. Therefore, it is recommendable to try and include four or more manuscripts per family. If this is the lower limit to represent a family, it is recommendable:

- (B) to include as many Babylonian manuscripts as can be found. Most manuscripts are fragmentary and can only represent the Babylonian tradition for a few Biblical chapters.

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[120] See further below, Chapter 5.

- (Y) to include at least four Yemenite manuscripts, but to leave out the *haftarot* collections. The complete extant manuscripts can cover the entire Yemenite tradition, especially since this tradition shows a very strong internal coherence. The *haftarot* collections only represent certain Biblical pericopes and do not add any representation of the tradition. They do not form a separate Yemenite subgroup.
- (I) to include all complete Italian manuscripts, except I700 (Parma), which contains too many errors, and I2190 (London), which is also very erroneous and furthermore fragmentary.
- (S) to include all complete Sephardic manuscripts, except the Paris Polyglot (S16), since this represents the completely identical text of the Antwerp Polyglot (S12). Since S704 is almost identical to S703, this manuscript can be left out.
- (A) to include all Ashkenazic manuscripts, even the slovenly A5 (Berlin), since it is one of the two representatives of an Ashkenazic subgroup.
- (R) to include Codex Solger, the first two Rabbinic Bibles and the London Polyglot. One might even consider including the sixth edition of the Rabbinic Bible (Basel, 1618/19), because this is a renewed edition.

4.4.4 Cairo Genizah Fragments

The Targum fragments found in the Cairo Genizah do not constitute a separate family, or at least, they are too small to indicate their exact position within the stemma. It could be argued that the collection forms a bridge between Eastern and Western texts, and that some of the fragments are part of the proto-Italian or even proto-Western tradition.

- It is therefore recommended to include as many Cairo Genizah fragments as possible, in order to 'restore' the proto-Italian and proto-Western text.
- If the reconstruction of the history of Targum Samuel is correct, with the proto-Eastern tradition placed at the beginning, then it is incorrect to use the Cairo Genizah fragments as tools for the reconstruction of the original text. Their placing somewhere between the Yemenite and the proto-Italian tradition means that they represent a later stage of the text, in spite of their being the oldest witnesses.

4.4.5 The Editor's Aim

The editor of Targum Samuel is left with four options: (1) the search for the original, final text of Targum Samuel; (2) the edition of the earliest attested text, without trying to restore the original one; (3) a display of several textual layers next to each other, which in our case would lead to six different texts; or (4) a reconstruction of several 'original' texts, *e.g.* one bare proto-Eastern and one rich proto-Western text.[121] A combination of these choices would lead to a critical edition with a reconstruction of the original version as the main text, with the several stages of Targum Samuel represented in the critical apparatus.

To start with option 3, a display of the six families does not seem to be useful, since the Babylonian and Yemenite texts are too close to each other and since contamination plays an important part in the Western traditions. Option 4 can only be seriously carried out if one can prove that there have always been two kinds of

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[121] See above, section 1.3.

Targum, a bare and a rich one. Otherwise it would simply be a resumé of option 3. In the case of a real option 4, the Eastern bare text can be edited by reconstructing the proto-Eastern text, giving the Babylonian and Yemenite variants in the critical apparatus, complemented with some variants from the Cairo Genizah fragments. The richer text can be edited by using one of the early Italian manuscripts as the basic text, complemented by various toseftot, quotations and variant readings from the Cairo Genizah fragments. Codex Reuchlin (I705) could be used because it is the oldest manuscript, but Codex Urbinati (I2) is also suitable because it has the fewest singular readings and errors.

Option 2, the edition of the earliest attested text, can use either the Babylonian or the Yemenite manuscripts. The difference is too small to enable us to argue that there was a separate or even earlier proto-Babylonian tradition, although it is clear that the Babylonian manuscripts are the oldest and should therefore be preferred. If an editor insists on using one extant manuscript for the entire text of Targum Samuel, a so-called diplomatic edition, he is faced with a choice for a Yemenite manuscript. In that case, Y711 (London, Or. 2210)[122] and Y710 (London, Or. 1472) are the closest to the origin. Y710 stands out by its lack of singular readings.[123]

Option 1, the reconstruction of the final recension, can start with the earliest attested texts, but must investigate whether a more original text can be reconstructed.[124] This can only be accomplished by an eclectic text, because a diplomatic edition will always give a later stage of the text's history. The ultimate choice between these options will depend on the results of research carried out into the history of Targum Samuel by studying quotations and toseftot.

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[122] 'So Sperber's choice of a well-executed Yemenite MS was not so injudicious after all.' Smelik, *The Targum of Judges*, 115-116.

[123] A diplomatic text is by definition a late text, since there are no complete Eastern manuscripts from before 1487 for the Books of Samuel. This disadvantage is described in M. Martin, 'The Babylonian Tradition and Targum', in: R. de Langhe, Le Psautier: Ses origines. Ses problèmes littéraires. Son influence: Études présentées aux XIIe Journées Bibliques (29-31 août 1960), Louvain 1962, 425-51, esp. 445.

[124] There are a few unique readings within the Babylonian tradition, more than in the Yemenite tradition. Therefore, a reconstruction must be made.

Chapter 5

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Codicology and Palaeography

Codicology is the study of codices, or older handwritten books. It concerns itself chiefly with the book as a physical object.[125] It investigates the making of the books, the materials used, the maker and the owner, the marginalia, the layout, decorations, but also the abbreviations, ways of filling out lines, and catchwords. Palaeography is the study of ancient handwriting, independent of language.[126] It concerns itself chiefly with the style of the alphabet classified according to regional and historical types. The results of the codicological investigations of the Hebrew Paleography Project in Jerusalem and the publications of M. Beit-Arié and C. Sirat and others, provide a still growing classification into historical and geographical types of characters and a refined description of the types.[127]

Not all the data are relevant for the edition of a Targum text. Therefore, a selection of data will be discussed in this chapter, especially with a view to the making of a critical edition.

5.1 Useful Information for A Provisional Stemma

Stemmatology is based on the consonantal text of manuscripts. A stemma can be made without codicological or palaeographical information. Some pieces of information, however, are useful for the provisional selection of the manuscripts, to ensure a full representation of the expected families is obtained.

5.1.1 The Provenance
Knowledge of the provenance of manuscripts is useful when making a provisional selection of the extant manuscripts. The previous chapter showed that it was recommendable to use at least four manuscripts per family, but this selection can only take place if information about the manuscripts is available. Data from codicological and palaeographical research can be very helpful in determining a manuscript's provenance, i.e. its provisional place within a provisional stemma. The data that help to determine a manuscript's provenance are derived from several features of the manuscript:
- the colophon of the manuscript or the introduction of an edition, if this mentions in which region the manuscript was written. Ms. I701 may function as an example, for its colophon mentions that it was completed 'in Frascati, on the river Marana' in Italy.

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[125] Cf. M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology: Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Medieval Manuscripts*, Jerusalem 1981, 87-103.
[126] C. Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, ed. and transl. N. de Lange, Cambridge 2002.
[127] Besides the references in notes 1 and 2, see also M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West. Towards a Comparative Codicology* (The Panizzi Lectures, 1992), London 1992.

- script: in most cases the characteristics of a handwriting can point to a region in which the manuscript has its roots, or at least in which the copyist had his roots.[128]
- materials and binding: a combination of the preparation of the parchment, the way in which the quires are bound (or: the quire binding style), the numbering of quires, sheets, folios or pages, or, instead of numbering, the use of catchwords. To mention one example, a manuscript made of parchment folios, of which the flesh side and the hair side of the parchment *vellum* are equally tanned, with four leaves in one quire, vertical catchwords and no numbering of the quires, is very likely to be a medieval Ashkenazic manuscript. The number of leaves within the quire can also point to a Sephardic origin, but the copyists in Sepharad numbered the quires in order to preserve their order.
- layout: the design of the written space by means of layout of the columns, ruling schemes, ruling techniques and/or devices to produce even margins. The number of columns on a page and their positioning, the way of placing the columns, the marginalia, and the decorative elements, as well as the material used to prepare these columns are historical and geographical information.[129] There are several ways of producing even margins. Ashkenazic manuscripts use graphic fillers to complete short lines, while Sephardic copyists prefer to space the last word or letters. Oriental manuscripts show exceeding letters diagonally at the end of long lines, Sephardic and Italian copyists wrote those letters above the line, while Ashkenazic writers used to put them vertically at the end of the line.[130]
- orthography, vocalisation and abbreviation: each tradition has its own way of dealing with orthography and vocalisation. There is the well-known difference between supralinear and sublinear vocalisation, but even within the sublinear tradition several vocalisation patterns are discernible, with at least a Sephardic and an Ashkenazic vocalisation tradition. Codex Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles are part of the Ashkenazic vocalisation tradition, but nevertheless stand out as a separate group.[131] This subject needs more attention. A distinction between Babylonian and Yemenite was found through some research,[132] but systematic research into the characteristics of the Western vocalisation is still needed.

5.1.2 Other Information in Connection With The Provenance

Aside from codicological and palaeographical information, there is also other information that provides clues as to where a manuscript came from or in which tradition it stands.

The completeness of the Hebrew/Aramaic Bible

From the middle of the eleventh Century onwards, Christian monasteries produced giant Bibles, which are famous for their imposing size and luxurious illustrations. The production of the so-called Atlantic Bibles started in Rome, but soon spread to Central

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[128] See e.g. A. Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script: History, Palaeography, Script Styles, Calligraphy and Design*, Jerusalem 1997.

[129] Cf. C. Sirat, *Hebrew Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, 125.

[130] M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology*, 87-103.

[131] See above, section 3.8.

[132] Cf. Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatan de los profetas primeros*, 14-16, also referring to A. Díez Macho, 'Un manuscrito yemení de la Biblia babilónica', *Sefarad* 17 (1957), 238.

and Northern Italy and was introduced North of the Alps in the twelfth Century.[133]A similar tradition is evident within the Jewish Italian and Ashkenazic communities from the middle of the thirteenth Century onwards.[134] This tradition stressed the importance of the entire sacred text. This feature is not found in other medieval Jewish communities. The first Rabbinic Bible, which was a complete Hebrew-Aramaic Bible, became an example for other printers.

The spread of Targum Chronicles seems to be connected to this Italian-Ashkenazic feature. This Targum was adopted in three of the seven complete handwritten Bibles, two of which are Ashkenazic and one is Italian (I2, A4 and A5). The fourth extant text is found in another kind of Ashkenazic manuscript.[135] However, if a manuscript containing the Targum of Chronicles were to be found, it is not certain that this too will be Italian or Ashkenazic. We do not know where this Targum was produced, or how often it was copied.

The Order of the Latter Prophets

The order of the Latter Prophets correlates with the provenance of a manuscript. Yemenite manuscripts always use the Talmudic order: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah.[136] Western manuscripts, however, vary in their order. The Italian manuscripts mainly use the Talmudic order, but I705 and I232 give a different order: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel. The latter order in I232 can be explained by its Sephardic copyist, for Sephardic manuscripts tend to use the 'Christian' order, with the exception of Ms. hébreu 96, Paris.[137] The Sephardic editions also use this order. Since Codex Solger also has the 'Christian' order and the Rabbinic Bibles followed it, all the editions use this order. The Ashkenazic tradition always begins with Jeremiah, but the second and third place differ. The 'Christian' order is not found here.

The Spread of Tosefta-Targumim

Aside from all the variant readings in the margins of Codex Reuchlin, there are ten tosefta-targumim in the Books of Samuel. These toseftot are mainly Sephardic and hardly occur in any other tradition.

- 1 Sam. 2:9 (good deeds preparing for the *olam haba*), only attested in F3013.
- 1 Sam. 17:8 (Goliath recounting his past victories), three versions, viz. (1) a very short version in I705; (2) a longer and rather poetic version in various non-Sephardic traditions;[138] and (3) a longer and poetic version in the Sephardic tradition:

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[133] D.J.D. Kroeze, E. van Staalduine-Sulman, 'A Giant Among Bibles: "Erfurt 1" or Cod. Or. fol. 1210-1211 at the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*', *Aramaic Studies* 4 (2006), 197-209, esp. 198.

[134] So in Mss. R1 (Codex Solger), I2, I3 and I7 of the Italian tradition, and A4, A5 and A6 of the Ashkenazic tradition. Many editions, from the Rabbinic Bibles onwards, are complete as well.

[135] In Ms. Ee 5.9, Cambridge (1347). Cf. Kroeze, Van Staalduine-Sulman, 'A Giant Among Bibles', 200.

[136] Cf. bBB 14b. The order found in Yemenite manuscripts contraditcts the order mentioned in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 16, s.v. 'Masorah', which states that the Orient uses the order Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel.

[137] The order Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel is used in the Septuagint and also mentioned by Josephus. It was adopted by Jerome for the Vulgate and from then onwards by all Christian churches.

[138] Although sometimes with influences from the Sephardic version.

	short version	non-Sephardic version	Sephardic version
Yemenite tradition		Y727[139], Y722[140]	
Italian tradition	I705	I232, I718[141]	
Sephardic tradition			S702, S703, S704, S706, S717, S734
Ashkenazic tradition		A4, A6, A713, A720, A725	
Solger and the RB's		R1, R10	

- 1 Sam. 17:39 (Goliath sentenced to death by stoning), two versions, viz. (1) a Sephardic version in S702, S703, S704, S706, S734; and (2) the version of I700.[142]
- 1 Sam. 17:42 (acrostic poem about Goliath and David), two versions, viz. (1) the complete alphabet in S702, S703, S704 and in Rashi's commentary on the verse (Ms. Munich 5); and (2) a broken alphabet, complete but divided over two verses and with an alternative ending in S717, and incomplete until *Pe* in S734.[143]
- 1 Sam. 18:19 or 18:25 (explanation why Michal's marriage to David was invalid), two versions, viz. (1) a longer version attached to 18:19 in S702, S703, S704, and S734; and (2) a shorter version attached to 18:25 in S717.[144]
- 2 Sam. 6:23 (the only son of Michal), in one version: S703, S704, S734.
- 2 Sam. 12:12 or 12:14 (explanation why four sons of David died), two versions, viz. (1) a version commencing with a question, attached to 12:12 in S702, S703, S704, and S706; and (2) a version commencing with a statement, attached to 12:14 in S717.[145]
- 2 Sam. 19:30 (the division of the kingdom), only attested in S734.
- 2 Sam. 20:22 (the negotiations of the wise woman of Abel), only attested in S717.
- 2 Sam. 21:17 (David against Ishbi-benob), only attested in Ms. Gaster 1478.[146]

Tosefta-targumim are well attested within the Sephardic tradition: every Sephardic manuscript contains four or five toseftot. Among these manuscripts, S717 is

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[139] Clearly a later addition. It is placed between the upper masorah and the text, continued in the outer margin. It is introduced by the words 'Targum' with the first two Hebrew words of 17:8, followed by 'Tosefta'. It represents the non-Sephardic version, with two variant readings also attested in the *Mikraot Gedolot* of Warsaw 1862, cf. Van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 352-3.

[140] Also in the margin. This manuscript adds many toseftot in the margin.

[141] With a few omissions and alterations, also attested in the Parma manuscript of Kimhi's commentary on the Books of Samuel; cf. Van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 352-3.

[142] The version of I700 contains three alternative readings and two omissions. Both versions give a meaningful text; cf. Van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 363.

[143] Cf. Van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 364-5.

[144] Cf. Van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 392-4.

[145] Cf. Van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 552-5.

[146] Ms. Gaster 1478 consists of a collection of tosefta-targumim, written on a typewriter and vocalised by hand. It is preserved in the John Rylands University Library at Manchester.

exceptional, because its version of two known toseftot differ from the other Sephardic manuscripts and it contains one extra tosefta to 2 Sam. 20:22.

Only the tosefta-targum to 1 Sam. 17:8 is found among all Western traditions. It is even found in the margin of one Yemenite manuscript. One exceptional non-Sephardic manuscript is I700, the only manuscript outside the Sephardic tradition that gives the tosefta to 1 Sam. 17:39. This confirms the conclusion about the text of I700 that it is affected by the Sephardic tradition. In scheme:[147]

	Y mss	B mss	I mss	S mss	A mss	R mss	Fragm
I 2:8							1
I 17:8	2		2	6	5	2	
I 17:39			1	5			
I 17:42				5			
I 18:19/25				5			
II 6:23				3			
II 12:12/14				5			
II 19:30				1			
II 20:22				1			

There is a difference in indicating the toseftot, but there is no clear distinguishing line between the Sephardic and non-Sephardic manuscripts. Obviously all traditions contain manuscripts that indicate the toseftot as such either by introducing them or by placing them in the margin. The Ashkenazic tradition tends to integrate the tosefta to 17:8 into the text without indicating that it is an addition. The Sephardic tradition is the only tradition that tends to systematically indicate toseftot, although not every tosefta is indicated in every manuscript. There is even a custom in this tradition of indicating that the translation of Hannah's Prayer (1 Sam. 2:1-10) is a tosefta[148], although no short version without toseftot is known in either tradition.[149] The Antwerp Polyglot (1569) is the first text in which Hannah's Prayer is abridged, not because Plantin, the editor, used an older and shorter *Vorlage*, but most probably because he wanted to avoid the typically Jewish expansions in this text.

Since no extant Sephardic manuscript can be traced back to the times of Islamic rule beyond any doubt, it is uncertain whether or not this custom of indicating toseftot precedes the Christian rule of Spain. Although the Sephardic tradition is the richest, it must be admitted that the copyists were well aware of the difference between a straightforward translation and an expansive toseftot.

5.1.3 Palaeographical Peculiarities in the Stemma
There are two peculiarities in the stemma, as it now stands. The first one is the position of I232 (Ms. hébreu 75, Paris) in the Italian tradition, although many features of the manuscript point to a Sephardic origin.[150] It is written in a Sephardic semi-

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[147] 2 Sam. 21:17 is not included, because there is no manuscript containing this tosefta-targum. It is only found in the modern notations of Gaster. See note 21.

[148] So in S706, S717, S703, S704. The Polyglots S12 and S16 leave the extra parts out.

[149] Not even in the diverse continuous manuscripts and *haftarot* of the Cairo Genizah, the Babylonian or the Yemenite traditions.

[150] H. Zotenberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits hébreux et samaritain de la Bibliothèque Impériale : Manuscrits orientaux*, Paris 1866. no. 75; B. Chilton, 'HEBR. 75 in the Bibliothèque Nationale' in: S.A. Kaufman, *Targum and Scripture: Studies in Aramaic Translation and Interpretation in Memory of Ernest G. Clarke*, Leiden 2002, 141-149.

cursive script. Corrections, headers, colophon and one addition are in Sephardic script as well. The placing of compressed letters above the line is Sephardic, but was also frequently used in Italy. The ruling could be Sephardic or Italian. The use and placing of signatures resembles Eastern manuscripts, but is common in Sepharad and Italy as well. The conclusion must be that a Sephardic copyist used, at least for the Targum of Samuel, an Italian *Vorlage*.[151]

The second peculiarity concerns the other handwritings within the Italian tradition. Two manuscripts, I705 and I701, were written in a genuinely Italian script, the other six were written in an Ashkenazic script. The latter script most probably emerged from the first and has always been present in Northern Italy. Later contamination must be attributed to the influence of Ashkenazic Jewry on Italy, 'which had already emerged at the end of the thirteenth Century but only acquired momentum in the fifteenth Century, following the mass emigration of Ashkenazic Jews to northern Italy'.[152]

5.2 Useful Information for the Definitive Stemma

An initial stemma will show the relationships between manuscripts, but the work is incomplete as long as the historical orientation and the definitive placing of the manuscripts have not taken place. Some codicological and palaeographical data will provide help in determining historical orientation and in drawing up the definitive stemma.

5.2.1 The Date of Origin

The date of origin of manuscripts is used to determine the historical orientation of each branch.[153] If a branch is in its correct historical order in the provisional stemma, it is likely that this family of manuscripts originates from another family and knew a quite separate development. This is the case with the Babylonian and partly with the Yemenite family. If a branch is in reverse order, it is impossible to detect the exact origin of the family. It is certain, however, that contamination plays an important role within such a family. This is the case with Codex Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles. The date of origin helps in determining the historical order. It can be inferred from the colophon or from the historical data in the provenance.[154]

The date is also important when giving manuscripts their definitive place in the stemma. If two manuscripts are so close to each other that one may deduce that it is very likely that one is the *Vorlage* of the other, the date of origin can provide the final decision, because it is impossible that an earlier manuscript was copied from a later one.

5.2.2 The Number of Singular Readings

Singular readings are not significant for genealogical relationships.[155] They are, however, an important item in the process of drawing up the definitive stemma. A

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[151] This confirms the statement of Chilton that the manuscript has a lot in common with Codex Reuchlinianus; cf. Chilton, 'HEBR. 75', 144-46.

[152] M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West*, 63.

[153] See above, section 4.1.2.

[154] See above, section 5.1.1.

[155] E.J. Epp, 'Toward the Clarification of the Term "Textual Variant",' in: J.K. Elliot (ed.), *Studies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Leiden, 1976), 153-173, esp. 161. Yet, some singular readings can be useful as opposed to a single group of readings, cf. E. Wattel, M.J.P. van Mulken, 'Weighted Formal Support of

manuscript containing many singular readings is not likely to be a direct *Vorlage* . The number of singular readings in a manuscript is therefore significant.

Each family in a stemma has its own average. Yemenite manuscripts often contain no singular readings. Some have three or five at most in the first three chapters of Samuel. Apart from I700, and I2190 which contains 49 singular readings in 59 verses, the Ashkenazic family has the most singular readings. The richest manuscript here is A5, with 44 items. This means that some traditions were much stricter in their copying than others. The Yemenite and the Babylonian traditions, as well as the string of Codex Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles, appear to have been very strict. The Ashkenazic and Italian traditions were the least strict. The Sephardic tradition is generally rather strict, with the exception of S734 (Leiria edition) and S2565. The average of all the Cairo Genizah fragments lies somewhere between those of the Italian and the Ashkenazic traditions. Especially F3008 contains many singular readings. In scheme, from the richest to the poorest family:

Ashkenazic manuscripts	used verses	singular readings	s.r. / verse
A4	63 vss	17	0.27
A5	63 vss	44	0.70
A6	63 vss	15	0.24
A713	63 vss	7	0.11
A720	63 vss	20	0.32
A725	63 vss	24	0.38
A2565	26 vss	11	0.42
average of singular readings			**0.35**

The Ashkenazic family is the richest in singular readings. With the exception of the Berlin manuscript A5, there is no manuscript that does not contain them.

Cairo Genizah fragments	used verses	singular readings	s.r. / verse
F1200	3 vss	0	0
F1262	8 vss	2	0.25
F3001	3 vss	3	1
F3002	9 vss	4	0.44
F3005	7 vss	1	0.14
F3006	7 vss	4	0.57
F3007	3 vss	0	0
F3011	6 vss	0	0
F3015	4 vss	1	0.25
average of singular readings in 'Eastern' fragments			**0.29**
average of singular readings, without F3001			**0.2**
F3000	8 vss	1	0.13
F3003	11 vss	1	0.09
F3004	21 vss	3	0.14
F3008	22 vss	17	0.77
F3009	13 vss	2	0.15

a Pedigree', in: P. van Reenen and M. van Mulken (eds.), *Studies in Stemmatology* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1996), pp.135-167, esp. 155.

F3010	4 vss	1	0.25
F3012	3 vss	0	0
F3013	4 vss	1	0.25
F3014	4 vss	2	0.50
average of singular readings in 'Western' fragments			**0.25**
average of singular readings, without F3008			**0.19**

The Cairo Genizah fragments are quite rich in singular readings. It is surprising here that the fragments that more or less belong to the Eastern tradition, are richer than those more or less tending towards the Western tradition.[156] Even when leaving the most erroneous manuscripts out of the equation, the oldest manuscripts of Targum Samuel contain a relatively large number of singular readings.

Italian manuscripts	used verses	singular readings	s.r. / verse
I2	63 vss	6	0.10
I3	63 vss	12	0.19
I7	63 vss	14	0.22
I232	63 vss	13	0.21
I700	59 vss	49	0.83
I701	63 vss	18	0.29
I705	63 vss	21	0.33
I718	63 vss	19	0.30
I2190	6 vss	16	2,67
average of singular readings			**0.57**
average of singular readings, except for I700 and I2190			**0.23**

The Italian manuscripts are quite strict, with the exception of I2190 and its *Vorlage* I700. It is clear that these two manuscripts do not follow the Italian way of copying. Many of the singular readings of these two manuscripts are errors.[157]

Sephardic manuscripts	used verses	singular readings	s.r. / verse
16	63 vss	1	0.02
12	63 vss	1	0.02
717	63 vss	10	0.16
734	63 vss	28	0.44
706	63 vss	10	0.16
704	63 vss	2	0.03
703	63 vss	0	0
2565	62 vss	28	0.45
average of singular readings			**0.16**

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[156] For the classification 'Eastern' and 'Western' of the Cairo Genizah fragments, see above, section 4.2.7.

[157] See also above, section 4.2.3.

The Sephardic tradition is again divided, as was the case with the initial stemma.[158] The dividing line is the same. One part of the family is very strict, even containing one manuscript without any singular reading. The other part is less strict.

Babylonian manuscripts	used verses	singular readings	s.r. / verse
B707	63 vss	12	0.19
B709	63 vss	3	0.05
B724	56 vss	3	0.05
B1126	32 vss	7	0.22
B2520	60 vss	0	0
average of singular readings			**0.10**

The Babylonian family is very strict. Most of the singular readings are stored in two manuscripts, B1126, which is indeed affected by other traditions, and B707, which is the one with the best Babylonian vocalisation.

Codex Solger and the RB's	used verses	singular readings	s.r. / verse
R1	39 vss	3	0.08
R10	63 vss	1	0.02
R11	63 vss	2	0.03
R13	63 vss	3	0.05
average of singular readings			**0.05**

The Rabbinic Bibles show the strictness of their editors. Most singular readings of this branch are found in the *Vorlage* itself, although these readings are all corrected in the margin. If one would use Codex Solger, including all its marginal notes, one would not have a single singular reading.

Yemenite manuscripts	used verses	singular readings	s.r. / verse
172	38 vss	0	0
710	63 vss	0	0
711	63 vss	3	0.05
716	63 vss	1	0.02
721	63 vss	1	0.02
722	63 vss	0	0
727	63 vss	0	0
729	63 vss	5	0.08
1169	38 vss	1	0.03
1269	38 vss	3	0.08
1270	38 vss	0	0
1272	38 vss	3	0.08
average of singular readings			**0.03**

The Yemenite tradition is outstanding, also in terms of singular readings. This must be the result of a very strict copying standard.

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[158] See above, section 4.2.5.

5.2.3 Paratext: Latin Translations[159]

In the same way that the presence of tosefta-targumim points to the probability that a manuscript belongs to the Sephardic tradition, paratextual phenomena can also point to particular relationships.[160] One of the many items that can be investigated is the Latin translation of the Targum. The presence of a Latin translation does in itself not reveal a relationship between manuscripts. It primarily reveals that these manuscripts or editions have a Christian background. The translation that is used, however, does reveal kinship. The two manuscripts written by Alfonso de Zamora share one translation. It is based on the Vulgate, but adapted to mediaeval Latin and to the text of the Targum. The Latin translation in the oldest manuscript, S703, is not the original. Several cases of haplography prove that Zamora copied this translation from a handwritten text. The translation in the younger one, S704, was not necessarily copied from the Latin version of S704. It contains a lot of Spanish spellings of Latin words.

The Antwerp and the Paris Polyglots also share a translation, but this is considerably different from the one Zamora used. The London Polyglot took the Latin translation of the other Polyglots, but revised it, because it served as translation of a slightly different Aramaic text, based on the Rabbinic Bibles. The printer even indicated which words were changed by printing them in italics. This information makes it probable that the extant Sephardic influences on the London Aramaic text stem from the Antwerp or Paris polyglot, rather than from any other Sephardic manuscript or edition.

The relationship between the Latin translations and the Vulgate is shown in the next figure, in which the bold words are from the Vulgate. The Zamora text shows much more similarity with the Vulgate than the Polyglots.

Vulgate I 1:3	Salamanca 1 I 1:3 = Madrid 7542 I 1:3	Antwerp Polyglot I 1:3 = Paris Polyglot I 1:3 = London Polyglot I 1:3
et ascendebat vir ille	**et ascendebat vir ille**	**et ascend**it **vir ille**
de civitate sua	**de civitate sua**	ex urbe **sua**
statutis diebus	in tempore **statut**o festivitatis	à tempore solennitatis ad solennitatem
ut adoraret et sacrificaret	**ut adoraret et sacrificaret**	ad **adora**ndum et ad **sacrifica**ndum
Domino exercituum	coram **Domino**	ante **Domin**um
in Silo	**exercituum in Silo**:	**exercituum in S**ylo:
erant autem ibi duo filii	et **ibi erant duo filii**	et **ibi duo filii**
Heli	**Eli**	Gh**eli**
Ofni et Finees	**O**ph**ni et Finees**	Hhophni **et** Pinhas[161]
sacerdotes Domini	ministrantes coram **Domin**o	ministri coram **Domin**o.

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[159] See Stemma 9: The Latin Translations.
[160] Houtman, 'Different kinds of tradition,' 275.
[161] The Paris Polyglot reads: Pinhhaz.

5.3 Useful Information for the Edition

Two pieces of information about the manuscripts are important for the editing process. First, the number of errors provides information for the selection process of manuscripts. Secondly, orthography and vocalisation are important for the valuation of variant readings.

5.3.1 Number of Errors

Some singular readings are copying errors. These can be used in the selection process of manuscripts for the edition, in the following way. The number of errors partly determines how useful a manuscript is for inclusion in the edition. A high number of errors makes the other singular readings suspect. The copyist may have invented them or could have made errors, which turned into new variant readings. These variants will pollute the critical apparatus. In the 63 manuscripts used in this research, I700 and I2190 fall into the category of 'too many errors' for the edition. The Cairo Genizah fragment F3008 is also suspect in this regard.

5.3.2 Orthography and Vocalisation

Orthography and vocalisation of manuscripts must be defined in order to avoid confusing orthographical variants with variants that affect the meaning of a word. If a manuscript always, or usually, spells the third person masculine suffix without a Yodh, the variant בה instead of ביה in 1 Sam. 2:2 is purely orthographical. If a manuscript, however, always adds the Yodh, the word בה might well be a variant in meaning. According to that particular manuscript, the miracles were not done 'to him', i.e. to Sennacherib, but 'in her', i.e. in Jerusalem.

      A description of Targumic vocalisation can be found in Dalman's grammar, although he only uses a categorisation into supralinear and sublinear vocalisation.[162] All kinds of vocalisation traditions can be found in his examples of verbal forms. A description of the Babylonian vocalisation system has been provided by several Spanish scholars.[163] Since it has been shown that there were several different vocalisation systems (see above, Chapter 3), even within the Western tradition, it is recommendable that research into this almost virgin territory is started. A small beginning—with four orthographical examples—was made in this paragraph.

Abbreviations

Many manuscripts tend to abbreviate words in order to gain space. The first word to be considered is the standardised קדם before the Holy Name. Eastern manuscripts, both Yemenite and Babylonian, tend to abbreviate it into ק', even taking the two words together: ק'יי. Other Eastern manuscripts, both Yemenite and Babylonian, do not abbreviate at all. There are only two Yemenite manuscripts that alternate abbreviation and writing in full, viz. Y1169 and Y1269, both *haftarot* collections, the first probably the *Vorlage* of the second. There is, however, a difference between Yemenite and Babylonian manuscripts with regard to other abbreviations. Yemenite manuscripts do not abbreviate anything else, no names and no other words. There is only one abbreviation in Y722. Babylonian manuscripts tend to abbreviate names,

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[162] G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, Leipzig ²1927, repr. Darmstadt 1960, esp. 70-96.

[163] Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatan de los profetas primeros*, 14-16, also referring to A. Díez Macho, 'Un manuscrito yemení de la Biblia babilónica', *Sefarad* 17 (1957), 238.

especially the name of 'Israel'.[164] B707 even has several other abbreviations, e.g. 'כהנ in 1:9.

The choice between abbreviating as 'ק and writing in full is continued in the Cairo Genizah fragments, although the abbreviation 'ק(ו)ד also occurs (F3002, F3005, F3008, F3015). Only one fragment gives both abbreviations, viz. F3005. Other abbreviations are limited to names. These fragments are again mainly Eastern, but have some Western tendencies.

The Sephardic tradition tends not to abbreviate the word דמק, but it does abbreviate other words. Names are sometimes abbreviated. There is one exception: S717 has both the abbreviation 'קד and 'ק. This manuscript is influenced by the Italian tradition, in which both abbreviations appear as well. The two manuscripts written by Alfonso de Zamora do not contain any abbreviations. This is probably because of his target group, Christian leaders who wanted to consult the Targum, which was written in a language they were largely unfamiliar with.

The Antwerp and Paris Polyglots follow the tradition of the Rabbinic Bibles, probably due to the influence of the printing process. There was no longer any need to save space or to create an even margin by abbreviating words. Whereas Codex Solger has at least 84 abbreviations in 1 Sam. 1-3, both 'קד and names and other words, the first Rabbinic Bible reduced them to 22 (two names and twenty substantives), the second Rabbinic Bible only contains 5 abbreviations and the Polyglots do not abbreviate at all. This process, especially in the Polyglots, may also be affected by the Christian target readership.

The Italian and the Ashkenazic traditions abbreviate in all the necessary places. The Ashkenazic tradition mainly uses the abbreviation 'קד, although A725 and A713 both once contain 'ק. The Italian manuscripts usually do not abbreviate קדם, but there are exceptions. I700 sometimes gives 'קד, as does I705, and I701 nearly always writes 'ק, with 'קד occurring only twice.

It appears that the Yemenite tradition is the most standardised in this respect. The Babylonian tradition is not far removed from standardisation. The printing process and the target readership of some Sephardic manuscripts and of the Polyglots affected standardisation, viz. the disappearance of all abbreviations. The Italian and Ashkenazic traditions are less standardised.

The Spelling of 'Gehenna'

The word Gehenna (2:8, 2:9 twice) can be spelled in four different ways as regards the presence and the position of the Yodh. Yemenite manuscripts always spell it as גיהנם, although Y729 forgot the Yodh in 2:8. Babylonian manuscripts can have the same spelling, but B707 and B724 give גיהינם. Cairo Genizah fragments give both גיהנם and גהינם. The Rabbinic Bibles and all the Polyglots do not have a Yodh and edit גהנם. The Italian, Sephardic and Ashkenazic traditions contain all four spellings, even within one manuscript: גיהנם, גיהינם, גהינם and גהנם. Standardisation of the spelling only occurs in the Yemenite tradition and in the Rabbinic Bibles. It is likely that the Sephardic Polyglots are affected by the spelling of the Rabbinic Bibles.

The Spelling of 'Here I am'

The Aramaic translation of the Hebrew הנני can be spelled in two different ways. It can be written as one word, האנא, or as two words, הא אנא. The spelling of this phrase does not reveal kinship of manuscripts, only in which region a manuscript was

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[164] The word צבאות must be taken as a name as well, for in Aramaic it does no longer constitute a substantive. See Van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, 153.

prepared. The Yemenite manuscripts all write it as one word, with the exception of the nineteenth Century Y729, which once has הא אנא in 3:11. The Babylonian manuscripts do not have a standardised spelling. Out of the six instances in 1 Sam. 1-3 where the word occurs, B707 writes it as one word three times and as two words three times. B724 and B709 write it four times as one word and twice as two. B2520 is a fragment and spells it as two words in 3:11. B1126 does not contain the phrase.[165]

In the Western manuscripts the situation is reversed. The standard spelling is הא אנא. There are three exceptions. The earliest Italian manuscript I705 once gives in האנא 3:5, the earliest 'Sephardic' manuscript S2649 times this spelling has four, and the fourteenth Century A5 gives it in 3:5. With regard to timing, we might conclude that the Western tradition standardised this spelling in the fourteenth Century.

The Use of Sin and Samech
In many manuscripts the use of the Sin and the Samech are mixed. Sometimes the word בסרא, 'meat, flesh', is also spelled as בשרא, even within one verse. The Eastern manuscripts, however, only use the Samech, with only one exception in B709. The Eastern spelling again appears to be highly standardised. The situation in the Cairo Genizah is mixed again. Both Sin and Samech are used in the fragments. There are also manuscripts that use both spellings (F3008, F3009).

The Western spelling is not standardised at all. The Italian and Ashkenazic traditions do not seem to care about the issue of Sin and Samech. The manuscripts can be ordered from all times Sin to all times Samech, with all variations in-between. A tendency to standardise is only found in the Sephardic editions (S12, S16, S734) and in the manuscripts of Alfonso de Zamora. The Sin is used consistently in these texts. The Rabbinic Bibles and the London Polyglot do not standardise the spelling, but are clearly very careful to copy the *Vorlage*. The first Rabbinic Bible exactly copied Codex Solger. The second copied the first, but made a mistake in 3:15, writing a Samech once and a Sin once. The London Polyglot exactly copied the second (or a later) one.

Provisional Conclusions
This concise study in orthography shows that a clear distinction can be made between the Eastern (Babylonian and Yemenite) and the Western (Italian, Sephardic, Ashkenazic, and Solger) traditions. In many cases the Eastern tradition appears to be standardised, with the Yemenite branch the most standardised of all. This may point to the origin of Targum Samuel. The high rate of standardisation within the Yemenite tradition makes it improbable, though not impossible, that these manuscripts represent the original Targum.

The Western tradition is not standardised, or saw standardisation at a later point in history. Most of the Western standardisation is visible in the editions, which can be explained by the process of printing and distributing, but which may also have been affected by the advent of the first Hebrew grammars in the first half of the sixteenth Century and the Christian target group, which needed as much clarity as possible. In all cases the Cairo Genizah fragments must be regarded as a group that hovers between these two traditions. Some fragments show the Eastern tradition, others show the Western, non-standardised one. Again, it is impossible to consider the Genizah fragments as close to the origin of Targum Samuel.

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[165] The word does not appear in the Cairo Genizah fragments, because 1 Sam. 3 is not represented in the Cairo Genizah. Other pericopes must be used to complement this inquiry.

5.4 Description of the Manuscripts

A short description of the used manuscripts will be given below, according to their families. The Cairo Genizah fragments have been included, but in many cases a place or date of origin could not be given. The description contains information on former classmarks, the contents of the manuscript, specified to Targum of the Books of Samuel, the colophon if present, script and vocalisation, the provenance of the manuscript, the number of toseftot, orthographical comments, and other details of interest.[166]

5.4.1 The Babylonian Family

Babylonian Jewry knew two academies: Nehardea, later Pumbedita, and Sura. Their activities and influence lasted until the eleventh Century. It was here that Babylonian vocalisation system was invented, which remained dominant until the tenth Century.[167] The development of the Tiberian vocalisation system was no competition until all Islamic lands fell under the same rule of the Abbasides around 750 CE. Several Babylonian manuscripts underwent a Tiberian correction from the tenth Century onwards. The influence of the Babylonian system declined and was eventually replaced by a Tiberian vocalisation and a Yemenite vocalisation, both of which were based on the Tiberian one. Still, the Babylonian vocalisation system functioned for a long time beside the other systems.

B707 (MS L 229, JTS, New York – EMC 105 – Eb 1)[168]
- **contents**: parts of the Former Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating: 1 Samuel 1:1-4:20 (fols 7-14); 6:16-12:17 (fols 15-22); 14:3-18:10; 18;13; 18:18-19; 18:23-24 (fols 23-33); 19:13-21:14 (fols 34-37); 22:15-25:13 (fols 38-41); 25:30-30:11 (fols 42-47); 30:27-2 Samuel 3:18 (fols 48-53); 2 Sam. 13:19-17:11 (fols 54-61); 22:29-24:17 (fols 62-65).[169]
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Babylonian supralinear vocalisation[170], several hands
- **provenance**: 12th-13th Century CE
- **toseftot**: none

B709 (MS L230, JTS, New York – EMC 5 – Eb 66)
- **contents**: parts of the Former Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating: 1 Samuel 1:1-18:19 (fols 67v-104v); 1 Samuel 29:4-end 2 Samuel (125r-174v).
- **colophon**: no colophon, several names of owners, one deed of sale in the year 1310 in the era of contracts, i.e. 1721 CE.

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[166] Further details and bibliographical references can be found in the database of Kampen Protestant Theological University, www.targum.nl

[167] Cf. Martin, 'The Babylonian Tradition', 427.

[168] Several Cairo Genizah fragments seem belong to this manuscript, see E. Martínez Borobio, *Targum Jonatan de los Profetas Primeros en tradición Babilonica. Vol.I: Josué-Jueces*, Madrid 1989, s.v.

[169] Martínez Borobio notes that 1 Sam 24:10 is missing. There is no damage to the parchment and the text is continuous at this place, so the omission must have been caused by the scribe.

[170] A description of the vocalisation is given in Martínez Borobio, *I-II Samuel*, 14-16.

- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Babylonian supralinear vocalisation, some verses also have Tiberian vocalisation
- **provenance**: 15th Century CE
- **toseftot**: none

B724 (MS 2, private collection Rav Yosef Kapah – Eb 76)
- **contents**: parts of the Former Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating: 1 Samuel 1:8-14:50; 17:12-2 Samuel 24:25 (fols 24r-125r)
- **colophon**: dated 29th of Kislev 1743 in the era of contracts, that is the 14th of December 1431 (Julian Calendar)[171], completed by Abraham ben Shalom ben Me`odad haLevi ben Zechariah haLevi (fol. 22r)
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Babylonian supralinear vocalisation, some verses have Tiberian vocalisation as well. A very short Zayin, barely larger than the Yodh; the Sin is indicated by a curved line above the left half of the Sin; the Shin is not indicated
- **provenance**: dated 1431 CE
- **toseftot**: some alternative readings in the margins of Samuel, indicated by נ"א (אחר נוסח)
- **notes**: Many omitted words, added by several hands in the margins; corrections in at least seven hands

B1126 (MS B 133, Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, St. Petersburg)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection: 1 Samuel 1:1-2:5 with Targum (fols 14-17)
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental semi-cursive script, Babylonian supralinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: 14th Century CE
- **toseftot**: none

B2520 (MS 4084/1, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Strasbourg)
- **contents**: parts of the Former Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating: Judges 21:22-21:25, 1 Samuel 1:1-3:13 (fols 1-4), 2 Samuel 18:19-23:4 (fols 5-11)
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite script, Babylonian supralinear vocalisation, although 1 Sam. 2:24 has some sublinear vocalisation in the first two words of the Hebrew text.
- **provenance**: 13th-14th Century CE
- **toseftot**: none

5.4.2 The Yemenite Family

'Information concerning Jewish communities in Yemen from the 11th Century bears witness to the continuity of Jewish settlement in this territory from pre-Islamic times'.[172] These communities supported the academies of the *geonim* in Iraq. From the eleventh Century onwards, relations with Cairo, the centre of Egyptian Jewry,

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[171] Ed. Martinez Borobio, *I-II Samuel*, 17, dates 1433.
[172] *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Yemen', 742.

became more intimate. Both under the rule of the Shi'ite Ayyubids (from 1165 onwards) and of the Ottomans (from 1618 onwards), there were persecutions and forced conversions of Jews. Jews were expelled from Yemen in 1678-79. This exile only lasted one year, after which they were allowed to return to their destroyed homes. The Turkish government never changed its attitude towards the Jews, and from 1882 onwards large groups of refugees started to head for Erez Israel.[173]

Y172 (edition TAG, Tel Aviv 1894-1901)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection, including 1 Sam. 1:1-2:10
- **colophon**: title pages and preface
- **script and vocalisation**: edition according to the Yemenite tradition
- **provenance**: Tel Aviv, 1894-1901
- **toseftot**: none

Y710 (Ms. Or. 1472, British Library, London),
- **contents**: Samuel and Kings, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: naming ישׁל, son of Joseph the priest, son of Joshua the priest, as the copyist, in the year 1824 in the era of contracts, i.e. 1512/13 CE (fol. 167v)
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with Yemenite supralinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Yemen, 1512/13 CE
- **toseftot**: none
- **notes**: Ornamental Samechs indicate the liturgical Sedarim of the triennial cycle.

Y711 (Ms. Or. 2210, British Library, London)
- **contents**: Former Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: the volume was written for Ibrahim ibn Yusuf ibn Sa'id ibn Ibrahim, in the year 1780 of the era of contracts, in the month Marheshvan, i.e. 1468 CE (fols 163v, 193v)
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with Yemenite supralinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Yemen, 1468 CE
- **toseftot**: one tosefta-targum in the margin, to 2 Kgs 4:31
- **orthographical comments**: It is suspected that the manuscripts Or. 2210, 2211, 2348, 2370 and 2375 are from one hand.[174]
- **notes**: Ornamental Samechs indicate the liturgical Sedarim of the triennial cycle.

Y716 (Ms. Or. 2371, British Library, London)
- **contents**: Former Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating; Judg. 4:23-5:31 also includes a Judeo-Arabic translation.
- **colophon**: finished on the 18th Marheshvan of the year 1954 of the era of contracts, that is the 11th of November 1642 (Gregorian Calendar).[175]

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[173] See further *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. 'Yemen', 739-59.

[174] G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts in the British Museum* I, London 1899-1935, no. 128.

[175] Another word in the same line may refer to the year 1522 CE, but it is hardly legible and was probably erased.

- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with Yemenite supralinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: most probably, Yemen 1642 CE
- **toseftot**: one tosefta-targum integrated in the text of 2 Kgs 4:31; few alternative readings to MT by a later hand, indicated by נ"א (נוסח אחר); some large glosses in the lower margin by different hands.
- **orthographical comments**: It is suspected that it was written by the same hand as MS Or. 1474 (16th-17th Century)[176]

Y721 (Ms. 63/2, private collection Rav Joseph Kapah)
- **contents**: Former Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with Yemenite supralinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Yemen, 16th-17th Century CE
- **toseftot**: none; few cases of alternative readings indicated by נ"א (נוסח אחר).
- **notes**: Ornamental Samechs indicate the liturgical Sedarim of the triennial cycle. Corrections and replacements of damaged pages by at least six hands.

Y722 (Ms. 13, Yemenite Immigrant Collection)
- **contents**: Former Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating; Judges 4:21-5:31 and 2 Kings 4:1-37 also include a Judeo-Arabic translation. The first 25 folios contain a philological treatise.
- **colophon**: several notes point to the 19th and 20th Century, but there is no colophon of the copyist
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with Yemenite supralinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Yemen, 16th-17th Century CE
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targum to 2 Kgs. 4:31 integrated in the text; toseftot to Josh. 6:1; Judg. 5:1; 5:3; 5:5; 5:8; 5:11; 5:16; 5:26; 1 Sam. 17:8 added in the margin, mostly indicated by the word 'tosefta'; few cases of alternative readings indicated by נ"א (נוסח אחר).
- **notes**: There is a note to a certain Abraham ben Hayyim al-Nadaf, which might be the same as the corrector of the edition TAG of Tel Aviv, 1894-1901 (see above, Y172).

Y727 (Ms. Or. 1471, British Library, London)
- **contents**: Former Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating; Judg. 4:23-5:31 also includes a Judeo-Arabic translation. The first 25 folios contain a philological treatise.
- **colophon**: completed on the 20th Av in 1900 (or later)[177] of the era of contracts, that is the 2nd of August 1589 CE or later, by Joseph ben Zekhariah ben Me`odad ben Sa`adiah, also known as al-Kaisi, in the city Al Karaba (Yemen), for the synagogue, on behalf of Saadiah ben David ben Zekhariah ben 'Amram, known as al-'Akhlufi.

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[176] G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan manuscripts in the British Museum* I, London 1899-1935, no. 131.
[177] The page is damaged and the last letter of the date may be lost, so the date may be out by a few years.

- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with Yemenite supralinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Yemen, 1589 CE or later (at least before 1689)
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim in the margins, to Josh. 5:14; 6:1; Judg. 5:1; 5:3; 5:5; 5:8; 5:11; 5:16; 5:26; 1 Sam. 17:8; 2 Kgs. 4:31. Few cases of alternative readings indicated by נ"א (נוסח אחר).
- **notes**: The manuscript is identical to Y722 in many features.

Y729 (Ms. 888/3, Mosad haRav Kook, Jerusalem)
- **contents**: Jeremiah 1:1-1:15 (fols. 1r-1v) and 1 Samuel 1:1-19:11 (2r-37v), with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum partly with sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Yemen, probably 19th Century
- **toseftot**: none
- **notes**: the copyist broke off in the middle of Jeremiah 1:15 and in the middle of 1 Samuel 19:11. This manuscript was bound in one volume with Megillat Antiochus (888/1) and a philological treatise (888/2).

Y1169 (Ms. C 91, Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection: 1 Samuel 1:1-2:10, 11:14-12:22, 14:52-15:33, 20:18-42; 2 Samuel 6:1-7:3
- **colophon**: names of the owners are mentioned on folios 1r-v
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with Yemenite supralinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Yemen, 18th Century
- **toseftot**: none
- **orthographical comments**: In some verses the Targum text has been divided into phrases by means of dots between the words.

Y1269 (Ms. Add. 3452, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script in two hands, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with sublinear vocalisation, not using the Shewa quiescens.
- **provenance**: Yemen, 18th Century CE
- **toseftot**: none
- **orthographical comments**: In some verse the Targum text has been divided into logical parts by means of dots between the words.

Y1270 (Ms. Heb. 38vo 6919, Allony Collection, Jerusalem)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Yemen, 18th-19th Century CE

- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim integrated in the text of 2 Kgs 4:4, 4:7 (two), Isa. 10:32, and at the end of the manuscript a tosefta to Ezek. 1:1.

Y1272 (Ms. fol. 18, Temple of Solomon, Jerusalem)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Yemen, 18th Century CE
- **toseftot**: tosefta-targumim integrated in the text of 2 Kgs 4:4, 4:8, Isa. 10:32, and at the beginning of the manuscript a tosefta to Ezek. 1:1.

5.4.3 The Cairo Genizah Fragments

'Soon after the Arab conquest of Egypt in the late seventh Century, the newly built city of Fostat became the administrative centre of the country until Cairo was built adjacent to it in the 10th Century. In 882, the Jews of Fostat bought and renovated the destroyed Coptic church of Saint Michael, turning it into the Ezra Synagogue.'[178] For many centuries, the *genizah* of this synagogue was used for the burial of all kinds of Hebrew books and leaves, from Biblical passages to letters and poems. The connections between the Fostat community and the rest of the Islamic world is represented in the diversity of the Targum manuscripts.

F1200 (Ms. Or. 5556 F/12, British Library, London)
- **contents**: liturgy including *haftarot*: Ezekiel 1:6-14 (fol. 21), Habakkuk 3:19, 1 Samuel 1:1-3 (fol. 20), Hebrew and Targum
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental script, sublinear vocalisation

F1262 (Ms. Heb. d. 64, fols. 19-24, Bodleian Library, Oxford)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection for the triennial cycle: Isa. 51:16; Ezekiel 28:13-28:19; 28:25; Isaiah 29:19-29:24; 30:18; Isaiah 54:9-55:5; Habakkuk 3:2-3:19 (end fol. 19); Isaiah 42:7-42:15, 42:21; Isaiah 49:9-49:23; Zephaniah 3:9-3:17; 3:20 (end fol. 20); Joshua 24:3-24:10, 24:14; Isaiah 41:2-41:13; Isaiah 1:1-1:8; 2:2-2:3; Isaiah 54:1-54:10; Jeremiah 33:25-34:5; 34:12-34:13 (end fol. 21); Isaiah 33:17-33:24; 35:10; Isaiah 17:14-18:7; 19:25 (end fol. 22); Isaiah 61:9-62:5; 62:8-62:9; 1 Samuel 2:21-2:28; Isaiah 33:7-33:16; 33:22 (end fol. 23); Isaiah 51:2-51:11.
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental script, some vowel points

F3000 (Ms. T-S B 6.11, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: 1 Samuel 1:7-11 (fol. 1); 2:1-2:3 (fol. 2), with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Persian (?) square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with sublinear vocalisation

F3001 (Ms. T-S B 12.6, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: Targum Jonathan to 1 Samuel 1:1-3

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[178] A. Oreck (2007), *The Cairo Genizah*. Internet:
http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/Genizah.html

- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental semi-cursive script, with sporadic sublinear vocalisation

F3002 (Ms. T-S B 15.3, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection: Joshua 1:11, 1 Samuel 1:1-1:12 (fol. 1), Jeremiah 31:14-31:20, Isaiah 57:14-57:18 (fol. 2), with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental square script, with Babylonian vocalisation, although 1 Sam. 1:12 also adds Tiberian vocalisation and punctuation
- **notes**: Judeo-Arabic notes on fol. 2r-v

F3003 (Ms. T-S B 15.5, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection: Malachi 2:7-3:4 (fols 1-2); Hosea 11:7-12:11 (fol. 2); Obadiah 1:15-1:21; Amos 2:6-2:14 (fol. 3); 1 Kings 3:23-4:1; Ezekiel 37:15-37:23 (fol. 4r); Ezekiel 37:23-37:28; 1 Kings 2:1-2:8 (fol. 4v); 1 Kings 2:9-2:12; Ezekiel 16:1-16:11 (fol. 5); Ezekiel 29:6-26:21 (fol. 6); 1 Kings 6:1-6:13; Ezekiel 43:10-43:12 (fol. 7); Ezekiel 43:12-43:27 (fol. 8); Ezekiel 22:1-22:14 (fol. 9); Jeremiah 9:11-9:23; Isaiah 40:1 (fol. 10); Isaiah 40:1-40:18 (fol. 11); Isaiah 40:18-40:26; 41:17; 49:14-49:21 (fol. 12); Joshua 5:2-5:14 (fol. 13); 1 Samuel 1:22-2:5 (fol. 14), with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Yemenite square script, Targum with Babylonian vocalisation and Tiberian accentuation

F3004 (Ms. T-S B 16.20, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: 1 Samuel 1:1-22, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental square script, no vocalisation

F3005 (Ms. T-S B 17.9, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection for the Genesis readings of the triennial cycle: Jeremiah 34:2-34:5, 34:12-34:13; Isaiah 33:17-33:24, 35:10; Isaiah 17:14-18:4 (fol. 1 pencil-marked 4); Isaiah 51:10-51:11; Isaiah 13:3-13:4; 2 Samuel 5:18-5:19; 6:2; Isaiah 65:23 (fol 2 pencil-marked 5); 1 Samuel 1:15-1:20; Jeremiah 30:10-30:18; Obadiah 1:1-1:7 (fol 3 pencil-marked 6), with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum without vocalisation

F3006 (Ms. T-S NS 32.98, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection (fragments): 1 Samuel 1:15-21; Isaiah 42:5-11, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental semi-cursive script, Tiberian vocalisation

F3007 (Ms. T-S NS 60.20, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: 1 Samuel 1:1, 1:4-5, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental square script, no vocalisation

F3008 (Ms. T-S NS 164.77, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: 1 Samuel 1:17-2:10, Targum only, with sporadically a Hebrew lemma

- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental semi-cursive script, no vocalisation

F3009 (Ms. T-S NS 216.16, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: 1 Samuel 1:24-2:8, Targum only
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental square script, no vocalisation

F3010 (Ms. T-S AS 41.2, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: 1 Samuel 1:14-17, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental semi-cursive script, no vocalisation

F3011 (Ms. T-S AS 69.224, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: 1 Samuel 1:2-8, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental square script, Hebrew no punctuation, Targum with Tiberian vocalisation

F3012 (Ms. T-S K 26.2, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: *haftarot* collection: Ezekiel 1:1-7 (fols 1-4); 1 Samuel 2:8-10 (fol. 5); Jeremiah 31:2-11 (fols 6-8); Zechariah 14:8-9, 16-18 (fols 9-11r); 1 Kings 7:51-8:7 (fols 11v-13); with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Hebrew in oriental square script, Targum in oriental semi-cursive script, no vocalisation

F3013 (Ms. T-S NS 128.14, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: *haftarot*: 1 Samuel 2:8-11, 3:19-20, Hebrew and Targum
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental semi-cursive script, Tiberian vocalisation
- **notes**: Judaeo-Arabic heading in the middle of the verso, followed by an Aramaic liturgical composition

F3014 (Ms. T-S AS 69.200, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: *haftarot:* 1 Samuel 2:8-11, 3:19-20, Targum with Hebrew lemmata
- **script and vocalisation**: Oriental semi-cursive script, Tiberian vocalisation

F3015 (Ms. T-S NS 167.36, University Library, Cambridge)
- **contents**: 1 Samuel 2:4-7, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **script and vocalisation**: Hebrew in oriental square script, Targum in oriental semi-cursive script, no vocalisation

5.4.4 The Italian Family

Jews had lived in Italy from the first century onwards. In the ninth Century, Jewish merchants were involved in long-distance trade. A Muslim document refers to them as *radhaniya*, Rhadanites. 'It is only after the Carolingian period, however, that the Jewry destined to be known as "Ashkenazi" was formed and began to evolve its unique patterns of internal organization and cultural life.'[179] This European Jewry first developed separately from the Spanish Jewry, since the latter communion came under Islamic rule. Although Italian Jewry first had its own development, including its own script and reading cycle, it came under the influence of the Northern parts of

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[179] 'The Beginnings of European Jewry', in: E. Barnavi (ed.), *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People* (London: Hutchinson, 1992), 78.

Ashkenaz by immigration of several Jews to Italy. It reached its peak in the fifteenth
Century.

I2 (Ms. Urbinas hebreo 1, Vatican City)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible with Targum, including Targum Rishon and Targum
  Sheni to Esther, Targum Chronicles, Somnium Mordechai and the
  commentary of Rashi to the Pentateuch, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: consonantal text in one hand, the Masorah in two hands. The latter
  scribe made a colophon: Jitshaq ben Rabbi Simeon haLevi has prepared the
  Masorah for half of this book for the benefactor r. Eliezer ben Samuel… and
  has completed it in 5055 on the 15th of the month Kislev, that is the 5th of
  December 1294 (Julian Calendar).
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazi square script, sublinear punctuation
- **provenance**: 1294
- **toseftot**: Isaiah's martyrdom in Isaiah 66:1-2, 23

I3 (Ms. Barberini Or. 161-164, Vatican City)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible and Targum, including Targum Sheni to Esther; with
  Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: Jechiel the scribe wrote this book on the New Month (the first) of
  Kislev (50)56 and the New Month of Adar (50)57 for R. Ja'aqov ben Jitshaq,
  that is between 10th of November 1295 and 26th of January 1297 CE (Julian
  Calendar).
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazi square script, sublinear punctuation
- **provenance**: 1297
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targum to Gen. 44:18 in the margin on 37v. Toseftot
  integrated in Josh. 6:1, Isa. 10:32-33, Obad. 1:1 and Hab. 3:1 without
  indication.

I7 (Mss. B.H. I-VII, Biblioteca Civica Berio, Genova)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible with Targum, including Targum Sheni to Esther,
  Somnium Mordechai, and the commentary of Rashi; with Hebrew and Targum
  alternating
- **colophon**: The Pentateuch was completed by Meir on the first day of Parashat
  Yitro of the year (5)198, that is in January 1438 CE. The date of completion of
  the entire Bible possibly reads as the year (5)227, that is 1466-1467 CE
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazi square script, sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: 1438-1467
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Judg. 5:3, 5:5, 5:8; Isa. 10:32; Zech. 2:14-4:7;
  alternative readings to the Hebrew texts are indicated by ספר אחר) ס'א')
- **notes**: The script is identified as from the 14th Century.

I232 (Ms. hébreu 75, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
- **contents**: Targum Onqelos, Targum Jonathan, Megillath Antiochus,
  Testament of Naphtali
- **colophon**: There are three colophons, mentioning impossible dates: 3250, that
  is 610 BCE; 3577, that is 183 BCE; and 'in the month Tishri of the year 4035',
  that is 274 CE.
- **script and vocalisation**: Sephardic semi-cursive script, sublinear vocalisation

- **provenance**: much of the characteristics points at a Sephardic or Italian background from the 14th or 15th Century
- **toseftot**: Targum Jerushalmi to Gen. 38:25-26; 44:18; Num. 32:3, indicated. Tosefta-targumim integrated in the text of Josh. 5:1; 5:3; 5:8; 5:14; 5:16; 5:26; 1 Sam. 17:8; Isa. 6;1; Zech. 2:14-4:1. One alternative reading on folio 211v indicated by א"נ (אחר נוסח).
- **notes**: Although in Sephardic script, the text appears to be Italian.

I700 (Ms. parm. 3187-89, Biblioteca Palatina, Parma)
- **contents**: Former Prophets, Latter Prophets without Minor Prophets, Writings, Somnium Mordechai; Hebrew with Targum in a separate column; Psalms without Targum
- **colophon**: the punctuator is Josef Nathan ben Isaac of Archiac (France), one of the scribes was called Moshe.
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazic square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum not vocalised
- **provenance**: France, 13th-14th Century
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Judg. 5:11; 5:16; 5:26; 11:1; 1 Sam. 17:39; 1 Kgs. 1:1; 5:9, integrated in the text without indication.
- **notes**: The texts contains many errors and omissions.

I701 (Ms. Or. 72, Biblioteca Angelica, Rome)
- **contents**: Former Prophets and Writings with Targum and several commentaries, followed by a collection of grammars and commentaries, Targum in a separate column
- **colophon**: On fol. 340v it reads: completed by of Menachem Zemah ben Abraham, in the year 5084 of creation, that is = 1323 CE. On fol. 124v. it says: completed by the hand of Menachem Zemah ben Abraham ben Benjamin ben Jehiel, the 14th of Kislev 5087, that is the 10th of November 1326 CE (Julian Calendar), in Frascati, on the river Marana (Italy).
- **script and vocalisation**: Italian script, Targum and commentaries in Italian semi-cursive script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum not vocalised
- **provenance**: Italy, early 14th Century
- **toseftot**: none

I705 (Ms. Reuchlinianus No. 3, Badische Hof- und Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe)
- **contents**: Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating, followed by Aramaic hymns to Jonathan ben Uzziel; the folios with 1 Sam. 12:20-17:1 are now missing.
- **colophon**: written by Zerah bar Yehudah Junior, in the year 4866 of creation and 1038 of the destruction of the Temple, that is in 1105/1106 CE.
- **script and vocalisation**: Italian square script, sublinear but no Tiberian vocalisation[180]
- **provenance**:

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[180] See e.g. A. Sperber, *The Pre-Masoretic Bible Discovered in Four Manuscripts Representing a Unique Tradition. I The Codex Reuchlinianus* (Corpus Codicum Hebraicorum Medii Aevi, II), Copenhagen 1956 (facsimile edition); S. Morag, 'The vocalization of Codex Reuchlinianus: Is the "Pre-Masoretic" Bible Pre-masoretic?', *JSSt* 4 (1959), 216-237.

- **toseftot**: The numerous alternative readings in the margin are indicated in six different ways: תרג' ירוש' (תרגום ירושלמי), ת'א' (תרגום אחר), ס'א' (ספר אחר), ל'א' (ואית דאמרי), פליג) ו'ד' (לשון אחר) (the abbreviations may vary in spelling); a part of the alternative readings are vocalized.
- **notes**: The book was owned by members of a Roman family, until Reuchlin bought it in 1498.

I718 (Ms. Laud Or. 326, Bodleian Library, Oxford)
- **contents**: Targum Jonathan to the Former Prophets
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazic square script, no vocalisation
- **provenance**: 12th Century
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targum to 1 Sam. 17:8
- **orthographical comments**: the He and the Cheth are very much alike; a short final Pe is used, which is very similar to the Taw; the Sade is more like Yodh and Nun.
- **notes**: written by several hands

I2190 (Ms. Add. 9403/1, British Library, London)
- **contents**: Torah with Onqelos, Targum to the *haftarot* (incomplete), Genesis 1:1-12:16 with Rashi, Targum in a separate column; on fol. 227v Targum 1 Samuel 2:1-5, 10 in the margin
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Franco-German script, Targum no vocalisation; marginal Targum Samuel in tiny Ashkenazic script of the 14th-15th Century, no vocalisation
- **provenance**: 14th-15th Century
- **toseftot**: none
- **notes**: many errors and singular readings in the marginal Targum Samuel

5.4.5 The Ashkenazic Family

The second half of the Ashkenazic family was mainly produced in Northern Europe, although there is one manuscript that was at least corrected in Italy. Jews lived there under varying circumstances. The outburst of the Black Death in the beginning of the fourteenth Century and the subsequent economical downfall of Europe led to riots, suppression and casualties. Many Jews were forced to move. There was a constant stream of emigrants towards Italy, especially in the fifteenth Century.

A4 (Ms. Or. fol. 1210-1211, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin)[181]
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible with Targum, including Targum to Chronicles; with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: scribe is Baruch ben Zerach, punctuator Simson; dated 1343, made for the heirs of R. Shalom.
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazic square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with sublinear vocalisation

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[181] See further D.J.D. Kroeze, E. van Staalduine-Sulman, 'A Giant Among Bibles: "Erfurt 1", or Cod. Or. Fol. 1210-1211 at the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*,' *AS* 4 (2006), 197-209.

- **provenance**: Ashkenaz, probably Erfurt, 1343
- **toseftot**: Only to 1 Sam. 17:8 in the Books of Samuel. Alternative readings to the MT indicated by ספר אחר) 'ס'א).
- **notes**: This manuscript is exceptional because of its height. In order to achieve this height, nearly all parchment sheets consisted of two single leaves each, which means that twice as many animals were needed as for a usual size manuscript; it is the only manuscript known to have been produced in this way.

A5 (Ms. Or. fol. 1-4, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible with Targum, including Targum to Chronicles, Esther Sheni and Somnium Mordechai, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: scribe is Baruch ben Abraham, no colophon, first owner date refers to 1400 or 1455 CE
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazic square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: 14th Century
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Isa. 10:32-33; Hab. 3:1-2, 2:11; Zech. 2:14-16, 3:1,2,9, 4:2,3,7; 4:3. These were integrated in the text without indication.
- **orthographical comments**: Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the Patah and the Qames.

A6 (Ms. hébreu 18, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible with Targum, including Targum Sheni and Somnium Mordechai; with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: none of the scribe, two of correctors. The first one states: on the eighth day of the month Av of the year (5)272, i.e. the 21st of July 1512 CE (Julian Calendar), the correction of errors in the Prophets was completed by Menachem Perets Trabot, in the city of Governolo (Italy). The second: on Shabbat on the twentieth of Av (5)272, i.e. the 2nd of August 1512 (Julian calendar), the correction was completed in the city of Mantua (Italy).
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazic script, semi-cursive rather than square, resembling an Italian style; Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with sublinear vocalisation.
- **provenance**: Ashkenaz, 14th-15th Century
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Judg. 5:5; 1 Sam. 17:8 and Zech. 4:2, 3, 7, integrated in the text without indication. Alternative readings in the margins indicated by בס"א ,(ספר אחר) 'ס'א, or גירסא) 'אחרינא ג'א), sometimes two or three readings to one case.

A713 (Ms. El. f.6, Universitätsbibliothek, Jena)
- **contents**: Prophets with Targum, with Hebrew and Aramaic alternating
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazic square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Ashkenaz, 13th-14th Century
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Judg. 5:3; 5:5; 1 Sam. 17:8. These are integrated in the text without indication.

- **orthographical comments**: Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the Patah and the Qames.

A720 (Ms. Add. 26,879, British Library, London)
- **contents**: Prophets with Targum and Rashi, all in separate columns. 1 Kings 8:8-16:25, Isaiah 53:12-66:24, Jeremiah, Hosea 1:1-9:16; 13:3-14:10; Joel 1:1-2:10 are missing.
- **colophon**: probably 13th Century; colophon has a selling contract, stating: the manuscript was sold on Wednesday the first of Adar in the year 5119 of the creation of the world, that is the 2nd February of 1359 (Julian Calendar).
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazi square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation; Targum of the Former Prophets with sublinear vocalisation, of the Latter Prophets without vocalisation.
- **provenance**: Ashkenaz, 14th Century
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Judg. 5:1; 5:5; 5:8; 5:11; 5:15; 5:26; 1 Sam. 17:8; Isa. 10:32; Hab. 3:1-2, 11; Zech. 2:14-4:7. These were integrated in the text without indication.

A725 (Ms. Gottwicensis 10-11, Stift Göttweig)
- **contents**: Torah and Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: none, first date mentioned is 1516 by Caspar Amman.
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazic square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Ashkenaz, 14th Century
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targum to 1 Sam. 17:8; Obad. 1.
- **orthographical comments**: The final Kaph and the final Nun are very short and resemble the Zayin.
- **notes**: many decorations in the Masorah.

5.4.6 The Sephardic Family

In the early days of Muslim rule over the Iberic peninsula, Jews led a relatively wealthy and intellectual life. In the second half of the eleventh Century, Muslim Spain fragmentised into small principalities. The Christian kingdoms then launched the *Reconquista*, the struggle to regain territories under Christian rule. When the Muslims appealed to the Moroccan Almoravides for help, the latter expelled the Jews from all their influential positions. Later economic depressions and the arrival of the Muslim Almohads, who abolished the protection of the 'People of the Book', forced the Jewish community to flee, either into the Muslim Orient or into the Christian kingdoms of Spain and France.[182] The earliest extant Sephardic Targum manuscripts stem from this period and from the Christian territories.[183] Since the 1470s, a policy of repression was adopted in Spain to prevent 'Judaisation' among Christians. This culminated in the decision to banish all the Jews from Spain in 1492, shortly after Ferdinand and Isabella completed the *Reconquista* by defeating Granada. Later Sephardic Targum manuscripts were written by a converted Jew, Alfonso de Zamora.

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[182] 'Between the Cross and the Crescent', in: E. Barnavi (ed.), *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People* (London: Hutchinson, 1992), 94-95.
[183] The provenance of S702 is uncertain and cannot be traced back to either Islamic or Christian rule.

S12 ('Biblia Regia', Antwerp Polyglot, 1569)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible with Targum and Septuaginta, including Latin translations of all versions; eight volumes
- **colophon**: preface, made by Christoph Plantin at Antwerp
- **provenance**: Antwerp 1569
- **toseftot**: Josh. 6:1, Jer. 9:27, Ezek. 1:8, Obad. 21; none in Samuel, the text of Hannah's Prayer is even shorter than in all other manuscripts and editions

S16 (Paris Polyglot 1629-45)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible with Targum, Septuaginta, Samaritan Pentateuch, Peshitta and Arabic translation, including Latin translations of all versions, ten volumes
- **colophon**: preface
- **provenance**: Paris, 1629-45

S702 (Ms. H. 116, Montefiore 7, Jew's College Library, London)
- **contents**: Targum to the Prophets, from 1 Samuel 5:11 onwards, Targum to Psalms, Job, and Proverbs.
- **colophon**: It was completed on New Moon Day of Shevat in the year 5247—that is the 4th of January 1487 (Julian Calendar)—and (it is) a sign of thanksgiving and the sound of music (Isa. 51:3)[184]. It was written for the honour of the honourable, the wise, the delightful, pleasant planting (cf. Isa. 5:7), rabbi David, may his Rock and Redeemer keep him, son of (the) honourable rabbi Nissim the physician, may he rest in Paradise, ben Vivas, may his soul be bound in the bundle of the living (cf. 1 Sam 25:29).
- **script and vocalisation**: Sephardic semi-cursive script, no vocalisation; occasionally words with sublinear vocalisation.
- **provenance**: Sefarad, 1487.[185]
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to 1 Sam. 17:8; 17:39; 17:42; 18:19; 2 Sam. 12:12; 1 Kgs. 5:9; 5:11; 5:12-13; 10:18; 10:20; 14:13; 22:21-22; 2 Kgs. 4:1, 6-7; Ezek. 1:8; 1:26; Obad. 1:21; Mic. 6:1-2; Zech. 4:3; 4:7; these are integrated in the text and indicated in the margin by רע דישראלתוספתא, תוספ,הדא תוספ' דא. Many alternative readings in the same hand as the main text, indicated by "נא (written so; i.e. נוסח אחר).
- **orthographical comments**: Repetition of the last word on the subsequent folio. The word אלהים is abbreviated to אלי in some places and to אלים in other (with Aleph-Lamed ligature and abbreviation marker).

S703 (Ms. M1-M3, Biblioteca de la Universidad, Salamanca)
- **contents**: Targums to the Prophets—excluding Isaiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations—and Writings, including a Latin translation.
- **colophon**: written by Alfonso de Zamora, completed in Alcalá de Henares in 1532.
- **script and vocalisation**: Sephardic square script, sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Spain, 1532

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[184] The abbreviation indicates the same year.

[185] A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, Vol. IVB, Leiden 1973, siglum c, states the script is Spanish; R. Kasher, תוספתות תרגום לנביים *(Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets)*, Jerusalem 1996, and S.D. Luzzatto, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Jüdische Theologie* 5 (1844), 124-137, think North African.

- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim integrated in the text of Josh. 5:14; 6:1; Judg. 5:3; 5:5; 5:8; 5:11; 5:16; 5:26; 11:1; 1 Sam. 17:8; 17:39; 17:42; 18:19; 2 Sam. 6:23; 12:12; 1 Kgs. 5:9; 5:11; 5:13; 10:18; 10:20; 14:13; 22:21-22; 2 Kgs. 4:1; 4:31; Obad. 1:1; Hab. 3:1-2; Zech. 2:16; 2:17; 3:2, 4:3 and 4:7; 4:11; other verses bear the designation 'tosefta', such as 2 Kgs. 4:1, 6, 7; Ezek. 9:6, and several extensive verses in Judg. 5, Ruth, 1 Sam. 2, Hos. 1, Esth. 1. Tosefta-targumim are usually introduced by תוספתא in the text or by תוס in the margin. Occasionally alternative readings in the margins, introduced by א'נ' (אחר נוסח).
- **orthographical comments**: Alfonso de Zamora used his own vocalisation system, e.g. without distinction between Patah and Qames.
- **notes**: An introduction in Aramaic and in Latin precedes the Targum and its translation, in both the Former Prophets and the Writings. The manuscript was produced by order of and under the supervision of the University of Salamanca. The introduction also explains that the oldest and most reliable texts were used in order to produce this copy, without specifying the manuscripts.

S704 (Ms. 7542, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid)
- **contents**: Targum to Former Prophets and Ruth, including Latin translation and Aramaic roots of several words in the margin
- **colophon**: copied in 1533 for Don Antonio Ramírez del Haro, and 'sue escripto este libro por mano de alonso de çamora'.
- **script and vocalisation**: Sephardic square script, sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Spain, 1533
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim integrated in the text of Judg. 5:3; 5:5; 5:8; 5:11; 5:16; 5:26; 11:1; 1 Sam. 17:8; 17:39; 17:42; 18:19; 2 Sam. 6:23; 12:12; 1 Kgs. 5:9; 5:11; 5:13; 10:18; 10:20; 14:13; 22:21-22; 2 Kgs. 4:1,7; 4:31; usually indicated by תוספתא in the text or by תוספ ,תוספתא or 'תוס' in the margin.
- **orthographical comments**: Alfonso de Zamora used his own vocalisation system, e.g. without distinction between Patah and Qames.
- **notes**: According to the heading on 1r, 'Zamora Interpretatio translationis chaldaica', the Latin translation was provided by Alfonzo de Zamora himself.

S706 (Opp. Add. 4to, 75, 76, Bodleian Library, Oxford)
- **contents**: Prophets, with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: Dated 1300. The decorations and their motifs, as well as other codicological details, are very similar to the Second Kennicott Bible, written in 1306 in Soria by the scribe, masorete and illuminator Joshuah Ibn Gaon, and has similarities with other manuscripts of the early fourteenth Century from the school of Ibn Goan. Joshuah Ibn Gaon was born in Soria and moved to Tudela at some point during his career.
- **script and vocalisation**: Sephardic square script, sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Navarre, 1300
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Josh. 5:14; 6:1; Judg. 5:3; 5:5; 5:8; 5:11; 5:16; 5:26; 1 Sam. 17:8; 17:39; 2 Sam. 12:12; 1 Kgs. 5:11; 10:18; 10:20; 14:13; 22:21; 2 Kgs. 4:1,6,7; 4:31; Isa. 49:15; 49:24; 50:10; Jer. 9:22; Hos. 2:1; Obad. 1:1; Zech. 2:14-2:16; 2:17, 3:1-3:2, 4:3,4,7; 4:6. There is also a tosefta-targum to Judg. 11:1, attached to the end of 10:18. These are integrated in the

text without indication. An indication 'tosefta' is found at the beginning of 1 Sam. 2:1.

S717 (Ms. 'Kennicott 5', Oxford)
- **contents**: Former Prophets, Hebrew and Targum in separate columns, with commentaries of Rashi, Kimhi and Levi ben Gershon
- **colophon**: written by Abraham Alabit in Segovia (Spain), difficult to date. Beit-Arié mentions the year 1487, but Kasher dates it in 1594.[186]
- **script and vocalisation**: Hebrew and Targum in Sephardic square script, sublinear vocalisation; commentaries in Sephardic semi-cursive script
- **provenance**: Christian Spain, 15th-16th Century
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Josh. 5:14; 6:1; Judg. 5:3; 5:5; 5:8; 5:11; 5:16; 5:26; 11:1; 1 Sam. 17:8; 17:42; 18:25; 2 Sam. 12:12; 20:22; 1 Kgs. 1:1; 2:30; 5:9; 5:11; 5:12; 5:13; 10:18; 22:21-22; 2 Kgs. 4:1,6,7; 4:31; 10:1; they are integrated in the text and sometimes indicated by'תוס or 'תוספ.

S734 (Leiria Edition, 1494)
- **contents**: Former Prophets, Hebrew and Targum in separate columns, with commentaries of Kimhi and Levi ben Gershon
- **colophon**: Samuel d'Ortas and his son Abraham, Leiria 1494.
- **provenance**: Portugal 1494
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Josh. 6:1; Judg. 5:3, 8, 11, 16, 26; 11:1; 1 Sam. 17:8, 39, 42; 18:19; 2 Samuel 6:23; 19:30; 1 Kgs 5:9, 11, 13; 10:18, 20; 14:13; 22:21; 2 Kgs 4:1, 6, 7.

S2649 (Ms. Opp. Add. fol. 55, Bodleian Library, Oxford)
- **contents**: Hebrew fragments from different origins, with Targum Jonathan: Joshua 23:1-24:5; Judges 18:5-19:6; 1 Samuel 3:1-5:4; 2 Samuel 9:4-11:14; 13:29-14:14; 17:11-18:3; Isaiah 10:9-19:9; 36:2-37:26; 41:5-50:11; Ezekiel 11:16-16:47; 44:14-48:12.
- **colophon**: none
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazic script
- **provenance**: mid 13th Century

5.4.7 Codex Solger and the Rabbinic Bibles
Although the exact provenance of Codex Solger is unknown, its date of completion can be derived from the colophon as January 12th, 1291. Because of the fact that Codex Solger contains the entire Hebrew Bible in as early as 1291, I assume that it is of Italian provenance.[187] It was used for the first Rabbinic Bible in 1516/17, made by Felix Pratensis in the printing office of the Flemish scholar Daniel Bomberg in Venice.[188] In 1524/25, Jacob ben Hayyim made a second Rabbinic Bible in the same

[186] M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West* (Panizzi Lectures 1992), London 1992, plate 39; R. Kasher, תוספתות תרגום לנביים *(Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets)*, Jerusalem 1996.
[187] On other grounds, but with the same conclusion: A.R. Solger, *Bibliotheca sive supellex librorum impressorum (...) et codicum manuscriptorum,* Vol. I, Norimbergae 1760; R. Kasher, תרגום תוספתות לנביים *(Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets)*, Jerusalem 1996, siglum ע.
[188] Felice de Prato, Italian Jewish scholar, Christian convert since 1513, member of the Austin Friars.

office, which became *textus receptus* of the Old Testament.[189] This text was used as the *Vorlage* of many other Rabbinic Bibles, and for the London Polyglot. The latter was made by Brian Walton (1600-1661), the later Bishop of Chester.

R1 (Codex Solger 1-7, Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible with Targum, including Fragmentary Targum and Targum Rishon and Sheni to Esther; with Hebrew and Targum alternating
- **colophon**: The manuscript was written by Shabbetai on the 10th of Shevat 5051, that is the 12th of January 1291 CE (Julian Calendar). The punctuator's name, Joseph ben Gershon, is given at the end of Ezekiel.
- **script and vocalisation**: Ashkenazic square script, Hebrew with Tiberian punctuation, Targum with sublinear vocalisation
- **provenance**: Ashkenaz 1291
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim in Judg. 5:5; Isa. 10:32; Hab. 3:1. These are integrated in the text. There is also a tosefta in the margin of 1 Sam. 17:8, in Ashkenazic semi-cursive script. Alternative readings to the Targum, most of them indicated by (ס"א ספר אחר)).
- **orthographical comments**: Because *matres lectionis* are regularly erased, the punctuator may have used a different source from the scribe.[190]

R10 (First Rabbinic Bible, Venice, 1516/17)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible and Targum, in separate columns; including Kimhi's commentary.
- **colophon**: edited by Felix Pratensis, published by Daniel Bomberg at Venice.
- **provenance**: Italy, 1516/17
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Judg. 5:1; 5:5; 5:8; 5:11; 5:16; 5:26; 1 Sam. 17:8; Isa. 10:32-33; Jer. 9:22; Mal. 1:1.

R11 (Second Rabbinic Bible, Venice, 1524/25)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible with Targum, in separate columns; including Kimhi's commentary.
- **colophon**: edited by Jacob ben Hayyim in 1524/25, published by Daniel Bomberg at Venice.
- **provenance**: Italy 1524/25
- **toseftot**: Tosefta-targumim to Isa. 49:15; Jer. 9:22; Mal. 1:1.

R13 (London Polyglot, 1654/57)
- **contents**: Hebrew Bible and New Testament, in Arabic, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Greek, Hebrew, Persian, Samaritan, and Syriac, all in separate columns and provided with a Latin translation.
- **colophon**: edited by Brian Walton, 1654/57, at London
- **provenance**: England 1654/57
- **notes**: the Latin translation of the Targum is exactly the same as that in the Antwerp and the Paris Polyglots.

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[189] Fugitive from Spain, living in Tunesia, moved to Venice, shortly after his editorial work a Christian convert.

[190] The vocalisation sometimes deviates from the consonantal text. It is also clear that another type of ink has been used. See also C. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum al Cantar de los Cantares (edición crítica)*, Diss. Madrid, 1987, 54-55.

5.5 Conclusions and Recommendations

Codicological and palaeographical information confirmed the conclusions and recommendations given at the end of Chapter 4. Some new items can be brought up here. They mainly concern the process of making a stemma and the editing itself.

5.5.1 Making a Stemma

Codicology and palaeography confirmed the conclusion that it is wise to investigate at least four or five manuscripts per family. There are many manuscripts in Ashkenazic handwriting, but they belong to three different families, the Italian, the Ashkenazic and the Rabbinic Bible families.

Handwriting and provenance are not decisive with regard to a manuscript's place in the stemma. Although several characteristics of I232 points to a Sephardic provenance, the manuscript is definitely Italian regarding text.

- Before editing texts, the editor should make a stemma of all the extant manuscripts and editions.
- It is recommended to investigate the provenance and the characteristics of a manuscript, in order to use the outcome for the definitive stemma.
- Paratextual characteristics, such as tosefta-targumim in the margins or Latin translations, can be helpful for the compilation of the definitive stemma.

5.5.2 Making an Edition

The high rate of standardisation within the Yemenite tradition makes it improbable, though not entirely impossible, that these manuscripts represent the original Targum. The spread of singular readings, and the lack of them in the Yemenite tradition, confirms this conclusion. Furthermore, it is impossible to consider the Cairo Genizah fragments as closest to the origin of Targum Samuel.

- It is therefore recommendable to start with the Babylonian fragments when attempting to recover the 'original' Targum Samuel.
- It is also recommended to include the Cairo Genizah fragments in the critical apparatus, and to be cautious in using them as witnesses of the original Targum.

From the introduction of the printing process onwards, contamination expanded enormously. The Antwerp and the Paris Polyglots are clearly Sephardic, but also show characteristics of the second Rabbinic Bible, because the latter had become an authorised text. This can be seen in the absence of abbreviations and the spelling of the word Gehenna. The London Polyglot is not in line with the two others at all, because it followed the text of the sixth Rabbinic Bible.

- It is therefore recommended not to include the later editions, such as the later Rabbinic Bibles (from the third onwards) and the Paris and London Polyglots.
- Since the Polyglots are made by Christian printers having their own goals, it is a question of interests whether these Polyglots can be used in the critical apparatus at all.

By not using the manuscripts with very many singular readings, a *Variantenfriedhof* can be prevented. These variants, e.g. in I700, I2190 and F3008, were most probably invented by the scribe himself, and have nothing to do with the original text or even with the reception history. They simply point to the carelessness of the scribe.

- It is recommendable to exclude some manuscripts on the basis of their erroneous nature, viz. F3008, I700 and I2190.