Studies in the Language of Targum Canticles, with Annotated Transcription of Geniza Fragments

Paul Richard Moore

UCL

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I, Paul Richard Moore, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Signature: P. Moore

Abstract

While the language of Targum Canticles—a species of Late Jewish Literary Aramaic—has attracted previous study, many of its peculiarities have been overlooked, or accorded but cursory treatment. The present work investigates a range of morphological, syntactic, and semantic anomalies that punctuate the text. These impinge on various domains, including predicate argument marking, verbal stems, the nominal dimensions of state and gender, and particle usage. Attending to these phenomena, with descriptive sensitivity and comparative perspective, yields insight into literary influences, the process of composition, and the conceptions of Aramaic—both grammatical and aesthetic—of the Jewish literati who adopted this dialectally eclectic idiom. This study also probes the still under-researched nexus between Late Jewish Literary Aramaic and the Aramaic of Zoharic literature.

It concludes with an annotated transcription of the fragments of Targum Canticles from the Cairo Geniza: Cambridge, T-S B11.81, T-S NS 312—which are among the earliest, known, extant witnesses to the text—and Oxford Heb. f. 56 (whose colophon bears the date 1416 CE). The latter features a Judaeo-Arabic translation of the Targum—possibly the earliest known example—which is included in the transcription. The alignments of the readings of these fragments with other witnesses are highlighted, accompanied by ad hoc textual and exegetical commentary.

Impact statement

This study furthers understanding of Jewish Aramaic literary creativity during the mediaeval period, modes of exegesis of the biblical Song of Songs, the evolution of eclectic literary idioms, and precursors of the Aramaic of Zoharic literature. Outside of the academy, it has relevance for Jewish and Christian faith communities, who through greater appreciation of the historic reception of biblical texts, will find stimulation for thought about possible approaches to the biblical texts in the modern world.

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Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
abs.	Absolute state
act.	Active
adj.	Adjective
adv.	Adverb, adverbial
AF	Manuscript witness in C. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum del Cantar de los Cantares* (*Edición Crítica*). (Ph.D. thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1987). Followed by superscript numeral 1–12, e.g., AF¹ refers to manuscript siglum 1 in his apparatus.
AIB	C.D. Isbell, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2008)
ˤArakh.	ˤArakhin
ˤAbod. Zar.	ˤAvoda Zara
AMB	J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1998)
AS	*Aramaic Studies*
b.	Babylonian Talmud (followed by name of tractate)
BA	Biblical Aramaic
Ber.	Berakhot
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*
BHQ	*Biblia Hebraica Quinta*
Blau, *Dictionary*	J. Blau, *A Dictionary of Mediaeval Judaeo-Arabic Texts* (Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language and The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2006)
B. Meṣ.	Baba Meṣiˤa
B. Qam.	Baba Qamma
CAL	*The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* http://cal.huc.edu/index.html
Cant. R.	Canticles Rabba
conj.	Conjunction
cst.	Construct state
CPA	Christian Palestinian Aramaic
c.s./c.p.	Common singular/plural
CWs	Collated witnesses to TgShir in the editions C. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, and R.H. Melamed, *The Targum to Canticles*.
CWs^West.	Collated witnesses to the Western recension of TgShir in Alonso Fontela, *El Targum* (i.e., AF¹⁻⁵,⁷⁻¹⁰).
CWs^Yem.	Collated witnesses to the Yemenite recension of TgShir in Melamed, *The Targum to Canticles*, and Alonso Fontela, *El Targum* (i.e., M^A⁻F, AF¹¹⁻¹²).

DCPA	M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 234, Leuven: Peeters, 2014)
dem.	Demonstrative
det.	Determined state
Deut. R.	Deuteronomy Rabba
DJBA	M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum, 3, Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2002)
DJPA	M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 3rd edn, 2017)
DN	Divine name
DSA	A. Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (Handbook of Oriental Studies, Leiden: Brill, 2000)
Exod. R.	Exodus Rabba
fem./ אFEM	Feminine
f.s./f.p.	Feminine singular/plural
FragTgs	Fragment Targums to the Pentateuch
FragTgP	Fragment Targum in MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Hébreu 110
FragTgV	Fragment Targum in MS. Vatican Library, Ebr. 440
Giṭ.	Giṭṭin
GN	Geographic name
GTO	E.M. Cook, *A Glossary of Targum Onkelos According to Alexander Sperber's Edition* (Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture, 6, Leiden: Brill, 2008)
Ḥag.	Ḥagiga
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*
imper.	Imperative
impf.	Imperfect
inf.	Infinitive
intrg.	Interrogative
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
JPA	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
JPAtg.	Targumic Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
JLA	Jewish Literary Aramaic
JLAtg.	Targumic Jewish Literary Aramaic (TgOnq and TgJon)
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JTS	The Jewish Theological Seminary
Ket.	Ketubot
Leq. Ṭob	Leqaḥ Ṭob
Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*	A.W. Litke, *Targum Song of Songs and Late Jewish Literary Aramaic: Language, Lexicon and Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

LJLA	Late Jewish Literary Aramaic
LJLAtg.	Targumic Late Jewish Literary Aramaic
LXX	Septuagint
m.	Mishna (followed by name of tractate)
M	Manuscript witness in R.H. Melamed, *The Targum to Canticles According to Six Yemenite Manuscripts, Compared with the 'Textus Receptus'* (*Ed. de Lagarde*) (Ph.D. thesis, Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1921). Followed by superscript letter A–F, e.g., M^A refers to manuscript siglum A in his apparatus
masc./ א^{MASC}	Masculine
Meg.	Megilla
MegAntioch	The Antiochus Scroll
Mek. RI	Mekilta deRabbi Ishmael
m.s./m.p.	Masculine singular/plural
MSF	J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993).
MS/MSS	Manuscript/s
MT	Masoretic Text (Hebrew Bible)
M. Qaṭ.	Moꜥed Qaṭan
NJPS	Jewish Publication Society Bible, 1985 edition
NP	Noun phrase
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
obj.	Object
pass.	Passive
Pes.	Pesaḥim
pf.	Perfect
pl.	Plural
PN	Proper name
poss.	Possessive
prep.	Preposition, prepositional
pro.	Pronoun, pronominal
ptc.	Participle, participial
Q.	Qurʾan
R_1, R_2, R_3	1st, 2nd, and 3rd root consonants
rel.	Relative
Rosh Hash.	Rosh Ha-Shana
SA	Samaritan Aramaic
Sanh.	Sanhedrin
Shab.	Shabbat
Shebu.	Shebuꜥot
sing.	Singular
SL	M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake/Piscataway: Eisenbrauns/Gorgias Press, 2008).

Soṭ.	Soṭa
sub.	Subject
suff.	Suffix
SYAP	M. Sokoloff and J. Yahalom, *Jewish Palestinian Aramaic Poetry from Late Antiquity: Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1999)
t.	Tosefta (followed by name of tractate)
Taʿan.	Taʿanit
Tam.	Tamid
temp.	Temporal
T. Lev.^{CG}	Testament of Levi from Cairo Geniza
TgShir	Targum Canticles
TgCG	Cairo Geniza Targum Fragments. Manuscript sigla indicated in superscript, e.g., TgCG^F)
Tg1Chron	Targum 1 Chronicles
Tg2Chron	Targum 2 Chronicles
TgEstI	Targum Esther Rishon
TgEstII	Targum Esther Sheni
TgEstII^{Sup.}	Larger supplements to TgEstII, as per B. Grossfeld, *The Targum Sheni to the Book of Esther: A critical edition based on MS. Sassoon 282 with critical apparatus* (New York: Sepher-Hermon, 1994), pp. 75–84.
TgJob	Targum Job
TgJon	Targum Jonathan to the Prophets
TgKet	Targum Ketuvim
TgLam	Targum Lamentations
TgLam^{West.}	Western recension of Targum Lamentations
TgLam^{Yem.}	Yemenite recension of Targum Lamentations
TgMeg	Targum Megillot
TgNeof	Targum Neofiti
TgNeofM	Marginalia in Targum Neofiti
TgOnq	Targum Onqelos
TgProv	Targum Proverbs
TgPs	Targum Psalms
TgPsJ	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
TgQoh	Targum Qohelet
TgRuth	Targum Ruth
Tob.^{Med}	Tobit (mediaeval text)
TosTg	Tosefta Targum to the Prophets, as per R. Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1996)
y.	Palestinian Talmud (followed by name of tractate)
Yom.	Yoma
Yeb.	Yebamot
Zeb.	Zebaḥim
ZA	Zoharic Aramaic

Citations and translations

Unless noted otherwise:

Citations of the Aramaic of TgShir are from the base text in C. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum del Cantar de los Cantares* (*Edición Crítica*) (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1987). English translations of TgShir, in double quotation marks, are from P.S. Alexander, *The Targum of Canticles: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (London: T&T Clark, 2003). All translations in single quotation marks are my own.

Citations of Zoharic Aramaic/Hebrew are from D.C. Matt's critical text, https://www.sup.org/zohar/?d=&f=Aramaic_Texts.htm. English translations of the Zohar are from D.C. Matt, N. Wolski, and J. Hecker, *The Zohar: Pritzker Edition*, vols. 1–12 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004–2017).

Citations of the Hebrew Bible are from *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 5th edition (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997). English translations of the Hebrew Bible are from the New Revised Standard Version.

Citations of the Peshiṭta are from *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version* (Leiden: Brill).

Symbols

The symbol ≅ is employed to indicate a correspondence relation between the lexeme(s) of a targum and those of its biblical source text. 'Correspondence' here is used as a hyponym of 'translation', neutral with respect to (the degree of) semantic proximity between the source and target lexeme(s).

Superscript letters after root consonants indicate the verbal stem of tokens. For example, $\sqrt{מלך}^C$ indicates a C-stem (ʾAfˁel) verb. I employ tG and tD for the t-stems, rather than the conventional sequence Gt and Dt, to reflect the fact that—aside from metathesis with R_1 sibilants—the affixed morpheme precedes the root.

As is conventional in syntactic literature, the subscript letters $_{i, j, k}$ *et seq.* indicate referentially co-indexed constituents.

Thematic relations of arguments to their predicate are rendered in small capitals, e.g., GOAL, PATIENT etc.

Ø signifies a null constituent.

'A-term' and 'B-term' refer, respectively, to the first and second members of genitive constructions, both construct and analytic.

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Finally, it is to my wife Catherine—whose steadfast companionship, unconditional support, and care enabled me to undertake this project—that this work is dedicated.

1   Introduction

TgShir is a sophisticated piece of exegetical literature that transposes its parent biblical text into an altogether different key—linguistically (from Hebrew to Aramaic), generically (from poetry to prose), and thematically (from secular romance to national *Heilsgeschichte*).[1] Considered as translational literature—a targum—it is no less remarkable. Dissolving the syntax of its MT source, it generally represents its lexemes, with varying degrees of semantic proximity, in their original sequence in new structures.[2] One could not reverse-engineer TgShir by retroverting its Aramaic into Hebrew, to reconstruct the biblical Song of Songs, after a few considered surgical interventions.

While the language of TgShir—a species of Late Jewish Literary Aramaic—has attracted previous study, many of its peculiarities have been overlooked, or accorded but cursory treatment. The present work investigates a range of morphological, syntactic, and semantic anomalies that punctuate the text. These impinge on various domains, including predicate argument marking, verbal stems, the nominal dimensions of state and gender, and particle usage. Attending to these phenomena with descriptive sensitivity and comparative perspective, yields insight into literary influences, the process of composition, and conceptions of Aramaic among the Jewish literati who adopted this dialectally eclectic idiom.[3]

This study also goes beyond the purview of previous linguistic studies of TgShir in noting points of contact with the Aramaic of Zoharic literature. Kwasman has persuasively argued that ZA should be considered a species of LJLA.[4] Arguably, the case for exploring a dialectal nexus between LJLA texts and ZA is particularly compelling with respect to TgShir. The biblical Song of Songs plays a seminal and pervasive role in Zoharic mysticism. Considering the evident widespread popularity of TgShir, the possibility of its influence on authors of

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[1] P.S. Alexander, *The Targum of Canticles: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (London: T&T Clark, 2003), pp. 13–18; P.R. Junkermann, *The Relationship between Targum Song of Songs and Midrash Rabbah Song of Songs* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester, 2011), pp. 46–54; E.M. Menn, 'Targum of the Song of Songs and the Dynamics of Historical Allegory', in C.A. Evans (ed.), *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity* (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2000), pp. 423–445.

[2] P.S. Alexander, 'Profile Targum Canticles Excerpt from: *Database of Anonymous and Pseudepigraphic Jewish Literature of Antiquity, c. 200 BCE to c. 700 CE*, ed. A. Samely, R. Bernasconi, P. Alexander, and R. Hayward', *AS* 9.1 (2011) pp 115–126 (123). The syntactic autonomy of TgShir is also evident in occasional disregard for the punctuation of MT. See TgShir 1.4; 6.9. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 80, n. 25; p. 171, apparatus, *u*.

[3] I refer to 'the author' (with masculine pronouns, owing to historical probability) rather than 'the targumist', advisedly. While the latter designation is more conventional, it is freighted with connotations of oral performance in a synagogue setting, which may not have been TgShir's raison d'être. The use of the singular is without prejudice as to whether more than one person was involved in its composition. Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 7) argues for a single author from the coherence of TgShir's reading of Song of Songs. However, disruptions in its internal narrative logic can be discerned. For example, in 3.9–4.1, Solomon, the narrator of TgShir, is referred to in the third person. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 126, n. 47. Moreover, there is an abrupt, unsignalled, switch in speaker from the *bat qol* introduced in 4.1, to an anonymous voice in 4.3. This is evident in the shift from second person address to Israel in 4.1-2 to a third person description of Israel in 4.3. The second person encomium then resumes in 4.4 and continues through 4.5. Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 132, n. 14) claims 'The *bat qol*'s praises of Israel continue [in 4.3], but its words are reported in the third person'. However, this must be read into the text: there is no indication that the *bat qol* is the speaker of 4.3. The isolated third person description of Israel in 4.3 is even more surprising since the underlying MT forms part of the second person encomium of the female lover in Song 4.1-5, which TgShir otherwise reflects.

[4] T. Kwasman, 'Der Zohar und seine Beziehung zu "Late Jewish Literary Aramaic"', *Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge* 34 (2007–2008), pp. 133–147.

Zoharic literature should be canvassed. Moreover, in view of the mutual exegetic interest, a reverse dependency relation may obtain in certain cases, as later copyists of TgShir were influenced by ZA. Alexander identifies, *en passant*, such a candidate in the Yemenite reading מטרונא 'noble lady' in TgShir 2.3, ≅ MT תפוח 'apple', in place of the Western reading אתרוגא 'etrog'. He opines, plausibly, that it likely 'betrays Qabbalistic influence',[5] albeit the epithet of Shekhinah in ZA takes the form used in JBA, מטרוניתא.[6] This holds even if the Yemenite reading was catalysed by scribal error. It may be riposted that this is a matter for reception history and Zoharic studies, rather than a linguistic analysis of TgShir. However, this would be myopic. The evolutionary pathways of the Aramaic idioms of these texts remain uncharted. Isolating linguistic traits shared by these corpora may yield greater insight into their respective histories.

This study concludes with an annotated transcription of the hitherto neglected fragments of TgShir from the Cairo Geniza: Cambridge, T-S B11.81, T-S NS 312 (which are among the earliest extant, known, witnesses to TgShir), and Oxford Heb. f. 56 (whose colophon bears the date 1416 CE). The latter features a Judaeo-Arabic translation of TgShir, which, for completeness, is included in the transcription. It is possibly the earliest extant, known, rendition of TgShir into Judaeo-Arabic. Affinities of the fragments with other witnesses to TgShir are noted, distinctive readings highlighted, accompanied by ad hoc textual and exegetical commentary.

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[5] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 98, apparatus *h*. He claims that this reading features in all CWs[Yem.] in which this verse is preserved. However, M[C] (Alexander siglum N) reads the hybrid מטרוגאן. It is crossed out, and the Western reading, אתרוגא, supplied in the margin by another hand.

[6] *DJBA*, p. 661. Cf. TgEstI 2.14; Tg2Chron 35.25. So too, Syriac: *SL*, p. 749.

2   Dialect

It is well known that the extant witnesses to TgShir, in common with the other TgMeg, exhibit a dialectal mélange of JLAtg., JPA, JBA, and BA features.[7] To what degree this state of affairs is the product of diachrony has been contested.[8]

The maximally diachronic view that TgShir was originally composed in JPA, and accreted JLAtg. and JBA forms at the hands of copyists[9]—a reprisal of Kutscher's observation vis-à-vis European manuscripts of the Palestinian Talmud and aggadic midrashim[10]—appears to have few contemporary advocates.[11] The current consensus is that TgShir was composed in a dialectally eclectic literary idiom,[12] commonly subsumed under the rubric 'Late Jewish Literary Aramaic'.[13]

The paradigm of an eclectic idiom possesses greater explanatory power for the attested distribution of dialectal features.[14] For example, while some JLAtg. and JPA features in the

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[7] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 225–226. S.A. Kaufman, 'The Dialectology of Late Jewish Literary Aramaic', *AS* 11.2 (2013), p. 147, reports 8 tokens of Syriacisms in TgShir, albeit they are not identified. Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 184–185) concludes that the evidence of Syriac influence in TgShir is minimal.

[8] For a detailed review of the history of this debate in relation to TgKet, see W.F. Smelik, 'The Linguistic and Literary Background of the Zohar' (forthcoming). I thank Professor Smelik for sharing his manuscript prior to publication.

[9] Owing to the high prestige and ubiquity of TgOnq, TgJon, and the Babylonian Talmud.

[10] E.Y. Kutscher, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*, trans. M. Sokoloff (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1976), p. 2.

[11] Studies advocating a JPA urtext of TgShir include: E. Levine, 'The Biography of the Aramaic Bible', *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94.3 (1982), pp. 369, 377; C. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum del Cantar de los Cantares* (*Edición Crítica*) (Ph.D. thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1987), pp. 114, 117–119; M.I. Baraniak, *The phenomenon of targumization based on the Targum to the Song of Songs – a critical edition of the manuscript M 1106 (Wrocław, 13th c.) with exegetical and hermeneutical analysis and translation* (Warsaw: Elipsa, 2013), pp. 264, 106 (in Polish). Alexander argues for a JPA urtext of TgLam, but not TgShir. P.S. Alexander, *The Targum of Lamentations, Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2008), pp. 13–15. I am unaware of anyone arguing that TgShir was originally composed entirely in JLAtg. Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Lamentations*, p. 13.

[12] I sidestep here discussion of the (in)appropriateness of the oft used, but contested, descriptor 'artificial'. See E.M. Cook, *Rewriting the Bible: The Text and Language of the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1986), pp. 277–278; E.A. Bar-Asher Siegal, 'Are Literary Languages Artificial? The Case of the Aramaic of the Zohar', *AS* 18.1 (2020), pp. 124–145. For an outlying view, see P. Flesher and B. Chilton, *The Targums: A Critical Introduction* (Texas: Baylor University Press, 2011), pp. 276–277.

[13] The term 'Late Jewish Literary Aramaic' was coined by Stephen Kaufman for the typology of the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* (*CAL*) Project. Kaufman, 'The Dialectology of Late Jewish Literary Aramaic', pp. 145–148. It represents a refinement of the widely adopted periodisation of Aramaic dialects formulated in J.A. Fitzmeyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 60–63. Kaufman isolates TgPsJ, TgPs, TgJob, TgEstII, and perhaps some TosTg, as 'the core texts of LJLA properly speaking'. He opines that the balance of late texts, while categorised as LJLA, have 'widely varied' geographical and temporal origins. S.A. Kaufman, 'Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Late Jewish Literary Aramaic', *AS* 11.1 (2013), p. 10. See also, S.A. Kaufman, 'Dating the Language of the Palestinian Targums and Their Use in the Study of First Century C.E. Texts', in D.R.G. Beattie and M.J. McNamara (eds.), *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 124–125; Cook, *Rewriting the Bible*, pp. 266–280 (adopting the rubric 'Artificial Literary Aramaic', p. 281); Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 10; Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, passim.

[14] Cf. Cook, *Rewriting the Bible*, pp. 268–269. However, since a comprehensive manuscript collation and a *stemma codicum* of TgShir remain desiderata, the provisionality of conclusions drawn from the CWs alone must be

CWs are not in complementary distribution, or only occur sporadically[15]—a state of affairs compatible with ad hoc copyist amendments—strong patterning is evident in certain cases.[16] Moreover, as Kaufman notes, Kutscher's twin premises that JPA features in a text are, *ceteris paribus*, (1) more likely than not to be original, and (2) signal composition in Palestine, are not incontrovertible.[17] The high prestige of TgOnq and TgJon in rabbinic culture does not preclude JPAtg. possessing a cachet for intellectuals who were neither in spatial, nor temporal, proximity to vernacular JPA.[18] The adoption of Palestinian targums as literary models by authors of TgKet,[19] alongside other sources, plausibly accounts for the 'shared, circumscribed nucleus' of JPA features in these texts.[20] The intermingling of heterogenous forms suggests a literary aesthetic that prized variety.[21]

The foregoing also applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to copyists. The number of JPA features in a manuscript cannot be assumed to be a reliable index of the relative primitivity of its text. The proportion of JPA forms in the TgMeg in MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Heb. 110 has commended it to several scholars, including Alonso Fontela, who adopted it as the base text of his edition of TgShir.[22] But the possibility, raised by Kaufman, that some JPA forms in the

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emphasised.

[15] E.g., the meagre attestation of the signature JLAtg. lexeme בדיל 'because of', once as a conj. (1.3) and once as a prep. (7.9), contrasts with the prevalence of its JPA counterpart בגין (1.3, 9, 14; 2.6 [x3]; 2.8; 3.6, 8; 4.15; 5.12; 6.12; 7.3, 6).

[16] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 214–226. For example, AF[1] exhibits 57 occurrences of derived stem infs., of which only two bear the מ- prefix characteristic of JPA (Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 110–111). The first token is the D-stem למהלכא ('to go, walk') at 1.7. Out of the CWs, AF[2א,8,9] and all CWs[Yem.] instead read the JLAtg. form להלכא. Yet all CWs, including AF[1], read the form להלכא in the previous verse. The second token is the tD-stem למשתעי ('to speak, relate') at 5.10. In contrast to this predilection for JLAtg. infinitival morphology is the systematic use of the JPA subordinating conj. ארום (1.13; 2.5; 2.11; 2.14; 5.2; 5.5; 8.6—the eastern counterpart, ארי, is registered as a variant only at 1.13 in AF[2,10] and 5.5 in AF[11]). If the dialectal admixture is due to the contamination of a JPA text by JLAtg., why would an aspect of verbal morphology be targeted systematically, while a subordinating conj. was left unaltered?

[17] Kaufman, 'Targum Pseudo-Jonathan', pp. 6, 8.

[18] *Pace* Junkermann (*The Relationship*, p. 41) Palestine or Babylonia are not 'the only two regions which come plausibly into the reckoning when we consider the Targum's provenance.' Jewish Aramaic literary creativity was not restricted to these regions. For a recent advocation of a European origin of TgShir, see A.W. Litke, 'Following the Frankincense: Reassessing the *Sitz im Leben* of Targum Song of Songs', *JSP* 27.4 (2018), pp. 289–313. *Pace* Alexander (*Targum to Canticles*, pp. 58–60) encomiastic descriptions of a yeshivah in either Palestine or Babylonia in TgShir does not entail its composition in either region (or even authorial contemporaneity with the institution).

[19] Kaufman, 'Targum Pseudo-Jonathan', p. 6.

[20] Kaufman, 'Targum Pseudo-Jonathan', p. 8. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 226, concludes there is very little evidence of non-targumic JPA in TgShir.

[21] On TgShir's penchant for variety—lexical, grammatical, and exegetical—see Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 10, 12, 31, 96 apparatus *d*, p. 145 apparatus *tt*, p. 151 apparatus *bb*, p. 166 apparatus *q*. Cf. the juxtaposition of the synonymous verbs √חמי (JPA) and √חזי (JLA), 'to see'—the parade example of dialectal intermixing in LJLA—in the JPA piyyut *SYAP* 12 (MS. New York, JTS, ENA 2132.2), the former in lns. 13, 24, the latter in ln. 26. The editors (*SYAP*, p. 120) note the rarity of √חזי in the anthology, opining it was employed to secure a rhyme with ומזה.

[22] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 114–116, 121; E.G. Clarke, 'Reflections of the Preparation of a Critical Edition of the Targum of Kohelet', *Textus* 16 (1991), pp. 90–92; Alexander, *The Targum of Lamentations*, pp. 13–14. Although Litke does not claim this manuscript preserves more original features than other witnesses, his inclusion of a transcription and translation of it in his recent linguistic study of TgShir (*TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 229–277) may

manuscript tradition may be secondary is rarely entertained, or pursued.[23] There is a degree of circularity in the assumption of a JPA urtext, or at least its composition in the region of Palestine, and the favouring of witnesses with a greater number of JPA features.[24] It may be significant that several of the JPA forms attested in TgShir in MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Heb. 110 do not feature in the surviving portions of the earliest Geniza fragment, T-S B11.81 and T-S NS 312,[25] which read פום, not פם (2.7, 14; 5.2, 13); למפרוק, not למפרק (2.8); חזא, not חמא (2.9, 11); אף, not אוף (2.11, 13; 5.3); מקדש, not מוקדש (2.14; 4.15, 16; 5.1); אלין, not אליין (5.2).[26] Stemmatological analysis is required to responsibly adjudicate these matters, on a reading-by-reading basis, but regrettably, a comprehensive manuscript collation and *stemma codicum* of TgShir remain desiderata. Pursuit of this question is outside the scope of this study.

The paradigm of a dialectally eclectic literary idiom is amenable to different configurations. For example, Litke has recently disputed Fassberg's description of the Aramaic

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indirectly perpetuate this legacy.

[23] An exception is Perng, who has recently argued that TgMeg in MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Heb. 110 betray a late editorial vogue for the 'Palestinianisation' of original JLAtg. forms. H.-C. Perng, 'Preservation or Correction? On the Peculiarities of Ms Paris 110 and Current Trends in Targumic Studies', *AS* 18.2 (2020), pp. 198–212. This article—which, encouragingly, overlaps with some of the material presented here, also citing Geniza data—appeared too late for engagement in this study. Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 175, n. 37) opines that the JPA reading ואחמי(י) 'and I will see' in AF[1], and its congener AF[2], in TgShir 7.9, is not to be preferred over the synonymous ואחזי(י) in the balance of CWs, since the latter puns on MT אחזה 'I will lay hold of'. However, this is not decisive—it could be argued that TgShir translates into JPA a putative Hebrew 1 c.s. impf. √חזה.

More suspicious are the tokens of the prep. קומי 'before', with syncopation/assimilation of the ד, which among the CWs is only attested in MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Heb. 110 (which also contains tokens of קדם). Somewhat ironically, Alonso Fontela (*El Targum*, p. 114) regarded קומי as a JBA form, when it is in fact JPA (Litke, *LJLA & TSoS*, p. 49). All tokens of קומי in Paris 110 host a pro. obj. suff. (1.4 [x2]; 1.9; 2.2; 2.6, 14, 17; 5.6, 10; 7.12; 8.14 [x2]). However, in JPA, when קומי hosts pro. suffs. they take the forms suffixed to nouns ending in a vowel. Thus, the expected 2 m.s. form is קומיך 'before you' (*DJPA*, p. 549; M. Sokoloff, 'Jewish Palestinian Aramaic', in S. Weninger et al. (eds.), *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (Berlin: De Gruter Mouton, 2011), p. 614). Yet in TgShir Paris 110, the 2 m.s. form is consistently spelt קומך (1.4; 7.12; 8.14 [x2]). In TgShir, the 2 m.s. prep. suff. ך- is used both with nouns ending in a consonant and those ending with a vowel, as per JLAtg., but unlike JPA. (An outlier among the CWs is AF[9] which reads נסיך 'your miracles' at 1.3, versus the majority נ(י)סך, albeit this may simply represent a metathetic error). The suffs. on all other tokens of קומי in TgShir Paris 110 are in the forms attached to nouns ending in a vowel: 3 m.s. קומי (2.2; 5.6, 10), קומוהי (2.17), and 3 m.p. קומיהון (1.4, 9; 2.6, 14). Sokoloff notes the 2 m.s. form קומך as a sporadic hybrid in JPA texts, conflating JPA קומיך and JBA קמך (*DJPA*, p. 549; *DJBA*, 1024). Other tokens of קומי + 2 m.s. obj. suff. in LJLAtg. appear to be likewise spelt קומך (TgPsJ Gen. 15.1; 17.18; 18.3; 24.51; 27.29; Tg2Chron 9.7). Moreover, קומך is consistently used in FragTg[P] (Gen. 15.2; 22.14; 27.29; 38.25; 44.18; 49.22; Exod. 15.8, 10; Lev. 22.27; Num. 16.1. FragTg[V] does not feature קומי: where there are parallels with FragTg[P] it employs קד(ו)ם).

[24] Similarly, Alonso Fontela (*El Targum,* pp. 116–119) begs the question of authorial use of a single Pentateuchal targum. Noting that TgShir's Pentateuchal citations and allusions variously align with TgOnq, TgNeof, and TgPsJ, he opined the author employed a Palestinian targum, whose phraseology was amended by copyists towards TgOnq. The possibility that the author may have harnessed multiple literary sources is not canvassed. A possible example of scribal adjustment *away from* TgOnq may be found in TgShir 2.11 MSS. New York, JTS, Lutzki 610 (f. 16r) and Oxford, Bodleian, Digby Or. 34 (f. 14v). The phrasal citation of Genesis 15.17 (MT בין הגזרים 'between the pieces') in all CWs, ביני פלגיא, aligns with TgOnq. However, these instead read the JPA noun פסוגיא, as per TgPsJ and TgNeofM (cf. TgPsJ Ex. 12.40; Tg1Chron 7.21). (In Lutzki 610 a second hand has crossed it out and supplied פלגיא in the margin). I thank Deborah Fisher for alerting me to the relatively higher proportion of JPA forms in these manuscripts.

[25] See transcription in section 12 below.

[26] However, note the JPA inf. ולמיתוב at 5.4, in agreement with AF[1,7,9] and M[C].

of TgKet as a stratum of JPA, into which both authors and copyists integrated features of JLAtg. and JBA.[27] Litke claims:

> Every aspect of TgSong's linguistic makeup, from its grammar to its lexicon, shows a fundamental modelling of JLA. [...] The language begins with JLA until it diverges for various reasons to include features from other dialects.[28]

However, no method is articulated for isolating the author's dialectal 'starting point' in the face of multiple influences, ranging across the multifaceted domains of syntax, morphology, and lexis.

Litke's study is predominantly atomistic, cataloguing lexemes in isolation from their co-texts, which often results in a prescriptive, rather than descriptive, handling of the data. For example, he notes that the intrg. למא 'why?' in TgShir 1.7, 'is common throughout the Aramaic dialects from MA onwards'[29] and, separately, of the m.s. proximal dem. דין, 'This is the spelling in JLA. Targumic JPA is similar, through the dem. is often defectively spelled, דן.'[30] However, he overlooks the significance of their collocation in 1.7, למא דין (≅ MT שלמה).[31] JLAtg. employs the archaicising למא דנן as a stereotyped translation of MT למה זה.[32] The syntagm למא דין appears to be restricted, in targumic texts, to LJLA, where it often, as in TgShir, translates the simple intrg. למה in MT.[33] Thus, למא דין in TgShir, has synchronic significance as a LJLA syntagm, rather than a common intrg. followed by a JLA dem. Similarly, Litke notes that the presentative הא 'behold!' is 'Common Aramaic'.[34] However, the syntagmata in which it features, הא בכין 'then' (1.14; 2.8; 6.9) and הא כבר 'already' (5.13 [x2]) pass unremarked.[35] Yet they are dialectally significant. Neither is attested in JLAtg., but הא בכין is in JPAtg.[36] and

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[27] S.E. Fassberg, 'Judaeo-Aramaic', in L. Kahn and A.D. Rubin (eds.), *Handbook of Jewish Languages—Revised and Updated Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 85; Litke, 'Following the Frankincense', pp. 291–292.

[28] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 226. See also, A.W. Litke, 'The Lexicon of Targum Song of Songs', *AS* 15.1 (2017), pp. 78–105; Litke, 'Following the Frankincense', p. 292.

[29] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 75–76.

[30] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 70–71.

[31] This is the sole token of the intrg. למה in MT Song.

[32] W.B. Stevenson, *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 21. TgPsJ also adopts this strategy, albeit inconsistently; its tokens of למא דנן may be derived from TgOnq.

[33] TgPsJ Gen. 25.22 (≅ MT למה זה, TgOnq למא דנן); 42.1 (≅ MT למה, TgOnq למא); Exod. 1.18 (≅ MT מדוע, TgOnq מדין); 5.14 (≅ MT מדוע, TgOnq מדין); 32.12 (≅ MT למה, TgOnq למא); TgJob 9.29 (≅ MT למה זה); 27.12 (≅ MT למה זה); TgRuth 1.11, 21 (both ≅ MT למה, the latter has a variant with למא דנן); TgQoh 2.15 (≅ MT למה); 3.22; 4.8 (≅ MT למי); 5.5 (≅ MT למה); 7.16, 17 (both ≅ MT למה).

[34] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 134.

[35] His observations on the advs. are as follows: of בכין, '[...] common in the western dialects, JLA, and JBA'; of כבר, '[...] first attested in QA, and it occurs in all the late dialects'. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 131. Outside these syntagmata, in CWs[West.], the presentative הא only occurs in TgShir 2.11, where it translates MT הנה (it is a minus in AF[7,8,9,10] and the CWs[Yem.]). The CWs[Yem.] include a token in 8.7.

[36] FragTg[P] Gen. 3.18; 4.26; FragTg[P,V] 27.40; FragTg[P] Exod. 15.1; FragTg[V] Exod. 15.12; FragTg[P] Exod. 15.15; FragTg[V] Lev. 22.27; FragTg[P,V] Num. 21.17. TgCG[E] Gen. 31.22; TgCG[FF] Exod. 4.26; 15.1; TgCG[F] Lev. 22.27. TgNeofM Gen. 27.40; 50.1; Lev. 22.11, 27.

LJLAtg.,[37] where it often serves as a conventionalised translation of MT אז 'then'.[38] הא כבר is attested in JPA,[39] JBA,[40] LJLAtg.,[41] and ZA.[42] It seems likely that the presentative particle has been semantically bleached in these phrases in TgShir.[43] In short, while it is undeniable that the influence of TgOnq and TgJon on TgShir is great, as will be seen throughout this study, the claim that TgShir is 'primarily a JLA text' is questionable.

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[37] TgPsJ Gen. 4.15; 19.24; 50.1; Exod. 2.21; 15.1, 15; Lev. 26.34, 41; Num. 21.1; Deut. 4.41; TgPs 124.3, 4, 5; TgEstI 6.1; Tg1Chron 15.2; 16.7, 33; 22.13; Tg2Chron 5.2; 6.1; 8.12, 17; 18.18; 21.10; 32:1. The spelling הבכין occurs in TgPs 18.9; 51.21; 56.10; 69.5; 89.20 (variant); 96.12; 140.13.

[38] On the inclusion of the presentative particle, cf. 1Q20 2.1 הא באדין; Syriac ܗܝܕܝܢ; Mandaic האידין; and LJLA הידין ('then').

[39] E.g., y. Rosh Hash. 1.1 (56c).

[40] E.g., b. Yeb. 108b.

[41] TgPsJ Gen. 19.34 (≅ MT הן); 43.14; TgPs 78.20 (≅ MT הן); TgQoh 2.12; 3.15; 4.2; 6.10; 7.24; 9.6, 7; 12.10. All the tokens of הא כבר in TgQoh, bar 7.24 and 12.10, ≅ MT כבר.

[42] *Zohar* I, 136b; *Zohar Ḥadash* 37d.

[43] Albeit the presentative in הא בכין in 2.8 may be a reflex of הנה in MT Song 2.8.

3   Text types and editions

The abundance of extant witnesses to TgShir, of widespread provenance, suggest it enjoyed immense popularity.[44] It is no exaggeration that the scholar of TgShir faces an embarrassment of riches, with over 100 manuscripts, plus printed editions, and translations.[45] The witnesses are conventionally grouped into two broad text types: 'Western' and Yemenite.[46] The signature differentiator is the gemstone names and sequence of tribal patronyms in TgShir 5.14. The sharp divergence between the two forms of the list, which are considered in detail below, signals substantial editorial intervention.[47] However, this is exceptional—many of the differences between the text types are evidently due to scribal error, with which the Yemenite is notably beset.[48]

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[44] Alexander regards TgShir as 'one of the most popular texts in the history of Jewish religious literature', whose significance has been 'seriously underestimated'. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 1; P.S. Alexander, 'Tradition and Originality in the Targum of the Song of Songs', in D.R.G. Beattie and M.J. McNamara (eds.), *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), pp. 318–319.

[45] P.S. Alexander, 'From Poetry to Historiography: The Image of the Hasmoneans in Targum Canticles and the Question of the Targum's Provenance and Date', *JSP* 10.19 (1999), p. 103. For an extensive listing, see Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 44–105. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 1–2, gives a partial inventory of 61 (reducing to 60 if the two Cambridge Geniza fragments derive from the same manuscript, as opined by Klein). Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 3) understates the number of extant manuscripts to TgShir as '60+', presumably based on Alexander's inventory. My own count confirms Alexander's higher figure. Alexander ('Tradition and Originality', pp. 318–319) puts this figure into perspective by contrasting it with the relative paucity of extant witnesses to the midrash Cant. R.—four complete manuscripts (excluding late copies of printed editions), three anthologies, and twelve Geniza fragments (representing four manuscripts).

Richler's catalogue indicates that MS. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 2813 contains TgShir 1.1–2.7. However, upon inspection of the manuscript, this appears to be an error. I thank Deborah Fisher for bringing this to my attention. B. Richler (ed.), *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma: Catalogue*, (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem/The Jewish National and University Library, 2001), p. 26.

[46] R.H. Melamed, *Targum to Canticles,* pp. 17–34; Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 111–153; Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 5–7; Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 3–6. The 'Western' group consists of manuscripts mainly produced in Spain, Northern Europe, Italy, and North Africa, along with the early printed editions based on them. Alonso Fontela (*El Targum*, p. 152, n. 13) prefers the term 'Non-Yemenite' for this group owing to the inclusion of Arabic loanwords in TgShir 5.14, and the Turkish and Syrian provenance of some of its witnesses. In keeping with current convention, I employ the term 'Western', with awareness of its imprecision.

The number of late Yemenite manuscripts of TgShir containing a 'Western' text doubtless reflect the reception of printed Rabbinic Bibles in Yemen. See O. Abudraham, 'The 'Yemenite' Recension in Western Manuscript', *AS* 11.2 (2013), p. 89, n. 46. Judged by the form of the gemstone list in 5.14, these include the following: Hebrew Union College, Acc. 66 (the catalogue entry dates the manuscript to the 18th century, but notes, 'The date "1650" (folio 29^b) was added by a second Yemenite hand'. Jerusalmi gives the date as 1650. I. Jerusalmi, *The Song of Songs in the Targumic Tradition: Vocalized Aramaic Text with Facing English Translation and Ladino Versions* (Cincinnati: Ladino Books, 1993), p. i.); British Library Or. 9906 (17th–18th centuries), Or. 9907; JTS 10366 (18th century); Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Heb. 8° 1066 (1784); JTS MS 9727 (19th century); L474 (19th century), L475 (1838); L472 (18th or 19th century); L472c (19th century); Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Heb. 8° 2413 (19th century); Heb. 8° 2636 (1664); Heb. 8° 4025 (19th century); Heb. 38°5215 (19th century); Heb. 48°5344 (19th century). To these can be added the following, noted by Alonso Fontela (*El Targum*, p. 99): State Library of Berlin, Berlin, Germany MS. Or. Qu. 958, and MS. 9 in the collection of Yosef Qafih.

[47] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 5, 160–161, 210–213.

[48] Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 7) opines that the tightly knit exegetical schema of TgShir is likely to have discouraged attempts to significantly improve the text. This contrasts with the more 'open weave' anthological structure of a midrashic compilation, which easily accommodates insertions, introduced by דבר אחר etc. Cf. Junkermann, *The Relationship*, pp. 51–53, 85–92. However, the case should not be overstated; attempts to

Overall, the internal evidence points to the priority of the Western text type, from a species of which the Yemenite evolved.[49] Comporting with this, the earliest known extant witnesses to TgShir—the Ashkenazi Codex Valmadonna 1[50] (dated 1189 CE), and the two fragments from the Cairo Geniza, Cambridge T-S B11.81 and T-S NS 312.3, which may pre-date it[51]—align with the Western recension at 5.14.[52] Moreover, the phrasal citation of TgShir 3.2 by Natan ben Yehiel of Rome in the ʿArukh, which was completed in 1101 CE, reflects the reading of Western manuscripts.[53] Contemporary with the ʿArukh, the midrashic compilation Leqaḥ Ṭob may indirectly evidence the circulation of the Western text type elsewhere in Europe.[54] In its

improve TgShir are evidenced, some of which are noted in this study.

[49] See Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 134–151, persuasively refuting the claim of 'a different archetype and origin' for the Yemenite text type made in R.H. Melamed, *Targum to Canticles*, pp. 15–16. Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 5–7; Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 4–6. I am unaware of any examples of Western manuscripts that align with the Yemenite recension at 5.14. Cf. Abudraham, 'The 'Yemenite' Recension', pp. 71–93. Abudraham raises the possibility that the 'Yemenite' recension of certain TgMeg may have been imported to Yemen from the West.

[50] *Olim* Sassoon 282; Richler 1. As of 2015, MS. Washington, D.C., Museum of the Bible, 858. I continue to refer to the codex as 'Valmadonna 1', owing to the widespread familiarity of this shelfmark. Cf. D.R.G. Beattie, 'The Textual Tradition of Targum Ruth', in D.R.G. Beattie and M.J. McNamara (eds.), *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), p. 341.

[51] Cambridge T-S B11.81 (TgShir 2.7-16; 4.12–5.8) and T-S NS 312.3 (TgShir 5.8–6.2), both executed in oriental semi-cursive script, logged as items 286 and 851 respectively in M.L. Klein, *Targumic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 23–24, 68. Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 2, n. 1.) notes that Klein, in a personal communication, opined that these fragments may derive from the same manuscript. Dr Ben M. Outhwaite, Head of the Genizah Research Unit at Cambridge University, advised in a personal communication (12 January 2016) that these fragments—typical of the Classical Genizah Period (eleventh to thirteenth centuries CE)—are likely, on palaeographical grounds, to date to the twelfth century. I thank Dr Outhwaite for his assistance.

[52] TgShir 5.14 in Cambridge T-S NS 312.3 is lacunose, and the surviving text badly faded in places. Nonetheless, the following can be identified from the list:

22 גְּלֹיף עַל עֹקֹן[...]

1 [...]ף עַל ??לֹ?ר [נֹ]פֹתּלֹי [...]יֹף

2 [...] טֹבאג אשֹר גֹּליף על [...]ף גליף עַל מריבג

3 [...]פֹּנטור

The gemstone list in Valmadonna 1 (f. 174r) reads:

רְאוּבֵן גְּלִיף עַל אַחֲמָר : שַמֹעון גְּלִיף עַל עֲקִיק : לֵוִי גְּלִיף עַל בַּרְקָן וְרַעֲפָן : יְהוּדָה גְּלִיף עַל כַּחֲלִי : יְשָׂשכָר גְּלִיף עַל אִיזְמוֹרָד : זְבוּלֶן גְּלִיף עַל גִּיהְאַר : דָן גְּלִיף עַל בִּילָאר : נַפְתָּלִי גְּלִיף עַל אִסְפּוֹר : גָּד גְּלִיף עַל טַבָאָג : יוֹסֵף גְּלִיף עַל מְרִיסַג : בִּנְיָמַן גְּלִיף עַל אֲפַגטור :

[53] L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1832), p. 84; L.J. Liebreich, 'Midrash Lekah Tob's Dependence upon Targum to the Song of Songs 8.11-12', *JQR* 38.1 (1947), p. 66. It is attributed to תרגום (ירושלמי). This designation, if reliable, speaks to TgShir's reception, rather than its provenance. M. Goshen-Gottstein, *Fragments of Lost Targumim*, vol. 1 (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983), pp. 16–17 (in Hebrew); Flesher and Chilton, *The Targums*, p. 235. However, Loewe notes that Kohut, based on manuscript evidence, omitted the word ירושלמי in his edition of the ʿAruk, considering it an error. R. Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs in the Targum to the Song of Songs', in A. Altmann (ed.), *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), p. 163, n. 18. The citation is בקרוין ובפלטייתא ובפאתון "in the cities, the streets and the squares" ≡ MT בעיר בשוקים וברחובות, given under the entry for פלטיא 'open place'. For the third member of this phrase, the CWs[Yem.] read ובסתון in error for ובפתון.

[54] Liebreich, 'Midrash Lekah Tob's Dependence', p. 66; H.L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud*

commentary on Exod. 28.17-20, the midrash presents a list of 'Arabic' glosses for the gemstones set in the high priest's breastplate, which closely approximates the list attested in Western witnesses to TgShir 5.14. Solomon Buber, who edited the midrash, was confident that Leq. Ṭob derived the list from TgShir.[55] However, as Buber notes, there are differences between the two lists, not all of which may be attributable to variant or erroneous spellings.[56] The manuscript which served as Buber's base text[57] reads:

אודם אחמר · פטדה עקיק · ברקת זעפרן · נפך כחבלי · ספיר זמורד · יהלום גיאאר · לשם בלטאר[58] · שבו אספר ·
ואחלמה טִיפאג[59] · תרשיש · (פרה) פרתזוג[60] · שהם וישפה בוגיר[61] · מאבצר[62] · כל אלה לשון ערבי הם.[63]

and Midrash (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), p. 356.

[55] 'אין ספק' ('there is no doubt'). S. Buber (ed.), Midrash Leqaḥ Tov (Vilna: Widow and Brothers Romm, 1880), p. 188, n. 4 (in Hebrew). The order of the enumeration of the twelve tribes immediately prior to the list aligns with that in the Western recension of TgShir 5.14. Both employ the chiastic maternal grouping: sons of Leah, sons of Bilah, sons of Zilpah, sons of Rachel. Buber's claim of Leq. Ṭob's dependence on TgShir is accepted by Landauer, Churgin, Liebreich, and Alexander. S. Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', in Carl Bezold (ed.), Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (Gieszen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906), p. 506; Churgin, Targum to Hagiographa, p. 123, n. 6; Liebreich, 'Midrash Lekah Tob's Dependence', p. 65; Alexander, Targum of Canticles, pp. 65, 211.

[56] 'ונמצא איזה שינויים' ('some changes are found'). Buber, Midrash Leqaḥ Tov, p. 188, n. 4.

[57] MS Oxford, Bodleian, Heb. d. 53 (Neubauer/Cowley 2636) (1349 CE), f. 134r.

[58] Cf. TgShir AF[1,7,9,10] ביליאר; AF[2,8] בולאר; AF[3,5] בירלא; AF[3M] בלאר; AF[4] ברלא; M[C Super.] ברלא. Buber notes a suggestion that בלטאר may be an error for Persian לאטאר 'lapis lazuli'. Buber, Midrash Leqaḥ Tov, p. 189.

[59] Possibly, סיפאג. The initial letter is markedly dissimilar to the ductus of ט elsewhere in this parashah. A tiny indent at the top may suggest that the scribe began to write ס, realised the mistake, and tried to salvage the situation. A similar ambiguity pertains to the form in the earlier witness, Florence, National Central Library of Florence, Magl. III.35 (12th–13th century), f. 153r (also employed by Buber in the preparation of his edition). Either way, the reading of both manuscripts is against Buber's edition, which gives טופאג. If סיפאג, it is possibly a reflex of Arabic سبج 'obsidian'.

[60] Against Buber's edition, which reads פרתזיג.

[61] Buber silently emends to שהם בוגיד ישפה מאבצד to conform to the pattern in which a single Hebrew gemstone is immediately followed by its identification in 'Arabic', omitting the conj. The sequence שהם וישפה, and the conj. in ואחלמה, are imports from Exod. 28.19-20; 39.12-13. The other conjs. in the Exodus list are omitted.

[62] Against Buber's edition, which reads מאבצד. Cf. TgShir AF[1,2,3,4,5], M[A,B Super.], M[C Marg.]: אפנטור; AF[7,9,10]: אפגטור; AF[8]: אפנתור. Buber notes a suggestion that מאבצד is an error for Persian מרבארץ 'pearl'. Midrash Leqaḥ Tov, p. 189.

[63] The form of the list in Florence, National Central Library of Florence, Magl. III.35 is: אדם אחמר פטדה עקיק · ברקת · ועפרן נפך · בחכלי · ספיר ומורד יהלום · גיאאר · לשם · בלטר · שבו · אספיר · ואחלמה · טִיפאג · תרשיש · פרתזוג · שהם וישפה · בוגיד · מאבצד · כל אלה לשון ערבי הם (f. 153r). Buber noted that the list was absent from his third manuscript, from St. Petersburg, which he attributed to scribal error. Buber (ed.), Midrash Leqaḥ Tov, p. 189, n. 5. The catalogue of the National Library of Israel identifies it as MS. St. Petersburg, The National Library of Russia, EVR II A 331 (14th–15th century). https://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS000086503 [last accessed 16 April 2020]. See ff. 144v–145r. The list of Arabic equivalents is also absent from the following witnesses to Leq. Ṭob to Exod 28: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 397 (13th–14th century), ff. 131v–131r; New York, JTS, 950 (15th–16th century), f. 22v; New York, JTS, 952 (16th century), f. 120v; New York, JTS, 949 (17th century), f. 91v; New York, JTS, 537 (17th–18th century), f. 135r. In Oxford, Bodleian Library, Huntington 397, a second hand has supplied supralinear and marginal identifications for all but the last of the gemstones. However, these reflect the gemstone names in Saʿadya Gaon's Tafsīr to Exod. 28.17-20, rather than those in the two early witnesses to Leq. Ṭob. The reading of the main text, followed by the supralinear gloss is as follows (from left to right): אודם = יקות; פטדה = אחֹמר, margin זמרד = ברקת; אצפר = נופך; כחלי = ספיר; מהא = יהלום = ספיר; זגע = שבו; סבג = אחלמה = פירוֹזג; תרשיש = אזרק; שוהם = בלוֹר. The double identification of the

If this list was quarried from TgShir it appears to have been edited: the first member of the double gemstone name ברקן זעפראן does not feature. Assuming its presence in the midrash's source, it may have been discounted as an error, secondary gloss, or—as an Aramaic word— deemed irrelevant to the midrash's stated purpose of presenting Arabic glosses for the MT gemstones. However, the possibility that the lists are independent reflexes of a common glossary tradition cannot be discounted.[64]

The present study is, as a matter of expedience, in the main based upon the published critical diplomatic editions of TgShir produced by Raphael Hai Melamed[65] and Carlos Alonso

second gemstone likely stems from a misreading of the *Tafsīr*, in which the first gemstone is rendered as יקות אחמר 'ruby' (Arabic ياقوت أحمر). The scribe misconstrued the adj. as a substantive and assigned it to the second gemstone. The correct term for the second gemstone in the *Tafsīr*, זמרד, was then supplied in the margin.

[64] Alexander (*Targum of Canticles,* pp. 210–211), citing Lieberman regarding the widespread production of glossaries containing translations of the gemstone names, opines that a pre-existing gemstone list was incorporated in TgShir 5.14. S. Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1942), p. 56. Vollandt notes that al-Qirqisānī mentions 'precious stones' among the themes of glossary lists employed by biblical translators in the 10th century. R. Vollandt, 'Glosses of Hebrew: Medieval Arabic', in G. Khan (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 63.

Leq. Ṭob diverges from TgShir in situating these gemstones in the high priest's breastplate, as per Exodus 28, rather than his headpiece. The gemstones do not feature in Leq. Ṭob's exegesis of Song 5.14. Liebreich ('Midrash Lekah Tob's Dependence', pp. 63–66) noted the convergence of TgShir and Leq. Ṭob's exegesis of the numerals אלף (1,000) and מאתים (200) in Song 8.11-12 as ciphers for the ten tribes, and Judah and Benjamin, respectively, in the context of the division of Solomon's kingdom. Acknowledging the possibility of independent reflexes of a common tradition, Liebreich argued for the midrash's dependence on TgShir based on Buber's opinion regarding the gemstone list.

[65] Melamed, *Targum to Canticles.* The Yemenite witnesses to TgShir collated by Melamed are set out below, subgrouped according to textual affinity. For a full description, see Melamed, *Targum to Canticles,* pp. 10–16. Date ranges are taken from the online catalogues of the respective holding institutions, unless noted otherwise. The superscript letter in the sigla adopted mirrors that employed by Melamed. Thus, for example, M^A refers to manuscript A in his collation. The apparatus in Melamed's edition contains numerous errors and should be used with caution. These will be noted, where appropriate.

Group 1

- M^A: London, British Library, Or. 1302 (the base text) (14th–15th century CE)

- M^B: Oxford, Bodleian, Opp. Add. 4to. 139 (Neubauer 2333) (1425–1476 CE)

Group 2

- M^C: New York, JTS, L477 (missing 7.9-12 and 8.9-14) (16th century, according to Melamed)

Group 3

- M^D: New York, JTS, L476 (1.1–2.2 and 7.9–8.7)[65] (16th century)

Group 4

- M^E: London, British Library, Or. 2375 (16th century)

- M^F: London, British Library, Or. 1476 (15th–16th century)

Junkermann's claim (*The Relationship*, p. 37) that these represent all known Yemenite manuscripts of TgShir is incorrect. See L. Díez Merino, 'La tradición yemení del Targum de Hagiógrafos', *Estudios Bíblicos* 42 (1984), pp. 285–286; Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 98–102. The Western text collated by Melamed, that in P. de Lagarde, *Hagiographica Chaldaice* (Leipzig: 1873), is a reproduction of the consonantal text of Bomberg's first Rabbinic Bible (Venice, 1517)—the *editio princeps* of TgShir—with amendments.

Fontela,[66] which focus on the Yemenite and Western text types respectively. However, considered jointly or severally, these editions are far from definitive: a comprehensive edition of TgShir, presenting a wider collation of manuscripts, both Western and Yemenite, remains a desideratum.[67] Accordingly, the provisionality of conclusions solely based on the witnesses collated in these editions must be acknowledged.

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[66] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*. The witnesses collated by Alonso Fontela are as follows, subgrouped according to textual affinity. Dates in brackets pertain to the copying of TgShir specifically, where known, otherwise to the entire manuscript. For a full description of these manuscripts and their grouping, see Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 45–71, 111–114. The superscript number in the sigla adopted mirrors that employed by Alonso Fontela. Thus, for example, AF¹ refers to manuscript 1 in his collation.

Group 1 (Western)

- AF¹: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Heb. 110 (the base text) (1455 C.E.)

- AF²: Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, 116-Z-40 (1517 C.E.

Group 2 (Western)

- AF³: Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Solger 1–7, 2° (missing 8.6-14) (1290/1 CE)

- AF⁴: New York, JTS, L478 (missing 1.1-12 and 7.1) (1580 CE)

- AF⁵: Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, M-2 (impairment in text at bottom of folios due to wear) (estimated circa 1532 CE)

- AF⁶: *Miqraʾot Gedolot* (ed. Jerusalem, 1961), employed solely as a proxy for the lacunae in AF³·⁴·⁵

Group 3 (Western)

- AF⁷: Vatican, Biblioteca Vaticana, Urb. Ebr. 1 (1294 CE)

- AF⁸: Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3231 (13th–14th century)

- AF⁹: Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Cod. Her. 11 (1290 CE);

- AF¹⁰: Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3218 (1475 CE)

Group 4 (Yemenite)

- AF¹¹ (=Mᴱ): London, British Library, Or. 2375 (using the transcription published by Sperber) (16th century)

- AF¹² (=Mᴬ): London, British Library, Or. 1302 (using the transcription published by Melamed) (14th–15th century)

[67] Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 5. *Pace* Lieber, Melamed's collation, due to its limited scope, many errors, and the general inferiority of the Yemenite text type, is not 'the definitive edition of the Aramaic text' of TgShir. L.S. Lieber, *A Vocabulary of Desire: The Song of Songs in the Early Synagogue* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), p. 36, n. 19.

4   Date of composition

TgShir's date of composition is unclear, with suggestions ranging from the seventh to the tenth centuries. Minimally, its citation in the ʿArukh—the earliest unequivocal evidence for its circulation—furnishes a *terminus ante quem* of the late eleventh to early twelfth century. The liturgical attachment of Song of Songs to the festival of Passover,[68] and the closure of the Talmudic corpus,[69] have been invoked as *termini post quem*, albeit absolute dating of these

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[68] Alexander*, Targum of Canticles*, pp. 53–56. However, when this practice was instituted is uncertain. Alexander assigns it to 'the early Gaonic period', but Reif 'between the geonic and early medieval periods'. S.C. Reif, 'Liturgy as an Educational Process in Talmudic and Medieval Judaism', in G.J. Brooke and R. Smithuis (eds.), *Jewish Education from Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Philip S. Alexander* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), p. 257. The external tractate Soferim stipulates dividing the reading of Song of Songs over the last two nights of the Passover. Higger's critical edition reads: בשיר השירים, קורין אותו בלילי שני ימים טובים של גלויות האחרונים, חציו בלילה אחד, וחציו בלילה השני (14.99–100). M. Higger, *Tractate Sopherim* (New York: Debe Rabbanan, 1937), p. 270 (in Hebrew). Reed Blank hypothesises that chapters 10–21 of Soferim were written in Europe and appended to earlier material in chapters 1–9. D. Reed Blank, 'It's Time to Take Another Look at "Our Little Sister" Soferim: A Bibliographical Essay', *JQR* 90.1–2 (1999), pp. 4–5. Cf. E. Ben-Eliyahu, Y. Cohn, and F. Miller, *Handbook of Jewish Literature from Late Antiquity, 135–700 CE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 54–55. Alonso Fontela (*El Targum*, p. 30) claims the tractate may date from the seventh century.

Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 56) states that the custom mentioned in Soferim is 'reflected in the Masoretic gloss to Cant. 4:14' identifying the versal midpoint of the book. However, the same gloss features in biblical books which played no liturgical role. Cf. חצי הספר בפסוקים in the Masorah parva of *BHS* (an expansion of חצי הספר in Codex Leningradensis) at Job 22.16; Prov. 16.17; Dan. 6.12; Neh. 3.32 (for Ezra-Nehemiah); 1 Chron. 27.25 (for 1–2 Chronicles). *BHS* registers this gloss in the appropriate place in the Masorah parva of all the books of the Writings (the simpler form חצי הספר occurs at Ps. 78.36). In fact, the occurrences at Song 4.14 and Est. 5.6 represent editorial conjecture (annotated 'sub loco') as they are absent from Codex Leningradensis. Accordingly, they are omitted from the Masorah parva of *BHQ.* (Song 3.11 onwards is missing from the Aleppo Codex).

[69] TgShir 1.2 refers to the divine bestowal of שיתא סדרי משנה ותלמודא בגירסא "the Six Orders of the Mishnah and the Talmud by oral tradition", alongside the written Torah (cf. 5.10). As Junkermann (*The Relationship*, p. 43) observes, the juxtaposition of תלמודא with שיתא סדרי משנה suggests that the referent of the former is a defined textual corpus, rather than 'teaching' in a general sense. Yet, neither the identity of the Talmud in question (Palestinian, Babylonian, or both) nor its stage of literary crystallisation can be discerned from this reference: *pace* Junkermann (*The Relationship*, p. 43), it does not prove that TgShir post-dates the 'closing' of the Talmudic corpus. Cf. P. Churgin, *The Targum to Hagiographa* (New York: Horeb, 1945), p. 117 (in Hebrew). If at least some of the attested JBA forms in TgShir are granted to be original, they are suggestive of authorial acquaintance with the Babylonian Talmud. A.W. Litke, 'Following the Frankincense: Reassessing the *Sitz im Leben* of Targum Song of Songs', *JSP* 27.4 (2018), p. 295, n. 24. E.Z. Melamed itemised several instances in which he believed TgShir made exegetical use of the Babylonian Talmud. However, most are impressionistic parallels. E.Z. Melamed, 'Targum Canticles', *Tarbiz* 40 (1970), pp. 208–212 (in Hebrew).

The word תלמודא is crossed out in Mᶜ, and גמרא 'Gemara' written in the margin. The variant גמרא is attested in the following Yemenite manuscripts: Hebrew Union College Acc. 66 (18th century); British Library Or. 9906 and 9907 (both 17th–18th century); Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Heb. 8° 4025 (19th century); Heb. 38°5215 (19th century); Heb. 48°5344 (19th century). Judged by the gemstone list in 5.14, all these manuscripts align with the Western recension. To buttress his conjecture that תלמודא is a secondary addition in 1.2, Churgin (*Targum to Hagiographa*, p. 117), notes that גמרא is the reading of 'the Venetian printed edition'. However, it is unclear to which edition he refers. Both Bomberg's first and second Rabbinic Bibles read תלמודא. The replacement of תלמודא by גמרא appears to be a relatively late intervention, which Jastrow attributes to a censor. M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1903 edn, 2006), p. 1672b. For an example of censorial excision of ותלמודא in TgShir 1.2, see MS. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3235. Junkermann's claim (*The Relationship*, p. 43, n. 103) that 'Jastrow notes that de Lagarde's ed., following Bomberg, reads at Targum Song 1.2 *Gemara* instead of *Talmud*'

events is elusive. The lower threshold of the seventh century is commonly predicated on the Arabic loanwords in 5.14, and the mention of the Ishmaelites in 1.7. Litke has recently advanced a case for a tenth century date based on a possible Greek-mediated loan of mediaeval Latin *olibanum*. The latter three potential datums are considered in detail below.

4.1   *Arabic influence*

The Arabic loanwords in TgShir have long been invoked as a datum for its composition or redaction. They cluster in the gemstone list in 5.14 in the Western recension.[70] In contrast, the CWs[Yem.] contain gemstone names that, for the most part, replicate those found in MT Exod. 28.17-21; 39.10-14. However, the CWs[Yem.] do not present a uniform list.

Landauer identified the first ten gemstone names in the Western recension as reflexes of the following 'Arabic-Persian' terms: 'أحمر , عقيق, زعفران ,كحلي ,زمردّ ,جوهر, بلور (?), أصفر (?),' فيروزج ,طوفاج.[71] He invoked them as evidence that the target audience of TgShir was acquainted with Arabic, in support of Zunz's assignment of all TgMeg to the post-Talmudic era.[72] In turn, on the basis of these 'traces of Arabic influences', R.H. Melamed, proposed that TgShir was written around the eighth century.[73]

Churgin registered his dissent from Landauer, stating that the loanwords did not bear the evidential weight he assigned to them in dating TgShir.[74] Moreover, he rejected the identification of any of the gemstone names, aside from אחמר, as Arabic loanwords.[75] Similarly, Loewe cautioned that the loanwords may be adscititious, since, in non-sacrosanct

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is incorrect. Both de Lagarde and Bomberg's editions read תלמודא and Jastrow does not claim otherwise: he notes that גמרא occurs in an edition (unspecified), as opposed to תלמודא in de Lagarde's edition. The Antwerp Polyglot (1568–73) excises the entire reference to the divine bestowal of the Mishnah and Talmud in 1.2, along with the description of God studying the Hebrew Bible and Mishnah in 5.10. Buxtorf's *Biblia Sacra Hebraica & Chaldaica* (1618–19) retains the reference in 1.2 but omits the passage in 5.10. The apologetic agenda is not hard to discern.

On TgShir's use of the Hebrew משנה instead of Aramaic מתניתא, see O. Abudraham, 'The Hebrew Component in the Aramaic Lexicon of the Targumim of the Five Scrolls: Part 1', *Leshonenu* 75 (2013), pp. 172–173 (in Hebrew). משנה also features in TgNeofM Exod. 36.16 (contrast מתניתא in TgPsJ Exod. 26.9; 36.16).

[70] I discount here the 1 c.p. independent pron. נחן in AF¹ at 1.16, a unicum among the CWs. It may represent Judaeo-Arabic (نحن), or an apocopated form of Aramaic נחנא, as per AF².

[71] S. Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', in C. Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien: Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Gieszen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906), p. 506. Landauer does not comment on the identity of the eleventh and twelfth gemstones.

[72] Landauer assumed that TgMeg are the work of a single author, a conjecture floated by Zunz. L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt* (Berlin: A. Asher, 1832), p. 65. However, whereas Landauer used the term 'Redaktion' in relation to Zunz's dating proposal, Zunz spoke of the 'Verflasser': 'Nach der klassischen Untersuchung von Zunz verlegt man mit Recht die Redaktion dieses Teils des Hagiographen-Targums in die nach-talmudische Zeit.' Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 505.

[73] R.H. Melamed, *Targum to Canticles,* p. 19, citing Landauer.

[74] 'אין כחה של עדות קלה זו יפה לפתר את שאלת זמנו של התרגום' ('This meagre evidence is insufficient to resolve the question of the time of the targum'). Churgin, *Targum to Hagiographa*, p. 117. Churgin does not elaborate on his reasoning.

[75] 'מלבד השם הראשון, אחמר, לאדם, אין השמות נושאים עליהם חותם ערבי דוקא' ('Aside from the first name, *ʾaḥmar*, for *ʾdm*, the names do not, in fact, bear the stamp of Arabic'.) Churgin, *Targum to Hagiographa*, p. 123, n. 6. However, he offers no competing treatment of the names.

texts, scribes may replace unfamiliar terms by familiar ones.[76] However, Loewe appears to hold that the original form of the list contained the Biblical Hebrew terms from Exod. 28.17-21; 39.10-14.[77] If so, scribal unfamiliarity with the terms seems an implausible trigger for their substitution: it is more reasonable to assume that such substitution was motivated by a desire to identify the referents of familiar Biblical realia in contemporary terms. This comports with Loewe's observation that gemstone names would have been particularly susceptible to scribal updating, owing to the widespread interest in their supposed magical properties reflected in the lapidary tradition.[78]

Likewise, Alonso Fontela, pointing to the restriction of their distribution and scope in TgShir, opines that the Arabic loanwords represent a secondary updating of the original gemstone list, possibly due to the original names no longer being recognised. He also cites the lapidary tradition as a possible catalyst for this intervention.[79] In his view, the loanwords only license the conclusion that the textual tradition of TgShir 'crystallised' around the eighth century. Again, echoing Loewe, he characterises the Biblical Hebrew gemstone names in the Yemenite recension as an editorial act of 'restoration',[80] in the face of a *Vorlage* which contained the Arabic names. Yet, whereas Alonso Fontela appeals to scribal unfamiliarity as the motivation for the substitution of the original gemstone names by Arabic ones (as did Loewe), he suggests that it was the Yemenite scribes' very familiarity with the Arabic names that led them to replace them with the Biblical Hebrew terms. The logic behind this argument is unclear.[81]

Somewhat in tension with his description of the Yemenite redaction as an act of 'restoration', Alonso Fontela conjectures that the original form of the gemstone list would have been akin to the forms of the list in TgPsJ, TgNeof, or TgOnq to Exod. 28.17-20; 35.10-13. In support, he cites the third gemstone name in the Western recension, ברקן זעפראן, which he parses as a conflate of the original reading ברקן—the form of the third gemstone name in TgOnq—and the Arabic زعفران, which he suggests was supplied to specify its colour.[82] He also points to the similarity of the twelfth gemstone name, אפנטור, to its counterparts in TgPsJ (מרגניית אפנטורין) and TgOnq (פנתירי).[83] Yet, why these remnants of the original list were

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[76] Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs', p. 164.

[77] '[…] in some of Melamed's own Yemenite manuscripts the Biblical Hebrew names for the stones are restored.' Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs', p. 164.

[78] Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs', p. 164.

[79] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 144–145.

[80] 'El Targum al Cantar en la Tradición Yemeni tiende a restituir el nombre hebreo de las piedras preciosas'. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 29.

[81] The Judaeo-Arabic translation in AF⁴ retains only some of the Arabic gemstone names of its source text: אחמר, ישם, מורגאן, פירוגז, סבג, יאקות, בלור, גוהר, יאקות זמורוד, כוחלי, אכצר ואצפר, עקיק. The doublet for the third gemstone, אכצר ואצפר, is a function of the erroneous ברקן ועפרן (for ברקן זעפרן) in its Aramaic text (the initial letter of the second lexeme being misconstrued as a coordinating conj.).

[82] This use of two lexemes to refer to a single gemstone is an outlier in the list in the Western recension. I have been unable to locate an instance of the employment of زعفران in the Exodus gemstone list in Arabic translations of the Pentateuch.

[83] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 30. Cf. פנטירא in the lapidary of Berakhyah Ben Natronai ha-Nakdan: 'פנטירא מן ישפה היא'. G. Bos and J. Zwink (eds.), *Berakhyah Ben Natronai ha-Nakdan: Sefer Ko'aḥ ha-Avanim* (*On the Virtue of the Stones*). *Hebrew Text and English Translation, with a Lexicological Analysis of the Romance Terminology and Source Study* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 49, 103–104.

retained, while the balance was overwritten, is not addressed.[84]

The possibility that ברקן may be a later addition by a copyist to an original זעפראן, as suggested earlier by Silber, is not canvassed.[85] Another possible explanation for the double-barrelled appellation is that the two terms were accidentally imported together *ab initio* from a list of foreign language translations of the Hebrew gemstone names, in which they functioned as the subject and predicate of an equational sentence: 'זעפראן = ברקן'. As seen above, this syntactic structure, without an intervening copula, features in the list of identifications of the gemstones in midrash Leq. Ṭob.[86] It seems likely that Alonso Fontela's view of the secondary nature of the Arabic loanwords is influenced, in part, by his premise that TgShir was originally composed in JPA.

Alexander favours the primacy of the form of the gemstone list in the Western recension, from which he infers an Arabophone author and intended audience in the eighth to ninth centuries.[87] However, simultaneously, he argues that the gemstone list is a secondary insertion, since it intervenes between the subject NP תרין עשר שיבטין דיעקב עבדיה ('the twelve tribes of Jacob his servant') and its ptc. predicate דמיין ('resembling')—the absence of a resumptive pro. prefacing the predicate, notwithstanding its distance from its subject, betraying an editorial seam.[88] Accordingly, he postulates three stages in the evolution of TgShir 5.14 as reflected in both the Western and Yemenite recensions: (1) the current text *sans* the gemstone list; (2) the insertion of a pre-existing gemstone list; and (3) the substitution of this list by an alternative one.[89] Alexander states that the case for the priority of the Western or Yemenite lists could be argued either way, but he favours the former on the basis of the general superiority of the Western text.[90] Yet, he does not reckon with an important corollary of his argument: if the gemstone list is a secondary addition to 5.14, how can it be known that it was inserted by the author himself? Arguably, in view of the putative syntactic infelicity, it is more plausibly an interpolation by a later editor. If so, such a person could have operated in a different cultural and linguistic context from the author.

Alexander's case for 'a few possible Arabisms' in TgShir[91]—as distinct from the loanwords in 5.14—is unpromising. He offers two tokens of a single type in TgShir 4.3; 6.7,[92] suggesting that the author's 'unexpected rendering'[93] of the Hebrew compound preposition מבעד ('behind', or 'through') by בר מן 'aside from' may have been influenced by his familiarity with the cognate Arabic بعد, in the sense of 'beside, aside from'.[94] Yet, a more parsimonious

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[84] If the juxtaposition of the terms betrays a redactional seam, זעפראן may have been intended to supplant, rather than modify, ברקן. If so, the retention of the latter was an oversight.

[85] E. Silber, *Sedeh Jerusalem: Ein Kommentar zu Targum Chamesch Megiloth* (Czernowitz: Elias Heilpern, 1883), ad loc. (in Hebrew).

[86] However, note that the pertinent equation in Leq. Ṭob. is ברקת זעפראן, in which the subject, ברקת, reflects MT Exod. 28.17, rather than ברקן, as per TgShir and TgOnq.

[87] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 11–12, 55.

[88] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 161 n. *jjj*, 210.

[89] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 210–11.

[90] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 211–212.

[91] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 11.

[92] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 11, n. 9.

[93] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 133, n. *i*.

[94] Litke misunderstands Alexander's argument, claiming that 'Alexander believes [בר מן at 4.3; 6.7] is used in a

explanation is to hand: as Silber noted, the author's rendering is likely predicated on an *al tiqre* reading of MT מבעד as מבלעדי 'without.'[95] In view of the numerous examples of the application of *al tiqre* in TgShir, this is highly likely.[96] Moreover, Alexander notes that at 4.1 the TgShir appears to have construed the sense of MT מבעד as 'within', closer to the sense of the Hebrew, without the putative Arabic language interference.[97] While Silber's explanation is to be preferred, it should be noted that a rendition of MT מבעד close to that of TgShir 4.3; 6.7 is attested in the Peshiṭta. The compound מבעד is a *tris legomenon* in MT, all of which occur in Song of Songs (4.1, 3; 6.7). Peshiṭta Song 4.1 and 6.7 render MT מבעד לצמתך 'behind your veil' as ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܫܬܠܟ 'beyond/apart from for your silence'.[98] As Weitzman notes, this curious translation is most likely derivative of the LXX, which renders MT מבעד לצמתך as ἐκτὸς τῆς σιωπήσεώς σου 'aside from your taciturnity'.[99] In contrast, there appears to be no compelling evidence for the dependence of TgShir on either the LXX or the Peshiṭta.[100] It therefore seems likely that the similarity is coincidental.

Junkermann proposes another possible example of Arabic influence in TgShir. Picking up on Pope's mention of the Arabic verb نتن 'to stink' in relation to Song 1.12, she suggests that TgShir may have interpreted the verb in MT נרדי נתן ריחו "my nard gave forth its fragrance" in light of the Arabic: ואסריאו עובדיהון ונפק להון שום ביש בעלמא [...] סריאו כנרדא דריחיה ביש לחדא "and they made their actions stink and acquired for themselves an evil reputation in the world [...] they stank like spikenard, the odour of which is very bad".[101] However, it is possible that TgShir's exegesis was influenced by a source, such as b. Shab. 88b or b. Giṭ. 36b, which already interprets the fragrance of Song 1.12 as malodorous (cf. Cant. R. 1.12).[102]

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manner that is more like Arabic *baʿda* than its standard Aramaic use.' Alexander does not claim that the Aramaic בר מן is used in a non-standard manner: he suggests that the author's interpretation of the Hebrew prep. מבעד in MT may have been influenced by his familiarity with the Arabic بعد, which in turn motivated his choice of the Aramaic equivalent בר מן 'aside from'. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 14, 296; Litke, 'Following the Frankincense', p. 293.

[95] Silber, *Sedeh Jerusalem*, ad loc. Note the translation of MT בלעדי by בר מן in TgOnq Gen. 14.24; 41.44; Num. 5.20; TgJon Josh. 22.19; 2 Sam. 22.32; 2 Kgs 18.25; Isa. 36.10; 43.11; 44.6, 8; 45.6, 21; Jer. 44.19; TgPs 18.32; TgJob 34.32; TgCG^E Gen. 41.16, 44; TgNeof and TgPsJ Gen. 14.24; 41.16, 44; Num. 5.20; TgNeofM Num. 5.20.

[96] E.g., Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 79, n. 21; p. 130 n. 3; p. 168, n. 26.

[97] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles,* p. 130, n. 2.

[98] At Song 4.3, the Peshiṭta renders the same phrase ܫܬܠܟ ܡܛܠ 'because of your silence'.

[99] M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 76. Weitzman notes that the translation is predicated on the (mistaken) derivation of צמה from √צמת 'to silence'. So too J.C. Treat, 'To the Reader of Song of Songs', in A. Pietersma and B.G. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 658. *CAL*, s.v. שתק, claims for ܫܬܠ a secondary metaphorical sense 'veil', presumably based on Peshiṭta Song 4.1, 3; 6.7, although no references are given [last accessed 12 April 2021]. Conversely, *SL* (p. 1616) simply notes that the translation of Hebrew צמה 'veil' by ܫܬܠ in Peshiṭta Song 4.1, 3; 6.7 is 'incorrect'. Neither register that this translation is most likely derivative of the LXX.

[100] TgShir 4.1, 3 appear to interpret MT צמתך as if derived from √צמת 'to gather', whereas 6.7 clearly links it with צמא 'thirst' (בצהותא/בצחותא). Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 130, n. 2; p. 133, n. 15; p. 163, n. 266. *Pace* Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 363, s.v. צהו), at 6.7 CWs^West· בצהותא/בצחותא is to be preferred over CWs^Yem· בצחיחא.

[101] Junkermann, *The Relationship*, p. 147; M.H. Pope, *The Song of Songs: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Anchor Bible, 7C, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), p. 349. This is presumably the 'Arabism' in 1.12 to which Baraniak alludes, although he neither cites Pope, nor Junkermann. Baraniak, *The phenomenon of targumization*, p. 264, n. 35.

[102] These passages, referenced by Pope, are noted by Junkermann (*The Relationship*, p. 147, n. 422). *Pace*

Litke endorses Alexander's identification of the list as a secondary addition,[103] and remains agnostic as to the relative priority of the Western or Yemenite lists.[104] He also challenges the identification of some of the proposed Arabic loanwords.[105] However, his presentation may be challenged on several points.[106]

1. Concerning עקיק (the second gemstone) he notes, 'Alexander states that this may be related to Arabic ʿakik 'cornelian' (*EI²* 1:336) [...] Note, however, that Aramaic /q/ and Arabic /k/ are not normal phonological correspondences.'[107] However, in the transliteration scheme of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ḳ represents ق: there is no phonological impediment to construing עקיק as a loan of عقيق.[108] While عقيق is not employed in the gemstone list in Saʿadya's *Tafsīr*, it is used in various Christian Arabic versions of the Pentateuch, for different members of the list.

2. Concerning כחלי (the fourth gemstone), Litke assumes an Aramaic derivation.[109] [110] Yet the use of כחלי as a loan of Arabic كحلي is known in Judaeo-Arabic. More pertinently, TgShir's

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Alexander, TgShir 1.12 is not necessarily making a global evaluative statement about the (mal)odour of spikenard. To explain the unexpected negative olfactory evaluation of spikenard that Alexander detects in 1.12, he suggests that it may 'reflect a puritanical attitude toward perfume and cosmetics in general' on the part of the author of TgShir. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 91, n. 95. Rather, TgShir may be stating that, by virtue of the manufacture of the golden calf, Israel's moral fragrance became like that of spikenard that *has become* putrid (perhaps due to adulteration with another substance). On this reckoning, malodour is not considered an intrinsic property of spikenard, but a deviation from the norm. This point is noted in M.J. Mulder, *De Targum op het Hooglied: Inleiding vertaling en korte verklaring* (Amsterdam: Ton Bollard, 1975), pp. 88–89, n. 12c. It is also reflected in Litke's translation: 'they smelled like nard whose smell has turned putrid'. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 241. Cf. TgQoh 10.1. The det. of the noun נרדא 'spikenard' in 1.12 is not an impediment to this reading.

[103] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 208, n. 357.

[104] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 209.

[105] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 209, n. 361.

[106] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 209) states that the gemstone list in the Yemenite recension 'corresponds to the Hebrew of Exod. 28:17-20; 39:10-13.' Accordingly, he presents a list of the Yemenite gemstone names 'spelled as they appear in [MT]'. However, this list is found in none of the CWs^Yem.. The first gemstone in M^A,B is אחמר, as per the Western recension, versus the MT form אדם in M^C,E,F. The third gemstone in all CWs^Yem. is not ברקת, as per MT, but ברקן. The fourth gemstone in M^A,B is נפך כוחלי, versus the MT form נפך in M^C,E,F. Moreover, M^C is an outlier in listing Issachar before Dan, and identifying the former's gemstone as חיור יהלם, rather than simply יהלם, as per the balance of CWs.

Litke also presents a parallel list of marginal glosses, which he claims are only found in M^A (as does Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 211). But these (interlinear) glosses also feature in its congener M^B. Furthermore, M^C contains a different set of glosses. This list also contains inaccuracies: it includes נפך כוחלי (the fourth gemstone) whereas this is the reading of the main text in M^A,B, for which no gloss is supplied (כחלי features as an interlinear gloss to נופך in M^C).

[107] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 209, n. 363.

[108] S.v. ʿaḳīḳ in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Glossary and Index of Terms, eds. P.J. Bearman, Th. Banquis, C.E. Bowworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs Bowworth. URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei2glos_SIM_gi_00120 [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[109] Citing lexica entries for the cognate noun and verb in various Aramaic dialects, Litke states: 'While the form is unique to this particular verse, this word is attested more broadly with reference to eye-paint [...] The final י may be an adjectival ending'. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 209–210, n. 366.

[110] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 209–210, n. 366.

use of כחלי for the fourth gemstone aligns with Saʿadya's *Tafsīr* to Exod. 28.18; 39.11, in translating MT נפך.[111]

3. Concerning the eighth gemstone, which is variously spelt AF[1,2,3,4,7] אספור; AF[5,9] אספר; AF[8] אצפור; AF[10] אספיר, Litke follows Krauss in identifying it as a loan of Greek σάπφειρος 'sapphire'.[112] This entails construing the initial א as prosthetic, a spelling I have been unable to find attested. In support, Litke notes that the Hebrew ספיר 'sapphire' occurs in MT Song 5.14. However, the counterpart of ספיר in TgShir is שבזיזין, which is not part of the gemstone list. Landauer's tentative identification of this form as a loan of Arabic أصفر 'yellow'—taken up by Melamed and Alonso Fontela—is plausible, and patterns with the Arabic colour term אחמר (> أحمر) 'red' for the first gemstone. The spelling with ס rather than צ may reflect *tarqīq*.[113] Saʿadya's *Tafsīr* employs אצפר to translate MT ברקת (the third gemstone).[114]

4. Litke notes that the etymology of the eleventh gemstone is unknown.[115] As seen above, it did not feature in Landauer's list of Arabic loans in 5.14.[116] Various spellings are attested among the CWs: AF[1] מרובג;[117] AF[2] מדפאג;[118] AF[3,4,5] מריבג;[119] AF[7,9] מריסג; AF[8] מדיבג; AF[10] מירוסג. Alonso Fontela plausibly intuits it to be another Arabic term. In view of the spellings with ד in AF[2,8], he tentatively suggests it may correspond to the stone 'medebich' in the Lapidary of Alfonso X, conjecturing a derivation from √دبج, مُدَبَّج.[120] The semantic range of Form II ptcs. from this root includes senses that could plausibly comport with a

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[111] Blau, *Dictionary*, p. 590, s.v. David ben Abraham al-Fāsī in *Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-Alfāẓ* predicates the identification of MT נפך with كحلي on the derivation of the former from פוך. Yeshuʿa ben Yehuda, in his translation of Exod. 28.18, renders נוفخ (= MT נפך) as يقوت كحلي, albeit in the ensuing commentary he identifies it as جزع. MS. London, British Library, Or. 2545, f. 157v.

[112] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA,* p. 210, n. 372. This view was also espoused by Buber in respect to אספר in the gemstone list in Leq. Ṭob to Exod. 28. Buber (ed.), *Midrash Leqaḥ Tov*, p. 95.

[113] See E.-M. Wagner, Linguistic Variety of Judaeo-Arabic in Letters from the Cairo Genizah (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 33.

[114] أصفر is widely used in the gemstone lists in Christian Arabic versions of the Pentateuch for various members of the list. Cf. MSS. Sinai, Arabic 10 (ff. 86r–86v), and Vatican, BAV, Arabic 1 (ff. 143v–144r), which, according to Vollandt, contain the translation of the Pentateuch into Arabic transmitted in the name of al-Ḥārith ibn Sinān, based on the Syro-Hexapla (the text type Vollandt labels Arab[Syr_Hex]1a). In these manuscripts, the eighth gemstone in Exod. 28.19 is rendered ياقوت أصفر 'yellow sapphire'. R. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 253–254.

[115] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 210, n. 377. Cf. Alexander, *Targum Canticles*, p. 212.

[116] Cf. Melamed, *Targum to Canticles*, p. 19.

[117] *Pace* Alonso Fontela, who transcribes מריבג.

[118] The parallel Latin translation renders this as 'onichino'.

[119] In AF[4] the letter following the ר is squeezed underneath the horizontal stroke of the latter, indicating it was added after the word was written. It could represent either י or ו. The accompanying Judaeo-Arabic translation renders this gemstone as מורגאן (Arabic مرجان). In AF[5] the parallel Latin translation renders the gemstone as 'Onychino'.

[120] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 28. He does not cite a dictionary entry for مُدَبَّج but translates מרובג as 'una turmalina' (*El Targum*, pp. 283, 314).

gemstone name: active, 'decorate, adorn',[121] and passive, 'élégant, beau'.[122] There may be a connection between the form in TgShir and the gemstone name المآذنج, which, in some manuscripts of Christian Arabic translations of the Pentateuch, translates the twelfth gemstone ישפה in Exod. 28.20.[123] In the absence of a diacritic, the penultimate letter could have been construed as ب, rather than ن, which would be close to the putative מדבג. The following forms, from Syriac-Arabic lexica, glossing ܝܗܠܡ (by which the Peshiṭta translates MT יהלם in Exod. 28.18) appear to be related: المادينبج (Bar ʿAlī[124]) and المادينج (Bar Bahlūl, ascribed to Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq[125]).

5. ערק is supplied as a gloss in M^{A,B} for both the second gemstone, פוטה,[126] and the seventh, לשם. Litke suggests it may be an error for עקיק, the second gemstone in the Western recension.[127] However, as noted by Alonso Fontela, it may represent Arabic عرق 'mother-of-pearl' (cf. عِرق اللؤلؤ).[128]

6. Concerning מהא, which is supplied as a gloss of the fifth gemstone, ספיר, in M^{A,B}, Litke claims that its etymology is unknown, but suggests a connection to the Arabic verb موه, apparently denominative of ماء 'water', which in Form II can bear the sense 'to gild'.[129] [130] However, מהא is Arabic مها—defined by Dozy as 'espèce de cristal', derived from مهو[131]— the word by which ספיר is rendered in Saʿadya's *Tafsīr*, in the Exodus gemstone lists and elsewhere.[132] Moreover, al-Fāsī gives אל מהא as the translation of MT ספיר.[133]

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[121] E.W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, bk 1, vol. 3 (London: Williams and Northgate, 1867), p. 843, s.v.

[122] Dozy, *Supplément*, vol. 1, p. 421, s.v.

[123] The earliest known dated Arabic Pentateuch manuscript containing this gemstone name appears to be Sinai, Arabic 4 (f. 104v), copied in 963 CE. See Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, pp. 244–245, and p. 187, n. 53. See also, المادنح (Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 9, f. 130r; Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 16, f. 94v); المادنج (Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 14, f. 131); المآذنح (Paris, BnF, MS Ar. 13, f. 94v).

[124] R.J.H. Gottheil, *The Syriac-Arabic Glosses of Īshōʿ Bar ʿAlī, Part II*, vol. 1 (Rome: Tipographia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1908), p. 95, s.v.

[125] R. Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum Auctore Hassano bar Bahlule*, vol. 2 (Paris: e Reipublicæ typographæo, 1901), p. 1274, s.v. Variant reading: المآذنح.

[126] A corruption of פטדה, as per M^{C,E,F}.

[127] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 209, n. 364.

[128] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 28. Cf. the rendering of לשם by عروق السوم in Exod. 28.19 in MSS. Sinai, Arabic 3 (f. 144v), and Vatican, BAV, Arabic 468 (f. 62r). According to Vollandt, both contain a text type (which he labels Arab^{Syr_Hex}1b) that is related to, or based upon, the translation by al-Ḥārith. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, pp. 260, 263. The *editio princeps* of TgPsJ Exod. 28.19 reads ערקין for MT שבו. However, this is most likely an error. The manuscript reads טרקין, as do both in the parallel list in Exod. 39.12. Cf. TgOnq טרקיא in both passages.

[129] Presumably, a metaphorical extension of 'to falsify', in turn from 'to dilute'.

[130] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 210, n. 368.

[131] R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2nd edn, 1927), p. 622, s.v. Alonso Fontela gives the form مهاة, 'cristal de roca'. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 28.

[132] Y. Raztaby, *A Dictionary of Judaeo-Arabic in R. Saadya's Tafsir* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1985), p. 126, s.v. (in Hebrew); Blau, *Dictionary*, p. 674.

[133] 'ספיר נפך אל מהא ואל גוהר אל כחליי'. *Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-Alfāẓ*, as per Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Oppenheim Add. fol. 25, f. 244v. This inverts the order of the gemstones in Exod. 28.18; 39.11, ספיר נפך. It reflects the sequence of the headword followed by the first word of the MT citation given in the chapter contents list: ' ספיר

7. Litke transcribes the gloss supplied for שבו (the eight gemstone) in M^(A,B) as שבגאסור, which he claims is an error for שבו אספור.[134] However, the gloss reads סבג אסוד 'black obsidian' (Arabic سبج أسود). This aligns with, but gives a finer specification than, the *Tafsīr*, which renders שבו in the Exodus gemstone lists simply as סבג. The transcription of the gloss in the apparatuses of Melamed and Alonso Fontela, סבגאסור, is closer, but still faulty. Alonso Fontela correctly parsed the noun, but not the adj., tentatively suggesting سبج أشور 'azabache de Asiria?'.[135]

8. The gloss supplied for שהם in M^(A,B) is בלור צאפי, which as Alonso Fontela noted, represents Arabic بلور صافٍ 'clear/pure crystal'.[136] Yet, Litke claims that the etymology of צאפי is unknown.[137] Once again, the gloss aligns with, but gives a finer specification than, the *Tafsīr*, which renders שהם in the Exodus gemstone lists simply as בלור. The latter is also given by al-Fāsī.[138]

As noted above, Landauer identified the ninth gemstone as a loan of طوفاج. However, this reflects the reading טופאג in Buber's edition of Leq. Ṭob, rather than the form in TgShir 5.14, טבאג. Alonso Fontela, in what appears to be modified form of Landauer's proposal, tentatively suggests that טבאג is a reflex of 'طوباج ?'.[139] He identifies this as 'topaz' (< Greek τοπάζιον).[140] However, if this is the case, one would expect the final letter of the putative Arabic word to be ز, rather than ج, and TgShir to read טבאז, not טבאג. I have been unable to locate either طوفاج or طوباج in any Arabic dictionary. Although he does not elaborate, Alonso Fontela's hesitancy with respect to the latter suggests it is a conjectural retrojection, rather than an attested spelling of 'topaz'.[141] The difficulty in identifying טבאג as form of 'topaz' is adverted in Flesicher's annotation to Levy's *Wörterbuch* entry. He opines that טבאג is probably an error for טבאז, 'topaz', noting 'bei Persern u. Türken طوباز'.[142] While this is possible, it may be that טבאג is rather an error for סבאג 'obsidian' (Arabic سبج).[143] This may explain the outlier spelling with initial sibilant, זבאג, in AF². As noted above, סבג is employed in Saʿadya's *Tafsīr* to translate MT שבו in the Exodus gemstone lists.

נפך ספיר ויהלום' (f. 243r). Raztaby, *Dictionary of Judaeo-Arabic*, p. 126, notes the use of מהא by al-Fāsī.

[134] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 210, n. 373.

[135] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 28.

[136] 'cristal puro'. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 28. He spells the adj. صَفى. Litke's mis-transcribes the noun בליר, an error also found in Melamed's apparatus. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 210.

[137] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 210, n. 378.

[138] al-Fāsī, *Kitāb Jāmiʿ al-Alfāẓ*, as per Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Oppenheim Add. fol. 25, f. 310r.

[139] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 28, 314. Alonso Fontela does not cite the form given by Landauer. However, the influence of the latter seems clear.

[140] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 314.

[141] Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 212.: 'tab'ag = Greek topazos […] cf. Arabic taufaj/taubaj'. Alexander does not cite a dictionary entry for these Arabic spellings.

[142] J. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des Rabbinischen Schriftthums*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Verlag von Gustav Engel, 3rd edn, 1881), p. 426. Levy's entry for טבאג (p. 293, s.v.) simply states 'eines Edelsteins'. Litke states that the טבאג should be compared with Syriac ܛܘܦܐܙ. However, this bears no closer resemblance to טבאג than the proposals of Landauer and Alonso Fontela. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 210, n. 374.

[143] Such an intuition may have motivated the rendering of טבאג by סבג in the Judaeo-Arabic translation in AF⁴.

4.1.1 Summary

Previous scholarship is divided as to whether the Arabic loanwords in 5.14 of the Western recension are authorial (Landauer, Melamed), or the product of later editorial activity (Loewe, Alonso Fontela). Like Landauer and Melamed, Alexander construes the loanwords as evidence that the author and original intended audience were acquainted with Arabic. Yet, simultaneously, he argues that the gemstone list is a secondary insertion in 5.14, which weakens his case. Litke accepts Alexander's case that the gemstone list is a secondary insertion but is agnostic as to the priority of the Western or Yemenite forms of the list. The attempts to identify isolated 'Arabisms' outside of 5.14 are unconvincing.

4.1.2 Is the gemstone list adscititious?

As noted in the foregoing, Alexander's case for the gemstone list constituting a secondary insertion is predicated on the absence of a resumptive pro. before the ptc. דמיין, notwithstanding the significant distance between the latter and its assumed subject NP תרין עשר שיבטין דיעקב עבדיה 'the twelve tribes of Jacob his servant'.[144] Owing to its importance to the present discussion, the entirety of 5.14, as per AF¹, is set out below, linearised to set the gemstone list in relief. No translation of the gemstones names is attempted owing to uncertainty as to their precise referents.

תרין עשר שיבטין דיעקב עבדיה גלילן על ציץ כלילן[145] דדהבא דקודשא גלפן על תרי עשר מרגלייתא עם תלתא אבן אברהם יצחק ויעקב
ראובן גליף על אחמר שמעון גליף על עקיק לוי גליף על ברקן זעפראן יהודה גליף על כחלי יששכר גליף על איזמורד זבולן גליף על גיהאר דן גליף על בילאר נפתלי גליף על אספור גד גליף על טבאג אשר גליף על פרוזג יוסף גליף על מריבג בנימין גליף על אפנטור
דמיין לתרי עשר מזליא בהירן כעששית צחיחן בעובדיהון כשן דפיל ובהיקן כשבזיזין

'The twelve tribes of Jacob his servant are גלילן [146] on the frontlet of the holy golden crown, engraved upon twelve gems, with the three fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

"Reuben" is engraved upon אחמר; "Simeon" is engraved upon עקיק; "Levi" is engraved upon ברקן זעפראן; "Judah" is engraved upon כחלי; "Issachar" is engraved upon איזמורד; "Zebulon" is engraved upon גיהאר; "Dan" is engraved upon בילאר; "Naphtali" is engraved upon אספור; "Gad" is engraved upon טבאג; "Asher" is engraved upon פרוזג; "Joseph" is engraved upon מריבג; "Benjamin" is engraved upon אפנטור.

They resemble the twelve constellations,[147] shining like a lantern, dazzling in their works like ivory and bright like sapphires.'

TgShir detects in MT Song 5.14 verbal echoes of the twelve gemstones engraved with the tribal patronyms set in the high priest's breastplate, described in Exodus 28 and 39.[148] The curious

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[144] 'When the list was inserted *dmyyn* should, for the sake of clarity, have been modified to *w'ynwn dmyyn*.' Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 210.

[145] AF¹,² are outliners in reading כלילן. The balance of CWs read the det. כלילא. Alonso Fontela translates the former as 'nuestra corona'. However, it may simply be an error made under the influence of the surrounding pl. ptcs.

[146] On the possible translation value of גלילן, see below.

[147] Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 159, n. 49) notes that the motivation for the mention of the twelve constellations in this context is obscure. The comparison of the gem-inscribed tribes/inscribed gems to the twelve constellations (מזליא) may be resonant of astrological lapidary traditions. However, the numerical symmetry, and the *tertium comparationis* of luminosity, may have sufficed to occasion their mention.

[148] Aside from the obvious lexical triggers in MT Song 5.14 for this exegetical trajectory (תרשיש and זהב, ממלאים

displacement of the gemstones from the high priest's breastplate to the golden frontlet surmounting his turban awaits satisfactorily explanation.[149] While 5.14 need not necessarily be interpreted in this manner (since the clause about the tribes' relationship to the frontlet could, theoretically, be detached from the ensuring description of the engraving of their names on the gemstones), 7.2 is unambiguous in claiming that the high priest's crown was adorned with jewels.[150] It is highly likely, therefore, that this is the sense of 5.14. MT Jer. 2.3, קדש ישראל ליהוה 'Israel was holy to the LORD', may be implicated in a nexus between the twelve tribes and the engraving on the golden frontlet קדש ליהוה 'Holy to the LORD' (Exod. 28.36; 39.30).[151] Moreover, the shared description of the engraving on the gemstones and the frontlet as פתוחי חותם 'the engravings of a seal' (Exod. 28.21, 36) likely played a role in their association.

The sense of the G-stem pass. ptc. גלילן, which evidently puns on MT גלילי זהב, is difficult to pinpoint. Silber conjectures it is an error for גליפין 'engraved',[152] as per the following clause—which is in fact the reading of the CWs^Yem..[153] This, however, likely represents an attempt to obviate the lexical difficulty.[154] The approach of several scholars chimes with Levy's view that גלילן bears the sense 'displayed', as an extension of 'unrolled'.[155] Yet, such a usage appears to be otherwise unattested. An alternative approach sees גלילן as describing a circular arrangement of the gemstones on the frontlet, as per the parallel Latin translation in AF^2,5 'disposita erat per circuitu(m)' and the translations of Díez Merino and Alonso Fontela, 'dispuestos alrededor'.[156] However, since TgShir seems to have in mind the gemstones in the high priest's breastplate, which were arranged in rows, this seems unlikely. A possibility, hitherto uncanvassed, is that גלילן is related to Arabic جَلِيل 'splendid, glorious'.[157] Such a sense would resonate with the concluding encomium of the verse.

The inclusion of the Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob among the names engraved on the gemstones is an extra-biblical detail. It likely reflects the discussion in y. Yom. 7.5 (44c) and b. Yom. 73b, concerning the mechanism by which divine responses were conveyed when the oracular Urim and Thumim were consulted.[158] In the Palestinian Talmud, the first opinion

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ספירים, cf. Exod. 28.17, 18, 20), in גלילי the author may have heard a resonance of JBA גללא or גללתא 'round stone'. *DJBA*, p. 288, s.v.

[149] Díez Merino's translation of ציץ as 'pectoral' is forced. L. Díez Merino, 'Targum al Cantar de los Cantares: Texto arameo del Códice Urbinati 1 y su traducción', in *Anuario de Filología* 7 (1981), p. 260.

[150] כיוהרין דקביען על כלילא דקודשא דעבד בצלאל אומנא לאהרן כהנא.

[151] Cf. R. Meir Simcha Cohen, *Sepher Meshek Chochmah* (Riga: Even Yisrael, 1927), p. 111 (in Hebrew).

[152] Silber, *Sedeh Jerusalem*, ad loc.

[153] Only M^A,C read גלי(פ)ן על ציץ [...] גליפן על תרי סר מרגליתא. M^B,E,F omit the reference to the ציץ due to parablepsis, from גליפן to גליפן.

[154] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 160, apparatus *fff*.

[155] 'sie waren aufgerollt, ausgebreitet auf dem Stirnbleche'. Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, p. 142, s.v. Cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 249, s.v. Translations resonant of this approach are 'enrolled' (Pope, *The Song of Songs*, p. 545; J.C. Treat, *The Aramaic Targum to Song of Songs,* https://www.sas.upenn.edu/~jtreat/song/targum/ [last accessed 12 April 2021]); 'marked' (Jerusalmi, *The Song of Songs*, p. 155); and 'displayed' (Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 160; Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 262). Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 119, n. 463) opines that גלל may be a byform of גלי 'to reveal', citing such a development in Mandaic.

[156] Díez Merino, 'Targum al Cantar de los Cantares', p. 260; Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 283.

[157] For words derived from جَلّ in Neo-Samaritan Hebrew, see *DSA*, p. 148, s.v. גלל^2.

[158] Presumably, Alexander's comment 'Cf. b. Yom. 75b' in this context is an error for 73b. Alexander, *Targum of*

given is that the enquirer would hear a divine voice, the second is that the letters of the names engraved on the gemstones (that were constitutive of the answer) would protrude. An objection to the latter is raised on the grounds that the letters ח, צ and ק are not represented in the tribal patronyms. This, perforce, would restrict the information that could be conveyed. The solution offered is אברהם יצחק יעקב כתוב עליהן "Abraham, Isaac, Jacob" are written in addition to them'.[159] The objection is then raised that the letter ט still remains unaccounted. This is addressed by the claim that, כל אלה שבטי ישראל היה חקוק עליהן, "'All these are the tribes of Israel" was engraved in addition to them'. The choice of this phrase, quarried from Gen. 49.28, is not arbitrary. In its biblical context, it concludes the 'blessings' pronounced by Jacob on each of his sons by name. The full phrase כל אלה שבטי ישראל שנים עשר 'all these are the twelve tribes of Israel' resonates with the mention of twelve stones with engravings 'corresponding to the names of the sons of Israel [...] the twelve tribes' in Exod. 28.21. The parallel in the Babylonian Talmud differs in certain particulars. For the present purposes it is sufficient to note that the problem of the absence of representation of all the Hebrew letters in the twelve tribal patronyms is similarly addressed: opinions are recorded that the phrases שבטי ישורון and אברהם יצחק ויעקב were included among the engravings.[160]

However, crucially, in neither Talmud is the question addressed as to precisely where these phrases were engraved. This question naturally arises since their inclusion disrupts the symmetry between the twelve stones and the twelve tribal patronyms. Similarly, it is unclear from TgShir 5.14 as to where the names אברהם יצחק ויעקב were engraved. *Pace* Alexander, it seems more likely that the comitative עם governing this phrase is to be construed with the preceding clause, rather than the subsequent description of Reuben's gemstone. This preserves the uniformity of the syntax throughout the list, 'PN is engraved upon *x*'. Alexander acknowledges the ambiguity but follows the lead of Exod. R. and Leq. Ṭob in locating the mention of 'Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob' on Reuben's gemstone.[161] In contrast to TgShir, the syntax of these sources is unambiguous in this respect. However, this detail cannot be isolated from their placement of the engraving of the phrase 'the tribes of Yeshurun/Israel' on the final gemstone, engraved with Benjamin's name, where it appears to function as a sort of summary statement.[162] Thus, Exod. R. and Leq. Ṭob present the extra engravings as bracketing the twelve tribal patronyms.[163] This is in marked contrast to TgShir 5.14, in which בנימין is unambiguously

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Canticles, p. 160, n. 51. The same error is found in Silber, *Sedeh Jerusalem*, ad loc.

[159] The referent of the pro. suff. hosted by על could be either the gemstones (in which case, the prep. phrase bears the sense 'upon them'), or the patronyms ('in addition to them'). However, the latter seems more likely, given that בשבטים 'among [the names] of the tribes' immediately precedes this statement.

[160] Unlike its counterpart in the Palestinian Talmud, the latter phrase does not feature in MT. It may have been inspired by the juxtaposition of ישרון and שבטי ישראל in Deut. 33.5, in proximity to the mention of Thummim and Urim in verse 8.

[161] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 160, n. 51. He translates 'Along with the three fathers of the world, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Reuben is engraved upon *'aḥmar*'.

[162] Thus, Leq. Ṭob: על אודם היה חקוק עליו אברהם יצחק יעקב ראובן [...] על ישפה חקוק כל [...] על ישפה בנימין, ואחרי כן היה חקוק בנימין אל על אותם [אודם] היו כתוב (ed. Buber, p. 188); Exod. R.: אלה שבטי ישראל, כדי שיהו בהם כל אל״ף בי״ת. Jerusalem, Israel National Library, MS. Heb. 24°5977, f. 210r: אברהם יצחק ויעקב וראובן [...] על ישפה היה כתו׳ בנימין שבטי ישורון. As can be seen, these sources differ with respect to the form of the NP that supplements the mention of Benjamin, aligning with the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds, respectively.

[163] Clearly, this is not the only conceivable arrangement. It could be postulated that the phrases were not engraved on any of the gemstones, but rather appeared on another part of the breastplate. For a different approach, see Ḥizkuni's commentary on Exod. 28.21.

the only engraved text on the twelfth gemstone. In fact, TgShir makes no reference to the phrase 'the tribes of Yeshurun/Israel' being engraved anywhere. The mention of the תרין עשר שיבטין דיעקב עבדיה 'the twelves tribes of Jacob his servant', with which the verse opens, may be an oblique reflex of this tradition. However, in its context, it simply identifies the bearers of the names engraved on the gemstones; it is not a citation of engraved text. Thus, TgShir 5.14 has a looser relationship to the tradition preserved in the Talmuds than do Exod. R. and Leq. Ṭob.[164] However, in harmony with the Talmudic pericopae, TgShir exhibits no concern to identify the place where the names 'Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob' were engraved.

This somewhat weakens Alexander's case for the gemstone list being adscititious on the grounds of syntactic inconcinnity since, if the list is secondary, the ptc. דמיין would have been immediately preceded by the mention of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, not that of the twelve tribes, who are the subject of דמיין. However, as Alexander notes elsewhere, TgShir has a penchant for 'hanging' ptcs.[165] Thus, the absence of a resumptive pro. before the ptc. appears to be insufficient grounds for regarding the gemstone list as a secondary insertion. Yet, since the twelve tribes are enumerated in the gemstone list immediately preceding דמיין, the gap between subject and predicate may not be as great as Alexander believes. An alternative approach, albeit perhaps less likely, is to construe the subject of דמיין as the gemstones themselves, in which case צחיחן בעובדיהון 'dazzling in their works' describes the workmanship involved in their incorporation in the crown (cf. the description of the breastplate as עובד אומן 'the work of a craftsman' in TgOnq Exod. 28.15). Either way, there is no compelling reason to regard the gemstone list as secondary to the original composition of the verse, even if the author adopted it wholesale from another source.

4.1.3 The gemstone list in the Yemenite witnesses

As noted above, the CWs^Yem. do not present a uniform version of the list. Their readings, along with the supralinear and marginal glosses are set out below.[166] For comparison, the forms of the gemstone list in MT Exod. 28.17-20; 39.10-13 and Saʕadya's *Tafsīr* are included.

Table 1 Gemstone names in MT, CWs^Yem., and Saʕadya's *Tafsīr*

MT	M^A,B	M^C	M^E,F	M^A,B Super.	M^C Marg. & Super.	*Tafsīr*
אדם	אחמר	אודם	אודם		אחמר (Marg.)	יקות אחמר
פטדה	פוטה	פ(טד)ה	פטדה	ערק	עקֹיֹק (Super.)	זמרד
ברקת	ברקן	ברקן	ברקן	זעפראן	ועפרן (Marg.)	אצפר

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[164] After listing the gemstones, Leq. Ṭob contains material on the oracular *modus operandi* of Urim and Thummim, based on b. Yom. 73b.

[165] At 6.6 Alexander translatesוכהניא וליואי אכלי קורבניך ומעשר קודשא ואפרשותא דכיין מן כל אניסות וגזילא as 'the Priests and the Levites who eat your offerings […] are pure from any violence or robbery'. He notes that while the alternative translation, 'the Priests and the Levites eat your offerings […] which are pure from any violence or robbery', cannot be discounted, 'The fact that no mss. reads here *ddkyyn* is not decisive. Tg. Cant. is fond of "hanging" participles.'" Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 167, apparatus *y*. Cf. the absence of rel. pros. before ptcs. in TgShir 1.2, 11; 3.6. AF² is an outlier in including a rel. pro. before the ptc. in 5.14: דדמיין. It may represent a secondary correction.

[166] The verse is missing from M^D.

MT	Mᴬ·ᴮ	Mᶜ	Mᴱ·ᶠ	Mᴬ·ᴮ Super.	Mᶜ Marg. & Super.	*Tafsīr*
נפך	נופך כוחלי	נופך	נופך		כחלי (Super.)	כחלי
ספיר	ספיר	(חיור יהלם)	ספיר	מהא	אזמורד (Marg.)	מהא
יהלם	יהלם	ספיר	יהלום	בהרמאן¹⁶⁷	גוהר (Super.)	בהרמאן
לשם	לשם	לשם	לשם	ערק	ברלא (Super.)	גזע
שבו	שבו	(שבו)	שבו	סבג אסוד	פרוזג (Marg.) ¹⁶⁸	סבג
אחלמה	אחלמה	(אחלמה)	אחלמה	פירוזג		פירוזג
תרשיש	תרשיש	תרשיש	תרשיש	אזרק		אזרק
שהם	שהם	שהם	שהם	בלור צאפי	מריבג (Super.)	בלור
ישפה	ישפה	ישפה	ישפה	אפנטור	אפנטור (Marg.)	יסף

As can be seen, the manuscripts fall into three groups: Mᴬ·ᴮ, Mᶜ, and Mᴱ·ᶠ. The form of the list of the latter is the closest to MT. It is notable that in none of the CWs is the third gemstone spelt ברקת, as per MT, but rather ברקן, as per TgOnq. It is unlikely that this reflects the direct influence of TgOnq on the Yemenite recension, since it is the only such alignment in the list. Rather, ברקן is likely a retention of the first element of the syntagm ברקן זעפראן found in the Western text type of TgShir, when it was redacted to bring the list into conformity with MT. ברקן is the only gemstone name in the Western recension that bears a close similarity to its counterpart in MT (ברקת), which likely led to it being overlooked when the list was edited.

Mᴬ·ᴮ are distinguished by two further points of contact with the list in the Western text type: the name of the first gemstone, אחמר, and the qualification of the fourth gemstone with the adj. כחלי. However, why these 'Western' elements were retained, while the balance of the list was aligned with MT is unclear.¹⁶⁹ The glosses in Mᴬ·ᴮ present a mixed picture. Some align with the Western recension of TgShir (זעפראן and אפנטור), some with the *Tafsīr* (מהא, בהרמאן, סבג, פירוזג, אזרק, and בלור—albeit סבג and בלור are modified by adjs. which do not feature in the *Tafsīr*), and others with neither (ערק [x2]). The absence of glosses for אחמר and נופך כוחלי is ambiguous with respect to source influence, since the Arabic colour terms are employed in both the Western recension of TgShir, and the *Tafsīr*.

Mᶜ is an outlier in the placement of Issachar (engraved upon חיור יהלם) before Dan (engraved upon ספיר). This may simply be a scribal error. It is also distinguished by giving Issachar's gemstone as חיור יהלם, rather than simply יהלם. חיור presumably refers to some sort of white stone. The marginal and supralinear glosses in Mᶜ, which appear to be from a single hand, are evidently an attempt, albeit incomplete, to bring the list into conformity with the Western recension. The endeavour continues beyond the gemstone list: immediately after the mention of the twelve constellations, בחירן is crossed-out and נהירן supplied in the margin, which is the reading of AF³·⁴·⁵. Moreover, ובהיקין is written in the margin of the last line of the

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¹⁶⁷ This word is in the margin in Mᴮ, owing to spatial constraints. All the other glosses in Mᴬ·ᴮ are supralinear.

¹⁶⁸ Melamed's apparatus indicates that פרוזג supplants אחלמה. However, it is written in the margin in line with the crossed-out שבו. The crossed-out אחלמה occurs on the line below, for which no alternative is provided.

¹⁶⁹ The evidence may reflect a gradual accommodation of the list to MT by Yemenite scribes, with Mᴬ·ᴮ representing an earlier stage than Mᴱ·ᶠ. However, in the absence of further study, this is speculative.

verse, presumably intended to be inserted before the final word, as per most CWs[West.]. The plene spelling aligns with AF[3,4,5]. A further alignment with the textual group AF[3,4,5] is the spelling ועפרן. The alignments with this textual group may indicate that a printed Rabbinic Bible (as per AF[6]) served as the model of imitation.[170]

4.1.4   Conclusions

Alexander's case for the gemstone list constituting a secondary insertion in 5.14 is unsecure. However, this does not rule out the possibility that the author incorporated a pre-existing gemstone list in his composition. The evidence suggests the priority of the gemstone list in the Western recension, over the Yemenite variants. However, the hypothesis of an Arabic speaking author, and intended audience, is significantly underdetermined by the evidence that has been advanced for it. The restricted distribution of Arabic loanwords in TgShir to gemstone names in a single verse is a tenuous basis for such an inference. It only indicates the recognition of certain Arabic terms.[171] Moreover, the use of such does not entail composition in the Middle East. For example, a European Sephardic milieu could be viable candidate. However, since Arabic gemstone names could have spread widely through commerce or lapidary traditions, the locus of composition remains elusive. The motivation for the adoption of such terms, rather than the simple reproduction of the gemstone list found in MT or TgOnq, may be exoticist—comporting with TgShir's aesthetic of variety. The adjustment of the list towards MT in the CWs[Yem.] is resonant with their conservatism, evident in their tendency to amend forms towards JLAtg.

TgShir 5.14's inclusion of 'Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob' in the engraved text, aligns with the tradition preserved in y. Yom. 7.5 (44c) and b. Yom. 73b. In these latter sources, the engraved letters are conceived as a medium of divine revelation, and the inclusion of the patriarchs' names is proffered as a solution to the communicative limitations inherent in only employing characters represented in the tribal patronyms. However, to ensure the representation of all the Hebrew letters, the inclusion of a further phrase is posited, either כל אלה שבטי ישראל or שבטי ישורון. TgShir 5.14 does not mention such a phrase, indicating that its interest diverged from that of the Talmudic discussions. In this respect, TgShir differs from Exod. R. and Leq. Ṭob. Moreover, unlike these sources, TgShir is unconcerned to identify the precise location of the engraving of the patriarchs' names.

4.2   *The Ishmaelites*

The reference to the exile of Israel among 'Ishmaelites' in TgShir 1.7, interpreted as a cipher for the Arab Islamic world, has been held to support a *terminus post quem* of the seventh century CE for the final form of the text.[172] Yet this social group, alongside 'the Edomites', appears to be accused of practicing idolatry. Thus, Moses enquires of God:

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[170] Melamed notes that several the marginal readings in this manuscript coincide with the text presented in de Lagarde's *Hagiographa Chaldaice* (1873). Melamed, *Targum to Canticles*, p. 12.

[171] Cf. Junkerman, *The Relationship,* p. 40.

[172] Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs', p. 164; Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 57; Litke, 'Following the Frankincense', p. 299.

[...] ואיכדין ישרון ביני עמיא דקשיין גזירתהון כחומתא[173] וכשרבי שימשא[174] דטיהרא בתקופת תמוז ולמא דין יהון מטלטלין ביני עדרי בני דעשו דעשו וישמעאל דימשתפין לך טעוותהון[175] לחבריא

'[...] and how will they [Israel] dwell among the nations, whose decrees are harsh like the heat and like the heat waves of the noonday sun during the period of Tammuz? And why should they wander among the flocks of the Edomites and Ishmaelites, who associate with you [=God] their idols for companions?'

As has been noted, this is ostensibly an ill-fitting critique with respect to adherents of monotheistic, aniconic Islam, but appropriate—from a Jewish perspective—to trinitarian or binitarian Christians ('the Edomites'). Raphael Loewe, accepting the equation between Ishmaelites and Muslims, argued that since this description betrays a misconception of Islamic theology, it supported dating TgShir to the early phases of Islamic expansion.[176]

However, the question as to whether Islam was an idolatrous religion was disputed in certain Jewish circles as late as the twelfth century CE, as evidenced by Maimonides' (1138–1204 CE) *Epistle on Martyrdom*, and his letter to Ovadyah the proselyte.[177] A robust assertion in the affirmative is contained in *Ḥiddushei haRitba* on b. Pes. 25b.[178] TgShir 1.7 deploys the rhetoric of polemic in the service of social boundary-marking.[179] The charge of idolatry does not, per se, offer purchase on the date of composition.

Litke has recently claimed, with respect to TgShir 1.7, that 'the charge that Muslims are idolaters in any sense is unprecedented in other Jewish literature.'[180] The foregoing

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[173] *Pace* Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 41), this token of חומתא 'heat' is not the sole representative of this lexeme with an /u/ vowel in any Aramaic text. This form is attested in JBA (*DJBA*, p. 439), Syriac, and elsewhere in LJLAtg. (TgPsJ Exod. 12.39; TgJob 24.19).

[174] For the pl. A-term in the NP שרבי שמשא, cf. TgPsJ Exod. 12.37.

[175] The mention of טעוות 'idols' likely stems from the *al tiqre* reading of MT עטיה as טעיה 'erring', which also generated מטלטלין 'wandering'. (For the latter, see Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 84, n. 53.) Thus, the author derives from MT both a literal and a metaphorical 'going astray', in Israel's peregrinations among idolators.

[176] Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs', p. 165. Loewe prefers this solution to dating the text prior to 622 CE. Alonso Fontela (*El Targum*, p. 34) tentatively suggests that the Edomites and Ishmaelites stand, respectively, for the western and eastern Roman empire. Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 57, 84 n. 57.

[177] On the Epistle on Martyrdom (אגרת השמד), see A. Halkin and D. Hartman, *Epistles of Maimonides: Crisis and Leadership* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1993). On the letter to Ovadyah, see M. Halbertal, *Maimonides: Life and Thought,* trans. J. Linsider (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 81–82.

[178] כתב עוד ז"ל והוי יודע שאמונת הישמעאלים, אע"פ שהם מייחדים [את השם], עבודה זרה גמורה חשיבא ליהרג ואל ישתמד, שהרי המודה באמונתם כופר בתורת משה שאינה אמת כמות שהיא בידינו 'Moreover, he of blessed memory wrote "and know that the faith of the Ishmaelites—even though they are monotheists—is considered complete idolatry. It is necessary for one to be killed rather than apostatise, for the one who confesses their faith denies the Torah of Moses, [affirming] that the version we possess is not true"'. Text cited from the Bar-Ilan Online Responsa Project Database, https://www.responsa.co.il/home.en-US.aspx [last accessed 1 February 2020]. Translation mine.

[179] The heated reality of interconfessional polemic was far from Hayward's claim that '[...] once Islam was established [...] neither Jew, Christian, or Pagan could possibly maintain that Arabs were tainted with idolatry.' C.T.R. Hayward, 'Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Anti-Islamic Polemic', in *Targums and the Transmission of Scripture into Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010), p. 115. Litke suggests that TgShir 1.7 may have been influenced by Byzantine Christian imputations of idolatry to Islam. However, this seems unnecessary. Litke, 'Following the Frankincense', pp. 301–303.

[180] Litke, 'Following the Frankincense', p. 300.

demonstrates that this charge was made in texts that post-date TgShir. Litke regards TgShir's critique as in a different league to the possible 'oblique insult against Muslim ancestors [=Ishmael and Hagar]' in TgPsJ Gen. 21.9:[181]

וחמת שרה ית ברה דהגר מצריתא דילידת לאברהם מגחך לפולחנא נוכראה וגחין לה[182]

'Then Sarah saw Hagar's son, whom she had borne to Abraham, bowing[183] to an idol and bending down to it.'

However, this appears to underplay the evidence. As is well known, the identification of Ishmael's wives as עדישא and פטימא in 21.21 likely gestures towards Muhammad's wife ʿAʾisha and his daughter Fatima.[184] The implication is that Ishmael is a cipher for the Prophet himself. It seems highly unlikely that this was not intended as a slur on the religion espoused by the author's Muslim contemporaries. Whether this anti-Islamic polemic was original, or a later interpolation in TgPsJ, is immaterial in this context. The final form of the text chimes closely with TgShir 1.7, which is likely reflecting a wider intra-Jewish discourse.

While the concept of the sin of שתוף 'association' has a pedigree in rabbinic literature,[185] in predicating of the Ishmaelites the association of idols with God, TgShir may be subverting Islamic rhetoric regarding idolaters as المشركون 'those who associate'.[186] On this reckoning, TgShir reconfigures the Qurʾanic confessional typology of Muslims, the People of the Book (Jews and Christians), and idolaters/associators—conflating Muslims and Christians with the latter, while positioning the Jews as the custodians of divine truth.

The only other reference to the Ishmaelites in TgShir offers no purchase on dating the composition. In TgShir 6.8 the sons of Ishmael, again alongside the sons of Esau, are cast as members of a Greek-led coalition, headed by 'Alexander the wicked', that waged war against Jerusalem in the time of the Hasmoneans (6.7, 9). Alonso Fontela, observing the gross anachronism entailed by equating Ishmaelites with Muslims in this verse, opined that the mention of the Ishmaelites was triggered by the noun פילגשים 'concubines' in the underlying MT,[187] associated with the mention of בני הפילגשים 'the sons of the concubines' whom Abraham sent away in Gen. 25.6.[188] However, the generative force of this lexeme may have

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[181] Litke, 'Following the Frankincense', p. 301.

[182] MS. London, British Library, Add 27031, f. 21v. Clarke's edition is incorrect in its transcription of the obj. as לייי 'to the LORD'. The latter reflects the reading of the *editio princeps*, ליי (Venice, 1591). Ishmael is not presented as engaged in syncretistic worship in the manuscript. E.G. Clarke et al. (eds.), *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1984), p. 22.

[183] The sense is clearly not 'mocking'. See *DJPA*, p. 115.

[184] P.S. Alexander, 'Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures', in M.J. Mulder (ed.), *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading & Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism & Early Christianity*, (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1998), p. 219. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 84, n. 57.

[185] E.g., Mek. RI, Nezeqin 17 (Horowitz-Rabin p. 310); Deut. R. 2 §32. For a similar formulation elsewhere in LJLAtg., see TgPs 69.10. The mention of שתוף in TgShir 1.7 was likely triggered by associating חבריך 'your companions' in Song 1.7 with √חבר[D] 'to join'. Thus, חבריך has a double reflex in the targum: דימשתפין and לחבריא.

[186] E.g., Q. 2.135; 3.67; 9.28. Cf. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 34–35. Alonso Fontela notes the resonance with the Qurʾanic expression, concluding that the Qurʾan may have adopted Aramaic terminology. My point is different.

[187] MT Song 6.8: שישים המה מלכות ושמונים פילגשים ועלמות אין מספר 'There are sixty queens and eighty concubines, and maidens with number.'

[188] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 34. Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 109, n. 27.

extended further. TgShir describes the eighty Ishmaelite commanders as רכבין על פילייא 'riding on elephants'.[189] The linkage of Ishmaelites with elephants may stem from an *al tiqre* reading of פילגשים as פיל גשם 'elephant(s) of Geshem', linked with גשם הערבי 'Geshem the Arabian', an adversary of the governor Nehemiah.[190] This may have been buttressed by the detection of a resonance in the concluding phrase of MT Song 6.8, אין מספר 'without number', of the description of the multitudinous forces of the Midianites, Amalekites, and the 'children of the east' (בני קדם) who harassed Israel in the days of the chieftain Gideon.[191] The Midianites are termed ישמעאלים 'Ishmaelites' in MT Judg. 8.24 (TgJon ערבאי 'Arabs'). Midian was one of the children of Abraham's concubines whom he sent away to 'the land of the east', ארץ קדם.[192] The role of Amalek, the grandson of Esau,[193] among the adversaries may have contributed to the inclusion of the sons of Esau in TgShir 6.8. It is also possible that 'the sons of Esau' and 'the sons of Ishmael' simply formed a stock pair in the author's repertoire of terms: the two groups are associated in other targumic texts.[194] Irrespectively, it seems that the inclusion of the sons Ishmael in the Hellenistic coalition in TgShir 6.8 is the product of exegesis. Whether the author intended the referent to be pre-Islamic Arabs, or anachronistically retrojected Muslims cannot be known.[195]

4.3 *Olibanum?*

Litke has recently suggested dating the composition of TgShir to the tenth century CE.[196] His argument largely hinges on the noun אוליבנון in TgShir 4.11. He opines that this form may represent a borrowing, via Greek, of the Latin *olibanum* 'frankincense', whose earliest known attestation appears to be in the tenth century CE. The relevant clause in AF¹, along with the underlying MT, is set out below.

TgShir וריח לבושי כהניך כריח בושם אוליבנון

'the scent of the robes of your priests is like the scent of the spice of אוליבנון'

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[189] On the role of elephants in the force of Antiochus IV, see MegAntioch lns 46–47, cited in Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 169, n. 28.

[190] Neh. 2.19; 6.1. On the identification of Ishmaelites with the Arab world in Jewish texts, see F. Millar, 'Hagar, Ishmael, Josephus and the Origins of Islam', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44.1 (1993), pp. 23–45.

[191] MT Judg. 6.5; 7.12.

[192] Gen. 25.2, 4, 6.

[193] Gen. 36.12. Cf. TgShir 2.15.

[194] There is a nexus between Esau and Ishmael already in biblical narrative. According to Gen. 28.9; 36.2-3, Esau took Ishmael's daughter(s) to wife. Moreover, their descendants are paired as partners in a hostile coalition in Ps. 83.7. For the juxtaposition of Esau and Ishmael, or their descendants, in targumic texts, see Gen. 27.29 (TgNeof, FragTg^{P,V}); 35.22 (TgPsJ); 49.2 (TgNeof, FragTg^{P,V}); 49.26 (TgNeof, TgPsJ); 50.1 (TgNeof, FragTg^{P,V}, TgCG^{FF}, TgPsJ); Num. 7.87 (TgPsJ); Deut. 6.4 (TgNeof); 33.2 (TgNeof, FragTg^{P,V}, TgPsJ); 33.3 (TgNeof, FragTg^{P,V}); Job 12.6 (first targum in Bomberg's first Rabbinic Bible); 15.20 (alternative targum).

[195] As noted above, Alonso Fontela suggests that the sons of Esau and Ishmael in TgShir 6.8 may be ciphers for the Roman Empire in its western and eastern manifestations, respectively. He claims that this proposal, albeit very speculative, is more logical in the context than equating the Ishmaelites with Muslims. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum,* p. 34. However, aside from the lack of evidence for identifying the Ishmaelites thus, such a construal does not ameliorate the historical confusion in the verse. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 169, n. 28.

[196] Litke, 'Following the Frankincense', pp. 289–313.

MT וריח שלמתיך כריח לבנון

'the scent of your garments is like the scent of Lebanon.'

Alexander, construing אוליבנן as a variant of לבונה 'frankincense', notes the apparent redundancy of the preceding noun בושם 'spice' in AF[1] et al. כריח בושם אוליבנן "like the scent of the spice of frankincense", along with the equivocal status of בושם in the manuscripts.[197] Consequently, he does not include בושם in his translation, "like the scent of frankincense". From a text-critical perspective, the absence of בושם in many manuscripts cannot be attributed to parablepsis, occasioned by either homeoarcton or homeoteleuton. Notwithstanding, the case for its originality could be argued either way. Its absence could be attributed to editorial adjustment towards the bipartite NP in MT, its presence to exegetical expansion, or the incorporation of a marginal gloss, perhaps intended to clarify the source of the Lebanese fragrance.[198]

If the sense of אוליבנן is indeed a type of frankincense, it constitutes an alliterative pun on the toponym in MT לבנן 'Lebanon'. However, the orthographic proximity of the form אוליבנן to the toponym לבנן, allied with the existence of variant readings, suggests that caution is warranted with respect to Litke's proposal. It is possible that the form אוליבנן is the product of scribal error, rather than a recherché loan. For example, it could be a corruption of כריחא דליבנן 'like the scent of Lebanon', with the det. marker א detached from the A-term and the genitive marker ד misconstrued as a ו. Indeed, the reading כריחא דליבנן is attested at 4.11 in the Western MS. New York, JTS, L125 (14th century).[199]

A similar process could have occurred if the NP was originally tripartite, כריח בשמא דליבנן 'like the scent of the spice of Lebanon'. However, this seems less likely since the penultimate noun would end with a medial מ, a clear signal that it is not the last letter of the word.

The evidence of the reception of TgShir 4.11 in 16th to 18th century manuscripts, containing both an Aramaic text and a translation of TgShir, may be germane. Manuscripts which read a noun form commencing with או-, ignore this syllable in translation, simply rendering the word as the toponym 'Lebanon'. Thus, the parallel Latin translation in AF[2] renders כְּרֵיחַ בּוֹסֶם אֹלְבָנוֹן as 'sic odor aromathis libani' ('like the odour of the aroma of Lebanon').[200] Likewise, the parallel Latin translation in AF[5] renders כריח אולבנין as 'sicut odor aromathis Libani'. The Judaeo-Arabic translations accompanying the first text of TgShir in MS. New York, JTS, L480, and that in MS. New York, JTS, L479, render כריח אולבנין as כריחת אל ליבנאן 'like the scent of Lebanon'.[201] Likewise, the Hebrew translation in MS. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 2554 reads

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[197] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles,* p. 140, apparatus *jj,* citing Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 25b. This construal is reflected in the translations of Alonso Fontela, Pope, Jerusalmi, and Treat.

[198] Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 6, n. 10. On marginal gloss incorporation in TgShir, see Alexander, *Targum of Canticles,* p. 129, apparatus *vv*; p. 163, apparatus *a*.

[199] https://primo-tc-na01.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=JTS_ALEPH000078569&context=L&vid=JTS&lang=en_US&search_scope=JTS&adaptor=Local_Search_Engine&tab=default_tab&query=any,contains,JTS_L125 [last accessed 12 April 2021]. The text of TgShir 4.11 is contained in image 533. Cf. MS. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3077: כריחא דליבנא.

[200] The supralinearisation and miniaturisation of the initial syllable may reflect scribal dubiety as to its authenticity.

[201] Mulder (*De Targum*, p. 67) also prefers to read the toponym: 'is als de geur van Libanon' ('is like the scent of Lebanon'). So too, Díez Merino ('Targum al Cantar de los Cantares', p. 258), translating AF[7]: 'es como el olor de

כריח לבנון. However, this could simply be an expediency adopted by translators confronted with an unfamiliar lexeme, under the influence of the underlying MT. It may reflect an intuition, or tradition, that the text is corrupt.

Forms close to אוליבנון are the norm in Western witnesses to TgShir 4.11. Set out below are readings of the NP of which אוליבנון is a constituent in several manuscripts containing a Western text type. As can be seen, there are two main differentiators between the variants: (1) the NP is, as noted above, either bipartite ('like the scent of *x*') or tripartite ('like the scent of the spice of *x*'), and (2) there is equivocation with respect to the final vowel letter (when one is included) of the noun in question, between ו or י. Either letter could easily have arisen as a corruption of the other. Variants without a vowel letter between the final two consonants appear to be outliers.

Table 2 Readings in select Western manuscripts[202]

Tripartite NP (final vowel letter ו)	Manuscripts[203]
כריח בושם אוליבנון	AF[1,8]; Oxford, Bodleian, Huntington 399; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. III.1; Oxford, Bodleian, Digby Or. 34.
אוליבסון	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. III.1 (variant for אוליבנון)
כריחַ בוסם א'ילבנון	AF[2]
כריח בושם לבנון	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, N72
כריח [בושם] אוליבון	AF[10] margin
כריח [בושם] אולבנון	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Hébreu 17, margin
Bipartite NP (final vowel letter ו)	
כריח אוליבנון	Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, M 1106; Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 2867, 3189, 3235
כריחא דליבנון	New York, JTS, L125
Bipartite NP (final vowel letter י)	
כריח אולבנין	AF[3,4,5,7]; New York, JTS, 10366; 4357; L480 (text 1); L479; L475; L472; Cincinnati, Hebrew Union College, Acc. #66
כריח אוליבנין	Valmadonna 1
כריחן אולבנין	New York, JTS, 8272; 8335; L480 (text 2);
כריח א'לבנין	New York, JTS, 9727

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[202] Disregarding vocalisation.

[203] The text of TgShir 4.11 is not preserved in the Geniza fragments.

כריח אלבנין	New York, JTS, L474; L472c; London, British Library, Or. 9906; 9907

Bipartite NP (no vowel letter between final two consonants)	
כריח אולבנן	AF[9]
כריח אוליבנן	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. fol. 4
כריח אולבן	London, British Library, Harley 5709
כריחא דליבנא	Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3077

On the hypothesis that אוליבנן represents a corruption of א דל(י)בנון -, a final *mater* ו points to the use of the Hebrew spelling of 'Lebanon', לבנון, taken over from the underlying MT. Use of this Hebrew form is strongly attested elsewhere in TgShir. TgShir 4.15 contains two tokens of the toponym. The CWs[West.] read לבנון for both, with single exceptions.[204] The CWs[Yem.] read the first token as the Aramaic form לבנן, whereas all, bar M[C], align with the Western texts in reading לבנון.[205]

However, if the noun originally terminated in י- it may point to a m.p. abs. noun. Thus, rather than a solecisitic plural of the mass noun 'incense', it could be, as suggested by Epstein, a plural of אלבן, a species of tree mentioned in Cant. R. 7.9 §1, אילנין אלבנין (identified with MT סנסנה).[206] Such would constitute a pun on לבנון in the underlying MT.

There is also equivocation in the Yemenite textual tradition of TgShir 4.11 as to whether the NP is bipartite or tripartite.

Table 3 Readings in select Yemenite manuscripts

Reading[207]	Manuscript[208]
כריח לבן	M[A]; M[B]
כריח לבנן	New York, JTS, L473
כריח קטורת לבן	M[C]
כריח [בסמין] או לבן	M[E]
כריח בסמין או לבן	M[F]
כריח בסמין או לבן	New York, JTS, L431
כריח או לבן	New York, JTS, 5491

Litke claims that the noun אוליבנן features in a single Yemenite manuscript of TgShir, London, British Library, Or. 2375 (M[E]), in the phrase כריח אולבנן, with a second hand adding בסמין between the two constituents.[209] He opines that Sperber's unfamiliarity with the word

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[204] AF[9]: לבנן (first token). AF[4]: לבנן (second token).

[205] Cf. 'Lebanon' at 3.9: AF[1]: ליבנן; AF[2], M[A,B,C,E,F]: לבנן; AF[3,5,7,8,9,10]: לבנון; AF[4]: לבוון.

[206] B. haLevi Epstein, *Torah Temimah: Shir haShirim and the Tractate Avot* (Jerusalem: Chorev, 2014), p. 105, n. 61 (in Hebrew). For אלבן, see *DJPA*, p. 33, and discussion in I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden,* vol. 2 (Leipzig: R. Löwit Verlag, 1924), p. 340.

[207] Disregarding vocalisation.

[208] TgShir 4.11 is not preserved in M[D].

[209] Litke, 'Following the Frankincense', p. 305.

אולבנ led him to 'unhelpfully' introduce a word division in his transcription, בוסמין או לבנן, which Litke translates 'spices or incense'.[210] He rejects this reading on the grounds that לבונה 'incense' is a mass noun and, therefore, never attested in the plural. However, Sperber's word division או לבנן is not a conjectural emendation, as can be seen in the image below.[211] This reading with the disjunctive coordinator ('or') only appears to make sense in the light of the marginal בסמין preceding it, yielding כריח בסמין או לבנן 'like the scent of spices or לבנן'.
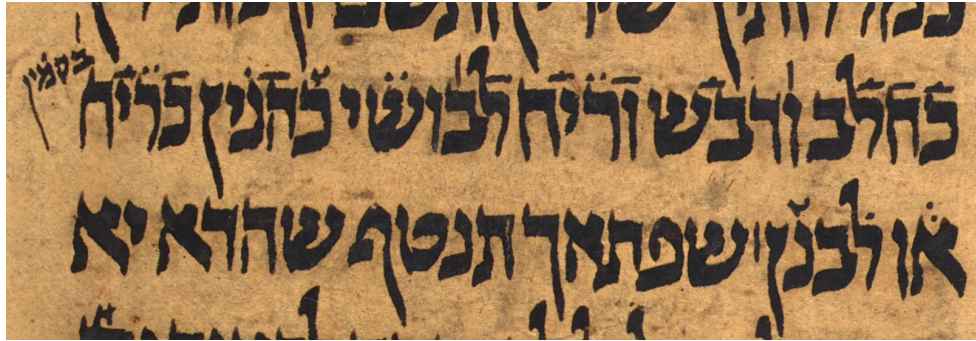

Figure 1: TgShir 4.11, London, British Library, Or. 2375, f. 176v

Furthermore, as the tabulation above indicates, this is not the sole CW[Yem.] to attest this sequence. As can be seen in the image below, Melamed's apparatus incorrectly indicates that its congener, London, British Library, Or. 1476 (M[F])[212] simply reads כריח בוסמין.[213] I have been unable to consult more Yemenite witnesses to assess the pervasiveness of this reading in the textual tradition.
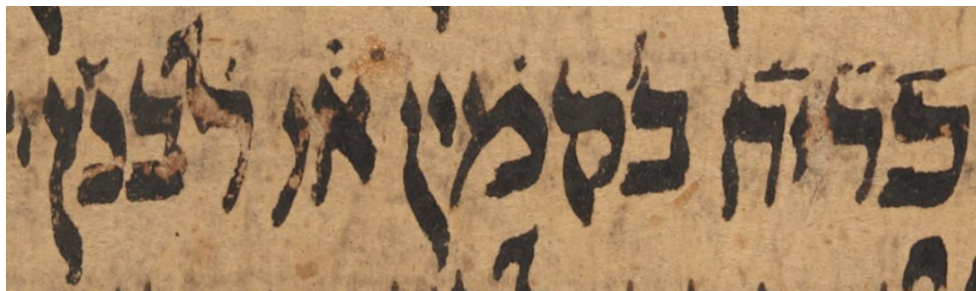

Figure 2: TgShir 4.11, London, British Library, Or. 1476, f. 14r

Litke's dismissal of the viability of the reading לבנן in M[E], owing to the non-pluralisation of לבונה 'incense', begs the question. He assumes that לבנן must, in this context, have been intended as a plural form of לבונה. Yet it seems more likely that לבנן is simply the Aramaic form of the toponym 'Lebanon' (as per the vowel pointing in the manuscript), mirroring MT לבנן. Litke construes לבנן as 'Lebanon' in the other CWs[Yem.].[214] His assumption of a solecistic

[210] A. Sperber (ed.), *The Bible in Aramaic Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts: Volume IVa The Hagiographa: Transition from Translation to Midrash* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 134. London, British Library, Or. 2375 is Sperber's base text.

[211] However, Sperber presents בוסמין as part of the main text, rather than the marginalia. Both Melamed and Alonso Fontela's apparatuses erroneously indicate that בוסמין is in the main text and אולבנ (*sic*) in the margin.

[212] Melamed notes that the texts of TgShir in these manuscripts have a particularly close affinity. Melamed, *Targum to Canticles*, p. 15.

[213] Melamed, *Targum to Canticles*, p. 88. Moreover, Alexander errs in stating that Or. 1476 (Alexander siglum K) and Or. 2375 (Alexander siglum L) read כריח לבנן. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles,* p. 140, apparatus *jj*.

[214] Litke, Following the Frankincense, pp. 304–305.

plural appears to be conditioned by the presence of the preceding plural בסמין 'spices'. However, the somewhat infelicitous nature of the resultant simile, 'like the scent of spices, or Lebanon', is an insufficient criterion for disqualifying this reading per se. A disjunctive simile כריח בושם או לבנן is perhaps not so anomalous in the context of Song of Songs, owing to its comparability to the construction לצבי או לעפר האילים [...] ד(ו)מה 'like a gazelle or a young stag' in MT Song 2.9, 17; 8.14. Indeed, the latter construction is mirrored in TgShir 8.14.

Irrespectively, it seems likely that the disjunction plus noun construction או לבנן in the CWs^{Yem.} represents an attempt to render intelligible an unfamiliar word by parsing it into two familiar ones, and that a form of אוליבנן, so pervasive in the Western textual tradition, lies behind it. Evidently, this strategy depends on a tripartite NP.

4.3.1 Summary

Rather than a Greek mediated loan of Latin *olibanum*, the form אוליבנן may represent a corruption of א דליבנן (ריח) 'the (scent) of Lebanon', a reading attested in MS. New York, JTS, L125. Alternatively, if, as per several witnesses, it originally terminated in -ין, it may be a plural of אלבן, a species of tree mentioned in Cant. R. 7.9 §1. However, the possibility that it is a loan of *olibanum* cannot be discounted. However, the date of its coinage, rather than its earliest known attestation, is required to supply a firm *terminus post quem*. This is likely to be elusive.

5   Nominal state

Nominal state (abs. versus det.) is not a reliable guide to referent (in)definiteness in TgShir.[215] The text is punctuated with infelicitous uses of abs. nouns with definite referents. Moreover, there are several instances of discordance between the state of a head noun and its attributive adj. Such syntactic inconcinnities are not only potentially informative regarding authorial understanding of Aramaic; occasionally they are suggestive of the influence of external literary sources. Examples of the latter are set out below.

1.   TgShir 2.6 describes the divine protection of the Israelites during the wilderness journey: וקטל כל חיוון קלן ועקרבין דבמדברא 'It [the vanguard theophanic cloud] killed all the venomous serpents and scorpions that were in the wilderness'. The compound plural obj. NP, modified by the collective universal quantifier and a relative clause, is unambiguously definite. TgShir's use of the abs. is, therefore, unexpected. This may betray the quarrying of the phrase from a targum to Deut. 8.15. For example, TgOnq ad loc. reads במדברא [...] אתר דחיוון קלן ועקרבין 'the wilderness [...] a place of venomous serpents and scorpions'.[216] The abs. NP becomes infelicitous once transposed from its native context to the syntactic environment of TgShir.[217]

2.   TgShir 5.14 casts a definite A-term of a bare ד-relation in the abs.: תרין עשר שיבטין דיעקב עבדיה 'the twelve tribes of Jacob his servant'.[218] The verse describes the engraving of the tribal patronyms on gemstones set in the high priest's headpiece. The principal biblical intertexts are Exod. 28.21 and 39.14. These are the only places in TgOnq where the pl abs. שבטין follows the numeral twelve, לתרי עסר שבטין 'for the twelve tribes'.[219] This is a reflex of the anarthrous collective construction in MT עשר שבט (ם)לשני 'for the twelve tribes'.[220] While the definite use of the abs. NP 'twelve tribes' is sporadically attested elsewhere in targumic literature, the specific connection between TgShir 5.14 and Exod. 28.21; 39.14 is suggestive of literary influence.[221]

3.   The use of the abs. in the phrases מקדש קדמאי 'the first temple' (TgShir 6.4) and בית מקדש תיניין 'the second temple' (TgShir 6.11) is likely a reflex of the anarthrous Hebrew

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[215] As already noted by Landauer, with examples across TgKet. Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 506. I differentiate between 'determined state' (det.) and 'definiteness' as morphological and semantic properties, respectively. Unambiguous indicators of NP definiteness naturally include adnominal dems., possessive suffs., and construct relationships with a PN. Cf. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 145–147.

[216] TgPsJ ad loc. במדברא [...] אתר מלי חיוון קלן ועקרבין עקצין.

[217] Note the likely partial quotation from TgOnq Num. 11.12 earlier in TgShir 2.6: (הי)כמא דמסובר תורבי(י)נא ית ינקא 'as a guardian carries a suckling' (the generic det. mirroring MT). Catalysts for this intertext may include (1) paronomasia of תחבקני 'may [his right hand] embrace me' (Song 2.6) with בחיקך '[carry them] in your bosom' (Num. 11.12); (2) metonymy of ימינו 'his right hand' (Song 2.6) with נשבעת 'you swore' (Num. 11.12) (cf. Isa. 62.8); (3) the theophanic cloud in Num. 11.25.

[218] Contrast כל שבטיא דישראל 'all the tribes of Israel' in 3.8.

[219] Similarly, TgPsJ Exod. 28.21 לתריסר שבטין. However, at Exod. 39.14 לתריסר שבטיא. TgNeof reads det. in both places. TgNeofM Exod. 28.21 תרי שסתרי שבטייה דישראל.

[220] The phrase is a *dis legomenon* in MT.

[221] Cf. FragTg^P Gen. 49.2; TgPsJ Exod. 30.24; TgPsJ, TgNeofM Num. 33.9.

forms מקדש ראשון and מקדש שני in talmudic idiom.[222] Contrast the preceding use of מקדש in the det. in 6.4, which is outside of these collocations: שפיר בית מוקדשא דבנית לי כמקדש קדמאי דבנא לי שלמה 'The temple which you have built for me is beautiful, like the first temple which Solomon built for me'.

4. At TgShir 8.6 the noun בבו(ד) 'enmity' is used in the abs., notwithstanding its definiteness: ו(ד)בבו דנטרין לן דמיא לגומרין דאישא דגיהנם 'and the grudge which they bear against us is like the coals of fire of Gehinnom'. This likely discloses authorial acquaintance with this noun from literary sources. The expression נטר דבבו 'to bear a grudge' (cf. TgShir 2.15) occurs in TgOnq[223] and other LJLAtg. texts.[224] In all tokens of the expression in these corpora, the direct object of the verb is in the abs. In fact, in these sources, דבבו never occurs in the det., even outside of this expression. TgShir 8.6 has reconfigured the idiom by promoting דבבו to subject position and placing the verb in a relative clause. This mirrors the syntax of the immediately preceding קינאיתא דעמיא מקנאן לן 'the jealousy which the nations have of us'. The lack of adjustment of דבבו to the det., in contrast to det. קינאיתא, suggests an acquaintance with the lexeme mediated through literary sources.

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[222] E.g., b. Ḥag. 5b; Sanh. 104b; Zeb. 118b.

[223] TgOnq Gen. 27.41; 50.15; Lev. 19.18.

[224] TgPs 55.4; 103.9; TgJob 16.9; TgEstI 4.10.

6 Verb stems

E.Z. Melamed's verdict on the author of TgShir was blunt: 'לא היה שולט בלשון הארמית ובדקדוקה ולא היה בקי בדרכי המתרגמים'.[225] In addition to citing several examples of what he deemed to be stylistic inelegance, he noted apparent solecisms involving verbal stems. Almost exclusively, these are infs. with the morphological signature of the G-stem[226] which bear senses conventionally conveyed via derived stems.[227] The examples he noted are: √חרט 'to regret' (5.4); √טעי 'to lead astray' (7.1); √טפי 'to extinguish' (8.7); √פטר 'to depart (from the world in death)' (1.1; 1.7); and √קרב 'to offer (sacrifice)' (1.14; 7.6, 13). To these can be added the infs. √חסן 'to take possession of land' (3.5) and √נגד 'to scourge' (7.5). Melamed regarded these forms, prescriptively, as evidence of the author's incompetence in Aramaic. However, they pattern with infs. attested in other LJLA compositions[228] and ZA,[229] evidencing a wider development in literary Aramaic.

6.1 *Morpho-phonological development*

This development may in fact be morpho-phonological, rather than semantic, in that the forms could be derived stem infs.—aligning with JPA in bearing a מ- prefix—which have undergone apocopation.[230] There are only two unambiguous tokens of derived stem infs. bearing a מ- prefix in the CWs: למהלכא (D-stem) 'to go' (1.7),[231] and למשתעי (tD-stem) 'to speak' (5.10).[232] The latter is germane: the infixed ת unambiguously signals a t-stem, and the expected final vowel has been apocopated.[233] However, if a phonetic process is invoked to explain the apocopation of the final vowel of the derived stem infs., its restricted targeting of forms bearing a מ- prefix demands explanation. There is not a single example in the CWs of a

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[225] 'He neither had mastery of Aramaic and its grammar, nor was he proficient in the targumists' methods'. E.Z. Melamed, 'Targum Canticles', p. 213. Translation mine.

[226] Namely, a מ- prefix, and no vocalic suff. represented by ה- or א-. The latter is characteristic of derived stem infs.

[227] See item 4 in the listing in E.Z. Melamed, 'Targum Canticles', p. 213. Melamed's claim that √ידע[C] (מודעין) is used incorrectly in place √ידע[G] at TgShir 2.3 is questionable. Contextually the sense 'make known, announce' is not inappropriate.

[228] Examples include: למילד 'to be born' (TgPs 22.32); למשכל 'to understand' (TgPs 36.4); אפין + למקבל 'to receive' (TgPs 41.7; 45.10); למשזוג 'to wash' (TgPsJ Gen. 24.32; cf. TgJob 29.6); למצדק 'to make just' (TgQoh 7.22); למלעי 'to wear down' (Tg1Chron 17.9); למחלל 'to wash' (Tg2Chron 4.6); למלבש 'to clothe' (TgEstI 4.4); למיחזי 'to show' (TgEstII 1.2); למרגז 'to anger' (TgPs 78.17).

[229] Kaddari observed that the use of G-stem verbs in place of their normative C-stem counterparts, especially in weak verbs, is a regular occurrence in ZA. M.Z. Kaddari, *The Grammar of the Aramaic of the "Zohar"* (Ph.D. dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1956), p. 84. See Kwasman, 'Der Zohar und seine Beziehung zu "Late Jewish Literary Aramaic"', pp. 140–141.

[230] See B. Dan, *Targum Psalms: a Morphological Description* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008), pp. 42–44 (in Hebrew).

[231] The dissenting CWs, AF²[א,8,9] and CWs[Yem.], read the JLAtg. form להלכא.

[232] The sole dissenter among the CWs is AF[8], which reads the JBA form לאשתעיי. The earliest witnesses—Valmadonna 1, and Cairo Geniza fragment T-S NS 312.3—read למשתעי.

[233] The form למשתעי is attested elsewhere in LJLAtg. (TgPs 50.16, 19; 102.22; TgJob 37.23; contrast מישתעיא in TgPs 73.28). See Dan, *Targum Psalms*, p. 42, nn. 137, 139. Cf. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 110, nn. 400, 401. The form למשתעי, alongside לאשתעי and לישתעי, also features in ZA (e.g., *Zohar* II, 46a; 80a; 132a).

derived stem inf. without the מ- prefix, in either strong or weak roots, that exhibits apocopation of the final vowel.[234] Nonetheless, the process that gave rise to למשתעי may account for at least some of the putative G-stem inf. semantic anomalies in TgShir.

6.2 *Recalibration of semantic ranges*

On the other hand, there is evidence in TgShir of the G-stem's colonisation of semantic domains conventionally the preserve of derived stems. Two of the infs. noted by Melamed bear senses conventionally conveyed via t-stems: למיחרט 'to regret', and למיפטר 'to depart (in death)'. The absence of a -ת- infix in both cases complicates the parsing of these forms as apocopated t-stem infs. To argue that the apocopation of the final vowel happens to co-occur with the assimilation of the stem infix to R₁ would constitute special pleading.[235] These are most likely G-stem infs.

Furthermore, there are verb stem anomalies in TgShir that do not involve infs. Thus, an act. ptc. √עיר[G] is employed in a transitive clause, with the sense 'to awaken': וקל רוחא דקודשא מזהרא להון [...] והות עיירה יתהון מדמוך לבבהון "But the voice of the holy spirit was admonishing them [...] and was <u>rousing</u> them from the slumber of their hearts" (TgShir 5.2).[236] This contrasts with the use of derived stems to convey this sense in JPA,[237] JLAtg.,[238] and elsewhere in LJLAtg.[239] The choice of the G-stem may be influenced by the underlying MT, which employs a cognate G-stem ptc., albeit as a stative: אני ישנה ולבי ער 'I slept, but my heart was awake'. The transitive use of √עיר[G] may also be attested at TgJob 41.2[240]—the verb form in Stec's base text יעורניה mirrors the G-stem in MT יעורנו. However, Stec's apparatus registers possible C-stem variants יעירינ(י)ה.[241]

Similarly, at TgShir 8.4 an impf. verb √שיצי[Quad] is used with passive voice, where a t-stem would be expected: עד דישיצון עמיא דעלו לאגחא קרבא בירושלם "until the nations that have come up to wage war against Jerusalem <u>are destroyed</u>".[242] This is analogous to the use of the G-stem, in place of t-stems in למיחרט and למיפטר. The same phenomenon is attested in TgPs, in translation of MT √כלי[G] 'to be finished'. Thus, 31.11: ארום שיציאו בדוונא חיי 'for my life <u>is spent</u> with misery' (≡ MT כי כלו ביגון חיי); and 39.11: ממחת גבורת ידך אנא שיציתי 'by the blow of the might of your hand <u>I am destroyed</u>' (≡ MT מתגרת ידך אני כליתי).[243] Accordingly, the

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[234] I exclude here infs. hosting pro. suffs., and those in cst.

[235] On the assimilation of ת infixes to R₁ in verbs √פטר, see the examples cited in *DJBA*, p. 898, s.v. Itpe. 5. Litke's glossary entry, parsing למ(י)פטר at 1.1, 7 as a tG-stem, appears to be an error. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 357.

[236] The absence of a -מ prefix in the CWs on the ptc. signals the G-stem. A derived stem variant, מעיירא, is attested in the Western MS. New York, JTS, L610, f. 29v.

[237] √עור[C] or √עור[Polel]. *DJPA*, pp. 450–451.

[238] √עור[C] (TgJon Isa. 14.9; Jer. 51.11; Hag. 1.14; Zech. 14.1).

[239] TgPs 80.3; TgProv 15.1.

[240] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 352.

[241] D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job: An Introduction & Critical Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 296.

[242] Among the CWs, a t-stem variant is only attested in AF⁸ and the CWs[Yem.], possibly a secondary correction. The only other token of this root in TgShir is in 1.13 (in a quotation of Deut. 9.14) where √שיצי[Quad] has the conventional active voice.

[243] However, verbs √שיצי[t-Quad] translate MT √כלי[G] in TgPs. 71.13; 73.26. The inverse, namely the use of √שיצי[t-Quad] with active voice, is attested in TgPs 18.9.

scope of verb stem anomalies in LJLA is wider than the G-stem.

A further possible example involves the act. ptc. $\sqrt{}$ילד[G] in TgShir 4.13, if it has the sense 'to beget', as assumed in the translations of Díez Merino, Alonso Fontela, Pope, Alexander, Treat, and Litke,[244] rather than 'to bear'.[245] Thus, ורחמין לנשיהון וילדן[246] בנין צדיקין [...] ועולימיך כוותהון "Your young men [...] love their wives and <u>beget</u> sons righteous like themselves". However, there is no grammatical impediment to construing the subject of the ptc. as נשיהון 'their wives', rather than עולימיך 'your young men'.[247] The antecedent of the pro. suff. in כוותהון, 'like them(selves)', could be the young men, their wives, or both, since the form הון- functions as a 3 c.p. in TgShir. Thus, 'Your young men_i [...] love their wives_j and they_j bear sons [who are] righteous like them_{i/j/i+j}'. On this reckoning, the role of the young men in procreation is conveyed delicately by רחמין 'love', and that of their wives by ילדן 'give birth'. Yet, if the subject of ילדן is indeed the young men, it is another example of the encroachment of the G-stem into the domain of a derived stem. The use of $\sqrt{}$ילד[G] with the sense 'to beget' is attested elsewhere in LJLAtg.[248]

It is appropriate to consider here the form יחידא, predicated of Israel in TgShir 6.9: יחידא לאוריתא, $\cong$ MT אחת היא לאמה 'she is her mother's only one'. A variant in the textual subgroup AF[3,4,5], אחידא, is judged by Alexander to be 'marginally preferable', albeit he states that the sense of either reading is close.[249] His justification for preferring this reading is unclear. Litke dismisses the reading יחידא as a 'pervasive error' for אחידא, $\sqrt{}$אחד[G] 'to hold', on the grounds that יחידא appears to be a G-stem form, whereas $\sqrt{}$יחד is not elsewhere attested in the G-stem.[250] However, in view of the license exercised with respect to the use of the G-stem in TgShir and LJLA more widely, this objection possesses little force.[251] Moreover, as noted, the reading $\sqrt{}$אחד[G] is confined to single textual group; the balance of CWs[West.][252] and all CWs[Yem.] read יחידא. The form יחידא is intelligible as a nominal loaned from Rabbinic Hebrew with the

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[244] Probably under the influence of the 3 m.p. pro. in כוותהון, which they construe as reflexive: 'as/like themselves'.

[245] The occurrences of $\sqrt{}$ילד[G] with the sense 'to beget' in TgOnq Deut. 4.25; 28.41; TgJon Hos. 4.10 are outliers with respect to JLAtg. In all three instances, Sperber's apparatus registers variants with the C-stem. The use of the G-stem in TgPsJ Deut. 4.25, may reflect dependence on a manuscript of TgOnq. The use of the G-stem in TgProv 23.22 mirrors MT.

[246] All CWs spell the ptc. thus. The absence of י in the pl. inflectional morpheme is not a reliable diagnostic of fem. gender; it could be a defectively spelled m.p. Landauer ('Zum Targum der Klagelieder', pp. 507–508) notes numerous examples of this phenomenon in TgShir.

[247] As reflected in the translations of Jerusalmi and Mulder.

[248] TgPsJ Num. 7.88 (יליד); TgEstI 2.5; as a variant in TgEstII 2.5; TosTg 74א, ln. 2 (the latter three references are literary parallels, all למילד). Cf. MT Gen. 22.23; Ps. 2.7. The inverse obtains in TgPsJ Gen. 5.3 where $\sqrt{}$ילד[C] is used with sense 'to give birth'. This is an outlier with respect to TgPsJ. Cf. Syriac, wherein both G- and C-stem $\sqrt{}$ילד can bear the sense 'to beget' or 'to give birth'. *SL*, pp. 572–573.

[249] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 170, apparatus *qq*. He translates the unit 'devoted to the Torah'.

[250] Litke translates the unit 'seizing the Torah'. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 321, 267. Cf. Pope, 'holding to the Law'; Mulder, 'en klampte zich aan de wet vast'; and Jerusalmi, 'upholding the Tora'.

[251] Moreover, note that the obj. of $\sqrt{}$אחד[G] 'to hold' in 3.8 is encoded by ב, כולהון אחידן בפתגמי אוריתא "all of them are equipped with the words of the Torah" $\cong$ MT כלם אחזי חרב 'all equipped with swords'. This use of ב to encode the obj. of a verb of surface contact patterns with $\sqrt{}$ינק[G] + ב 'to suck at' in 8.1. At 4.4 the obj. of $\sqrt{}$אחד[G] 'to hold' is marked Ø: כאילו אינון אחדין בידיהון כל מיני זיינין דגיברין "as if they were holding in their hands all kinds of weapons of the warriors", $\cong$ MT כל שלטי הגבורים 'all of them shields of warriors'.

[252] All bar AF[8], in which the ptc. is absent.

sense 'devoted'.[253] Alternatively, it could represent a G-stem pass. ptc., back-formed from √יחד[D] 'to unite' (transitive), with the sense 'united'; thus, יחידא לאוריתא 'at one with the Torah'.[254] This would resonate with its generative MT lexeme אחת 'one'.[255]

In the light of the foregoing, the case for at least some of the anomalous infs. in TgShir, beyond למיחרט and למיפטר, evidencing the expansion of the semantic range of the G-stem is strong. Each of these forms are considered, *seriatim*, in more detail below.

6.3   *Non-normative infinitives*

6.3.1   למחסן

Verbs √חסן in derived stems with the sense 'to take possession of land; to bequeath land' feature in a number of Aramaic dialects.[256] TgShir 3.5 employs the inf. form למחסן, which is known from other LJLA texts[257] and ZA.[258] Thus, כד שמעו שבעת עמיא דבני ישראל עתידין למחסן ית ארעהון "When the seven nations heard that the Children of Israel were about to take possession of their land [...]". This is juxtaposed with the form לאחסנא later in 3.5, which could be a C-stem inf.: לאחסנא ית בניהון לאעלא. לאחסנא ארע עבדא חלב ודבש 'to bring in their children to inherit a land producing milk and honey'. If so, this would appear to be counterevidence to the hypothesis that למחסן is an apocopated C-stem inf. However, since TgShir exhibits a dialectal admixture, the juxtaposition of two different forms of a C-stem inf. is not implausible. However, אחסנא may be a common noun, 'inheritance',[259] functioning as the GOAL of the verb of caused motion, in apposition to the following NP: 'to bring their children to an/the inheritance, a land producing milk and honey'.[260] All other tokens of verbs √חסן in TgShir are ambiguous as to their stem: the 3 m.p. impf. verbs יחסנון at 1.3[261] and 2.7[262] could be either G- or C-stem forms.

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[253] Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 574, sense 2. This connection is noted in *CAL*, s.v. יחיד [last accessed 12 April 2021]. It is also implicit in Alexander's equation between the sense of אחידא in TgShir as 'devoted' and Rabbinic Hebrew יחיד (citing Jastrow). Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 170, n. 29.

[254] Litke's gloss of √יחד, 'to declare unique', is based on the D-stem. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 321.

[255] The reading אחידא לאוריתא in AF[3,4,5] should be compared with TgPs 114.2: הוות כנישתא דבית יהודה אחידא לקדישיה ≅ MT היתה יהודה לקדשו. Dan claims that אחידא in TgPs 114.2 is derived from √1א.ח.ד with the sense 'יחיד ומיוחד', not √2א.ח.ד 'to hold, seize', citing TgOnq Lev. 19.20. Dan, *Targum Psalms*, p. 134, n. 758.

[256] JPA √אחסן[Quad] (*DJPA*, p. 19); JBA √חסן[C] (*DJBA*, p. 475); JLAtg. √חסן[C] (*GTO*, p. 97); SA √חסן[C] (*DSA*, p. 287).

[257] TgPsJ Gen. 25.31; 38.29; Lev. 6.13; Num. 23.9; TgPs 37.34; TgRuth 2.13; TgEstI 2.4; 4.14; Tg1Chron 17.16; Cairo Geniza Piyyut ואי פומנה ln. 11a. On the latter reference, see S.C. Reif, 'We'ilu Finu: A Poetic Aramaic Version', in Shulamit Elizur, et al. (eds.). *Knesset Ezra: Literature and Life in the Synagogue – Studies Presented to Ezra Fleischer* (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1994), pp. 269–283 (in Hebrew). Reif does not comment on the anomalous inf. The piyyut is included in the *CAL* corpus of LJLA, under the file name IfOurMouth [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[258] *Zohar Hadash*, (Shir haShirim) 64a: למיחסן לון ירותא 'endowing them with an inheritance'.

[259] Cf. TgOnq Deut. 4.38; 32.49.

[260] The marking of goals of verbs of caused motion with ל is standard practice in TgShir.

[261] The verb is absent in AF[1] but included in the balance of CWs.

[262] MS. Valmadonna 1 reads the synonym ירתון, with יחסנון supplied in the margin.

6.3.2   למחרט

The use of verbs √חרט with the sense 'to regret, repent', in t-stems, is attested in JBA,[263] Syriac,[264] ZA,[265] and Hebrew.[266] The use of the G-stem to convey this sense in TgShir 5.4 is notable: כד איתגלי קדם ייי דעמא בית ישראל לא צבן למיחרט ולמיתוב לוותיה "When it was revealed before the Lord that the people of the House of Israel were unwilling to repent and return to Him [...]".[267] This use of the root √חרט is a *hapax legomenon* in TgShir.

I have been unable to locate another example of the use of verbs √חרט[G] bearing this sense in Aramaic. However, there are attestations in mediaeval Hebrew. Thus, *Seder Eliyahu Rabbah*, in MS. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, ebr. 31, f. 129r, ln. 36–f. 129v, ln. 1: אף במקום אחר נתחרט[268] הקבה ביצר הרע אמ׳ וכי שבר עשיתי וחרטתי ממנו ש בראתי אותו בעולמי 'Also, in another place the Holy One, blessed be He, came to regret the evil inclination. He said, "I have made a breach and regret that I created it in my world."'[269] Also, *Midrash Hashkem/Ve-hizhir, b'huqqotai*, in MS. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.hebr. 205, f. 186v, lns. 5–7: ומי שנדר ונשבע וחרט וצריך שיותר לו בא (ב)‹ל›פני חכם ואו חרטתי ואילו הייתי יודע שכן יהיה לא הייתי נודר ומתיר לו 'and whoever vows and swears, but then regrets [it] and needs to be released [from the vow], must come before a sage and say, "I regret [it]—had I known the consequences, I would not have vowed." Then, he may release him.'[270] So too, f. 187v, lns. 29–30: נשבע לו לסוף בא וחרט על שבועתו והתיר לו חכ׳ 'He swore to him. In time, he came and expressed regret for his oath, and a sage released him [from it].'[271] Thus, TgShir's use of √חרט[G] may reflect a more widespread innovation. The use of the G-stem may, in part, stem from analogy between the cognate Hebrew noun חרטה 'regret', and nouns with the same the nominal pattern, such as חרדה 'fear' and דאגה 'worry', whose cognate verbs are G-stem.

6.3.3   למטעי

Verbs √טעי[G] conventionally feature in intransitive clauses, with the sense 'to wander; to err'. TgShir 7.1 employs the inf. form למטעי, with causative valence: ומא טיבכון נביי שיקרא למיטעי עמא דבירושלם בנבואתכון "What business have you,[272] false prophets, to lead astray the people

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263 *DJBA*, p. 482.

264 *CAL*, s.v. חרט #2, registers a token of √חרט[tG] with the sense 'to regret' in the Syriac Book of Steps 20.15, 'not recognised by previous lexicographers'. [last accessed 12 April 2021].

265 *Zohar* III, 136b (x3); 214a; *Zohar* II (*Raza deRazin*), 74a.

266 Even-Shoshan, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 608.

267 Abudraham argues that the use of √חרט with this sense (a metaphorical extension of 'chisel, engrave') betrays the influence of Hebrew, and that the use of the G-stem demonstrates the artificiality of the form. In support, he claims that the entry in *DJBA* for √חרט[tD] 'to regret' indicates that it is a borrowing from Mishnaic Hebrew. However, this is not the case. The entry in *DJBA* simply registers the existence of the cognate in 'MH²', it does not indicate that it is a loan therefrom in JBA. O. Abudraham, 'The Hebrew Component in the Aramaic Lexicon of the Targumim of the Five Scrolls: Part 1', *Leshonenu* 75 (2013), p. 181. Abudraham notes that this example supplements E.Z. Melamed's list of anomalous G-stem infs. in TgShir.

268 Note the use of the nt-stem, as per Rabbinic Hebrew, in proximity to the G-stem

269 Translation mine. The manuscript was copied in 1072/3 CE, possibly in Southern Italy. Richler (ed.), *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Catalogue* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticano, 2008), pp. 20–21.

270 Translation mine. The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek dates the codex circa 12th century CE: https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV040215452 [last accessed 12 April 2021].

271 Translation mine.

272 Lit. 'what is your character?', idiomatically 'who are you?'—expanding the MT intrg. מה. Cf. Peshiṭta Ruth 2.5

of Jerusalem with your prophecies?" This use of the root √טעי is a *hapax legomenon* in TgShir. The spelling of the inf. prefix with the vowel letter י (מי-) does not comport with the expected /a/ vowel of the C-stem. However, among the CWs this spelling is only exhibited by AF[1,2] (a single textual subgroup). The majority read למטעי.[273]

This form of the inf. is also attested in other LJLA texts: TgQoh 9.14 למטעי יתיה 'to lead it astray';[274] Tg2Chron 18.21 למטעי יתהון 'to lead them astray'; and Meg.Ant. ln. 25 למיטעי בני ישראל 'to lead astray the children of Israel'. In all three of these texts the use of √טעי[C] as a causative is unambiguous in pf. verbs and ptcs.,[275] and they do not feature an alternative form of the inf. with this root. This may be evidence that למטעי is in fact an apocopated C-stem, akin to the tD-stem למשתעי in TgShir 5.10. The causative use of the inf. form למיטעי also likely features in TgNeof Deut. 13.6, 11.[276]

ZA likewise attests the use of the inf. form למטעי in causative constructions,[277] alongside the unambiguous use of √טעי[C] pf. verbs and ptcs.[278] Yet it also attests the use of ptcs. √טעי[G] with causative valence.[279] However, this may represent a later development.

6.3.4 למטפי

TgShir 8.7 employs the inf. form למטפי in a transitive clause (≡ MT לכבות 'to extinguish', D-stem): לא יכלין למיטפי ית רחמיי[280] מיניך 'they would not be able <u>to extinguish</u> my love from

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מכא ≡ LXX Τίνων εἶ. The
tone in TgShir 7.1 is accusatory: 'Who do you think you are?!' The variant in the Yemenite recension, מא אתון
'what are you?', approximates this. Litke's tentative gloss of טיב at 7:1 as 'right, authority (?)' (*TSoS & LJLA*, p.
318) confuses a tonal property of the syntagm with the sense of one of its components. Cf. *Zohar* III, 94a מה
טיבן דישראל בכך, which Matt translates 'Why is Israel doing this?'

[273] AF[8] reads a JBA style C-stem inf. לאטעויי. AF[5] למעיעי is a corruption.

[274] Only two manuscripts in Deborah Fisher's collation of TgQoh diverge in reading a C-stem inf.: Parma,
Biblioteca Palatina, 3218, לאטעיותיה (the same manuscript as AF[8]—see previous footnote), and Vienna,
Oesterreichische Nationalbibliotek, Hebr. 28, לאטעאה יתיה.

[275] TgQoh 7.29; Tg2Chon 18.20; 21.11 (x2), 13 (x2); 24.17; 32.11; 33.9; Meg.Ant. lns. 29, 59.

[276] The infs. preceding the obj. יתכון have been erased. Díez Macho reconstructs both as למיטעי (≡ MT להדיחך).
Inspection of the digital images shows that the inf. at Deut. 13.11 clearly terminates in -עי. I am unable to
decipher any of the letters of the inf. at 13.6. However, it seems likely that the same verb was used in both places.
(TgOnq and TgPsJ both read unambiguous √טעי[C] infs. ad loc.). Note the unequivocal use of √טעי[C] in verse 14 of
the same chapter, ואטעון (≡ MT וידיחו). (Also, Díez Macho reconstructs the C-stem inf., לאטעאה, at TgNeof
Gen. 20.13).

A similar issue is reflected in the marginalia of TgNeof, which contain alternative readings for both infs., with
the synonymous √סטי. The alternative reading at verse 6 is למיסטי, with a vowel letter that does not comport
with the C-stem. It contrasts with the JPA C-stem, למסטייה, at verse 11. ZA also attests the use of the inf. form
למסטי in causative constructions (e.g., *Zohar* I, 113a), along with ptcs. √סטי[G] (e.g., *Zohar* I, 179b). Kaddari cites
the ptc. סאטי in *Zohar* III, 85b and notes the possibility that it could represent a metathesised C-stem pf., אסטי.
Kaddari, *Grammar*, p. 84 and p. 85, n. 6. However, the evidence for the transitive use of √סטי[G] in ZA is beyond
dispute.

[277] *Zohar* II, 236a; *Zohar* I (*Midrash haNeˁelam*), 110b. The latter reference was noted in Kaddari, *Grammar*, p. 84.

[278] E.g., *Zohar* I, 78b; 143a.

[279] *Zohar* I, 100b; *Zohar* II, 192b.

[280] AF[4,7,8,10] רחמ(י)וי, possibly, 'his [=God's] love', which is incongruous, since God is the speaker. However, the
pro. suff. -וי may be the alloform of the 1 c.s. suff. -יי, known from JPA. See S.Y. Friedman, '-oy for -ay as First
person Singular Pronominal Suffix for Plural Nouns in Galilean Aramaic', *Language Studies* 2–3 (1987), pp. 207–
215 (in Hebrew). Also cf. 2.1 AF[7,8N,9,10] ועובדוי (M[A,B] ועובדויי; M[C,E,F] ועובדוהי, omitted from Melamed's apparatus),

you'.[281] The spelling of the prefix of the inf. with the vowel letter י (מי-) is restricted, among the CWs, to AF¹. All the others read למטפי. This use of the root טפי√ is a *hapax legomenon* in TgShir.

Verbs טפי√[G] conventionally feature in intransitive clauses, with the sense 'to die out (of fire), be extinguished'. The sense 'to extinguish' is conveyed by verbs טפי√[D] in JLAtg.[282] and JPA.[283] Elsewhere in LJLAtg., the use of טפי√[C] is attested.[284] However, the transitive use of טפי√[G] is multiply attested in Late SA.[285] It is possible that TgShir reflects this innovation.

6.3.5 למנגד

TgShir 7.5 employs the inf. form למנגד with the sense 'to scourge': ולמנגד מאן דיתחייב בדינא לנגדא 'to scourge whoever is condemned to scourging by the court'.[286] All other tokens of verbs נגד√ in TgShir are in the G-stem and bear the senses of 'to draw towards' or 'to flow', as per other Aramaic dialects.[287] The sense 'to scourge' is conveyed by נגד√[D] in JBA,[288] CPA,[289] and Syriac.[290] However, a token of נגד√[G] bearing this sense may be attested in a variant to TgProv 23.14 in MS. Madrid, Biblioteca de la Universidad Complutense, 116-Z-40, f. 147r: את נגיד בשובטא מחת לה (אתה בשבט תכנו MT ≡). The form נגיד may be a G-stem act. ptc. ('You beat him with the rod, you have struck him'), although a D-stem imper. is possible ('You, beat with the rod! You have struck him').[291]

6.3.6 למפטר

TgShir 1.1 and 1.7 employ the inf. form למפטר with the sense 'to depart (from life)'. Both tokens feature in the expression למפטר מן עלמא 'to depart from the world'. There are no other tokens of verbs פטר√ in TgShir. The use of פטר√[G] to convey this sense, rather than פטר√[tG], is

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versus AF¹,²,³,⁴,⁵ ועובדי(י) 'my deeds'; 5.5 AF⁹,¹⁰ עובדוי, versus עובד(י) in the balance of CWs.

[281] Díez Merino, Alonso Fontela, Pope, Mulder, Jerusalmi, Alexander, Treat, and Litke all translate רחמיי מיניך as 'my love for you', against the grammar. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 198, apparatus *ee*. However, note the syntactic parallelism with the second apodosis in the verse: לא יכלין למימחי יתיך מן עלמא "they would not be able to blot you out from the world."

[282] TgJon 2 Sam. 21.17; Isa. 42.3.

[283] *DJPA*, p. 241.

[284] Tg2Chron 29.7.

[285] *DSA*, p. 321. See A. Tal, 'In Search of Late Samaritan Aramaic', *AS* 7.2 (2009), p. 176.

[286] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 115, n. 441) parses the form לנגדא in 7.5 as a D-stem inf., but it may be a common noun 'lashing, lash'. Cf. *DJBA*, p. 728. Note the similarity of TgShir 7.5 to b. Taʕan. 24b ההוא גוברא דאתחייב נגאדא בי דיניה דרבא, cited in the *DJBA* entry. However, if an inf. was intended, a t-stem would be expected with passive voice ('whoever is condemned by the court to be scourged') and so it would pattern with the unconventional use of שיצי√[Quad] as a passive in TgShir 8.4, noted above.

[287] TgShir 1.4; 4.15; 8.7.

[288] *DJBA*, p. 728.

[289] *DCPA*, p. 256.

[290] *SL*, p. 887.

[291] It appears to be ignored in the parallel Latin translation, 'tu enim pecusisti eum virga'.

unexpected from the standpoint of JLAtg.,[292] JPA,[293] JBA,[294] and other LJLAtg. texts.[295] However, this use of the G-stem is attested in Syriac,[296] and QA.[297] Moreover, it features in ZA, alongside the tG-stem,[298] and possibly as a minority variant in TgQoh 7.1.[299]

An intertext for TgShir's uses of √פטר[G] at 1.1 and 1.7 appears to be an aggadic plus to Deut. 32.1, attested in four targumic texts. The context of the token in TgShir 1.1 confirms this nexus: it prefaces a quotation from the song of Moses in Deut. 32.1. The unit in TgShir 1.7 most closely mirrors the sense and syntax of these parallel texts, all of which commence a verse; in 1.1 the unit has been adapted to fit the syntax of the numerical proem (O-V-S, followed by a temp. adv. clause). As can be seen in the following tabulation, TgShir is an outlier in its employment of a verb √פטר to describe Moses' departure from the world.[300] The other targums use either √כנש[tG/tD] 'to be gathered' (TgNeof, TgPsJ), or √סלק[tD] 'to be taken up' (FragTg[P,V]).[301]

TgShir 1.1	שירתא רביעאה אמר משה נבייא כד אתא[302] זמניה <u>למפטר</u> מן עלמא
TgShir 1.7	כד מטא זימניה דמשה נבייא <u>למיפטר</u> מן עלמא
TgNeof Deut. 32.1	כיוון דמטה קצה דמשה נבייא <u>למתכנשה</u> בשלם מן גו עלמא
FragTg[P] Deut. 32.1	כיון דמטא קיציה דמשה <u>למס<ת>לקא</u> מן גו עלמא
FragTg[V] Deut. 32.1	כיון די מטא קיציה דמשה נבייא <u>למסתלקא</u> מן גו עלמא
TgPsJ Deut. 32.1	והוה די מטה קיציה דמשה נביא <u>למתכנשא</u> מיגו עלמא[303]

TgShir's use of a verb √פטר aligns, rather, with approximate expressions in Hebrew midrashic sources, referring to the imminence of Moses' death. Cf. Deut. R., Zʾot haBerachah: שבשעה שהגיע יומו של משה <u>ליפטר</u> מן העולם 'When Moses' day to depart from the world arrived […]';[304] Midrash Mishlei 14: כמה היתה קשה פטירתו של משה מן העולם שבשעה שאו׳ לו הק׳ הגיע זמנך <u>להיפטר</u> מן העולם התחיל צוח ובוכה 'How hard was Moses' departure from the world! For when the Holy One, blessed be he, said to him, "Your time <u>to depart</u> from the world has arrived", he

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[292] *GTO*, p. 224.

[293] *DJPA*, p. 485.

[294] *DJBA*, p. 898.

[295] Cf. TgQoh 7.1; TosTg 72, ln. 7; 93א ln. 5; 93ב lns. 9, 11.

[296] *SL*, p. 1183.

[297] *CAL*, s.v. פטר, cites 4Q549 f2:06 פטר לבית עלמה [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[298] *Zohar* III, 121a.

[299] MS. Madrid, Villa-Amil no. 5, MS. Salamanca, M2, and the Antwerp Polyglot read the impf. ויפטר, versus the derived stem ptc. ומיפטר with assimilation of the ת of the stem prefix to R₁. However, ויפטר could represent a tG-stem with assimilation.

[300] Moreover, TgShir is distinguished by its use of the noun זמן 'time', rather than קץ 'end (time)'.

[301] Cf. √סלק[D] in Cant. R. 1.7 §1. Unsurprisingly, there is no parallel to this unit in TgOnq.

[302] AF² מטא.

[303] Cf. TgPsJ Deut. 34.5.

[304] MS. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3122, f. 286r, ln. 17. Translation mine.

began to cry out and weep.'[305] TgShir's use of the G-stem may, in part, be due to the influence of the cognate Hebrew noun פטירה 'death, passing', whose nominal pattern is that of a G-stem gerund, notwithstanding the corresponding verb being √פטר[N].[306]

6.3.7 למקרב

TgShir employs the inf. form למקרב with the sense 'to offer sacrifice' on three occasions: ומני ית בני אהרן כהניא <u>למקרב</u>[307] קורבניא "And he appointed the sons of Aaron as priests <u>to offer up</u> sacrifices upon the altar" (1.14); <u>ולמקרב</u> עלוון ונכסת קודשיא "and <u>to offer</u> burnt offerings and holy sacrifices" (7.13); the token at 7.6 hosts a pro. obj. suff., ובצדקתא דיצחק דכפתיה אבוהי <u>למקרביה</u>[308] "and through the righteousness of Isaac, whose father bound him <u>to offer him up</u>". The absence of the derived stem inflection -ות before the pro. suff. comports with parsing this inf. as G-stem.[309] The use of infs. מקרב with the sense 'to offer (sacrifice)' is also attested in ZA[310] and TgPsJ.[311]

However, all tokens of ptcs. √קרב in TgShir with this sense are rendered in a derived stem, as indicated by their מ- prefix: מקרבין (3.4; 4.2, 8, 16; 7.2).[312] The finite verbs bearing this sense, קריב and קריבו (2.17 [x2]; 4.1; 5.5), could theoretically be either G- or D-stem—the theme vowel letter י is a feature common to both stems of this root in the pf. The spelling of the m.s. imper. with י, קריב יתן 'bring us near' (1.4), suggests D-stem.[313] However, this may be an insecure criterion, since the G-stem m.s. imper. √קרב is spelt thus in TgPsJ.[314]

6.4 *Summary*

TgShir appears to evidence the expansion of the semantic range of G-stem infs. of a handful

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[305] MS. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3122, f. 234r, lns 19–20. Translation mine.

[306] The noun פטירה is attested in ZA with this sense: *Zohar* I (*Midrash haNeˤelam*), 100a. Note the two preceding Hebrew tokens in 98a: פטירתו של אדם.

[307] AF[2] לקרב.

[308] CWs[West.] only. CWs[Yem.] read different verbs.

[309] However, note the variant reading of M[E,F], למוקדיה 'to burn him'; a C-stem inf. bearing a מ- prefix, without -ות prior to the pro. suff. Further derived stem infs., which host pro. suffs, in TgShir are as follows: במללותיך 'when you speak' (4.11); לברכהא 'to bless her' (5.12); באיסתלקותיה 'when he removed himself' (6.1); לאוטבותהון 'to do good to them' (6.12). Possible JBA infs. include לפרסומינן 'to publish them' (5.10) and למכוכינון 'to crush them' (6.12). Cf. the cst. כליל איתקדשות חגא דפסחא "as on the night when the festival of Passover is sanctified" (1.1).

[310] *Zohar* I, 11a; 70a; 103a; *Zohar* III, 23b; 48a.

[311] TgPsJ Lev. 4.3; 7.25. Elsewhere, TgPsJ employs the conventional inf. √קרב[D]: Gen. 50.1; Exod. 29.29, 33; Lev. 7.28; 17.4; 21.17; 21.21 (x2); 22.27; 23.37; Num. 15.13; 28.2; Deut. 23.19. The suffixed inf. forms קרוביהון/כון in Lev. 16.1; Num. 3.4; 26.61; 28.26 may be corruptions of the D-stem קריביהון/כון in TgOnq ad loc. Other LJLAtg. texts likewise employ D-stem infs. √קרב. See TgPs 16.4; 43.4; 130.6; Tg1Chron 29.5; Tg2Chron 35.12. TgPsJ exhibits unconventionality with respect to the semantic range of the stems of this root: √קרב[D] is occasionally employed to convey the sense 'to touch' (rather than √קרב[G], see TgPsJ Lev. 6.20; Num. 19.16, 18. So too TgJob 41.8) and 'to approach' (rather than √קרב[G] or √קרב[tD], see TgPsJ Gen. 39.8 [JPA inf.]); Exod. 34.30; Num. 24.17).

[312] The token at 4.8 describing the bringing of gifts to Israel by gentile rulers, rather than a priestly offering to the deity.

[313] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 109.

[314] TgPsJ Gen. 19.9; 27.21, 25, 26; Deut. 5.27. Cf. spelling of m.p. imper. √קרב[G], קריבו, in FT[P], TgCG[F] Ex. 19.25, an intertext of the clause in TgShir 1.4.

of verbs, as it does for the G-stem ptc. √עיר in 5.2. However, the restricted size of the corpus constrains the conclusions that can be drawn. Most of the candidates are the sole tokens of their respective verbal paradigms in TgShir. It is possible that some are in fact apocopated derived stem forms, akin to למשתעי in TgShir 5.10. The forms למחרט 'to regret' (5.4) and למפטר 'to depart' (1.1, 7) are most plausibly explained as G-stem, unless assimilation of the -ת- infix is also postulated. The use of the inf. form למקרב 'to offer (sacrifice)' alongside the derived stem ptc. מקרבין may signal apocopation of the inf., or a suppletive paradigm with verbal stem hybridity. Several of the examples are paralleled in other LJLA texts and may reflect a more widespread innovation in verbal stem use, as per verbs √חרט[G] 'to regret, repent' in mediaeval Hebrew.

All bar two of the examples have no direct MT verbal counterpart in Song, which could influence a choice of the G-stem. [315] The example with the most straightforward correspondence with MT Song is TgShir 8.7 למיטפי, ≅ MT לכבות 'to extinguish'. Yet the MT inf. is D-stem, as are transitive uses of verbs √טפי in JPA and JLAtg. The second has a looser fit with MT: והות עיירה יתהון מדמוך לבבהון "and was rousing them from the slumber of their hearts" (TgShir 5.2), ≅ MT ולבי ער 'but my heart was awake'. It is possible that G-stem in TgShir was influenced by the stative G-stem ptc. in MT, however, this is conjectural.

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[315] For an example of MT influence on an anomalous use of the G-stem, see Dan's comments on למרגז 'to anger' in TgPs 78.17. Dan, *Targum Psalms*, p. 141, n. 797.

7 Gender

TgShir is not punctilious with respect to normative gender agreement.[316] On many occasions, the construal of nominal gender is ad hoc, contingent on the morphology of the token. Unsurprisingly, confusion appears to be engendered by (1) the synchrony of the m.s. det. and f.s. abs. inflectional morphemes,[317] and (2) 'unmarked' fem. nouns,[318] which often appear with masc. predicates and modifiers.[319] In some cases, the gender of the source lexeme in MT may have exerted an influence. Not infrequently, *contra* CWs[West.], gender concordant variants are attested among the CWs[Yem.]. A number of these, at least, are likely to be secondary corrections.

7.1 *Feminine nouns with masculine agreement*

Examples of conventionally fem. nouns construed as masc. include:[320] מפשר מיליא קדישין 'the interpretation of the holy[MASC] words[FEM]' (2.5);[321] בגין דלא ישלוט בהון עינא בישא 'so that the evil eye[FEM] should not rule[MASC] over them' (2.6);[322] ומחוורין [...] ומילוי הוו מהפכין חוביהון דישראל

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[316] For examples of gender discordance across TgKet., see Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', pp. 506–507. Cf. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 164–165. The paradigmatic levelling of 3 f.p. pro. suff. and pf. verb forms to their masc. counterparts, as per the *ketiv* of BA, in TgShir and other TgKet. should not be mistaken for gender discordance. Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 508. Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 60, 63, 104) prescriptively classifies the pro. suff. הון- and pf. verbs ending ו- in TgShir as 3 m.p., but descriptively they are 3 c.p. forms. E.g., עשרתי שירתא <u>איתאמרו</u> בעלמא והדא שירתא משבח מן כול<u>הן</u> 'ten songs[FEM]ᵢ were recited in the word, but this song is the most excellent of them all;' (1.1); איתקטעו [...] שנייא 'the years[FEM] [...] have been curtailed' (2.11); אתייקרו ידוי 'his hands[FEM] became heavy' (1.14)—cf. the masc. ptc. in TgPsJ Exod. 17.12 וידי דמשה הוו יקרין, mirroring וכול<u>הן</u> דמיין דא לדא *contra* the normative fem. in TgOnq וידי משה יקרא; ומתכלא [...] וכולהן דמיין דא לדא *contra* the normative fem. in TgOnq וידי משה כבדים MT ועקרא לא הות בהון, 'All of themᵢ were alike, one[FEM]ᵢ to the other[FEM]ᵢₐ [...] and there was neither an aborter, nor infertile one, among them;' (4.2; 6.6)—mirroring the use of the pro. suffs. ם- and הם as 3 c.p. in the underlying MT, שכלב מתאימות ושכלה אין ב<u>הם</u>. Cf. the 3 m.p. synthetic obj. pro. ינון- hosted by the 1 c.s. imperf. √טנף[D] in several of the CWs to TgShir 5.3, whose antecedent is the conventionally fem. dual (רגלי(י 'my feet', ≅ MT רחצתי את רגלי איככה אטנפ<u>ם</u>.

[317] I.e., a terminal /a/ vowel, spelt -ה/א.

[318] I.e., those whose singular does not terminate in -תא/ת- / ה-, and those which inflect for plurality with יא/-י- / ין-.

[319] Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 507.

[320] I bracket here TgShir 5.1 —שלחית אישתא מן שמיא ואכל ית עלוון וית נכסת קודשיא, 'I sent fire[fem] from heaven and it consumed[masc] the burnt offerings and the holy sacrifices'—as ית אכל may be an erroneous division of 1 c.s. אכלית, ≅ MT אכלתי, or a corruption of 3 f.s. אכלת. Note that abs. objs. are rarely marked with ית in TgShir. M[A,B,C,F] אכלת; M[E] אכלית. Demurral to a 1 c.s. verb as a crude anthropomorphism would be misplaced. Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 149, n. 14.

[321] Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 506—albeit cited to illustrate nominal state discordance. (Cf. TgShir 5:16 מילי מוריגוי מתיקן כדובשא 'the words of his palate are sweet like honey'. The ptc. could be fem. or defective masc.) Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 100, apparatus x) opines that the variant A-term מפרש in AF[9] and the CWs[Yem.] may be preferable to מפשר, since the latter 'should, strictly speaking, be used of interpretating a dream or riddle'. However, the use of פשר מיליא in relation to halakic matters in TgQoh 2.10, supports a broader conception of the semantic range for מפשר (*a fortiori* if the initial מ- is a partitive prep., rather than a nominal prefix). A possible intertext is פשר מיליא in Dan. 7.16: note the parallels between TgShir 2.5—Israel's description of the fiery theophany, her distress, her approach (קריבית) to Moses and Aaron, followed by her request for the interpretation of the holy words—and Dan. 7.9-10, 15-16. The solecisitic modification of מיליא (מ)פשר by the abs. adj. קדישין may betray a seam between the excerpted phrase and its augmentation.

[322] Cf. TgPsJ Gen. 42.5, דלא ישלוט בהון עיינא בישא.

יתהון 'and his words[FEM] were overturning[MASC] the sins of Israel [...] and whitening[MASC] them' (4.3); עיינוי מסתכלין טיפי מיטרא דנחתין בליליא 'the drops[FEM] of rain that fall[MASC] at night' (5.2); [323] כיונין[324] דקיימין תדירא על ירושלם 'his eyes[FEM] gaze continually[MASC] upon Jerusalem' (5.12); [325] ומסתכלין[326] על מפקנות מיא 'like doves[FEM] that stand[MASC] and gaze[MASC] upon the spring of water' (5.12); סיפוותי חכימוי [...] זלחין טעמין 'the lips[FEM] of his sages[MASC] [...] drip[MASC] reasonings' (5.13);[327] דמי לטביא דבעידן דדמיך עיינא חדא ידיהון מתפרשין[328] 'their hands[FEM] are separated[MASC]' (7.8);[329] קמיץ ועיינא חדא פתיח "be like a gazelle, which when it sleeps, [has] one eye[FEM] shut[MASC] and one eye[FEM] open[MASC]" (8.14).[330]

TgShir's consistent employment of a masc. verb with the fem. abs. רעוא ('will, purpose') in the syntagm יהי/א רעוא מן קדם יי 'it shall be[MASC] the will[FEM] of the LORD' (2.7; 3.5; 7.14; 8.4) is notable. If רעוא was construed as a masc. det. it contrasts with the fem. det. form רעותא in 1.15,[331] which as per the other attested bound forms[332] has the expected stem רעות-: the form רעוא only otherwise occurs in the adv. phrase ברעוא 'willingly'.[333] [334] The use of masc. verbs √הוי in existential predications of רעוא is also attested in TgPsJ,[335] TgQoh,[336] TgEstI,[337]

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[323] M[B,E,F] מסתכלין.

[324] Adopting the majority spelling. AF[1,7] כיונוון; AF[8] כינוון; AF[9] כיונן.

[325] M[A,D] קימן.

[326] M[A,B,D] מסתכלן.

[327] Contrast this treatment of the cst. pl., terminating in -י, with the form hosting a pro. suff. in 4:11, זלחן שיפוותוי יערת דובשא 'his lips[FEM] drip[FEM] honeycomb'. However, the ptc. may be a defective m.p.

[328] M[A,B,D] מתפרשן.

[329] Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 507.

[330] Landauer ('Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 507). Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 205, apparatus *lll*) comments that the sentence lacks a verb, noting the 'particularly awkward' grammar of the verse. Although, as noted above, עיינא is construed as masc. in 2.6, it is possible to parse קמיץ and פתיח in 8.14 as masc. act. ptcs. with fronted objs., whose subject is טביא: 'be like the gazelle, which when it sleeps, shuts one eye and opens the other'. (The spelling of G-stem act. ptcs. with a medial י vowel letter is frequent in TgShir. Cf. עריק 'flees' in the same verse). This would chime with y. Shab. 14b (59) דו קמיץ חדא ופתח חדא "because (the sleeping deer) opens one (eye) and closes the other". *DJPA*, p. 567. However, the parallel in Cant. R. 8.14 §1 employs cognate pass. ptcs.: בשעה שהוא ישן עינו אחת פתוח ועינו אחת קמוצה 'when [the gazelle] sleeps it has one eye open and the other closed' (MS. Vatican, ebr. 76, f. 181v–182r).

[331] כד עבדין ישראל רעותא דמלכהון.

[332] רעותי (1.15; 5.10; 6.4) and רעותיה (4.7; 5.15).

[333] TgShir 1.16; 4.1, 7, 16; 5.1 (x2); 5.5; 6.2 (x2).

[334] TgShir exploits this lexeme to pun on MT רעיתי (1.15; 4.1, 7; 6.4) and רעים (5.1). Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 93, n. 117.

[335] TgPsJ Gen. 4.4; 24.60; 47.7; 48.16; Deut. 5.29; 29.19. A single token with a fem. verb occurs in Num. 23.27, possibly a retention from TgOnq.

[336] TgQoh 8.7.

[337] TgEstI 6.1.

Tg2Chron,[338] JBA,[339] TgNeof,[340] TgNeofM,[341] and ZA.[342] These contrast with the use of a fem. verb in JLAtg.[343]

However, if רעוא is parsed as the predicate of the existential construction with an expletive subject, no gender discordance is involved.[344] If it is indeed the sub., its construal as masc. in existential constructions may have been reinforced by its masc. cognate in the common Rabbinic Hebrew precative יהי רצון 'may it be (God's) will'.[345] However, Landauer, citing further examples from TgMeg, noted a wider tendency to treat abstract nouns terminating in ות-(א) as masc., as in Arabic (e.g., ملكوت).[346] Accordingly there are instances in TgShir of זכותא 'merit' being treated as masc.: אי איתגלי קדם יי זכו(ו)ת צדיקיא 'if the merit[FEM] of the righteous has been revealed[MASC] before the LORD' (7.13); וזכו(ו)ת צדיקיא איתבסים קדמי 'and the merit[FEM] of the righteous has become sweet[MASC] before me' (7.14); מא הוה זכו(ו)תא דעמא הדא 'what is[MASC] the merit[FEM] of this people?' (8.5).[347] Likewise, מרותא 'overlordship': ומרו(ו)ת מצראי 'and the domination[FEM] of the Egyptians, which is like[MASC] the דמתיל למיטרא טרידא חלף ואזל driving rain, has passed[MASC] and gone[MASC]' (2.11).[348]

There are cases in TgShir of fem. subs., which are not unmarked, taking masc. predicates. Most occur in passive constructions: בזמן דאישתביק ליה חובתיה 'at the time his sin[FEM] was forgiven[MASC] him' (1.1); קביע על לוח ליבי רחימתיך[349] [...] קביע על לוח ליבי חיבת זוטר דביניך, 'fixed[MASC] upon the tablet of my heart is your love[FEM] [...] fixed[MASC] upon the tablet of my heart is love[FEM] for the least among you' (4.9); על אי דין חובא איסתלק מביניך שכינתא דייי, 'for which sin was the Shekhinah[FEM] of the LORD removed[MASC] from your midst' (6.1). [350] In an active

[338] Tg2Chron 6.40; 7.15, 16. But note the use of 3 f.s. verb in 21.7; 30.12, albeit MT influence is possible in the latter.

[339] *DJBA*, p. 1089, citing examples with both 3 m.s. and 3 f.s. verbs.

[340] TgNeof Deut. 10.10; 28.63; 29.19.

[341] TgNeofM Gen. 24.60; 47.10; Exod. 32.5; 39.43.

[342] *Zohar* I 49b; *Zohar* II 9a; 114a; 200b; 206a (x3); 221b; *Zohar* III 68b; 187b; 192a; 202b; *Zohar Hadash* 11c; 92a; 60b.

[343] TgOnq Gen. 4.4, 5; Num. 23.27; TgJon 1 Kgs 1.36; 2 Kgs 8.19; 14.27; 24.4; Isa. 53.6, 10; 62.4; Jer. 44.22. Outliers with 3 m.s. verbs are attested in TgJon Jer. 28.6; Ezek. 1.25.

[344] If so, the use of a masc. verb may signal a divergent analysis of this existential construction from JLAtg. However, if רעוא in JLAtg. is a predicate, it may reflect gender shift of the expletive subject.

[345] Cf. *m*. Ber. 9.3; Taʿan. 4.8; Avot 5.20; *t*. Ber. 3.7; 6.2, 7, 16, 17; Sifre Num. 11.9; b. Ber. 16b; 17a; 19a; 28b; 29b; 30a; 46a; 54a; 55b; 60a; 60b; Shab. 30b; 119b; Yom. 53b; 87b; Taʿan. 52b; 23a; 24b; Meg. 28a; Ḥag. 3:2; Yeb. 96b; Ket. 104a; Sota 22a; 39a; B. Qam. 93a; B. Meṣ. 42a; Tam. 33b. Note the close approximation between יהי/א מן קדם ייי רעוא and the Rabbinic supplication יהי רצון מלפניך ה' 'may it be your will, O LORD'.

[346] Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 507. Litke catalogues רעו in TgShir prescriptively, as fem., without discussion (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 374). For the treatment of רעוא as masc. outside of an existential construction, see TgQoh 12.4, ויעדי מינך רעות מיכלא 'and the desire[FEM] for food departs[MASC] from you' (not cited by Landauer). The use of a masc. verb in TgEstI 5.3—ואיתיהב ליך ורעותיך, 'and your wish[FEM] will be granted[MASC] to you'—should be bracketed as it mirrors the masc. verb in MT: ומה בקשתך עד חצי המלכות וינתן לך.

[347] The gender of זכוותהא in 6.9, 10 turns on whether the pl. ptc. ברירן is fem. or defective masc. The CWs are equivocal as to the gender of זכותא in 1.8.

[348] ≡ MT הגשם חלף הלך לו. Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 374) catalogues מרו(ו)ת in TgShir prescriptively, as fem., without discussion.

[349] AF¹ is an outlier among the CWs in omitting the 2 f.s. pro. suff.

[350] M^{A,B,F} אסתלקת. In contrast, the majority of CWs read a gender concordant construction at 3.2, ושכינת קודשא דאיסתלקת מינא :AF^{3,4,5,9} דאסתלק, possibly influenced by the co-referential masc. construction in 3.1, כלילא מנהון דאיסתלק דקודשא. Cf. AF^{2,10},M^{A,B} שכינת יקרא דייי ד/(י/א)סתלק מ(י/ני) (3.3), *contra* the fem. in the balance

construction: הי כמא דגנוניאתא מרבי בושמנין 'as a garden[FEM] yields[MASC] spices' (5.13).[351]

7.2 Androgyny: נפש

TgShir variously treats the noun נפש as fem. (as per common Aramaic) or masc.[352]—a phenomenon also attested in TgPsJ,[353] TgPs,[354] and ZA.[355] The singular form is the subject of a masc. verb in 1.8, ודנפשי יהא רחים לה, but a fem. ptc. in 5.6, ונפשי תאיבא לקל מילוי.[356] Comporting with this, נפש is inflected for plurality with both fem. and masc. morphemes—again, a practice attested in other LJLA texts[357] and ZA.[358] The gender construal of the conventional plural in 2.15 is opaque: גניב [...] נפשאתא[359] משיטוי דדן ומקטל יתהון 'stealing [...] souls from the tribes of Dan and killing them'. Not only is the anaphoric pro. 3 c.p., but its antecedent could be either נפשאתא or—if reckoned a metonymy—the ensouled individuals (אנשין/גברין?).[360] The token inflected with a m.p. morpheme in 4.12 takes a m.p. ptc.: דנפשיהון משתלחין[361] תמן 'whose souls are sent there'.

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of CWs. It is possible that the variants with masc. verbs in 3.2; 3.3 are due to attraction to the masc. B-terms of the subject NPs, קודשא and יקרא.

[351] CWs[Yem.] מרביא.

[352] Litke (TSoS & LJLA, p. 343) prescriptively catalogues נפש in TgShir as fem.

[353] TgPsJ Num. 20.29; 21.1; Deut. 14.26 (in which the first token takes a masc. verb, but the second a fem.).

[354] TgPs 22.30; 31.10; 49.19; 68.10.

[355] ZA exhibits a particularly promiscuous admixture of masc. and fem. agreement patterns. E.g., Zohar I, 79b; 85b; 90b; 101a; 119a; 130b; 163b; 187b; 206a; 226b.

[356] The latter may have been influenced by the fem. predicate in the underlying MT, נפשי יצאה בדברו.

[357] TgPs 17.14; 68.10; 78.18; TgJob 36.14; TgProv 22.23; TgEstI 8.11; 9.16, 31; TgEstII 3.8; 9.16, 31; TgPsJ Exod. 2.11; Deut. 12.15, 21. Cf. TgCG[G] Exod. 15.7.

The instances of the abs. pl. נפשין in TgNeof Gen. 46.45; Exod. 12.4; Num. 9.8 are likely errors. Note the expected fem. form נפשן in TgNeof Gen. 46.18, 27; Exod. 1.5; Lev. 24.12; 27.2; Num. 15.34 (x2); 27.5; 31.40; Deut. 10.22; 17.8; 24.6.

[358] E.g., Zohar I, 19a; 119a; Zohar II, 10a; 129a; 200b (x4); Zohar Ḥadash, 89c; 90b.

[359] This use of the conventional f.p. נפש(א)תא, rather than נפשין/נפשיא, may be a function of a Hebrew source reading נפשות. E.g., Mek. RI, Amalek 1 (Horowitz-Rabin (eds.), p. 176): היה עמלק נכנס תחת כנפי ענן וגונב נפשות מישראל והורגן 'Amalek was entering under the wings of the cloud and stealing souls from Israel and killing them'.

[360] Cf. MT Deut. 24.7 כי ימצא איש גנב נפש מאחיו מבני ישראל והתעמר בו ומכרו 'If someone is caught kidnapping a person_i from his brothers, from the children of Israel, and mistreats him_i or sells him_i [...]'.

[361] AF²; M[C] משתלחן, which could be a f.p. or defective m.p. ptc. Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 507.

7.3 *Masculine nouns with feminine agreement*

There are fewer examples in TgShir of masc. nouns being construed as fem.[362] All are det.: וורדא[363] דמלבלבא [...] דנעיצן עפייהא, 'the rose^MASC that blooms^FEM [...] whose^FEM petals are pricked' (2.2); דהות יהיבא כלילא דמלכותא על צואריה, 'on whose neck was^FEM placed^FEM the crown^MASC of the kingdom' (4.9);[364] ועל סטר דרומא הוות בוצינא, 'and on the south side was^FEM the lamp^MASC' (4.16);[365] [366] הדא [367] עמא, 'this^FEM people^MASC' (6.10);[368] [369] ניסיונא הדא, 'this^FEM trial^MASC' (7.9).[370]

7.4 *Gender shift:* בההיא זמנא

Outside of the adv. phrase בההיא זמנא 'at that time', TgShir largely appears to observe the JLAtg. convention of construing זמן as fem. when it bears the sense 'instance' (1.1, 11, 14; 7.2),[371] but masc. when the sense is 'time period' (1.1, 7; 2.11; 7.13).[372] However, this is fractured in the four tokens of this adv. phrase, wherein the fem. encroaches.[373]

The construction ב(ה)(י)(ה)היא ז(י)מנא is attested in the majority of CWs^West. at 1.13[374] and

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[362] I exclude here וקל רוחא דקודשא מזהרא להון [...] והות עיירא יתהון 'and the voice^MASC of the holy spirit was warning^FEM them, and waking^FEM them' (5.2). The predicates likely agree with the fem. B-term of the sub. NP, רוחא דקודשא.

[363] וורדא ≅ MT fem. שושנה. Landauer, 'Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 507.

[364] Landauer ('Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 507) attributes the fem. construal of כלילא to Hebrew עטרה. However, no tokens of כלילא with fem. agreement in TgShir have עטרה as a correlate in MT Song (contrast TgLam 5.16). The /a/ vowel termination of the m.s. det. was likely a sufficient trigger. Yet note the androgyny of כלילא in TgShir 3.1 וכלילא דקודשא דאיתיהיב להון בסיני אתנטילת מנהון 'and the holy crown^MASC which was given^MASC to them at Sinai was taken^FEM from them'. Albeit here כלילא דקודשא is a sobriquet for the (fem.) Shekhinah. Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 116, nn. 2–3.

[365] Cf. TgPsJ Gen. 24.67 נהרת בוצינא דטפת.

[366] AF² הדין. The fem. proximal dem. was likely influenced by the underlying MT מי זאת 'Who is this^FEM?'

[367] AF^7,8,10, M^E אומא; AF⁹ אמא; M^A אומה.

[368] Cf. TgShir 8.5.

[369] M^A,B,C,E,F הדין.

[370] I isolate here לאימרא חדא 'for each lamb' at 1.14 in AF^1,2,3,4,5, since this may be mirroring the syntax of MT Num. 28.7 לכבש האחד. AF^7,8,9,10 and the CWs^Yem. read לאימרא חד, as per TgOnq. Alternatively, לאימרא חדא may be another example of a det. masc. noun with a fem. modifier.

[371] The fem. tokens of זמן in TgShir 1.1; 7.2 feature in a near verbatim quotation of TgOnq Exod. 34.24: לאיתחזאה קדם יי תלת זימנין בשתא 'to appear before the L ORD three times a year'. (TgPsJ ad loc. also construes זמן as fem. but translates the inf. with √חמי^tG. Conversely, TgNeof treats זמן as masc., תלתא זמנין.) At 1.14, the CWs equivocate between a fem. תנייתא and masc. תנינא ordinal modifier of ז(י)מנא.

[372] *CAL*, s.v. זמן [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[373] Litke notes the use of the fem. distal dem. ההיא with the nouns זמן and עידן 'time' in temp. adv. phrases, in TgShir and other LJLAtg. texts. However, he does not seek to explain the motive principle(s). Moreover, his discussion collapses the two nouns together, whereas they require separate treatment, as seen below. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 73. The list of references for these constructions in TgShir in Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 73, n. 129 is incomplete.

[374] AF² בהai זימנא. Rather than an error for היא, this appears to be the JBA proximal dem. האי (whose gender is ambiguous). *DJBA*, pp. 358–359. This form recurs in AF² at 1.14, and in the comparable construction בהאי שעתא at 2.3, 16. If these are in fact errors for היא, familiarity with האי may have been a catalyst for the metathesis. AF⁹ כי הוא זמנא with masc. dem. is an outlier.

1.14.[375] The CWs[Yem.] do not include this phrase at 1.13; at 1.14 they are divided between the fem. distal[376] and a JBA fem. proximal dem. pro.[377] At 8.1, בההיא ז(י)מנא is the reading of the majority of CWs[West.378] and M[A,B]. M[C,D,E,F] read the masc. בההוא זמנא.[379] At 8.10, the CWs[West.] read ב(י)(ה)(א)הי(ה)(י)ז, whereas the CWs[Yem.] that preserve this verse, M[A,B,E,F], uniformly read בההוא זמנא. Only the token at 8.10 has an obvious counterpart in MT Song, אז 'then'.

Litke claims that the construction with the fem. dem. is 'undoubtedly correct for LJLA',[380] and presumably therefore original to TgShir. He notes that nearly all the tokens of זמן modified by a fem. distal in TgPsJ are unparalleled in the other Pentateuchal targums.[381] However, he overlooks that the three tokens with a masc. distal which he cites (Gen. 15.1; 29.9; Exod. 12.26) are also unmatched in the other Pentateuchal targums.[382] In fact, the token of בזימנא ההוא at TgPsJ Gen. 15.1 has a partial parallel in TgNeof; TgNeofM; FragTg[P,V]; TgCG[H], בזמנא קדמיא 'at the first time' (with various spellings). As in these targums, it is followed in TgPsJ by בזימנא תניינא 'at the second time'. The multiply attested ordinal sequence, 'the first time […] the second time', is undoubtedly the original form of this pericope. The replacement of the ordinal by the distal dem. appears to be a LJLA innovation. If so, the choice of the masc. ההוא is counterevidence to Litke's claim.

Moreover, Litke emphasises that זמן is modified by a masc. distal 'only three times in TgPsJ'.[383] However, this is comparable to the use of the fem.—there are only five occasions when זמן is modified by a fem. distal without evident source text motivation (Gen. 14.18; 27.1; Deut. 9.19[1st]; 32.8 [x2]). The tokens of בזימנא ההיא in TgPsJ Deut. 9.19; 10.10 translate the fem. MT בפעם ההיא 'at that time'. As Litke notes, TgNeof also uses the fem. distal at Deut. 10.10.[384] Moreover, Sperber registers variants to TgOnq 9.19; 10.10 that read likewise.[385] The other LJLA attestations of this construction, outside of TgShir, are likewise mixed. The masc. distal[386] occurs in TgQoh 7.19; TgLam[Yem.] 3.56; 5.5;[387] the fem. in TgLam[West.] 3.56; 5.5; TgEstII 8.15; Tob.[Med]

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[375] AF[1] reads ביה זימנא, corrected to ביהיא זימנא. If the correction was by a second hand, the original form ביהא may represent the JBA proximal fem. dem. הא, as per M[A,B]. בהא זמנא. *DJBA*, p. 357. AF[2], again, reads בהאי זמנא. AF[7] is an outlier in reading a masc. distal ביהוא זמנא (cf. AF[7] 2.3 בי הוא שעתא).

[376] M[C] בההיא זמנא; M[D] בי היא זמנא. M[E] ביהיא שעתא (Melamed and Alonso Fontela's apparatuses are both faulty here); M[F] בי היא שעתא (Melamed's apparatus is faulty here).

[377] M[A,B] בהא זמנא.

[378] AF[8,10] בההוא ז(י)מנא.

[379] Melamed's apparatus is faulty here. He does not register any variants to the reading בההיא זמנא in his base text.

[380] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 73.

[381] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 73, nn. 130 and 131.

[382] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 73, n. 133.

[383] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 73.

[384] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 73, n. 132.

[385] Deut. 9.19, Sperber sigla C, D; Deut. 10.10, Sperber sigla i, K, b, c, l.

[386] Cf. masc. proximal dem. in TgEstI 2.13 בהדין זמן ≅ MT בזה.

[387] Van der Heide registers a fem. variant in MS. London, British Library, Or. 2377. A. Van der Heide, *The Yemenite Tradition of the Targum of Lamentations: Critical Text and Analysis of the Variant Readings* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), p. 36.

1.4.5. In ZA, the use of the masc. בההוא ז(י)מנא is ubiquitous,[388] but the fem. בההיא ז(י)מנא exceedingly scarce.[389] In short, neither construction appears to have a claim to greater authenticity in LJLA.

7.5 *Gender shift:* בעידנא ההיא

In TgShir 2.12, the noun עידן 'time' is construed as masc., in which it mirrors the underlying MT: מטא [...] עידן ≙ MT הגיע [...] עת 'the time has come'. However, it is modified by the fem. distal dem. pro. in the phrase בע(י)דנא ההיא in Western texts at 3.11; 6.9; 8.8. Conversely, the CWs[Yem.] read the masc. ההוא at 6.9 and, along with AF[8,9א], at 8.8. None of the tokens of this phrase have an equivalent in MT Song. The CWs are equivocal as to the attestation of the token of בעידנא ההיא at 3.11. The clause in which it features is absent from AF[7,8,9,10] and all CWs[Yem.]. Alexander opines that, owing to its syntactic awkwardness, the clause is adscititious.[390] The relevant text in AF[1] and Alexander's translation follows, with the putative interpolation underlined: וחדו בחדוות חגא [391]דמטללתא <u>דעבד שלמה מלכא בעידנא ההיא ית</u> חגא דמטללתא ארבע עשר יומין "and rejoice with the joy of the Festival of Tabernacles, <u>which king Solomon celebrated at that time— the Festival of Tabernacles</u> for fourteen days."

The absence of the clause from manuscripts could plausibly be explained as due to parablepsis, occasioned by homoeoteleuton.[392] While acknowledging this possibility, Alexander deems the perceived inconcinnity of the reading of AF[1,2,3,4,5] sufficient to impugn its originality. He states that the clause mars the 'historical realism' of the herald's proclamation. However, the inconcinnity may be a function of Alexander's construal of the relationship between the clauses, rather than the syntax per se. The clause can be understood otherwise than part of the herald's announcement.[393]

The herald's announcement may rather conclude with וחדו בחדוות חגא דמטללתא 'and rejoice with the joy of the festival of Sukkot!'. The following clause would then constitute a historical summary: דעבד שלמה מלכא בעידנא ההיא ית חגא דמטללתא 'For, at that time, king Solomon celebrated the festival of Tabernacles for fourteen days'. Parsing the structure thus— as do Alonso Fontela and Treat[394]—disposes of the difficulties raised by Alexander. An alternative approach is to regard the herald's speech as concluding earlier in the verse, and the historical summary as commencing with וחדו בחדוות חגא דמטללתא, with חדו construed as 3 m.p. past indicative, 'they rejoiced', rather than a pl. imper.: 'and they rejoiced with the joy of the festival of Sukkot. For, at that time, king Solomon celebrated the festival of

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[388] E.g., *Zohar* I, 31a; 37b; 50b; 67a; 68b; 69a; 85a; 90b.

[389] I have only been able to locate three tokens: *Zohar* I, 72b; *Zohar* II, 54b; *Zohar Hadash*, 81a. The construction בזמנא ההיא is attested in *Zohar Hadash*, 6a.

[390] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 129, apparatus *vv*. He suggests its genesis in a marginal gloss; though, if secondary, it could equally be the product of direct intervention in the body of the text. Alexander conjectures that the marginal gloss concluded with the adv. phrase ארבע עשר יומין 'for fourteen days', as well as the verse itself.

[391] Cf. TgPsJ Deut. 16.14 ותיחדון בחדות חגיכון 'and you shall rejoice in the joy of your feasts', in the context of Sukkot (v. 13).

[392] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 308, n. 43.

[393] The translations of Pope and Litke likewise present the relative clause as part of the quoted speech of the herald. Pope, *Song of Songs*, p. 450. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 253.

[394] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 273; Treat, *The Aramaic Targum*..

Tabernacles for fourteen days'.[395] Either analysis depends on understanding the clause commencing דעבד as causal, not relative. The use of ד to mark causal clauses is attested elsewhere in TgShir.[396] In sum, positing the intrusion of a marginal gloss is unnecessary.[397]

The evidence from other LJLA texts suggests that the feminisation of עידן evident in the phrase בעידנא ההיא was due to the influence of the MT syntagm בעת ההיא 'at that time'.[398] Thus, in TgPsJ the fem. בעידנא/ה ההיא translates MT בעת ההיא, versus the use of the masc. בעידנא ההוא in TgOnq.[399] Moreover, in TgPsJ the feminisation of עידן is carried over to pluses to MT at Deut. 31.17, 18, shared with TgOnq, where the latter reads בעידנא ההוא. This contrasts markedly with TgPsJ's use of a masc. proximal dem. to modify עידן where the gender of MT עת is not explicitly signalled, בעידן/בעידנא הדין 'at this time' ≅ MT כעת (Gen. 18.14; Exod. 9.18; Num. 23.23).[400] This pattern is evident in other LJLAtg. texts.[401] In contrast, in other environments, where its gender can be discerned, עידן is construed as masc. in LJLAtg. texts— not only in translations of MT עת when it has explicit masc. gender,[402] but also in pluses to MT.[403] In ZA, temporal adv. phrases featuring ע(י)דנא, modified by a dem., employ the fem. proximal דא: בע(י)דנא דא 'at this time'.[404] Outside of this construction, the gender of ע(י)דנא is labile.

The conditioning of LJLAtg. בעידנא ההיא by MT בעת ההיא can be discerned in TgShir itself. It has been observed that TgShir 3.11 exegetes 1 Kgs 8.65.[405] However, the property of the sequence דעבד שלמה מלכא בעידנא ההיא ית חגא [...] ארבע עשר יומין as a quotation has not

[395] Mulder (*De Targum*, p. 64) and Jerusalmi (*Song of Songs*, p. 101) both translate חדו as a 3 m.p. past indicative, commencing the historical summary. However, Mulder follows the Yemenite reading in omitting דעבד שלמה מלכא בעידנא ההיא ית חגא דמטללתא. While Jerusalmi includes this clause, as a parenthetic comment, his translation cannot be reconciled with the syntax of the Aramaic: 'And they rejoiced thoroughly in the Feast of Booth (the Feast of Booths which king Solomon celebrated at that time) for fourteen days.' Least satisfactory of all is Litke's translation (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 253), which reads חדו as a 3 m.p. past indicative *and* as part of the quoted speech of the herald, which he continues to the end of the verse.

[396] TgShir 1.6; 8.1, 3, 6, 11.

[397] Moreover, retention of the clause means that the verse, after its opening contextualisation, contains two temp. adv. phrases, ביום חנוכת בית מקדש "on the day of the dedication of the temple" and בעידנא היא 'at that time', ביום חתנתו וביום שמחת לבו ≅ MT "on the day of his wedding, on the day of the gladness of his heart."

[398] Landauer ('Zum Targum der Klagelieder', p. 507) notes the feminisation of עידן is due to the influence of Hebrew עת, but not the specific role of this adv. phrase in the process.

[399] TgPsJ Gen. 21.22; 38.1; Num. 22.4 (immediately followed by the plus ולא בעידנא חורנא 'and not at another time', which could represent a solecistic abs. fem. adj.); Deut. 1.9, 16, 18; 2.34; 3.4, 8, 12, 18, 21, 23; 4.14; 5.5; 9.20; 10.1, 8. In contrast, TgNeof consistently translates MT בעת ההיא by בשעתא/ה ההיא 'at that moment', straightforwardly replicating the fem. gender of the source text.

[400] Thus, Like's statement (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 71) that עידן 'is never modified by a masculine dem. pro. in LJLA' requires qualification.

[401] Cf. בעידנא ההיא ≅ MT בעת היא in TgEstI 8.9; Tg1Chron 21.28, 29; Tg2Chon 7.8; 13.18; 16.7, 10; 21.10; 28.16; 35.17. Similarly, TgEstI 4.14 בעידנא הדא (x2) ≅ MT בעת הזאת and לעת כזאת. This evidence confirms Dan's conjecture, made without reference to other LJLA texts, that the femininity of עידן in pluses to MT in TgPs 44.5 בעידנא הדא 'at this time' (variant בעידנא ההיא) and TgPs 45.18 בעידנא ההיא, is likely mimicry of Hebrew בעת הזאת and בעת ההיא, respectively. Dan, *Targum Psalms*, p. 195.

[402] Cf. עדנא ≅ MT עתים in TgJob 24.1; TgEstI 1.13; Tg1Chron 12.33; Tg2Chon 15.5.

[403] TgQoh 3.2-8 (x28); 3.14, 17; 8.6.

[404] *Zohar* III, 204a; *Zohar Hadash*, 92c (x2); 92d. Cf. לעידנא דא in *Zohar* II, 161a; 175a.

[405] Mulder, *De Targum*, p. 99, n. 11b; Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 129, n. 58.

been noted. It aligns near verbatim with TgJon 1 Kgs 8.65: ועבד שלמה בעידנא ההוא ית חגא

ויעש שלמה בעת ההיא את החג [...] ארבעה עשר יום MT ≅ [...] ארבעת עסר יומין. The key

differentiator is the modification of עידנא with a fem. dem. pro., versus the use of the masc. in

TgJon. Whether the author of TgShir was translating directly from MT, TgJon, making use of

another LJLA source, or freely composing, cannot be known. Irrespectively, this appears to

furnish another example of עידן being femininized under the influence of Hebrew עת.

8   Semantic anomalies

TgShir exhibits unconventional use of sundry function words—the conditionals אילולי and מאים, the intrg. adv. אן, and the subjunctive particle פון—and possibly an extension of the semantic range of √חקק[G]. Each of these are considered below.

8.1   *אילולי*

The JPA particle אילולי performs its conventional function of marking a negative irreal condition[406] in 1.9; 2.15 (as prep.) and 2.17 (as conj.).[407] However, subsequent uses in 6.11; 8.7 (x2) diverge from this sense. In 6.11 אילולי marks a positive real condition in a purpose clause ('whether, if'). Thus:

אשריתי שכינתי [...] לבית מוקדש תיניין למחמי <u>אילולי</u>[408] פשן וסגן חכמיא דמתילין לגופנא ולבלוביהון מליין עובדין טבין הי כרומנין

> "I caused my Shekhinah to reside in the Second Temple [...] to see <u>whether</u> the Sages, who are compared to the vine, would be fruitful and multiply, and their blossoms would be full of good deeds like pomegranates."

אילולי here ≅ MT intrg. particle <u>הפרחה הגפן הנצו הרמנים</u>:ה "to see <u>whether</u> the vines had budded, whether the pomegranates were in bloom."[409] Thus, אילולי patterns semantically with the first occurrence of אי 'if' in TgShir 7.9, and both in 7.13.[410] This unconventional use of אילולי is also attested at 8.7.[411]

TgShir 8.7 consists of three conditional sentences with ptc. protases followed by asyndetic ptc. apodoses. The protases of the first and third sentences are introduced by אילולי,[412] and the second by אין 'if'.

<u>אילולי</u> מתכנשין כל עמיא דמתילן למוי דימא (דאינון) סגיעין לא יכלין למיטפי ית רחמיי מיניך <u>ואין</u> מתכנשין כל מלכי ארעא דמתילן למוי דנהרא דנגדין בתקוף לא יכלין למימחי יתיך מן עלמא <u>ואילולי</u> יהיב גבר ית כל ממון ביתיה למיקני חוכמתא בגלותא אנא מהדר ליה כפיל לעלמא דאתי וכל ביזתא דיבזון

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[406] *DJPA*, p. 23.

[407] .ובעא יי להובדא יתהון מן עלמא אילולי דאידכר קומוהי קיימא דקיים במימריה לאברהם וליצחק וליעקב TgShir 2.17 This clause resonates with TgNeof, FragTg[P,V] Deut. 1.1 (cf. TgNeof 32.27). The JBA equivalent א(י)/למלי features in TgShir 4.12.

[408] AF² אילו is also problematic since the condition is not irreal. The reading of the CWs[Yem.], אזלי, is presumably a corruption of either אילולי or אילו. This may have been construed as an apocopated m.p. act. ptc. √אזל[G] functioning as an asyndetic co-verb, imparting durative aspect. Thus, ולמחמי אזלי פשן וסגן חכימהא 'and to see her sages continuing to multiply and increase'. Cf. TgOnq Gen. 26.13; TgJon 1 Sam. 2.26; Isa. 5.18; Tg1Chron 11.9.

[409] TgShir 6.12 confirms that the sages *were* found to be fruitful.

[410] TgShir 7.9 ואנסי לדניאל ואחמי <u>אי</u> כהיל למיקום בניסיונא הדא, "I will test Daniel, and I will see <u>if</u> he is able to withstand this testing"; 7.13 ונחמי <u>אי</u> מטא זמן פורקנא דעמא בית ישראל [...] ונשאל לחכימיא <u>אי</u> איתגלי קדם יי זכוות צדיקיא, 'let us see <u>whether</u> the time for the redemption of the people of the House of Israel has come [...] and let us ask the sages <u>whether</u> the merit of the righteous has been revealed before the LORD'. In the latter, M[A,B] preface the verb אתגלי with intrg. ה rather than אי.

[411] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 285) prescriptively glosses אילולי, 'indicates an irreal negative condition', overlooking its wider functional range in TgShir. The translations of אילולי in 6.11 by Pope ('if perhaps'), Jerusalmi ('if indeed'), and Treat ('whether perhaps'), which heighten the tone of dubiety, bespeak attempts to reckon with the grammatical peculiarity.

[412] The sole dissenter among the CWs, M[A], reads אילו in both places.

"Even if all the nations, which are likened to the waters of the sea, which are many, should gather together, they would not be able to quench My love for you.

And if all the kings of the earth, who are likened to the waters of a river that flow strongly, should assemble, they would not be able to blot you out from the world.

And if a man should give all the wealth of his house to acquire wisdom in exile, I shall return to him double in the world to come, and all the spoil which shall be plundered from the camp of Gog shall be his."

The first and second sentences both consist of a positive condition with a negative result. It is debatable whether these conditions are, within the context, to be classified as irreal.[443] Irrespectively, the semantic and syntactic parallelism between these sentences suggests that, for the author, אילולי and אין are semantically equivalent, as seen in the use of אילולי in 6.11. The third conditional sentence, introduced by אילולי, sets out a positive real condition with a positive result. This mirrors the positive real condition and positive result in MT: אם יתן איש את כל הון ביתו באהבה בוז יבוזו לו, 'If one offered for love all the wealth of his house, it would be utterly scorned.' As Alexander comments on this verse, 'There is a double "measure for measure": those who despoiled Israel will be despoiled; those who give away their wealth for Torah will be requited with wealth.'[444] אילולי here (≡ MT אם) patterns with אי 'if' in 1.8 and the second token in 7.9.[445] The alternation אילולי – אן – אילולי in 8.7 was likely motivated by the author's aesthetic of variety, rather than semantic logic.

The unconventional use of the first token of אילולי in 8.7 may stem, in part, from a mistaken belief that the functionally overlapping JBA אלמלי/א and JPA אילולי are semantically equivalent in all environments. The JBA particle has a dual function; it can mark a negative irreal condition when positioned immediately before a noun or relative particle (as in TgShir 4.12). Alternatively, it can mark a positive irreal condition when positioned immediately before a verb.[416] This duality, however, is not a property of the JPA particle אילולי, which is restricted to marking negative irreal conditions. If the condition in the first conditional sentence in 8.7 is irreal, the JBA conj. אלמלא bearing the sense 'if indeed, even if', rather than אילולי, would be grammatical. Alternatively אילולי may have been misconstrued as a variant form of אילו, as appears to be the case in TgQoh 6.6, which employs אילולי (≡ MT אלו) to introduce a positive irreal condition: ואילולי[417] הוו יומי חיוי דגברא תרין אלפין שנין ובאוריתא לא עסיק [...] דביום מותיה נפשיה נחיתא לגיהנם 'and even if the days of a man's life were two thousand years, but he does not labour in the Torah [...] on the day of his death his soul will descend into Gehenna'.

This latter possibility may obtain with respect to the second token of אילולי, marking the

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[443] TgShir 8.8 presents angelic deliberation concerning the appropriate action to be taken when the nations speak of waging war against Israel. The eschatological gathering of 'all nations' against Jerusalem to battle is a well-known biblical motif. The reference to the spoil plundered from the camp of Gog in TgShir 8.7 (cf. Ezekiel 38–39) suggests that, from the perspective of the speaker ('the Lord of the World', and possibly the author), these conditions could/will obtain at some point in time.

[444] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 198, n. 37. Cf. TgShir 8.9.

[445] TgShir 1.8: אי בעיא למיחי בגלותא כנישתא דישראל, 'If the assembly of Israel desires to live on in the exile [...]'; 7.9 ואי כהלין ליקום בניסיוניהון, 'and if they are able to withstand their trials [...]'.

[416] *DJBA*, p. 135. *CAL*, s.v. אלמלא [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[417] *DJBA*, p. 22. The variants in MSS. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 3231 (אלו) and London, British Library, Or. 1302 (אילו) may represent accommodation to MT. *CAL*, s.v. אילולי, notes of this token, 'error for אילמלי' [last accessed 12 April 2021].

third condition in TgShir 8.7, reflecting the sense of אילו as 'if only!'[418] Aside from TgShir 6.11; 8.7; TgQoh 6.6, all tokens of אילולי in LJLAtg. perform the conventional function of marking a negative irreal condition.[419] The shared confusion with respect to the functional range of אילולי in TgShir and TgQoh may be suggestive of a degree of literary consanguinity.

All the unconventional uses of אילולי in TgShir 6.11; 8.7; TgQoh 6.6 function as conjs., without a following relative particle. This distinguishes them from the conventional use of אילולי at TgShir 2.17, which does include a relative particle: ובעא ייי להובדא יתהון מן עלמא אילולי דאידכר קומוהי קיימא דקיים לאברהם וליצחק וליעקב 'and the Lord would have destroyed them from the world were it not that he remembered the covenant which he had sworn to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob'. According to *DJPA*, when functioning as a conj., אילולי in JPA is obligatorily followed by the relative particle.[420] However, this is evidently not normative in LJLA: אילולי functions as a conj. in TgQoh 3.9, bearing its conventional sense, unaccompanied by a relative particle.[421] The sentence quoted from TgShir 2.17 aligns closely in both content and context (divine retribution for the incident of the calf at Sinai) with an aggadic plus to Deut. 1.1 found in TgNeof, TgCG[Br], FragTg[P,V], and TgPsJ. The pericope in all these texts features דכר√ + אילולי ד-. Thus, the use of this construction in TgShir may be derivative.

8.2   *מאים*

In TgShir 2.5; 3.3 מאים performs its conventional function as an adv. 'perhaps'.[422] However, at 5.8 it appears to be employed as a conditional conj. to introduce a protasis.[423] Thus, אשבעית לכון [...] מאים איתגלי עליכון רחמנא חויאו קדמוי דמרעיתא מן חיבת רחמוי אנא 'I adjure you [...] if the Merciful One has revealed himself to you, say before him that I am sick from the love of his mercy.'[424] The corresponding MT is a positive condition, followed by an apodosis introduced by a rhetorical intrg.: השבעתי אתכם [...] אם תמצאו את דודי מה תגידו לו שחולת אהבה אני 'I adjure you [...] if you find my beloved, what will you tell him? That I am lovesick.' It is possible that this non-standard use of מאים (a contraction of מה/א אם) is a reflex of מה אם in Mishnaic Hebrew, which introduces protases in *a fortiori* arguments.[425] Its selection may also have been influenced by the paronomasia with MT מה [...] אם.

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[418] Cf. Litke's translation (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 275), 'And if only a man would give all the wealth of his estate [...] I would return to him double'. However, he does not comment on the grammatical peculiarity.

[419] TgPsJ Num. 11.31; 16.19; Deut. 1.1; TgPs 27.13; 94.17; 119.92; 124.1, 2; TgQoh 3.9; TgShir 1.9; 2.15, 17.

[420] *DJPA*, p. 23.

[421] None of the manuscripts of TgQoh collated by Deborah Fisher contain a relative particle after אילולי in 3.9.

[422] TgShir 2.5 מאים איתסי בהון 'perhaps I will be healed by them' (cf. TgJon Jer. 51.8). TgShir 3.3 מאים יכפר על חוביכון 'Perhaps he (God) will atone for your sins'. The latter is derived from Exod. 32.30. TgOnq reads 1 c.s. מא אם אכפר על חוביכון 'Perhaps I (Moses) will atone for your sins', ≅ MT אולי אכפרה בעד חטאתכם. Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 118, apparatus *g*) notes the peculiarity of TgShir making God the sub. of this verb. A variant with a 3 m.s. verb in TgNeofM ad loc., דלמה יכפר על חוביכון, suggests that TgShir is participating in a wider tradition. Cf. the variant יתכפר in TgOnq, in London, British Library, Or. 1473, which is presumably an impersonal construction.

[423] *Pace* Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 261, 331. The simpler reading, אם, in MS. New York, JTS, L610 may reflect awareness of the grammatical difficulty.

[424] Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 154) translates מאים as 'if' but does not note the grammatical peculiarity. Díez Merino, Alonso Fontela, and Pope translate similarly.

[425] Miguel Pérez Fernández, *An Introductory Grammar of Rabbinic Hebrew* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p. 201.

8.3 אָן

The intrg. adv. לאָן 'whither' features in an unusual syntagm in TgShir 6.1: וְלֹאָן אֲתַר אִתְפְּנִי רְחִימָיִךְ בְּאִסְתַּלְּקוּתֵיהּ מִמּוּקְדָּשִׁיךְ, "To what place did your Beloved turn away when He departed from your Temple?" The presence of the noun אֲתַר 'place' in this context is, in terms of conventional usage, solecistic, fracturing the syntax to yield the nonsensical 'whither place did your beloved turn away'.[426] The inclusion of אֲתַר is not motivated by MT, for which לאָן alone supplies the sense.[427] Outside of TgShir 6.1, I have been unable to find an attestation of לאָן אֲתַר in targumic Aramaic.[428] However, a number of occurrences are attested in ZA.[429]

The syntagm is amenable to competing analyses. The compound intrg. adv. לאָן 'whither?' could have been augmented with אֲתַר as a pleonastic element, reinforcing its locative sense, without any transformation in word class. On this reckoning, לאָן אֲתַר is simply an extended form of לאָן 'whither?'.[430] Alternatively, the intrg. adv. אָן 'where?' may have been re-analysed as an intrg. adj. 'which?'. If so, לאָן אֲתַר bears the sense 'to which place?', synonymous with לְאֵידִין אֲתַר in TgShir 5.9 (x2); 6.1.[431] Semantically the difference between the two analyses is negligible since the sense 'place' is implicit in 'whither?'. However, syntactically, a transformation in word class would constitute a significant development. TgShir cannot shed further light on the matter, since אָן at 6.1 is a *hapax legomenon* in the text.

Whatever the perception of the syntax of לאָן אֲתַר by the author of TgShir, the later Zoharic data clearly demonstrate the shift of אָן from intrg. adv. ('where?'), to intrg. adj. ('which/what?') qualifying אֲתַר as a discrete constituent. This adjectival repurposing of אָן is not only seen in the phrase לאָן אֲתַר,[432] but also לאָן א(ו)רחא 'to/by which path?';[433] לאָן קץ 'to which end?';[434]

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[426] Neither Alexander, nor Litke, note the peculiarity of this syntagm.

[427] MT Song 6.1 אָנָה פָּנָה דוֹדֵךְ, 'Whither has your beloved turned?'

[428] In AF⁸, the sole dissenter to this syntagm among the CWs, אֲתַר is a minus.

[429] The occurrence of this syntagm in the Zoharic corpus was noted by Kaddari. His section heading states that לאָן bears the sense of Hebrew אֵיזֶה 'which'. However, the examples he cites and the translation he offers indicate that in fact it is אָן *simpliciter*, without the prep., that bears the sense 'which'. Kaddari, *Grammar of the Aramaic of the "Zohar"*, p. 116. All the occurrences of לאָן אֲתַר in Matt's critical text are as follows: *Zohar* I, 1b; 14b; 63a; 83a; 134a; 137b; 201b; *Zohar* II, 13b; 48a; 59a; 98b; *Zohar* III, 43a; 58a; 108a; 168a; 181b; 249a; 253b; *Zohar Hadash* (*Midrash HaNeˤelam*) 77b; 80c; *Zohar Hadash* 71b (x3); 39b; 41a.

[430] This would more closely mirror אָנָה in the underlying MT.

[431] Cf. TgJon 1 Sam. 6.20.

[432] E.g., *Zohar* I, 1b שְׂאוּ מָרוֹם עֵינֵיכֶם לאָן אֲתַר לְאֲתַר דְּכָל עַיְינִין תַּלְיָאן לֵיהּ *Lift your eyes on high*. To which site? [To] The site toward which all eyes gaze.'; *Zohar* III, 108a וְלֹאָן אֲתַר יִתְקְרַב לְגַבֵּיהּ 'Which place should he approach?'

[433] *Zohar* I, 99a; 175b; 201b; *Zohar Hadash, Sitrei ˀOtiot* 6b.

[434] *Zohar* I, 63a; *Zohar* II, 34a; 181b. These passages trade on the homonymy of the Aramaism יְמִין 'days' in MT Dan. 12.13 (וְאַתָּה לֵךְ לַקֵּץ וְתָנוּחַ וְתַעֲמֹד לְגֹרָלְךָ לְקֵץ הַיָּמִין), 'But you, go on to the end; you shall rest, and arise to your destiny at the end of the days' [NJPS]), and the noun יָמִין 'right'. See D. Matt, *The Zohar, Pritzker Edition*, vol. 4 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), p. 147, n. 34. The syntagm לאָן קץ is used spatially, rather than temporally.

מאָן בּאָן אתר 'in which place?';[435] בּאָן סטרא 'on which side?';[436] בּאָן דרגא 'on which rung?';[437] בּאָן אתר 'from which rung?';[438] מאָן אתר 'from which place?';[439] בּאָן מאָלין מלין 'with which of these words?';[440] and בּאָן זמנא 'in which time?'.[441] As can be seen, the adjectival use of אָן occurs predominantly in locative/spatial phrases, bearing a trace of its etymon. However, the reanalysis is not global: the adjectival use of אָן has not supplanted its conventional use as an intrg. adv. in Zoharic literature.[442]

The attestation of לאָן אתר in TgShir 6.1 pre-dates Zoharic literature. While its syntax—an expanded intrg. adv. with pleonastic noun, or re-analysed intrg. adj. plus noun—cannot be settled, the Zoharic data clearly evidence the latter development. Importantly the syntagm represents yet another point of continuity between LJLAtg. and ZA.

A possible pathway for the evolution of אָן from adv. to adj. is as follows:

5. אָן + ל (prep. + adv., 'wither')

6. לאָן אתר (compound adv. + pleonastic noun, 'wither')

7. ל + אָן אתר (prep. + re-analysis of אָן as an adj. qualifying אתר, 'to which place')

8. NP + אָן (use of אָן as adj. extended to qualify other nouns)

8.4 *פּוּן*

The particle פּוּן functions in JLAtg. as a subjunctive marker. However, its function in TgShir—a *hapax legomenon* in 8.4, with no explicit lexical correlate in MT—is unclear.[443]

משבענא עליכון עמי בית ישראל מא דין אתון מתגרין בעמי ארעא למיפק[444] מן ירושלם[445] [...] איתעכבו פּוּן זעיר

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[435] *Zohar* I, 29a; 54b; 91b; 94a; 162b; *Zohar* II, 8b; 64a; 90b; 107a; 140a; 149b; 167b (x2); 193b; 198b; 210a (x2); *Zohar* III, 12a; 18a (x2); 63b; 90b; 161a; 187a; 198a; 208a; 221a; 287a (x2); 298b; *Zohar Hadash* 63b; 65b (*Shir haShirim*); *Zohar* III, 93a (*Pequdin*); *Zohar Hadash, Sitrei ʾOtiot* 6b; *Zohar Hadash* 118a; 55d; 60a.

[436] *Zohar* II, 33b;

[437] *Zohar* III, 220b.

[438] *Zohar* I, 6a.

[439] *Zohar* I, 6a; 46b; 69b; 91b; 118b; 126a; 130b; 186a.

[440] *Zohar* III 57a.

[441] Zohar Hadash, Sitrei ʾOtiot 6c (x2).

[442] For אָן 'where', see *Zohar* I 68a; 149a; 164a; 180b; 236a; 241a; 246a. The compound בּאָן also bears the sense 'where' in בּאָן דוכתיה 'Where is its place?' (*Zohar* II, 80b; *Zohar* III, 298b), and בּאָן חתימה דיליה 'Where is it sealed?' (*Zohar* III, 35a).

[443] Cf. Nöldeke, 'In de jerus. Targumen ist der Gebrauch des Wortes unsicher geworden, indem man z. B. כזעיר פון, welches ursprünglich nur hypothetisch gebraucht wird, "beinahe (wäre u. s. w.)" auch in affirmative Sätzen anwendet.' T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005), p. 473, n. 1.

[444] Alonso Fontela's transcription of AF¹ mistakenly reads למיסק, as per CWs^Yem., albeit his apparatus correctly registers למיפק. The sub. of the inf.—either the house of Israel, or the nations of the earth—is ambiguous. Is the exhortation to Jews inside Jerusalem not to launch a sortie against besieging forces, or to Jews, whether inside or outside of Jerusalem, to refrain from attempting to eject foreign forces from the city? The use of למיפק in TgShir 8.8 suggests the former.

[445] AF^{3,4,5} גלותא 'exile' is preferred by Alexander, who suggests that ירושלם may be the product of parablepsis. However, the association of the adjured party with Jerusalem corresponds neatly with MT בנות ירושלם

'I adjure you, my people, the house of Israel: Do not attack the nations of the earth to go out from Jerusalem [...] Wait [פון] a little until the nations that have come up[446] to wage war against Jerusalem are destroyed.'

Alexander, referencing Jastrow (who classifies פון as a subjunctive marker),[447] states that it is ambiguous whether it should be construed with the immediately preceding verb איתעכבו 'wait', or the following adv. זעיר 'a little [while]'. For the former, he offers the translation "Would that you would wait a little", which he appears to attribute to Levey.[448] However, Levey gives the more awkward rendering 'Would that you might wait but a little longer'.[449] The construal of פון with the following adv. Alexander translates 'Wait yet a little', which he adopts in his main translation.[450]

However, it is difficult to see how, if פון is a subjunctive marker, it could qualify the immediately preceding verb, since the verb is unambiguously an imper. (√עכב[tD] 'hold back, delay'). The clash of moods would be a major solecism. Alexander's suggested future optative translation, 'would that you would wait', would typically require a different construction. The belief that פון in TgShir 8.4 may qualify the immediately preceding verb presumably arises from פון being typically enclitic in JLAtg.[451]

If פון does qualify the preceding imper., it may advert its repurposing—perhaps as a downtoning device to soften the force of the imper. But this is speculative: no such function of פון appears to be attested elsewhere. It seems more likely that פון was deployed simply as rhetorical adornment, redolent of JLAtg., betraying a misunderstanding of its function.[452]

If, however, פון was intended to qualify the following temp. adv. זעיר, this too would constitute a departure from the norms of JLAtg. In JLAtg., פון is postposed to the adv. (cf. TgOnq Exod. 17.4). An adv. constituent פון זעיר in TgShir 8.4 would represent a syntactic innovation.[453]

'daughters of Jerusalem'. Moreover, the exhortation to sit tight and await divine deliverance in the face of the deployment of gentile forces against Jerusalem, strongly implies that the addressees reside in Jerusalem (cf. Zech. 14.1-3). The variant גלותא is likely an attempt (predicated on the assumption that the house of Israel is the sub. of the inf.) to resolve a perceived anomaly of (1) Jews seeking to depart from Jerusalem, and/or (2) a perceived anachronism of Jews living in Jerusalem (cf. the final clause of TgShir 8.5).

[446] The verb עלו is most likely √עלי[G] 'to ascend' (cf. TgShir 8.8 למיסק עלה לקרבא) but could be √עלל[G] 'to enter'.

[447] Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 1143a.

[448] Alexander, Targum of Canticles, p. 193, apparatus *n*.

[449] S.H. Levey, *The Messiah: An Aramaic Interpretation* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1974), p. 131.

[450] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 193, apparatus *n*.

[451] The second token of פון in TgJon Isa. 1.9, פון אבדנא 'we would have perished', is an outlier.

[452] The difficulty in rendering פון in TgShir. 8.4 is reflected in Hebrew translations of TgShir: עוד מעט (MS. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, 2554: circa 1600 CE), and פה 'here' (MS. New York, JTS, L481: 1733 CE). The latter may have been motivated, in part, by its phonological proximity to פון. Díez Merino ('Targum al Cantar de los Cantares', p. 265) likewise translates with a locative adv.: 'Permaneced aquí un poco más'.

[453] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 172) also overlooks TgShir's peculiar use of פון, simply citing it was an example of JLA vocabulary. Although he does not discuss which constituent פון qualifies, to judge from his translation, 'Wait a little while longer', he appears to follow Alexander in construing it with the following adv. His gloss of פון (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 357) as an 'irreal particle' is problematic. 'Irreal' conventionally pertains to counter-factual conditions. Yet, as shown below, the function of the particle in JLA and LJLA is not restricted to the domain of conditions. (Litke appears to regard 'irreal' as synonymous with 'hypothetical', which is the term used to

For the sake of comparison, all tokens of פון in JLAtg. are set out below, followed by those in LJLA. Five broad groups of uses of פון can be discerned in these corpora.

8.4.1   פון in JLAtg.

(1) marking subjunctive mood:

   a.   with pf. verb (TgOnq Gen. 31.27; Exod. 9.15; TgJon Isa. 1.9; 48.18, 19; Jer. 20.17[454])

   b.   with impf. verb (TgOnq Lev. 11.43)

   c.   in verbless clause (TgJon 2 Sam. 18.11[455])

(2) marking optative mood, following act. ptc. רעי√[G] (TgOnq Num. 11.29)

(3) inclusion in compounds in irreal conditional sentences:

   a.   Protases:

      i.   positive, אילו פון (TgOnq Lev. 10.19; Num. 22.29; TgJon Josh. 7.7[456])

      ii.   negative, אילו לא פון (TgOnq Gen. 31.42; Deut. 32.27; TgJon Judg. 14.18; 1 Sam. 25.34; 2 Sam. 2.27; 2 Kgs 3.14; Isa. 1.9)

   b.   Apodoses:

      i.   כעדן פון 'now' ≅ MT כעת (TgJon Judg. 13.23)

      ii.   בכין פון 'then' ≅ MT כי אז (TgJon 2 Sam. 2.27) and אז (TgJon 2Kgs 13.19)

      iii.   מן פון "what [would be the case if]?", a plus to MT (TgJon Jer. 12.5).[457]

(4) inclusion in compound in apodosis of real conditional sentence:

   a.   כעדן פון 'now' ≅ MT כעת (TgJon Judg. 21.22).[458]

(5) Qualifying adv. phrases:

   a.   כזעיר פון 'almost' ≅ MT כמעט (TgOnq Gen. 26.10).

   b.   עוד זעיר פון 'a little longer' ≅ MT עוד מעט (TgOnq Exod. 17.4).

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describe פון in Cook *GTO*, p. 222, which he references. However, Cook (*GTO*, p. 11) correctly reserves the term 'irreal' for conditions marked by compound conjs. that include פון). Of greater moment, the function of פון in TgShir 8.4 has nothing to do with marking 'irreality', whichever constituent it qualifies.

[454] A prep. phrase intervenes between the verb and the particle: והות לי פון אמי קברי '(O that) my mother had been my grave'. This may be due to the *maqqef* binding the verb and the prep. phrase in MT ותהי־לי אמי קברי.

[455] Tal's characterisation of פון as 'מלת חיזוק' ('emphatic particle') in TgJon to the Former Prophets, which he exemplifies by referencing TgJon 2 Sam. 18:11, is problematic. This token appears after a prep. phrase in a past tense verbless clause, where it appears to mark subjunctive mood: ועלי פון למתן לך עסר סלעין דכסף 'I would have given you ten selas of silver'. A. Tal, *The Language of the Targum of the Former Prophets and its Position within the Aramaic Dialects* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1975), p. 47.

[456] In an exclamation.

[457] Translation from R. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), pp. 84–85. For the impersonal use of מן here, see *DJPA*, 317a.

[458] The corresponding Hebrew may, in fact, be an irreal conditional sentence, if לא is re-vocalised as the conditional לֻא, rather than the negator לֹא in MT. Thus, כי לא נתתם להם כעת תאשמו 'for if you had given (wives) to them (the Benjamites), you would have been guilty (of violating your oath)'. G.F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2nd edn, 1918), pp. 453–454.

8.4.2 פון in LJLA

The range of usage of פון in LJLAtg. includes the functions attested in JLAtg. noted above.[459] However, non-standard usages advert a misunderstanding of its function. Thus, the tokens of פון in TgPsJ Gen. 26.10; 31.27; Lev. 11.43 and Num. 11.29 conform to the norms of JLAtg., most likely because they derive from the corresponding passages in TgOnq. The only other token in TgPsJ is telling. It has no counterpart in TgOnq and is solecistic, qualifying an indicative verb.[460] TgPsJ Gen. 26.29:

אם תעבד עימנא בישא היכמא דלא קריבנא בך לביש והיכמה דעבדנא עימך לחוד טב <u>ושלחנך פון</u> בשלם אנת כדון בריכא דייי

'You will do us no harm—just as we have not molested you, and have done nothing but good to you, and <u>have sent you away</u> in peace; you are now blessed of the Lord.'[461]

Reading the subjunctive mood 'we would have sent you away in peace' is nonsensical in the context. The author/editor may have misconstrued the particle of MT's elliptical negative oath formula, אם ('do not'), as marking the protasis of a conditional sentence, with ושלחנך פון as the apodosis. However, this would render the entire verse absurd. On the more charitable assumption that the author/editor had not lost track of the sense of the verse, פון may have been deployed as rhetorical adornment, in errant imitation of JLAtg. style. Specifically, its use may have been influenced by the token at Gen. 31.27, which aligns with TgOnq. This also qualifies a verb √שלח and is followed by an adv. phrase of manner: שלחתך פון בחדווא 'I would have sent you away with joy'.

A further example of the misunderstanding of פון in LJLAtg. is attested in TgJob 24.24 in Bomberg's first Rabbinic Bible:[462] אוריכו כזעיר פון וליתוי רישעא 'They continue for a little while, and then the wicked (one) is no more', ≅ MT רומו מעט ואיננו 'They are exalted a little while, and then are gone'. This, albeit minority, variant is notable since the adv. phrase כזעיר פון (≅ MT מעט 'a little [while]') qualifies a verb in the indicative mood. Unquestionably פון conveys no hypotheticality here. Its adoption was likely conditioned by the uses of the syntagm כזעיר פון as a translation equivalent of MT כמעט noted above. No other witnesses to TgJob 24.24 collated by Stec include פון. His base text reads כזעיר for MT מעט: זקופו כזעיר וליתוהי חייבא 'They are exalted for a little while, and then the sinner is no more'. Moreover, he registers

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   a.   Marking the subjunctive: TgPsJ 31.27; Lev. 11.43.

   b.   Marking the optative, following act. ptc. √רעי[G]: TgJob 34.36.

   c.   Adv. כזעיר פון 'in a little while' (≅ MT כמעט): TgJob 32.22 (in the apodosis of an irreal condition—following MT, the protasis is ellipsed).

   d.   Adv. כזעיר פון 'almost' (≅ MT כמעט): TgPsJ Gen. 26.10; as a variant in TgPs 73.2 and 119.87 (both in MS. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Heb. 110). D.M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), p. 143, apparatus *c*, and p. 214, apparatus *ss*; Dan, *Targum Psalms*, p. 354.

[460] TgPsJ Lev. 11.43 prefaces the verb qualified by פון with the adv. דילמא ('lest'): דילמא תיסתאבון פון בהון, resulting in the somewhat awkward 'lest you might become unclean by them'. Cf. TgOnq ותסתאבון פון בהון 'so that you might become unclean by them'. This too may advert confusion as to the semantics of פון.

[461] Translation adapted from NJPS and NRSV.

[462] Stec siglum ב. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job*, p. 169.

variants in which the adv. is not augmented by the prep. ‏כ: ר(י)זע‏.

The use of ‏פון‏ in an indicative sentence is also likely in TgRuth 2.7. This token of ‏פון‏—a *hapax legomenon* in TgRuth—merits close attention since it has close alignments with the token in TgShir 8.4: both precede the noun ‏זעיר‏ and are in proximity to a verb √‏עכב‏[tD] 'to hold back, delay'. As was the case in TgShir, ‏פון‏ in TgRuth has no overt counterpart in MT. The texts are set out below, with pluses to MT in the targum emboldened.

‏ותבוא ותעמוד מאז הבקר ועד עתה זה שבתה הבית מעט‏ [...] MT

'So she came, and she has been on her feet from early this morning until now, without resting even for a moment.'

TgRuth [...] ‏ואתת וקמת **ואיתעכבת כאן** מקדם צפרא עד כען **פון זעיר**[463] דין דיתבא בביתא ציבחר‏

The syntax of MT is challenging.[464] The crux is whether the m.s. dem. pro. ‏זה‏ should be construed, against the masoretic punctuation, with the immediately preceding prep. phrase, ‏עד עתה‏ 'until now',[465] or with the immediately following inf. cst. + 3 f.s. pro. suff., ‏שבתה‏ ('her sitting').[466]

TgRuth represents MT ‏שבתה‏[467] with a f.s. act. ptc. √‏יתב‏[G] 'to sit, remain'. The placement of the ptc. in a relative clause, ‏דיתבא בבית ציבחר‏, separates it from the preceding dem. TgRuth may have supplied ‏זעיר‏ as an antecedent for MT's m.s. proximal dem. ‏זה‏, yielding the NP ‏זעיר דין‏ 'this short time'. Thus, notwithstanding its ungainliness, ‏זעיר דין דיתבא בבית ציבחר‏ , 'This short time that she sat in the house was a tiny amount.' It makes little sense to relate ‏זעיר‏ to what precedes it, ‏ואיתעכבת כאן מקדם צפרא עד כען‏ 'she tarried here from before morning until now', which emphasises the protracted duration of Ruth's gleaning in the field, in contrast to the briefness of her rest.

The function of ‏פון‏ in this verse is unclear, and the problem like that encountered in TgShir 8.4—does it modify what proceeds it, or the succeeding NP, ‏זעיר דין‏ 'this short time'? The only viable candidate among the preceding constituents would appear to be the verb ‏איתעכבת‏ 'she tarried'. While it seems most likely that the verb phrase is in the indicative mood, a subjunctive reading (comporting with the function of ‏פון‏ in JLAtg.) may be possible on the assumption that Ruth's short rest break was enforced, not voluntary: 'She came and stood and would have remained here from before morning until now. This short time that she sat in the house was a tiny amount'. Yet, on this reckoning, ‏פון‏ would be expected to follow the verb; the

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[463] The sole dissenting witness to the reading ‏פון זעיר‏ in Beatie's apparatus is MS. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *Plut. III 1/1* (siglum F), which transposes ‏פון זעיר‏ to the normative sequence ‏זעיר פון‏.

[464] Holmstedt regards this constituent sequence as '[...] the most grammatically difficult in the book [of Ruth].' Rather than resorting to emendation, he suggests (following Hurvitz) that the contorted syntax is a literary device to convey the speaker's nervousness. R.D. Holmstedt, *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text* (Baylor University Press: Waco, Texas, 2010), pp. 116–117. J. de Waard is less optimistic: 'The precise meaning of M will probably never be known.' *Biblia Hebraica Quinta, Fascicle 18: General Introduction and Megilloth* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004), p. 52.

[465] Presumably with the sense 'until just now'. Cf. MT 2 Kings 5.22, and Modern Hebrew ‏זה עתה‏.

[466] Or perhaps—albeit it entails gender discordance—Ruth is the referent of the dem.: '[As for] this one, her sitting in the house was only for a short time', or 'This one sat in the house only for a short time'. Cf. Holmstedt, *Ruth*, p. 117.

[467] Construed either, with the masoretic vocalisation, as a suffixed inf. cst. √‏ישב‏[G], or re-vocalised as a 3 f.s. pf. verb √‏שבת‏[G] 'she rested'. Cf. LXX οὐ κατέπαυσεν ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ μικρόν. Holmstedt, *Ruth*, p. 117; *BHQ, Fascicle 18*, p. 53.

interposition of the locative and temporal adv. phrases renders this reading unlikely.

If פון in TgRuth 2.7 is to be construed with זעיר, as Alexander suggested for TgShir 8.4, it may furnish an example of the transposition of the syntagm זעיר פון 'a little while' (attested in TgOnq Exod. 17.4 עוד זעיר פון). Its function would be a temporal adv. phrase devoid of any hypothetical nuance: פון זעיר 'a little [while]'. If this syntactic innovation took place, its only other attestation may be in TgShir 8.4. This may speak to questions of authorial/editorial consanguinity between these texts.

However, the law of parsimony suggests that פון in TgShir 8.4 was intended to qualify the preceding imper., rather than the following adv. Most tokens of the particle in JLAtg. and LJLA are enclitic. Moreover, the solecistic use of פון qualifying verbs in non-hypothetical clauses is attested elsewhere in LJLA. Construing פון זעיר in TgShir 8.4 as a transposed version of the adv. phrase זעיר פון is arbitrary and unnecessary. In contrast, the case for the construal of פון זעיר as a constituent in TgRuth 2.7, whatever its precise translation value, is more compelling.[468] Yet the question remains: why does פון precede, rather than follow, the adv.? A possible answer is that the sequence פון זעיר in TgRuth 2.7 is the fruit of the mis-parsing of a clause in another text, in which פון functioned as a verbal enclitic and was followed by the adv. זעיר 'a little [while]'. Thus, the sequence [verb + פון] + זעיר may have been misconstrued as verb + [פון + זעיר], with פון זעיר understood as simply 'a little [while]'. The only text exhibiting this sequence, which I have been able to identify, is TgShir 8.4: איתעכבו פון זעיר 'wait a little while'. The proximity of פון זעיר in TgRuth 2.7 to a verb עכב√[tD] 'to hold back, delay', a plus to MT, may buttress the hypothesis of dependency on TgShir. Misconstrual of פון זעיר as a single constituent would have licensed the interposition of the other adv. phrases after the verb in TgRuth.

The foregoing hypothesis is proffered tentatively. It is of course possible that פון is also used as an enclitic in TgRuth 2.7, solecistically modifying the immediately preceding temporal adv. phrase. The lexical points of contact with TgShir 8.4 may be coincidental: both targums may employ פון זעיר as a constituent, independently, or under the influence of another source. Alternatively, TgShir may be dependent on TgRuth. However, configuring the dependency relation thus has less explanatory power; it does not address the motivation for the original transposition of זעיר פון.

8.4.3 Conclusions

The use of פון in TgShir 8.4 is solecistic, irrespective of which constituent it qualifies. The most parsimonious hypothesis is that it is enclitic, modifying the immediately preceding imper. It thus patterns with others uses of פון in LJLAtg. in non-hypothetical sentences. Alternatively, if it modifies the immediately succeeding adv. זעיר, it exemplifies a syntactic innovation in which פון זעיר is a transposition of the adv. phrase זעיר פון attested in JLAtg.

The use of פון in TgRuth 2.7 has intriguing points of contact with TgShir 8.4. Both precede the noun זעיר and are in proximity to a verb עכב√[tD] 'to hold back, delay'. It seems likely that פון does modify זעיר in TgRuth. It is possible that the genesis of the construction פון זעיר was the mis-parsing of a clause in which enclitic פון was followed by the adv. זעיר as a separate constituent. Such a sequence is attested in TgShir 8.4. This may speak to questions of the authorial or editorial consanguinity of these two targums. Competing hypotheses of a zero, or

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[468] *CAL,* s.v. פון, tentatively proffers the sense of פון as 'only, just (?)' in TgRuth 2.7: פון זעיר דין דיתבא ציבחר 'she has only been sitting here for a little while' [last accessed 12 April 2021]. The translation implies the construal of פון with זעיר.

reverse dependency relation (in which TgShir drew on TgRuth) have less explanatory power, with the motivation for the transposition in both or either text remaining elusive. This, however, is insufficient reason to disqualify them.

8.5   √חקק^G

The pass. ptc. חקיק usually bears the sense 'engraved'. However, in TgShir 2.9 it appears to describe the disposition of the Passover blood daubed upon the doors of the Israelites in Egypt: וחזא דם נכסא דפסחא ודמא דגזירת מהולתא דחקיק על תרענא "and He saw the blood of the Passover sacrifice and the blood of the decree of circumcision marked on our doors." Even if a degree of surface porosity is assumed, such a use of חקיק is unexpected.[469]

CAL tentatively proffers, as a sub-entry to √חקק^G, the sense 'to paint or place on wood or stone (?)' in LJLA, but the only example cited is TgShir 2.9.[470] Buttressing the case for semantic extension is TgPsJ's use of the hendiadys חקיק ומפרש, 'clearly חקיק'. While the vast majority of tokens describe the incising of letters in durable media (such as wood, stone, gems, and gold) for which the sense 'engraved' is appropriate, it is also used of the text inscribed on tefillin in TgPsJ Exod. 13.9, 16; Deut. 28.10, and the tribal patronyms (presumably woven) on the woollen standards of the encampment units in TgPsJ Num. 2.3, 10, 18, 25. In these cases, חקיק appears to bear the hyponymic sense 'marked', suggesting that the *CAL* gloss is too restrictive in its reference to 'wood or stone' surfaces.

None of the Pentateuchal targums employ √חקק^G to describe either the Israelites' application of the Passover blood to the doorframes, or its resulting disposition.[471] TgShir's use of חקיק may gesture to the description of the blood as 'a sign' in Exod. 12.13.[472] TgShir also diverges from the Pentateuchal targums in locating the blood with the *totum pro parte* על תרענא 'on our door', rather than singling out the doorposts and lintel.[473] A closer parallel is found in *Zohar* III, 149a:

בתר דאתגזרו מההוא דמא ומדמא דפסחא רשימו לבתיהון בתלת רשימין על המשקוף ועל שתי המזוזות. מ״ט, הא אקומוה בגין דאיהו רשימא קדישא וחבלותא הוא נפק וחמא ההוא דמא רשים על ההוא פתחא

'After they circumcised themselves, with that blood and with the blood of the paschal lamb they marked their houses with three marks *on the lintel and on the two doorposts* (Exod. 12.23). Why? As they have established: because it is a holy mark—and Destruction comes forth and sees that blood marked on the

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[469] I discount here the possibility that חקיק is used in its conventional sense with otherwise unattested (?) aggadic import, to the effect that the blood possessed a supernatural property, etching the architectural members it contacted, akin to a potent acid. Modern translators have rendered חקיק by 'marked' (Pope, Alexander, Treat, Litke, and Alonso Fontela ['marcando']), 'imprinted' (Jerusalmi), and 'aangebracht' ('applied') (Mulder). However, none note the apparent semantic peculiarity of the Aramaic. Notwithstanding his in-context translation of חקיק as 'marked', Litke gives the normative sense 'engraved' in his glossary entry (*TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 247, 316). TgShir 2.17 apparently uses חקיק in its conventional sense to describe 'the Great Name' as 'engraved' on Israel's weapons. However, the LOCATION is encoded by ב.

[470] *CAL*, s.v. חקק [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[471] They employ √נתן^G 'to place' and √נדי^C 'to sprinkle' to describe its application in Exod. 12.7, 22 (≅ MT √נתן^G and √נגע^C).

[472] MT Exod. 12.13 והיה הדם לכם לאת על הבתים אשר אתם שם.

[473] Exod. 12.7, 22, 23. על תרעא 'over the door' does occur in the Jewish Pentateuchal targums to Exod. 12.23 (≅ MT על הפתח) but it is the BENEFICIARY of verbs of divine mercy/protection, not the GOAL of the application of the blood.

entrance'.

Both the use of √רשם[G] 'to mark', whose semantic field overlaps with √חקק[G], to describe the disposition of the blood, and על ההוא פתחא for the locus of its application resonate with TgShir.[474]

Alternatively, חקיק in TgShir 2.9 may bear the sense of the metonymic extension of √חקק 'to engrave, carve', namely 'to decree', attested in JPA and Hebrew.[475] On this reckoning, חקיק describes the divinely mandated status of the blood, not its disposition on the doorway: 'He saw the blood [...] which was decreed, upon our doors', possibly gesturing to the cognate noun in MT Exod. 12.43 זאת חֻקַּת הפסח 'this is the decree of the Passover'.

Perhaps less likely, חקיק may reflect the exegesis of MT Exod. 12.7 ולקחו מן הדם 'they shall take some of the blood', and 12.22 אשר בסף '[the blood] which is the *saf*', found in Mek. RI, Pisḥa 6. The interpretation, attributed to Rabbi Yishamel, construes סף as an element of the structure of the door, explicated as אסקופה.[476] The mention of 'the blood which is in the סף' in Exod. 12.22 is taken to indicate that עוקה חוקק בצד האסקופה ושוחט בתוכה 'one hollows out a depression in the side of the אסקופה and slaughters [the paschal lamb, so that its blood drains] into it.'[477] If this exegesis sits behind TgShir 2.9 חקיק על תרענא, the expression is metonymic: the blood that was 'engraved', or 'hollowed out', is blood that was drained into depressions carved out of the Israelite's doorways.[478]

8.6   *Summary*

The anomalous uses of אילולי, מאים and פון in TgShir comport with an acquaintance stemming from literary sources, in which their function was not always understood. Yet it is unlikely these are authorial idiosyncrasies: anomalous uses of אילולי and פון are attested in other LJLA targums. The possible extension of the semantic range of חקיק, from 'engrave' to the hyponym 'mark' in 2.9, chimes with tokens in TgPsJon. The syntagm לאן אתר in 6.1 may be an early witness to the re-analysis of the intrg. adv. אן ('where?') as an intrg. adj. ('which/what?') later abundantly attested in ZA.

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[474] Cf. *Zohar* III, 95b.

[475] *HALOT*, s.v. חקק 1:347. *DJPA*, s.v. √חקק[G], p. 220, sub-entry 2. 'to write, inscribe', of which all the references cited contain pass. ptcs. *DJPA* does not register the sense 'to be written, inscribed' in its entry √חקק[tG], only giving the passive of √חקק[G] sub-entry 1., 'to be engraved'. Such a sense of √חקק[tG] is attested in *SYAP* 44:23, one of the two piyyutim cited by *DJPA* as exemplifying √חקק[G] 2. 'to write, inscribe'. *CAL* glosses this sense of √חקק[tG] "to be decreed as law", citing *SYAP* 44:23 [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[476] Appealing to the sense of סף as an architectural member in MT Ezek. 43.8 and Isa. 6.4.

[477] Mek. RI, Pisḥa 6 (Horowitz-Rabin, p. 18). The attestation of variants without חקק does not negate the point made here. Presumably, for logistical reasons, אסקופה has the sense 'threshold', or possibly, 'door post', as opposed to 'lintel'.

[478] The ensuing counterproposal in Mek. RI, attributed to Rabbi Aqiva, that סף in Exod. 12.22 has the sense of כלי 'vessel', is reflected in its rendition in the Jewish Pentateuchal targums as מן 'vessel'. If the foregoing is accepted, TgShir sides with the putative Yishmaelean exegesis, against the Pentateuchal targums, and—without prejudice to questions of literary dependency—exhibits yet another point of contact with Mek. RI.

9   Argument marking

This section considers several argument-marking strategies employed in TgShir. It excludes detailed engagement with the ubiquitous constructions in which the obj. is marked by ∅ or ית.[479] Moreover, analysis of alternations between the overt marking of an obj. as accusative by ית or ל, and ∅—asymmetric differential obj. marking—is outside the scope of this work.[480]

Arguments are classified according to their thematic relations, that is, the roles they play in relation to their predicate. There is no universal consensus as to the inventory of thematic relations.[481] The typology adopted in this study is heuristic and does not reflect commitment to a particular theoretical model. As is conventional, thematic relations are rendered in small capitals.

Table 4: Thematic relations[482]

Thematic relation	Description
AGENT	The one who intentionally initiates the action.
PATIENT	The entity that undergoes the action (a change of state other than that of location or possession).
THEME	The entity that undergoes a change of location or possession.
EXPERIENCER	The entity experiencing a psychological state.
BENEFICIARY	The entity benefiting from the action.
STIMULUS	The entity that is experienced.
GOAL	The place/entity towards which movement takes place.
PATH	The route along which motion occurs.
SOURCE	The place/entity from which motion takes places.
LOCATION	The location in which the action or state is situated.
INSTRUMENT	The means by which an action is performed.
POSSESSOR	The entity that owns something.

9.1   *Synthetic pronominal object constructions*

Overt pro. obj. arguments in TgShir are expressed via both analytic and synthetic constructions. In the former, the pro. is hosted by a prep., or the obj. marker ית—excepting

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[479] Definiteness is a necessary, but insufficient, condition for the marking of a direct obj. with ית in TgShir.

[480] Some differential obj. marking patterns are readily apparent. For example, effected objs. of verbs √אמר[G] 'to say' (in all instances, the noun שירתא 'song'), abstract objs. of √עבד[G] 'to do', and intrg. pros. are consistently marked ∅.

[481] A. Carnie, *Syntax: A Generative Introduction* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 3rd edn, 2013), pp. 229–231.

[482] Except for STIMULUS and PATH, the inventory of thematic relations and their definitions are derived from L. Haegeman, *Thinking Syntactically: A Guide to Argumentation and Analysis* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 192.

intrg. pro. objs., both personal and impersonal, all tokens of which are marked ∅.[483] None of the CWs feature a ptc. hosting an obj. suff.,[484] albeit a wider collation of manuscripts may change the picture.[485] In synthetic constructions, the pro. is suffixed to the verb.[486] From a raw quantitative perspective, TgShir exhibits a marked predilection for analytic over synthetic obj. constructions.[487] In addition to these constructions, there are a handful of tokens of indefinite obj. deletion,[488] and—when the referent has immediate contextual prominence—obj. ellipsis.[489] This section explores the relationship between synthetic obj. constructions in TgShir and MT.

Taking the 28 tokens of synthetic obj. constructions attested in AF[1], plus a token omitted by parablepsis at 5.3,[490] 12 coincide with synthetic objs. in MT, which TgShir either translates directly, or exegetes. In these cases, source text influence in the choice of construction cannot be discounted. The other 17 do not have obvious synthetic counterparts in MT.[491] The data from the CWs are set out below, with variants noted. All MT citations are from Song, unless indicated otherwise.

Table 5: Synthetic obj. constructions in AF[1]

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[483] TgShir 2.12 כבר שמעתון מא דאמרית ליה 'you have already heard what I said to him'; 3.5 יבנון מא דאצדיאו 'they will rebuild what they have laid waste'; 5.1 אכולו מא דמשתאר מן קרבניא 'eat what remains of the sacrifices'; 7.5 ולמנגד מאן דיתחייב בדינא לנגדא 'and to scourge whoever is condemned in judgement to scourging'. On the alignment of intrgs. with indefiniteness, see P. Bekins, *Transitivity and Object Marking in Biblical Hebrew: An Investigation of the Object Preposition 'et* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), p. 99. Contrast the obj. marking of the quantifier phrase featuring the intrg. personal pro. in 1.14, וקטל ית כל מאן דאיתחייב קטול 'and he killed anyone who was condemned to death'. (Among the CWs, ית is a minus in AF[5] and M[A,B]; the quantifier is a minus in M[C]).

[484] The forms משבחותהון/ם ('he was praising them') in AF[3.5] (1.15) are evidently errors for משבח יתהון, as per the balance of CWs.

[485] E.g., variants with ptcs. hosting obj. suffs. are attested in MS. New York, JTS, L610: אנא מעילינון אנא (3.5); מעכבינון אנא (3.5); בחנין אנא (7.9). However, they may be secondary, since TgShir has been subject to a fair degree of reworking in this manuscript.

[486] Like analytic constructions, verbal obj. suffs. may encode dative, as well as accusative case. E.g., TgShir 6.12 לאוטבותהון 'to do them good'. Alexander's parsing of ר(י)(חמתיך)(י)ח)ר in AF[2–10] 4.9 as a common noun hosting stacked 1 c.s. sub. and 2 f.s. obj. suffs., 'my love for you', is dubious. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 139, apparatus *z*. Such a solecism is unevidenced elsewhere in TgShir. Rather, the terminal יך- is simply a 2 f.s. suff., 'your love'.

[487] According to my count, in AF[1] there are 59 tokens of pro. objs. of non-participial predicates hosted by ית or a prep., versus 28 pro. verbal suffs. Since these objs. cover a range of thematic relations, a relative preference of construction should be grounded in verb phrases where a free choice can be demonstrated.

[488] E.g., TgShir 5.12 יתבי סנהדרין [...] מתינ בדינא עד דגמרין לזכאה ולחייבא, 'members of the Sanhedrin [...] are deliberate in judgment until they reach a decision to acquit [∅ = someone] or to condemn [∅ = someone].' Translation adapted from Alexander. See also TgShir 7.3; 8.13.

[489] E.g., TgShir 3.2: וחזרו בקרוין ובפלטייתא ובפתאוון ולא אשכחו, 'They went round the cities, the streets, and the squares, but did not find [∅ = it].' The unexpressed obj. is the previously mentioned Shekhinah. Cf. TgShir 5.6; 6.9; 7.6, 10. On indefinite obj. deletion and obj. ellipsis in Biblical Hebrew, see Bekins, *Transitivity and Object Marking*, pp. 7–8.

[490] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 149, apparatus *r*; Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 213.

[491] It is, of course, possible that some of these constructions are quotations from other literary sources (e.g., the token at 3.2 noted below). However, such an investigation is outside the scope of the present study.

No.	Ref.	Verb phrase	Suffix	≅ MT
1	1.4	נגידנא[492]	1 c.s.	משכני
2	1.6	אלפוני[493]	1 c.s.	שמני[494]
3	1.9	לשנוקתהון[495]	3 m.p.	
4	1.11	אתנינון	3 m.p.	
5	1.13	אישיצינון	3 m.p.	אשמידם[496]
6	1.13	כפתיה	3 m.s.	
7	2.11	למיחמיהון	3 m.p.	לראתם[497]
8	2.14	אחזיני	1 c.s.	הראיני
9	2.14	אשמע(י)ני	1 c.s.	השמיעיני
10	3.1	אשכחונה	3 m.s.	מצאתיו
11	3.2	פרסיה (ליה מיברא למשריתא)	3 m.s.	ונטה לו מחוץ למחנה[498]
12	4.5	למפרקיך	2 f.s.	
13	5.3	אטנפינון[499]	3 m.p./3 c.p.[500]	אטנפם
14	5.10	לפרסומינון	3 m.p.[501]	
15	5.12	לברכהא[502]	3 f.s.	

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[492] AF[10] נגידן.

[493] M[A,B,C,D] ‎-נן (1 c.p. suff.); M[E,F] ‎-ינון (3 m.p. suff.).

[494] On this correspondence, see Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 83, n. 47.

[495] *Pace* Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 68, n. 91), this spelling from AF[1], rather than an metathetic error for לשנקותהון, appears to be a correction of the JBA form לשנוקאהון—as ventured, tentatively, in Alonso Fontela's apparatus. (For the spelling of the 3 pl. obj. suff. with א, cf. Bar-Asher Siegal, *Introduction*, pp. 200–201.) Thus, AF[1] aligns with its congener AF[2], which reads the JBA form לשנוקיהון. (Cf. לשנוקיה 'to drown him' in TgEstI 5.14.) The *forma mixta* לשנוקותהום/ן in AF[7א,10] may reflect a JBA form amended towards common Aramaic. The variant in MS. New York, JTS, L610, f. 10r, לשבוק יתהון 'to abandon them (?)', may reflect reanalysis of the ו between R₂ and R₃ of a JBA derived stem inf. as a G-stem theme vowel.

[496] Deut. 9:14. It is possible that TgShir is quoting from a Pentateuchal targum here, rather than directly translating MT: TgOnq and TgPsJ both mirror MT's synthetic construction with אשיצינון.

[497] Exod. 14:13. Possibly quoted from a Pentateuchal targum, rather than directly translated from MT. Cf. TgOnq, TgPsJ, and FragTg[P] ad loc.

[498] Exod. 33.7. TgShir mirrors TgOnq and TgPsJ ad loc. Contrast TgNeof's analytic ′ופרס יתיה לבר מן משרית.

[499] AF[3,4,5,7,8,9,10], M[A,B,C,E,F] (so too, T-S B11.81 and Valmadonna 1).

[500] The antecedent of the pro. is fem. dual רגלי(י) 'my feet'. Cf. MT אטנפם.

[501] The CWs are equivocal with respect to antecedent of the pro.: AF[1,7,8,10] שמעו(ו)ן; AF[2,3,4,5] שמועי(י)ן; AF[9] שמוען; M[A,B,C,E,F] שמעתן. However, all modify it with the masc. attributive adj. חדתין.

[502] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 67) opines this is an error for the analytic לברכא לה in AF[3,4,5,6], since the D-stem inf. does not terminate in ‎-ות prior to the obj. suff. He appeals to 'four western manuscripts', but AF[3,4,5] constitute a single textual subgroup, and AF[6] is a printed version in the same group. לברכא לה may be a secondary correction. The

No.	Ref.	Verb phrase	Suffix	≅ MT
16	6.2	אפיקינון[503]	3 m.p.	
17	6.2	פנוקינון	3 m.p.	
18	6.2	כנושינון	3 m.p.	
19	6.5	אמלכוני	1 c.s.	הרהיבני[504]
20	6.12	למכוכינון[505]	3 m.p.	
21	6.12	לאוטבותהון	3 m.p.	
22	7.4	למפרקיך[506]	2 f.s.	
23	7.6	כפתיה	3 m.s.	
24	7.6	למקרביה[507]	3 m.s.	
25	8.2	אדברינך	2 m.s.	אנהגך
26	8.2	אעילינך	2 m.s.	אביאך
27	8.4	למפרקכון	2 m.p.	
28	8.12	למקטליה[508]	3 m.s.	
29	8.13	אשמע(י)ני[509]	1 c.s.	השמיעיני

The following synthetic constructions are not attested in AF¹. All tokens, bar one, only occur, among the CWs, in Yemenite manuscripts.[510] Virtually all mirror a synthetic construction in the underlying passage in MT Song. These may represent secondary adjustments towards MT.

Table 6: Synthetic obj. constructions not in AF¹

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majority reading is commended by the alternation of analytic and synthetic obj. constructions in semantically parallel clauses, לאוטבה לה ולברכהא 'to do good to her and to bless her', comporting with TgShir's aesthetic of variety. The form לברכהא may reflect the influence of Hebrew לברכה 'to bless her' (cf. T-S NS 312.3).

[503] AF³,⁴,⁵ אסיקינון.

[504] On this correspondence, see Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 166, n. 16.

[505] AF¹⁰ᴹ לאגלואיהון.

[506] AF¹⁰ למפרק יתך.

[507] Mᴬ·ᴮ למעקדיה; Mᶜ למיקדיה; Mᴱ·ᶠ למוקדיה; Mᴬ ᴹᵍ· למקדיה.

[508] AF⁴ למקטל לירבעם is likely a secondary correction. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 203, n. 54, and apparatus *aaa.*

[509] AF², erroneously, אשמעית.

[510] However, they may feature in other Western witnesses. E.g., MS. New York, JTS, L610 reads אדבקוני and אובילוהי at 5.7.

Manuscripts	Ref.	Verb phrase	Suffix	≅ MT
AF²	3.2	אשכחוי[511]	3 m.s.	מצאתיו
M^A,B,C,E,F	5.7	אדבקוני[512]	1 c.s.	מצאני
M^C,E,F	5.7	אובילוהי[513]	3 m.s.	פצעוני
M^A,B	5.7	אובלוניה	3 m.s.	פצעוני
M^A,B,C,D,E,F	8.6	שוינן[514]	1 c.p.	שימני
M^A	8.6	בריתה[515]	3 m.s./3 f.s.[516]	

As can be seen, synthetic obj. constructions are distributed throughout TgShir, featuring with both strong and weak verbs. Obj. suffs. in all person-number-gender combinations are represented, bar 2 f.p. (assuming a 3 c.p. covering 3 f.p).

While several synthetic constructions in TgShir coincide with the same in MT, this is not a consistent translation policy. For example, in 1.4 the imper. נגידנא 'draw us' (1.4) ≅ MT משכני 'draw me', but the analytic קריב יתן 'bring us near' ≅ הביאני 'he brought me'.[517] There are 16 instances in AF¹ where TgShir adopts either an analytic construction, or obj. ellipsis, against a synthetic construction in MT, when the latter would be accommodatable within its chosen wording.

Table 7: MT synthetic obj. constructions rendered analytically in AF¹

No.	Ref.	MT	≅ TgShir
1	1.6	אל תראוני	לא תבזון יתי
2	2.4	הביאני	אעיל יתי[518]
3	2.5	סמכוני	סעידו יתי

[511] Presumably a syncopated 3 m.s. pro. suff. הי, as per MT. Cf. AF² אשכחוהי (3.1). However, the antecedent is fem., שכינת קודשא 'the holy Shekhinah'. The balance of CWs attest obj. ellipsis: לא אשכחו 'they did not find [it]'. Cf. 5.6.

[512] CWs^West. אדביקו לי.

[513] CWs^West. אובילו יתיה.

[514] CWs^West. שו(ו)י יתן.

[515] The balance of CWs read the analytic ברא [...] ית(י)ה.

[516] The gender depends on whether the antecedent is construed as the A- or B-term of א(ש)(י)א(ת) דגיהנם 'the fire of Gehinnom'.

[517] In keeping with TgShir's aesthetic of variety. Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 10.

[518] This clause is a rare example of verb- obj.-sub. linearisation in TgShir: אעיל יתי ייי לבי מתיבת מדרשא דסיני 'The LORD brought me into the house of the seat of study of Sinai'. This may be a function of shadowing the MT constituent order prior to supplying the sub. (a minus in AF⁸ and the CWs^Yem.). The verb- obj.-sub. linearisation in 3.3; 5.7 are reflexes of MT מצא(ו)ני השמרים, albeit with synthetic rather than analytic obj. constructions (see above). For an overview of clause linearisation in TgShir, see Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 161–164.

No.	Ref.	MT	≅ TgShir
4	3.2	מצאתיו	אשכחו Ø[519]
5	3.3	מצאוני	אשכחו יתי
6	5.6	מצאתיהו	אשכחית Ø
7	5.7	מצאני	אדביקו לי[520]
8	5.7	פצעוני	אובילו יתיה[521]
9	5.9	השבעתנו	קיימת לנא/עלנא
10	6.9	ראוה	חמון Ø[522]
11	6.9	יאשרוה	אשרו יתהון
12	6.9	ויהללוה	קלסו להון
13	6.12	שמתני	לשואה יתהון
14	8.2	תלמדני	תאליף יתי
15	8.6	שימני	שווי יתן[523]
16	8.7	ישטפוה	למימחי יתיך

The data underscore TgShir's syntactic autonomy relative to MT. TgShir does not share TgOnq and TgJon's tendency to slavishly mirror synthetic constructions in MT, reserving the analytic obj. marker ית to translate Hebrew את.[524]

9.2 *Repurposing of MT argument markers*

An exegetical strategy adopted on several occasions in TgShir is the repurposing of preps. in MT Song to encode thematic roles different from those in the source text.[525] This means of

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[519] AF[2] אשכחוי.

[520] M[A,B,C,E,F] אדבקוני.

[521] M[A,B] אובילוהי; M[C,E,F] אובלוניה.

[522] A JPA nunated 3 m.p. perf., against which AF[3,4,5,7,8,10], CWs[Yem.] חזו; AF[9] חזן.

[523] M[A,B,C,D,E,F] שוינן.

[524] Cook, *Rewriting the Bible*, pp. 135–136. Cook contrasts this with TgNeof, FragTgs, and TgCG's predilection for analytic pro. obj. constructions with ית, and the predominance of synthetic constructions in non-translational additions in TgPsJ—which he attributes to imitation of BA.

[525] This phenomenon, which involves the retention of the source text prep., is a species of *al tiqre*. Other exegetical strategies involving preps. in TgShir include:

- The generation of a prep. via morphemic reanalysis of a source text lexeme. This is exemplified in TgShir 3.6, where MT (מור ולבונה) מקטרת is subject to a double reading, in which the מ is simultaneously interpreted as a Dp-stem ptc. prefix (as per the vocalisation) and a partitive prep. The respective reflexes of these readings are מתמרקא 'perfumed' and מן קט(ו)רת בוסמין 'with incense of spices'.

- The substitution of a source text prep. by an alternative one. For example, MT 4.1 and 6.5 מֵהַר שגלשו

subtlety suturing the texts, yields, variously, both well-formed and infelicitous Aramaic constructions. Examples of this phenomenon are set out below, *seriatim*.

1. TgShir 1.3 transforms MT לַרֵיח שמניך טובים 'with respect to[526] scent, your oils are good' into לַקל ניסך וגבורתך [...] זעו כל עמיא דשמעו ית שמע גבורתך 'At the sound of your miracles and mighty acts [...] all the peoples who heard the report of your mighty acts trembled'.[527] In the targumic rendering, the prep. encodes a STIMULUS in a temporal locative construction.[528]

2. TgShir 1.8 employs על to encode the GOAL of a verb of caused motion ויהא מדבר יתהון בנייח עַל משכניהון הוא בית מוקדשא "[He] will lead them gently to their tents, that is the Temple". This unusual construction is the result of the retention of the MT prep. על, which marks an adjacent LOCATION: ורעי את גדיתיך עַל משכנות הרעים "and pasture your kids besides the shepherds' tents."

3. The ב in MT Song 2.16 הרעה בַשושנים encodes LOCATION: 'he pastures his flock among the

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גלעד 'flowing down from Mount Gilead' is rendered in TgShir ועבדו גלשושיתא בַטורא דגלעד 'and [the sons of Jacob] made a cairn on Mount Gilead', referencing Gen. 31.46. As Silber notes, this is predicated on an *al tiqre* reading of MT שגלשו as שגל עשו 'who made a cairn'. Silber, *Sedeh Jerusalem*, ad loc. To comport with this reading the MT prep. מן, which encodes SOURCE, is amended to ב to encode LOCATION, rather than repurposed.

(The noun גלשושיתא may be a nonce portmanteau of גל 'heap' (MT Gen. 31.46) and JPA גבשושית 'cairn', coined as a pun on MT גלשו. The independence of TgShir from the Pentateuchal targums to Gen. 31.46 should be noted, which variously render MT גל by דגור (TgOnq), אוגר (TgNeof, TgPsJ) and יגר (TgCGᶜ). Silber cites an opinion that links the adj. גלשן 'bald' in TgPsJ Lev. 13.41 ≅ MT גבח 'bald', with גבה 'high', and suggests that TgShir may be trading on such a logic. Silber, *Sedeh Jerusalem*, ad loc. (Cf. Rashi on Song 4.1.) However, the manuscript of TgPsJ in fact reads גלשלשן, with reduplication of both R₂ and R₃. This reduplication pattern also occurs in TgNeof גלש–לישן ad loc. (contrast TgOnq גלוש) and the cognate גלשלשותא in TgPsJ Lev. 13.42, 43. In contrast, גלשושיתא in TgShir 4.1; 6.5 only exhibits reduplication of R₃. While it is possible that in the juxtaposition of שערך 'your hair' and the verb גלשו in MT Song 4.1; 6.5, the author of TgShir heard resonance of targums to Lev. 13.41–43, this does not explain the spelling גלשושיתא. The spelling גלשושיתא is also attested in TgQoh 12.5 in several manuscripts. However, the majority reading is the standard spelling גבשושיתא. These attestations may be a function of the influence of TgShir 4.1 on copyists. If גלשושיתא is a new coinage in LJLAtg., the case for its genesis in TgShir, in view of the plausible source text trigger, is strong.)

An example of scribal reversal of prep. substitution can be seen in TgShir 1.6 in MS. New York, JTS, Lutzki 610, f. 9r. All CWs employ על to encode PATIENT (bar AF⁷, which omits the prep.) גרמו לאיסתקפא תקוף רוגזא דייי עלַיי 'they caused the strength of the LORD's wrath to fall upon me', ≅ MT נחרו בי 'they were angry with me'. However, in its reworking in New York, JTS, L610, the MT prep. is reproduced: גרמו לי לאיסתקפא רוגזא דייי בִי 'they caused me to bring the LORD's wrath upon myself' (?).

[526] Reading the ל in MT as marking dative of reference. M. Fishbane, *The JPS Bible Commentary: Song of Songs* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2015), p. 29. An alternative proposal is to construe it as a comparative, in parallel to מיין at the conclusion of the previous verse, yielding '[your love] is better than the scent of your oils'. Pope, *The Song of Songs*, pp. 299–300.

[527] As Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 79, n. 20) notes, TgShir's exegesis is motivated by the equation of scent with reputation. The sentence is tautological. This may be due to the sub. NP עמיא דשמעו ית שמע גבורתך being imported from TgOnq Num. 14.15 (cf. TgPsJ).

[528] For √זוע ᴳ with STIMULUS encoded by ל, see TgJon 1 Kgs 1.40; TgJon Isa. 14.9 (≅ MT √רגז ᴳ + ל ˢᵀᴵᴹᵁᴸᵁˢ); TgJon Ezek. 27.28 (≅ MT √רעש ᴳ + ל ˢᵀᴵᴹᵁᴸᵁˢ). Cf. MT, TgOnq, TgNeof Num. 16.34; MT, TgJon Isa. 30.19; MT, TgJon Hab. 3.16; MT TgJon Qoh. 12.4.

lilies'. However, TgShir employs it to encode INSTRUMENT: דייי בשמתא עמיה וית יתיה ותברו דקטלא ותברא בפתגם דחרב[529] 'and they smashed him and his people <u>by</u> the curse of the LORD, which kills and smashes <u>by</u> the sword'.[530] TgShir's interpretation is predicated on *al tiqre*, reading רעה as derived from √רעע 'to break' (cf. Ps. 2.9).[531] The reflex of שושנים, 'the curse of the LORD, which kills and smashes by the sword', may be predicated on a pun with ששנונים '[things] which are sharp' (cf. Ps. 45.6).[532]

4. The prep. מן in MT Song 3.10 is awkward: תוכו רצוף אהבה מַבנות ירושלם.[533] If it is retained, it may encode AGENT, namely, 'its interior was inlaid with love <u>by</u> the daughters of Jerusalem'.[534] Irrespectively, in TgShir it is co-opted as a separative: וביני כרוביא דעילווי כפורתא הוות שכינתא דייי דשכין שמיה בירושלם מן כל כרכי ארעא דישראל "And between the cherubim which were upon the ark-cover was residing the Shekhinah of the LORD, who caused His Name to dwell in Jerusalem <u>out of</u> all the cities of the land of Israel."[535]

5. The ב in MT Song 4.5 הרועים בַשושנים encodes LOCATION: 'that feed <u>among</u> the lilies'. However, TgShir employs it to encode INSTRUMENT, as it does when interpreting the similar phrase at 2.16, noted above: והוו רען לעמא בית ישראל בזכוותהון [...] בַמנא ועופין פטימין ומרי מבארא דמרים "<u>In virtue</u> of their meritorious deeds they were feeding the people of the House of Israel [...] <u>with</u> manna, plump fowl, and water from Miriam's well."[536]

6. TgShir 5.2 expands MT פתחי לַי אחתי רעיתי 'Open <u>to</u> me, my sister, my love' to פתחי פמיך

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[529] Reading a bare ד-relation against AF¹, which is lone outlier in reading (ב)פתגם חרב. The phrase בפתגם דחרב corresponds to לפי חרב in MT Exod. 17.13. The reading of the CWs^Yem., לפתגם דחרב, is likely a secondary adjustment towards the JLAtg. form of the syntagm.

Based on the criterion of usage, לפתגם was most likely grammaticalized, functioning as a prep. within the idiom to signal instrumentality; thus, 'by the sword', rather than 'by the edge of the sword'. See W.F. Smelik, *The Targum of Judges* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), pp. 332–334. This is irrespective as to whether the syntagm was originally generated by, or subsequently the subject of, an aggadic-metonymic pun (e.g., פתגם as output of פי). Cf. Rev. 1.16: καὶ ἐκ τοῦ <u>στόματος</u> αὐτοῦ ῥομφαία δί<u>στομος</u> ὀξεῖα ἐκπορευομένη 'and out of his mouth came a sharp double-edged ('mouthed') sword'.

[530] Cf. TgNeofM Exod. 17.13; TgPsJ Num. 21.24. The death-dealing and destructive properties of the שמתא may reflect the folk etymologies for the term proffered in b. M. Qaṭ. 17a: מאי שמתא אמר רב שם מיתה ושמואל אמר שממה יהיה. See *DJBA* p. 1163.

[531] Alexander identifies TgShir's interpretation of MT הרעה בשושנים as 'the shepherd among the roses', with reference to Joshua and the righteous, respectively, who are the subjects of the clause cited above. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 113, n. 103. However, he does not note this second reflex of MT.

[532] Possibly abetted by the gemination of the *nun* in שושנים.

[533] Pope favours regarding the prep. in MT as enclitic, and בנות ירושלם as commencing the sentence that continues in the subsequent verse (as per NRSV). Pope, *Song of Songs*, p. 446.

[534] Cf. NJPS. Translation adapted from NRSV.

[535] Alexander claims that the author understood the prep. in MT in a comparative sense: 'Its inside was filled with love [for Jerusalem], More than for the daughters of Jerusalem.' However, the targumic use of the prep. is separative, not comparative. Although he does not reference it, Alexander's retroverted '*peshat* reading' of MT seems influenced by Ps. 87.2. Yet, as he notes, a key intertext is 1 Kgs 8.16 (cf. Deut. 12.5). It is the divine *choice* of Jerusalem, out of all the cities of the land of Israel that is in view. The concept is binary, not graduated. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 126, n. 50.

[536] This is captured in Alexander's translation of the underlying MT, as seen through the prism of the exegesis in TgShir: 'Who feed [their flock] with roses.' Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 134, and n. 22.

ובועי ושבחי לַי אחוותי רחימתי 'open your mouth and rejoice[537] and praise <u>me</u>, my sister, my love'. The function of the prep. shifts from encoding BENEFICIARY to STIMULUS.

7. TgShir 5.12 twice uses על to encode the STIMULUS of the verb of directed perception √סכל[tD] 'to look at': עיינוהי מסתכלין תדירא <u>עַל</u> ירושלם [...] כיונון דקיימין ומסתכלין <u>עַל</u> מפקנות מיא "His eyes gaze constantly <u>on</u> Jerusalem (like doves that stand gazing <u>at</u> a spring of water)".[538] The preps. are replicated from MT, where they encode LOCATION: עיניו כיונים <u>עַל</u> אפיקי מים רחצות בחלב ישבות <u>עַל</u> מלאת 'His eyes are like doves <u>beside</u> springs of water, bathed in milk, sitting <u>beside</u> a brimming pool.'[539]

8. TgShir 6.3 renders MT אני <u>לַ</u>דודי [...] הרעה <u>בַּ</u>שושנים 'I <u>belong to</u> my beloved [...] he pastures (his flock) <u>among</u> the lilies' as אנא פלחא <u>לְ</u>מרי רחימי [...] וזן יתי <u>בַּ</u>תפנוקין 'I gave service <u>to</u> my lord, my beloved [...] and he fed me <u>with</u> delicacies'. The ל has been repurposed from encoding POSSESSOR to BENEFICIARY, and the ב from LOCATION to INSTRUMENT.

9. TgShir 6.9 renders MT אחת היא <u>לְ</u>אמה 'she is the special one <u>to</u> her mother' as יחידא <u>לְ</u>אוריתא "[she was] devoted <u>to</u> the Torah".[540] The function of the ל is shifted from encoding POSSESSOR to BENEFICIARY.

10. TgShir 6.11, notably, employs ל to encode the LOCATION of √שרי[C]: אמר מרי עלמא <u>לְ</u>בית מוקדש תיניין די איתבני על ידוי דכרש <u>אַ</u>שריתי שכינתי למחמי עובדין טבין דעמי "The Sovereign of the World said: "I caused my Shekhinah to reside <u>in</u> the Second Temple, which had been built at the hands of Cyrus, to see the good deeds of My people". In comparable constructions elsewhere in TgShir, the LOCATION argument of verbs √שׁרי[C] is encoded by ב (1.16; 8.14), or בגו (3.4).[541] The choice of ל at 6.11 appears to have been influenced by the construction in the underlying MT <u>אַל</u> גנת אגוז ירדתי 'I went down <u>to</u> the nut orchard', in which the counterpart of בית מוקדש, the 'nut orchard', is the GOAL of a verb of directed motion.[542] The use of ל patterns with the predominant strategy for encoding the GOAL of verbs of motion in TgShir.[543] This is unusual with verbs √שׁרי[C]; in clauses describing the

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[537] Alexander appears to construe the f.s. imper. בועי as √בעי[G] 'to seek', translating 'open your mouths in prayer and praise to Me'. However, the medial ו and final י favours √בוע[G] 'to rejoice'.

[538] TgShir 8.14 features the alternation √סכל[tD] + ב[STIMULUS], to which there is no corresponding structure in the underlying MT. Other tokens of √סכל[tD] + על in Jewish targums appear to be meagre: TgNeof Num. 21.9; TgJob 31.1 (prep. as per MT); TgPs 142.5. The significance of TgShir's choice of על is heightened when considered in the light of its intertext, Deut. 11.12. MT reads ארץ אשר יהוה אלהיך דרש אתה תמיד עיני יהוה אלהיך בה מרשית השנה ועד אחרית שנה 'a land that the LORD your God looks after. The eyes of the LORD your God are always on it, from the beginning of the year to the end of the year.' All the Pentateuchal targums mirror MT in encoding the STIMULUS by ב, including TgNeof and TgPsJ which, like TgShir, employ √סכל[tD].

The use of the adv. תדירא 'continually' to qualify the divine gaze in TgShir 5.12 presupposes the Masoretic punctuation of Deut. 11.12, which construes the adv. תמיד as modifying the nominal clause that follows it עיני יהוה אלהיך בה, rather than the ptc. דרש in the preceding relative clause. The position of the adv. in the Pentateuchal targums mirrors MT, preceding the reference to God's eyes.

[539] On the translation of מלאת as 'brimming pool', see Pope, *Song of Songs*, pp. 538–539.

[540] See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 170, n. 29.

[541] The construction in 3.4, describing the installation of the Shekhinah in the Tabernacle, furnishes a close parallel to that in 6.11. Plural/corporate LOCATION arguments are encoded by בין 'among': 1.13; 2.1; 3.3; 5.1; 6.3; 7.11.

[542] When TgShir renders MT אל 'to, toward' by a directive prep., it consistently employs ל (cf. 2.4; 8.2).

[543] Cf. TgShir 8.2 ואעילינך <u>לְ</u>בית מוקדשי 'I will bring you <u>into</u> my temple' ≅ MT אביאך <u>אַל</u> בית אמי 'I would bring

placement of the Shekhinah in a structure, the LOCATION is typically encoded by ב.[544]

However, LJLAtg. furnishes a comparable example, in which the argument marking of MT is coerced to accommodate the targumic formulation, notwithstanding the resulting inconcinnity. Tg1Chron 17.5 reads ארום לא אשריתי שכנתי בביתא למן יומא די אסיקית עמי ית ישראל ממצרים עד יומא הדין והויתי משרי שכנתי מַמשכן זמנא לַנוב ומַנוב לַשילה ומַשילה לַמשכן גבעון 'For I have not made my Shekhinah dwell in a house since the day I brought up my people, Israel, from Egypt until this day, but I made my Shekhinah dwell from the Tent of Meeting to Nob, and from Nob to Shiloh, and from Shiloh to the Tent of Gibeon'. The impress of the underlying MT is obvious: כי לא ישבתי בבית מן היום אשר העליתי את ישראל עד היום הזה ואהיה מַאהל אַל אהל וממשכן 'From the day that I brought out Israel to this day, I have not dwelt in a house, but have [gone] from tent to tent and from one Tabernacle [to another].'[545]

The SOURCE and GOAL arguments, encoded by מן and ל (MT אל) respectively, comport with the ellipted verb of directed motion in MT, but not the targum's verb √שׁרי^C. This mirrors the situation in TgShir 6.11, in which the argument marking of MT √ירד^G 'to descend' + אל^GOAL is imposed on √שׁרי^C. This strategy may have been licensed by the motion component implicit in the act of placing the heavenly Shekhinah in a terrestrial abode.

11. In MT Song 7.9 אחזה בסנסניו 'I will grasp its fruit stalks', the prep. encodes the LOCATION of a verb of surface contact. However, TgShir construes the verb as a 1 c.s. impf. √חזי^G 'to see', rather than √אחז^G 'to grasp'. TgShir metathesises the obj. סנסניו to נסיון 'trial'.[546] Thus: ואחזי[547] אי כהיל למקום בנסיונא הדא 'I will see if he is able to stand (firm) in this trial'. The MT prep. ב is repurposed to encode the LOCATION of a spatial metaphor. TgShir may also have interpreted the MT obj. marker as encoding the STIMULUS of a verb of directed visual perception, 'I will look at its fruit stalks', as per √חזי^G + ב^STIMULUS in MT Song 7.1 (x2). The verb √חזי^G certainly conveys directed visual perception in TgShir 7.9, however, the clausal obj. disbars the use of a prep.

12. Alexander and Litke construe the prep. ב in TgShir 7.6 דקליף ית חוטריא ברהטייא as encoding an adjacent LOCATION, 'who [=Jacob] peeled the rods at/by the watering-troughs.' In the underlying MT the prep. appears to encode an interior LOCATION מלך אסור ברהטים 'a king is held captive in the tresses'. Presumably, the construal of ברהטייא as "at the watering-troughs", rather than 'in the watering-troughs' is motivated by the narrative in Gen. 38.37-42, which states that Jacob peeled the rods prior to placing them in the watering-troughs. Both tokens of the phrase ברהטים in this pericope (vv. 38, 41) appear to bear the sense 'in the watering-troughs'. It may be that TgShir is elliptical: 'who peeled the rods [that were placed] in the watering-troughs.'[548] However, if an adjacent LOCATION was

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you into the house of my mother'.

[544] Cf. TgOnq Gen. 9.27; Exod. 20.21; TgJon 2 Sam. 7.5, 6; 1 Kgs 8.12; 2 Kgs 21.4, 7; Joel 4.21; Habakkuk 2.20; Hag. 1.8; Zech. 3.2; 9.8; TgPs 135.21; Tg1Chron 17.4, 5; 23.25; Tg2Chron 6.1; 7.20; 33.4.

[545] NJPS.

[546] If נסיון is pronounced as per Hebrew, with pretonic vowel lengthening and resultant doubling of the ס, both tokens of this letter in סנסניו are represented.

[547] Reading √חזי^G with the majority of CWs, against √חמי^G in AF^1,2, which appears to be secondary. See Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 175, n. 37.

[548] The marking of the obj. of √קלף^D by ית is the majority reading in the CWs. The variant in AF^3,4,5 עַל חוטרי(א) likely reflects the influence of Gen. 30.37, which states that Jacob peeled streaks in the rods, thereby exposing

intended, this represents a type of repurposing.

13. TgShir 8.5 derives ומתפנקא עַל רחמי מרהא 'delighting <u>in</u> the love of her Lord' from MT מתרפקת עַל דודה 'leaning <u>upon</u> her beloved'. This shifts the function of עַל from marking a spatial relation to encoding a STIMULUS.[549]

14. TgShir 8.7 elaborates MT בוז יבוזו <u>לו</u> '<u>it</u> would be utterly scorned' into כל ביזתא דיבזון ממשריתא דגוג יהא <u>דיליה</u> "all the spoil which shall be plundered from the camp of Gog shall be <u>his</u>." The ל encodes STIMULUS in MT, but POSSESSOR in TgShir.

15. TgShir 8.9 elaborates MT ואם דלת היא נצור <u>עליה</u> לוח ארז 'but if she is a door, we will enclose <u>her</u> with boards of cedar' into ואפילו אי מכיכא[550] היא מן פיקודיא נבעי רחמין <u>עלה</u> קדם ייי [...] "and even if she is poor in precepts, we will seek mercy <u>for her</u> before the Lord [...]". The prep. עַל is repurposed from encoding PATIENT to BENEFICIARY.[551]

16. TgShir 8.14 furnishes another example of the use of עַל to encode the GOAL of a verb of caused motion ותיפרוק יתן ותעייל[552] יתן <u>עַל</u> ט(ו)ור(י)א דירושלם 'and redeem us and bring us to the mountain(s) of Jerusalem'. This is derived from MT ברח דודי ודמה לך לצבי או לעפר האילים על הרי בשׂמים 'Make haste, my beloved, and be like a gazelle or a young stag <u>upon</u> the mountains of spices!'. Here the prep. encodes LOCATION. Pope, Alexander, and Treat translate תעיל עַל as 'bring us up to', which suggests that they construe the verb, as at 3.5; 4.8; 8.2, as √עלי[C] 'to bring up'.[553] However, the absence of R₃ suggests rather √עלל[C].[554] While, √עלי[C] comports better with the prep. עַל, understood, as per MT, as marking super-position, the use of עַל to encode the GOAL of √עלל[C] is attested in 1.8, as noted above.[555]

TgShir exhibits another species of the repurposing of MT, namely the transformation of the grammatical function of a dem., from pro. to adj. TgShir 3.6 renders MT מי זאת עלה מן המדבר 'Who is this ascending from the wilderness?' by מא היא דא אומה בחירתא דסליקא[556] מן מדברא. Several translators have parsed the function of the f.s. proximal dem. דא, normatively, as a pro., comporting with MT זאת. However, their rendering, 'What chosen nation is this?' is not licensed by the syntax.[557] It seems most likely that דא is an attributive adj., pre-posed to its

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the whiteness that was 'on the rods' עַל מקלות (TgOnq and TgPsJ עַל חוטרי(י)א). It may have been intended as an elliptical construction, 'who peeled (bark that was) upon the rods, or simply represent an error.

[549] Cf. TgPs 37.4, 11. The verb √פנק[tD] may have been chosen to strike an alliterative pun with MT √רפק[tD].

[550] The majority of CWs read מסכינא 'poor'. This exegesis hinges on reading the MT noun דלת 'door' as a form of the adj. דל 'poor'.

[551] Cf. TgPsJ Gen. 18.32.

[552] The CWs[Yem.] and Valmadonna 1 simply read 'and redeem us upon the mountain(s) of Jerusalem'. This absence of תעיל may be a function of parablepsis due to homoeoteleuton.

[553] This construal is reflected in the Judaeo-Arabic translation in Oxford Heb. f. 56 תצעדנא עלא דאר אל סלאם 'Bring us up upon Daar al Salaam' (f. 112b, ln. 20).

[554] Unless orthographic conflation of forms from these roots is hypothesised. However, there are no unequivocal examples of verbs √עלי in TgShir which could function as evidence.

[555] Cf. MT/Tg2Chon 20.24. An adversative reading of the prep. (e.g., TgOnq Exod. 34.12.) is inadmissible in the context.

[556] AF[1,2] דסליקת.

[557] Pope, Alonso Fontela, Alexander, and Treat all translate along these lines. Mulder also construes דא as a pro. but adheres to the linearisation, resorting to the expedient of rendering 'chosen nation' as an adv. phrase: 'Wat is dat voor een uitverkoren volk' ('What is this as a chosen nation?'). If דא is indeed a pro., it would appear to

NP head. Thus, the translation value is 'Who is this chosen nation that is ascending from the wilderness?'.[558]

The employment of the unaugmented form דא, as opposed to הדא, as an adj., is notable, and represents the only instance of such in TgShir.[559] The use of the pro. form דא is a reflex of MT זאת 'this (one)'. The unit מא היא דא is a translation of MT מי זאת 'who is this?' The inclusion of the copula היא resonates with JPAtg.[560] The identity of the referent of the pro. is then supplied, אומה בחירתא '(the) chosen nation'. This expansion, perforce, transforms the function of the dem. דא from pro. to adj.[561]

Although, as noted above, several translators have evidently felt unease with the resultant construction, דא אומה בחירתא 'this chosen nation', the use of unaugmented dems. as adjs., pre-posed to their NP head, is attested in other targumic texts, mirroring MT. Thus, in JLA, TgJon 1Sam. 17.55, 56 בר מן דין עולימא 'whose son is this young man?' reproduces the syntax of MT בן מי זה הנער/העלם.[562] In LJLA, TgPs 24.8 מן הוא דיכי מלך יקירא ≅ MT מי זה מלך הכבוד

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demand a question and response structure: 'Who is this? The chosen nation that is ascending from the wilderness'. However, the verse places the question in the mouth of 'the peoples of the land' and no other party is introduced as a respondent. Rather, the question is rhetorical, introducing an encomium to Israel.

[558] On pre-posed attributive dems. in TgShir, see Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 147–149. Jerusalmi and Litke both translate דא in 3.6 as an attributive adj.

[559] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 70, 302) overlooks the use of דא as an attributive adj. in TgShir. Aside from 3.6, דא only features as a dem. pro. in the reduplicated reciprocal construction דמין דא לדא 'they resembled one another' (4.2; 6.6). Uses of הדא as an attributive adj. in TgShir are as follows: הדא שירתא 'this song' (1.1), the pre-posing is likely for contrastive effect vis-à-vis the other members of the decade of songs; עמא הדא 'this nation' (6.10; 8.5); ארעא הדא 'this land' (8.14).

[560] Note the following instances of the translation of MT מה זאת 'what is this?' by מה היא דא: TgCGᴱ Gen. 29.25; FragTgⱽ Gen. 26.10; TgNeof Gen. 3.13; 12.18; 26.10; 42.28 (הוא דא מה); Exod. 14.5, 11. Likewise, TgCGᴮ and TgNeof Gen. 4.10 render MT מה by מה היא דא. All these tokens are followed by the relative ד + √עבדᴳ 'to do', in the expression 'what is that *x* have/has done?'. The reading מה הא דא at TgNeof Exod. 13.14 is likely an error for מה היא דא. (Also, cf. the interlinear reading in TgNeof Exod. 4.2 מין הוא דאן ≅ MT מזה). In contrast to the foregoing, TgOnq and TgPsJ replicate the syntax of MT, without a copula (or rel. pro.). So too TgJon Judg. 2.2; 15.11; 18.24; 1 Sam. 10.11; Jon. 1.10.

[561] The qualification of a (semantically definite) abs. noun by a det. attributive adj. in the phrase אומה בחירתא 'the chosen nation' (TgShir 3.6) is notable. It may be a reflex of the anarthrous noun + arthrous adj. phrasal construction, common in Mishnaic and later Hebrew, e.g., אומה הנבחרת 'the chosen nation'. For a useful summary of the history of this construction, see L. Kahn and S. Yampolskaya, *A Reference Grammar of Enlightenment Hebrew* (forthcoming). I thank Professor Kahn for granting me access to this material prior to its publication.

An example of the phrase אומה הנבחרת 'the chosen nation' used in the context of exegesis of Song 3.6, is found in Menachem Me'iri (1249–c. 1316 CE, from Perpignan, southern France), *Ḥibbur haTeshuvah, Meshiv Nefesh*, section 2, chapter 12. In relation to the spices of the Havdalah ritual, he writes: והבשמים אמנם הערה אל מה שנרמז באמרו אל כלל אומה הנבחרת, מקטרת מור ולבונה מכל אבקת רוכל, שענין אבקת רוכל הוא קבצת הבשמים הנכבדים 'and the spices are indeed a signpost to what is hinted at when he says to the entire chosen nation, *perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, of all the powders of the merchant* [Song 3.6], for the significance of *the powder of the merchant* is the blending of the finest spices'. Was this use of אומה הנבחרת influenced by אומה בחירתא in TgShir 3.6? Text cited from the Bar-Ilan University Responsa Project database, https://www.responsa.co.il/home.en-US.aspx [last accessed 28 January 2020]. Translation mine. Biographical details taken from 'Me'iri, Menaḥem', in A. Berlin et al. (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd edn, 2011), p. 482.

[562] Litke's claim (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 147) that the linearisation of TgOnq and TgJon is 'exclusively Noun-Demonstrative, as is their underlying Hebrew source text' is inaccurate. See Stevenson, *Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic*, p. 19.

'Who is the King of glory?'; 25.12 מן הוא דין גברא ≅ MT מי זה האיש 'Who is the man?'. Note, in both LJLA examples, the addition of a copula, as per TgShir 3.6. Moreover, the pre-posing of the dem. adj. to its nominal head occurs in Rabbinic Hebrew.[563]

The role of זאת in MT Song 3.6 in determining the form of the dem. employed in TgShir is brought into relief by comparison with TgShir's handling of the other tokens of מי זאת in MT.[564] When interpreting MT Song 6.10 מי זאת הנשקפה 'Who is this that looks forth?', TgShir once again construes the speaker as the nations, and the referent of the pro. as Israel. However, on this occasion, rather than reproducing the intrg. of MT, it opts for an exclamation in the indicative mood: כמא זיוותנין עובדי עמא הדא "How splendid are the deeds of this people!". In the absence of a formally equivalent translation of MT מי זאת, the linearisation of noun + post-posed attributive adj., in the conventional form הדא is found: עמא הדא 'this people'. Similarly, when interpreting the identical clause to 3.6 in MT Song 8.5 מי זאת עלה מן המדבר, TgShir reads מא הוה זכוותא דעמא הדא דסלקא מן ארעא "What is the merit of this people, that comes up from the earth?" The referent of the pro. is again identified as the nation of Israel, however, as the B-term of a genitive construction it is distanced from the intrg. מא. Thus, the conventional pattern עמא הדא is used.

9.3   *Alternation between ית and ל*

TgShir employs both ית and ל to mark direct objs.[565] Where these have identifiable counterparts in MT, in semantically proximate clauses, TgShir is unconcerned to either consistently render Hebrew את by ית, in the mode of JLAtg., or replicate MT's use of ל. Thus, TgShir 3.11 employs ית versus MT ל: בתגא ובכלילא דכליל עמא בית ישראל יַת מלכא שלמה "[look] at the diadem and the crown with which the people of the House of Israel have crowned King Solomon"[566] ≅ MT בעטרה שעטרה לַוֹ אמו '[look] at the crown with which his mother crowned him'. Similarly, in rendering the MT refrain השבעתי אתכם 'I adjure you' (2.7; 3.5; 5.8; 8.4), the adjuree is variously marked by ית, ל and על.[567]

Moreover, the obj. markers ית and ל are not in complementary distribution. A handful of verbs exhibit an alternation between the two, in marking the same thematic relation. These are √אלף[D] 'to teach' (1.8; 8.2); √נטר[G] 'to guard; keep' (1.6; 5.7 [x2]; 5.11 [x2]; 8.11 [x2]) ; √פרק[G] 'to redeem' (2.8; 7.9, 14; 8.14); √קלס[D] 'to praise' (4.7; 6.9[568]); √רחם[G] 'to love' (1.4 [x2]; 1.8; 4.13); √שבח[D]

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[563] M.H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Eugene OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2001), p. 201.

[564] Song 3.6; 6.10; 8.5 contain the only tokens of the sequence מי זאת in MT.

[565] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 68–69. Litke notes a preference for ית. However, no analysis of the relative distribution of the two is undertaken.

[566] AF¹ omits the obj. ית מלכא שלמה. It is present in the balance of CWs.

[567] See section 9.10 below.

[568] Discounting the variant √קטל 'to kill' in M[A,C,E,F] at TgShir 6.9 as a scribal error. Such a reading could have been subject to post-hoc rationalisation as based on an *al tiqre* reading of the corresponding MT √הלל 'to praise' as a denominative of Hebrew חלל 'pierced, slain' (e.g., Num. 19.16). On this reading the construed sub. of the verb would most likely be the Hasmonean forces of 6.9, and the obj. the invading Greco-Edomite-Ishmaelite coalition itemised in 6.8. The slaying of the enemies would logically follow their delivery into Israel's hands mentioned immediately prior to the parallelism. This would demand parsing the structure of the section as follows: 'When the inhabitants of the districts saw [this] [=Israel's military victory], the kingdoms of the earth and the rulers called them happy, and they [Israel] killed them [the invading enemies]'.

'to praise'[569] (1.15;[570] 2.13; 5.2); √סחר[G/C] 'to surround' (2.6; 3.2, 3, 7;[571] 7.3; 8.9).[572] There may be one or two other verbs in this group, but they are excluded owing to uncertainties pertaining to their classification.[573] With the possible exception of √רחם[G], no patterns to the alternations are evident in terms of the semantic role, definiteness, or animacy of the obj.[574] The selection of either ית or ל in these cases appears to be facultative.[575] For example, למאן דנטרין להון חיורין כתלגא ודלא נטרין יתהון אוכמין כאגפי עורבא "To those who keep them[i] they are white as snow, but to those who do not keep them[i] they are black as the wings of the raven" (5.11).[576] To the

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[569] Excluding tokens of √שבח[D] in 1.1 with the sense 'to sing', which have an effected, transient obj. (a song). The obj., תושבחתא, is marked by ית in quotations of Exod. 15.1 and Num. 21.17 (≡ MT את), most likely derived from TgOnq. AF[3,5,7,8,9,10] truncate the quotation from Num. 21.17a, omitting the obj. M[A,B] paraphrase Num. 21.17a (omitting ית תושבחתא) and instead quote 21.17b שבחו לה ≡ MT ענו לה.

[570] The forms משבחותהון/ם ('he was praising them') in AF[3,5] are errors for משבח יתהון, as per the balance of CWs.

[571] The token with ל at 3.7, מסחרא להון, may be a reflex of MT Song סביב לה.

[572] Verbs √סחר 'to surround' are predominantly C-stem, with only a single instance of the G-stem (8.9). All tokens noted here are verbs of directed motion. TgShir features one more token in 6.5, which is a verb of caused motion. The Ø marking of the THEME of the latter may be due to the underlying MT: אסחרי רבניך [...] חזור לקיבלי "Cause your teachers [...] to sit round in a circle before Me", ≡ MT הסבי עיניך מנגדי "Turn away your eyes from me".

[573] Thus:

- It is unclear whether תבזון + ית (1.6) and מבזו(י) + ל (8.1) represent the same root, or √בזז[G] and √בזי[D] respectively (both with the sense 'to despise'). The use of ל in 8.1 mirrors MT לא יבוזו לי.

- מנהרין + ל (4.1) and מנהרין + ית (5.12) may represent homonymous roots. The former bears the sense 'to illuminate'. Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 158, apparatus *ccc*), suggests, in view of the attendant liquid simile, that the occurrence at 5.12 may represent a denominative verb, from נהר 'river'. Thus, ומנהרין ית דינא למהוי שעיע כחלב '[they] make justice stream, so as to be smooth as milk', citing Amos 5.24 and Cant. R. 4.15 §1 in support. Irrespectively, the ל likely encodes BENEFICIARY ('provide light for the people') whereas ית encodes PATIENT ('make justice stream/shine').

- I also exclude here the ל/ית alternation with √חמי[G]/√חזי[G] owing to uncertainty with respect to the potentially confounding factor of directed versus undirected perception. Thus, 2.9 וחמא לעמיה 'he saw his people' appears to describe undirected perception (but note Mulder's translation: 'en zag Hij om naar zijn volk'). However, the causative construction in 2.14 describes a request to be shown the STIMULUS: אחזיני ית חזויך וית עובדייך תקן 'show me your appearance and [or, epexegetically, 'even'] your upright deeds' ≡ MT הראיני את מראיך.

[574] The STIMULUS arguments of √רחם[G], marked by ית, are inanimate (1.4 [x2]), those encoded by ל are ANIMATE (1.8; 4.13). This patterns with the encoding of the animate STIMULUS of the synonymous √חבב[D] in 1.2. However, this may be coincidental.

[575] Further examples of this alternation, which are outliers among the CWs are as follows.

- √בחן in AF[2] 7.9 ובחין אנא אף לחנניה מישאל ועזריה [...] דבחנית יתיה. AF[2] is the only CW to include the relative clause דבחנית יתיה.

- √קטל in AF[4], which at 8.12 reads למקטל לירבעם, alongside the marking of PATIENTS of this verb with ית elsewhere (2.14; 7.6). The balance of CWs read a synthetic obj. construction at 8.12. The reading of AF[4] here is, almost certainly, not original. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 203, apparatus *aaa*.

- √שאל[G] in AF[4,8] 3.3 ושא(י)לית יתהון, alongside the marking of the addressee by ל in 7.13.

- √פלח[G] in AF[8] 1.6 למפלח ית טעוותהון, alongside the marking of the BENEFICIARY by ל in 1.6; 5.3, 10; 6.3, 9.

- √ברך[D] in AF[8] 7.8 ומברכין ית עמא בית ישראל, alongside the marking of the BENEFICIARY by ל in 3.7.

[576] This alternation in marking of the obj. is attested across three textual subgroups (AF[1,2], AF[3,5], AF[7,9]) and T-S NS

foregoing can be added the marking of the causee of the verb of adjuration √שבע^C, which exhibits a more promiscuous alternation between ית, ל and על (2.7; 3.5; 5.8; 8.4).[577]

However, it is notable that where ל is employed to mark an obj. argument, in most cases, it is a non-PATIENT argument.

Table 8: Thematic roles of obj. arguments marked by ל

Argument	Verb	Ref.
GOAL	√עלל^{G/C}	1.1; 4.8, 12, 16; 5.1; 8.2
	√דבק^C	5.7[578]
STIMULUS	√חבב^D	1.2
	√זוע^G	1.3
	√סגד^G	1.6
	√רחם^G	1.8; 4.13
	√חמי^G/√חזי^G	2.9
	√שבח^D	2.13; 5.2
	√תאב^G	5.6[579]
	√דחל^G	5.9
	√אחד^G/√יחד^G	6.9
	√קלס^D	6.9
	√קני^D	7.6; 8.6[580]
	√בזי^D	8.1
	√צות^G	8.13
	√סכם^C	8.13
LOCATION	√סחר^{G/C}	2.6; 3.2, 7; 8.9

312.3.

[577] The adjuration formulae are subject to separate, sustained, treatment below.

[578] The use of √דבק^C as a verb of relative motion, 'to overtake', is attested in Hebrew, JLAtg., and LJLAtg.

[579] *Pace* Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 259), construing תאיבא in 5.6 as act. ptc. √תאב^G 'to desire' makes better sense in the immediate context of frustrated desire than a form of √תוב^G 'to turn'.

[580] Note that TgShir does not alternate the marking of the STIMULUS of √קני^D between the senses 'to be zealous' and 'to be jealous' (MT and JLAtg. employ ב for the latter on occasions). Thus, TgShir 7.6 קני קינאיתא לַמרי דשמיא "[Elijah] was very zealous for the Lord of Heaven" and 8.6 קינאיתא דעמיא מקנאן לַן "the jealousy which the nations bear us". The use of ל to mark the stimulus of 'to be jealous' is attested in TgQoh 4.4 and TgJon Isa. 11.13 (the latter ≅ MT את).

The clause in TgShir 7.6 is a paraphrase of 1 Kgs 19.10, 14. The use of ל aligns with MT against TgJon's reverential קדם 'before'. However, TgShir diverges from both in opting for a cognate accusative following the verb as an intensifier, rather than a pre-verbal inf. abs. (Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 180, apparatus *q*.) Moreover, the substitution of the title מרי (ד)שמיא 'the Lord of Heaven' for the tetragrammaton is notable. This title, which appears to be rare in targumic texts, is likely derived from Dan. 5.23. TgShir 7.6 continues to mention the enrobing of Daniel in purple in Babylon, narrated in Dan. 5.29, and employs the adv. phrase מן קדמת דנא 'previously' which occurs in Dan. 6.11. This clustering of BA phraseology continues in TgShir 7.9 with references to Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah (Dan. 2.17), along with two tokens of the byform modal auxiliary כהל 'to be able' (Dan. 2.26; 4.15; 5.8, 15), whose distribution in TgShir is restricted to this verse. (On the latter point cf. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 186). Moreover, in TgShir 7.10, דניאל וחברוהי "Daniel and his companions" is quarried from Dan. 2.12, 18. Note the non-syncopation of the intervocalic ה in the 3 m.s. pro. suff., in contrast to TgShir's predominant orthographic practice. Cf. TgRuth 3.15.

Argument	Verb	Ref.
ADDRESSEE	√אלף[D]	1.8
	√שאל[G]	3.3; 7.13
	√פקד[D]	3.4
	√זהר[C]	5.2
BENEFICIARY	√יטב[C]	5.12
	√נהר[C]	4.1
	√רעי[G]	4.5
	√פלח[G]	1.6 (x2); 5.3, 10; 6.3, 9
	√ברך[D]	7.8
THEME	√נטר[G]	5.11; 8.11

Verbs whose PATIENT is encoded by ל are as follows: √נשק[G] 'to kiss' (1.2); √עוק[C] 'to oppress' (2.14 [x2]); √חור[D] 'to whiten' (4.3 AF[7,8,9,10]); √עיר[C] 'to awake' (5.2 AF[2]); √גוח[C] + קרבא 'to wage war' (6.8 AF[2,3,4,5,9,10]; 8.4 AF[3,5]);[581] √מלך[C] 'to acknowledge as king' (7.6); √נסי[D] 'to test' (7.9);[582] and √בחן[G] 'to test' (7.9). However, as can be seen, not all of these involve canonical transitive clauses.[583] √נשק[G] 'to kiss' is a verb of social interaction.[584] The sense of √מלך[C] is the inception of a mental state, rather than the coronation of a monarch. In short, when objs. of high transitivity clauses are non-Ø marked in TgShir, the marker tends to be ית.[585]

9.4   *Arguments marked by מן*

The מן performs its conventional functions in TgShir to mark partitive[586] and comparative

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[581] However, the CWs are unanimous in marking the PATIENT of √גוח[C] + קרבא in 1.1; 2.15, 16; 6.9 by ב. For variants: 6.8 AF[ב,2] and CWs[Yem.] על; 8.4 AF[1,9ב]; AF[7,8,10] and CWs[Yem.] על. A reciprocal construction with עם is employed in 8.8.

[582] AF[3,5,10] and the CWs[Yem.] include a proleptic pro. obj. suff. on the verb, a construction characteristic of JBA and Syriac, and attested in JLAtg. The forms in AF[4,7] א(י)נסה are ambiguous. None, bar AF[5] אנסינו, exhibit the expected interposing nun. The CWs[Yem.] include a second token of this construction in 7.9, ובכין אנסינון לחנניה מישאל ועזריה.

[583] Pre-eminently, clauses featuring verbs of creation, destruction, or other change of state, with AGENT and PATIENT.

[584] On the same obj. marking pattern with the cognate verb in Biblical Hebrew, see Bekins, *Transitivity and Object Marking*, pp. 186–187.

[585] As noted above, definiteness is a necessary, but insufficient condition, for a direct obj. to be marked by ית in TgShir. Thus, the partitive PATIENT in the clause מני קטלו בחרבא "Part of me they killed with the sword", is unmarked, notwithstanding the high degree of transitivity. On the use of partitive constructions as indefinite plurals, see C. Lyons, *Definiteness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 100.

[586] Alexander translates the final clause of TgShir 5.1 ואיתפנקו מן טובא דאיתעתד לכון as 'enjoy the bounty that has been prepared for you!' and claims that the prep. מן is 'awkward'. However, as per Jerusalmi's translation, the function of מן is likely partitive: 'enjoy <u>some of</u> the bounty'. This would align with its function in the immediately preceding clause אכולו מא דמשתאר מן קרבניא "eat what is left of the offerings". Cf. TgNeof, FragTg[P,V], TgPsJ to Gen. 3.24 (likely influenced by the partitive construction מפרי (ה)עץ in MT Gen. 3.2, 3 and מפריו in v. 6.); TgPsJ Deut. 33.19; Num. 11.26. The latter reference furnishes a close parallel to TgShir 5.1: ויתפנקון מן טובא דאיצטנע להון מן שירויא 'and they will enjoy [some of?] the bounty which has been laid up for them from the beginning'. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 147, apparatus *g*; Jerusalmi, *Song of Songs*, p. 131. The translations of Pope, Treat, and Litke pattern with that of Alexander in non-partitive readings of the prep.

constructions, and encode the aversive STIMULUS of verbs of emotion.[587] However, TgShir 3.6 features an unusual construction involving this prep.: יעקב דאישתדל גבר עימיה עד מיסק קריצתא ואתגבר <u>מיניה</u>[588] ואשתיזב "[...] Jacob, with whom a man wrestled till the dawn broke, and [Jacob] prevailed over him, and was delivered".[589] The use of מן to mark the entity prevailed over is notable. In clauses featuring verbs √גבר[tD], this argument is usually marked by על.[590]

The construction is most likely comparative, 'he was/became stronger than him'.[591] None of the Pentateuchal targums employ √גבר[tD] in the pericope of Jacob's wrestling match in Gen. 32.25-31. TgShir's choice of verb strikes a paronomastic pun with the description of Jacob's adversary as גבר 'a man': 'a man wrestled with Jacob, but Jacob proved more of a man than he'. I have been unable to locate another example of √גבר[tD] + מן. However, it appears to be analogous to the construction √גרם[tD] + מן attested in JPA and SA.

The JPA piyyut *SYAP* 26, lns. 22–23, reads:

כד נפקו מן ימא / במימריה דרמא
אתא עמלק מחרמא / מנהון למתגרמא

'When they came out of the sea / at the word of the Exalted One
Amalek, the cursed, came / to overcome them'

Yahalom and Sokoloff's proposal to emend the inf. למתגרמא to למתגרייא 'to attack' is unconvincing.[592] As Kister notes, the form למתגרמא is demanded by the rhyme scheme.[593] Moreover, where √גרי[tD] does occur in the poem, its obj. is marked by ל, not מן: אתגרי ליה נמרוד גוברא 'Nimrod, the man, attacked him' (ln. 3).

Kister construes the מן in ln. 23 as encoding AGENT, and the verb as denominative of גרם 'bone'. This would yield something along the lines of 'Amalek, the cursed, came to have his

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The CWs[Yem.] feature different constructions at 5.1: M[C,E,F] ואתפנקו מא דאתעתד לכון 'and enjoy what has been prepared for you'; M[A,B] ואתפנקו במא דאתעביד לכון 'and enjoy what has been made for you'. Based on tokens that diverge from MT, the default prep. to mark the STIMULUS argument of verbs √פנק[tD] in JLAtg. is ב. For other partitive objs. marked by מן in TgShir, see 5.7 (x2); 8.2.

[587] All with √דחל[G] (1.4; 3.8; 8.2).

[588] AF² does not feature the prep.

[589] The trigger in the source text for reference to this episode is the noun אבקה 'powder' (מכל אבקת רוכל), linked with √אבק[N] 'wrestle' in MT Gen. 32.25. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 122, n. 25. It seems overly subtle to suggest that the partitive מן heading this phrase motivated the use of מן in TgShir.

[590] Examples of the use of על in different dialects are as follows: JLAtg., TgJon Judg. 5.2; JPAtg., TgNeof Deut. 32.27; LJLAtg., TgPsJ Exod. 14.8; ZA, *Zohar I*, 171a. For the use of ב, see Tg1Chron 5.2 (mirroring MT); for עם, see the JPA piyyut *SYAP* 33, ln. 52.

[591] Cf. Ps. 65.4; 1 Sam. 17.50. Elsewhere in TgShir, √גבר[tD] only features in intransitive clauses (3.7, 8).

[592] *SYAP*, p. 172. No justification for the proposed emendation is given, although it may be motivated by Exod. 17.8 ויבא עמלק וילחם עם ישראל 'Then Amalek came and fought with Israel'. Lieber adopts the emendation on the grounds that למתגרמא bears the sense 'to be firmly established', which would indeed be incongruous in the context. L.S. Lieber, *Jewish Aramaic Poetry from Late Antiquity: Translations and Commentaries* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p. 94, n. 16. However, neither Yahalom and Sokoloff, nor Lieber, comment on the resulting anomaly of מן marking the obj. of למתגרייא.

[593] M. Kister, 'Jewish Aramaic Poems from Byzantine Palestine and Their Setting', *Tarbiz* 76 (2006/7), p. 175 (in Hebrew).

bones gnawed by them [Israel]'.[594] However, this fractures the structural symmetry with other stanzas of the piyyut, in which the introduction of an adversary of Israel is followed by a description of their hostile intent/action, and the ensuing deliverance of God's people.[595] The inf. למתגרמא describes Amalek's intention towards Israel, it is not a *passivum divinum*.

More persuasive is *CAL*'s gloss of גרם‎tD + מן as 'to manifest superior strength', citing the example under discussion, translating מנהון למתגרמא 'to defeat them', along with MS. M of the Samaritan Targum to Gen. 26.16, הלא אתגרמת מנן, 'surely, you are too strong for us.'[596] Semantically and syntactically, these are very close to אתגבר מיניה in TgShir 3.6. It is possible that מנהון למתגרמא in the piyyut is an allusion to Exod. 17.11, wherein the fluctuating dominance of Israel and Amalek in the battle is described in MT by verbs גבר‎G, and in the Pentateuchal targums by גבר‎tD.

9.5   *Arguments marked by* ב

The ב is employed in TgShir to encode several thematic relations, aside from LOCATION and INSTRUMENT:

1.   the STIMULUS of verbs of directed visual perception[597] and verbs of emotion[598]

2.   the THEME[599] and LOCATION[600] of verbs of surface contact

3.   the topic of שאל‎G (8.10)[601]

4.   the GOAL of verbs of caused motion[602]

5.   the PATIENT of adversative verbs[603]

Translators of TgShir have assumed the use of ב to encode PATIENT arguments of מחי‎G 'to blot

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[594] 'כנראה הכוונה להיות מושמד עד גירום העצמות בידי ישראל'. Kister, 'Jewish Aramaic Poems', p. 175. 'Apparently, the meaning is "to be destroyed as far as the gnawing of the bones" by Israel'. Translation mine.

[595] Cf. lns. 4–5, 12b–15, 20–21, 26–41.

[596] *CAL*, s.v. גרם [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[597] חמי‎G/חזי‎G (3.11), שגח‎C (8.14), and סכל‎tD (8.14). The twin tokens at 3.11, [...] בתגא ובכלילא פוקו וחמון/חזו 'Go forth and look at the diadem and at the crown', mirrors MT צאינה וראינה בנות ציון במלך שלמה בעטרה 'come out. Look, O daughters of Zion, at King Solomon, at the crown'. This contrasts with TgShir's treatment of 6.11, where it elects not to mirror MT's use of ב as obj. marker of ראי‎G 'to see'. Pope (*Song of Songs*, p. 447), citing Joüon §133c, refers to a nuance of 'intensity' conveyed by verbs of perception with objs. marked with ב in Biblical Hebrew, glossing 'to gaze'.

[598] רעי‎tG/D 'to desire' (8.14).

[599] אחז‎G 'to hold' (3.8 ≅ MT אחזי חרב; 4.6 AF⁴ only).

[600] קטר‎G 'to bind' (tefillin on the left hand and head) (8.3). The use of ב to encode GOAL in this context is notable for its divergence from the Pentateuchal targums' use of על in Deut. 6.8; 11.18. Cf. Mek. RI, Pisḥa 17 (Horowitz-Rabin pp. 66–67); קבע‎G 'to affix' (8.3), elsewhere in TgShir, the GOAL of this verb is marked with על (4.9; 7.2); ינק‎G 'to suck at' (8.1). Note the difference between ינק‎G + ב‎THEME 'suck at' (≅ MT יונק שדי אמי) and ינק‎G + Ø‎THEME 'suck out' in this verse.

[601] In the idiom 'to enquire about the welfare of *x*'.

[602] On which, see below.

[603] חבל‎D 'to harm' (2.9; 8.3); גוח‎C + קרבא 'to wage war' (1.1; 2.15, 16; 6.8, 9); מרד‎G 'to rebel' (8.4); שלט‎G 'to rule' (2.6; 7.11; 8.9, 12).

out' (1.8)[604] and √רדי[G] 'to plough' (1.10). However, as will be argued below, these readings are questionable.

9.6 *Mis-readings of TgShir 1.8—the volitive* אי בעיא

To prove the dubiety of reading an inf. √מחי[G] 'to blot out' at TgShir 1.8, a few textual and interpretative issues need to be examined, beginning with the volitive √בעי preceding the inf.

At the commencement of the reported direct speech (of God to Moses) in TgShir 1.8, the majority of CWs appear to read a conditional particle followed by a ptc. √בעי[G] 'to seek': AF[1] אי בעיא. However, Litke claims that this is a function of an erroneous word division of √בעי[tG] 'to be sought', with assimilation of the ת of the stem prefix to R₁, based on a minority variant.[605] On this analysis, the putative apocopated conditional particle, אי 'if',[606] is illusory; it is a dislocated element of the verbal stem prefix. Yet this analysis is open to challenge.[607]

If the original construction is, as suggested by the majority of CWs, a conditional particle[608] followed by a form of √בעי[G], then בעיא is straightforwardly parsed as a f.s. abs. act. ptc., whose subject, כנישתא דישראל 'the assembly of Israel', is postposed to the ptc.'s infinitival complement. This understanding makes good sense and is reflected in the translations of Pope and Alexander: 'If the assembly of Israel […] desires […]'.[609]

Alternatively, albeit less persuasively, בעיא could be parsed as m.s. det. act. ptc., with Moses, the addressee of the verse, as the subject. This is the construal of Alonso Fontela.[610] While this might seem plausible initially as a continuation of the previous verse (1.7) in which Moses, to whom the future exile of Israel has been revealed, enquires of the Lord as to how the nation will survive its vicissitudes, it sits awkwardly with the series of 3 f.s. jussives in the ensuing apodosis. Moreover, the use of a det. ptc. would be solecistic since it functions as a

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[604] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 301 (34); Pope, *Song of Songs*, p. 335; Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 85; Treat, *The Aramaic Targum*; Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 239.

[605] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 36. He states that the tG form א(י)בעיא is attested in five manuscripts. The apparatuses register a single word reading in AF[3א/ב,5,6] and M[D,E]. As noted above, AF[6] is a 1961 edition of *Miqraʾot Gedolot*, not an independent manuscript witness.

[606] Litke claims (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 36) that 'some of the other manuscripts' read non-apocopated forms of the conditional particle. Yet the apparatuses only register a single manuscript, AF[8א] אם, amended in AF[8ב] to אן.

[607] TgPs 31.23 should be removed from Litke's listing of attestations of √בעי[tG] in LJLA (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 36), since the form is likely √בעע[tG] 'to be hurried' ≅ MT √חפז[G] 'to hurry', as noted in *CAL*, s.v. בעע [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[608] It seems unlikely that אי here represents the emphatic particle employed before ptcs. in JPA. See *DJPA*, p. 20.

[609] AF[2] reads a G-stem act. ptc., with a second person sub. pro. before the ptc. אי את בעיא 'if you desire'. In harmony with this, it reads the obj. of the ensuing clause, ודנפשי יהא רחים 'and that my soul should love', as לך 'you', instead of לה 'her'. AF[2] is a lone outlier with respect to both readings. Its framing of these clauses as an address in the second person (whether the addressee is construed as Moses or Israel) sits awkwardly with the co-text. The verse opens with a report that God spoke to Moses, and Israel is referenced in the third person throughout the balance of the verse. AF[2]'s reading results in a sharp disjunction from second to third person, possibly with respect to the same referent (Israel). It may represent a secondary adjustment towards the second person addressee in the underlying MT אם לא תדעי לך 'If you do not know'.

[610] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 258–259. He translates 1.8 'Respondió el Santo, bendito sea, al profeta Moisés: Si es tu deseo acabar con el destierro de la Congregación de Israel.' ('The Holy One, blessed be He, replied to the prophet Moses: If it is your desire to end the exile of the Congregation of Israel'). His construal of גלותא כנישתא דישראל as a single NP—the obj. of the inf.—would entail emending בגלותא to the cst. בגלות (as per M[A,B,D]; Melamed's apparatus fails to register that M[C,E,F] read בגלותא), or supplying ד before כנישתא (as per AF[2]).

predicate. Yet, this is not a fatal objection in view of the copious solecisms pertaining to state throughout TgShir.[611] Weightier objections to this analysis are presented by the absence of a sub. pro. (in all CWs bar AF[2]) and the semantic incongruence with the ensuing co-text.

However, if, as per Litke, an original tG-stem form is posited, the result would be a 3 f.s. pf. with apocopation of the terminal ת, a form known from JBA: א(י)בעיא 'she/it was sought, it was necessary'.[612] Unlike the G-stem analysis, the absence of a מ- prefix precludes parsing the form as a ptc.

Furthermore, all the manuscripts that appear to exhibit √בעי[tG] include a pro. BENEFICIARY, hosted by ל, between the verb and its infinitival complement. There is a distinction in the person and number of the BENEFICIARY pro. between the CWs[West.] and CWs[Yem.]: AF[3,5] להון 'for them', versus M[D,E] לך 'for you'.[613] The BENEFICIARY is a component of the putative tG-stem construction; therefore, a verdict on the correct verbal stem cannot be reached in isolation from it.

Since Litke does not offer a translation of TgShir 1.8 according to his preferred tG-stem reading, it is not clear how he understands the sense of the clause, or how it integrates with the ensuing co-text.[614] However, such an attempt is undertaken by Jerusalmi, who accepts the tG-stem reading of √בעי, along with the 3 m.p. form of the pro. BENEFICIARY attested in the CWs[West.]. His reconstructed text reads אבעיא להון למהוי בגלותא כנישתא דישראל, which he translates impersonally: 'In exile, it will be necessary for them to be *the* Community of Israel'.[615] However, this reading is unpersuasive, not least for the ascription of future tense value to the pf. and the conjectural emendation of the infinitival complement to √היי[G] 'to be'.

In fact, neither version of the tG-stem pf. + BENEFICIARY construction—the Western 3 m.p. להון or the Yemenite 2 f.s. לך—comports well, semantically, with its co-text. In 1.7 Moses asks God how Israel will survive in exile. In 1.8 God replies to Moses, outlining the steps Israel must

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[611] Cf. TgShir 2.14 הות כנישתא דישראל סגירתא 'the Congregation of Israel was confined'; 5.8 אנא מרעיתא 'I am sick'; 8.3 אנא בחירתא 'I am chosen'. For further examples, see Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 146.

[612] E.A. Bar-Asher Siegal, *Introduction to the Grammar of Jewish-Babylonian Aramaic* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013), p. 113. Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 50) notes the attestation of such a form in TgShir 5.1 אימתלא 'she was compared'. However, he claims that it is restricted to AF[1] and a single Yemenite manuscript (unspecified, but presumably M[E]). However, the reading אמתילא in AF[7,8,9] and M[F] also appears to be an apocopated 3 f.s. pf. verb (so too, T-S B11.81 and Valmadonna 1). In contrast, AF[2,3,4,5,10] and M[A,B,C] read a G-stem f.s. pass. ptc., מתילא. (Melamed's apparatus fails to register the reading א(י)מתילא in M[E,F]). Curiously, although Litke advocates reading √בעי[tG] at TgShir 1.8, which yields just such a JBA style apocopated 3 f.s. pf., he claims (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 104.) that the token at 5.1 is the sole example of such a form in TgShir. Further tokens of this form are attested in AF[7,10] at 3.2 אסתלקא 'has departed'; AF[4,5,7,9,11] and M[B,F] at 8.11 אשתארא/ה 'she remained'.

[613] In fact, a pro. BENEFICIARY features in all CWs[Yem.], including those that read √בעי[G]: AF[12], M[B,C,F] לך 'for you [=masc.]'; M[Cmg.] להון 'for them'. In CWs[West.] its distribution is restricted to the two manuscripts that read √בעי[tG]. Presumably, it was intended as a correlate to the pro. BENEFICIARY in the underlying MT אם לא תדעי לך 'If you do not know [for your benefit]'. See Fishbane, *Song of Songs*, p. 40. The 2 m.s. pro. suff. in the CWs[Yem.] (versus the 2 f.s. form in MT) with reference to Moses, rather than the fem. 'congregation of Israel', suggests that Moses is presented as a representative of the community. Exegetically motivated exploitation of the morphological coincidence between the underlying Hebrew 2 f.s. לָךְ and Aramaic 2 m.s. לָךְ is a possible contributory factor to this reading.

[614] Notwithstanding his analysis, Litke does not offer a parenthetical emendation to a tG-stem form in his transcription of AF[1] אי בעי, which he translates similarly to Pope and Alexander, 'if […] desires'. This contrasts with his approach to the auxiliary's infinitival complement where he offers the 'corrected' form למימחי for AF[1] למיחי. On the unwarranted nature of this emendation, see below.

[615] Jerusalmi, *Song of Songs*, p. 29.

take to survive. The exile is described throughout these verses from the perspective of Moses, as a *future* event. It, therefore, makes little sense for the prescription to begin with a pf. verb. All other finite verb forms in these verses are either impf., or periphrastic constructions consisting of an impf. √היי[G] 'to be' + ptc.—hence Jerusalmi's resort to the expedient of translating אבעיא with future tense. Moreover, the Yemenite 2 sing. BENEFICIARY suffers from the same objection as that levelled at AF²'s reading of a second person sing. sub. pro. + √בעי[G], namely, a second person address sits awkwardly with the ensuing co-text.

In sum, it seems more likely on co-textual grounds that the original reading is that of a conditional particle[616] + √בעי[G] f.s. abs. act. ptc., as per the majority of CWs. Moreover, a possible developmental trajectory from this to the tG-stem + BENEFICIARY constructions can be suggested. Initially, the reading א(י)בעיא may have arisen from the influence of the comparable orthography involving the self-same root in the G-stem in JBA, in the expression איבעית 'if you wish', perhaps reflecting proclisis of the conditional particle.[617] Mis-construal of such a form as tG-stem would be easy. The apparent impersonal construction would demand the introduction of a BENEFICIARY. License for such an amendment was ready to hand in the presence of a ל[BENEFICIARY] in the underlying MT, אם לא תדעי לָךְ 'If you do not know'.

9.7   *Mis-readings of TgShir 1.8—the infinitive* למיחי

Having considered the soundness of the majority reading of a conditional particle + act. ptc. √בעי[G] at TgShir 1.8, attention will now be given to the verbal root of the auxiliary's infinitival complement. The opening of the verse is presented from AF¹, along with Alexander's translation, which assumes the inf. to be √מחי[G] 'to blot out': אמר קודשא בריך הוא למשה נבייא אי בעיא למ<u>יחי</u> בגלותא כנישתא דישראל [...] "The Holy One, blessed be He, said to Moses, the prophet: "If the assembly of Israel desires to <u>blot out</u> the exile [...]".[618]

Construing למיחי as √מחי[G] assumes the omission of either the -מ prefix of the G-stem inf., or the first root consonant מ. The expected form of the inf., if the verb is indeed √מחי[G], למ(י)חי, is only attested, among the CWs, in AF⁶. Alonso Fontela notes the textual difficulty and, in support of his construal of the inf. as √מחי[G], cites a report by Díez Macho of two examples of a מ undergoing assimilation or syncopation when followed by another מ in TgNeof Exodus.[619] The first example, from Exod. 34.34, is an inf. √מלל[D] written למללה. The spelling לממללה would be expected, since JPA derived stem infs. include a -מ prefix. The second example, from TgNeofM at Exod. 21.13, mirrors the putative state of affairs in TgShir 1.8, since an inf. √מחי[G] is written למחי, whereas לממחי would be expected. However, this is a consistent phenomenon neither in TgNeof, nor its marginalia.[620] Irrespectively, there is no

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[616] Correlating with the conditional particle אם, with which MT Song 1.8 commences.

[617] Bar-Asher Siegal, *Introduction*, p. 43.

[618] Underlining mine.

[619] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 301, n. 34, citing A. Díez Macho, *MS Neophyti I, tomo III, Levítico* (Madrid & Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1971), p. 61. Díez Macho cites these examples from the doctoral thesis of Teresa de Jesús Martínez, *Estudio de la fonología y morfología del ms Neofiti 1: Éxodo*.

[620] A count of infs. √מלל[D] in TgNeof found an equal split between forms with a single מ and those with double מ—31 tokens of each—distributed throughout the text. In view of this, it is possible that at least some of the tokens with a single מ were products of the influence of the prestigious JLA dialect on the scribe, whose derived stem infs. do not bear a -מ prefix, rather than reflexes of a phonological process. Apropos the second example cited by Díez Macho, the evidence is similarly equivocal: a form of inf. √מחי[G] spelt with double מ occurs in TgNeofM Lev. 26.28. The form at TgNeofM Exod. 21.13 may simply be due to scribal error. Presumably, if one

evidence elsewhere in TgShir for such a process operating.[621] The most plausible case for למ(י)חי at TgShir 1.8 as an inf. √מחי[G] would, therefore, appear to rest on an assumption of haplography.

Unlike Alonso Fontela, neither Alexander, nor Litke discuss the textual difficulty, although both also assume √מחי[G].[622] However, Litke offers the corrected reading, למימחי, alongside the original למיחי, in his transcription of AF¹.[623] If the reading √מחי[G] is assumed, then the PATIENT is encoded by ב, בגלותא 'the captivity'. This contrasts with the unequivocal token of √מחי[G] 'to blot out' at 8.7, whose PATIENT is encoded by ית, לא יכלין למימחי יתיך מן עלמא "they would not be able to blot you out from the world".

Yet, notwithstanding these scholars' advocacy of reading the inf. as √מחי[G], the absence of an unambiguous form of this verbal root in the manuscript tradition warrants caution. As noted above, the sole unambiguous collated witness to this reading is AF⁶, a 1961 printed edition of *Miqraʾot Gedolot*, whose dependence on previous editions of the Rabbinic Bible is certain, but whose precise textual genealogy is unclear.[624] The earliest attestation of the reading לממחי I have been able to locate in printed editions is in Johann Buxtorf's *Biblia Sacra Hebraica & Chaldaica* (1618–19). Alexander notes that Buxtorf's text appears to be a revision of Bomberg's second Rabbinic Bible (1525). He states that some of the divergences may derive from the Antwerp Polyglot (1568–73), 'but the majority are editorial in character and do not point to any fresh collation of mss.'[625] Bomberg's first (1517) and second Rabbinic Bibles, and the Antwerp Polyglot, read למחי. The genesis of the reading לממחי appears to be a conjectural emendation by Buxtorf—reproduced in Brian Walton's London Polyglot (1654–57) and adopted by de Lagarde.[626]

Bomberg's 1st and 2nd Rabbinic Bibles	אבעיא להון למחי גלותא כנישתא
Antwerp Polyglot	את בעיא להון למחי גלותא כנישתא
Buxtorf's *Biblia Sacra*	אבעיא להון לממחי גלותא כנישתא

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were to posit a phonological explanation for the omission of a מ in these cases, two distinct processes would be involved, since the syllable structure of the inf. prefix and R₁ in the G- and D-stems are different.

[621] All other tokens of G-stem infs. R₁-מ in TgShir represent the prefix and R₁ with separate letters: 2.7 לממת 'to die'; 3.5 לממסר 'to deliver'; 7.5 למ(י)מני 'to count' (x2); and, crucially, 8.7 למימחי 'to blot out'.

[622] Pope also assumes √מחי[G], translating 'to wipe out'. However, his level of engagement with TgShir differs from these scholars—an English translation, not a textual/grammatical analysis. While several editions of TgShir are listed in his bibliography, he does not comment on his choices amongst competing readings. Pope, *Song of Songs*, pp. 234–235, 335.

[623] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 238. The form of his emendation (preserving the י after the מ, which is not attested in any of the CWs) suggests that he believes R₁, rather than the prefix of the G-stem inf., was accidentally omitted in AF¹ or its *Vorlage*.

[624] In contrast, an inf. √מחי[G] enjoys wider attestation at 8.7.

[625] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 3.

[626] de Lagarde's edition reproduces the consonantal text of Bomberg's 1st Rabbinic Bible, with certain amendments. Alexander notes that these appear to be derived from (1) other early printed editions (Bomberg's 2nd Rabbinic Bible, the Antwerp Polyglot, and Buxtorf), and (2) conjectural emendation by de Lagarde himself. de Lagarde registers that his chosen reading לממחי diverges from the first Rabbinic Bible's למחי. P. de Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, (1873, reprinted: Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1967), pp. XIV, 147.

A variant of the inf. at 1.8, √חזי[G] 'to see', occurs in AF[7,9,10], Valmadonna 1, and the CWs[Yem.].[627] Mulder accepts the reading √חזי[G], construing the subject as Moses, בגלותא as LOCATION, and כנישתא דישראל as STIMULUS: 'If you [=Moses] desire to see the assembly of Israel, which resembles a beautiful girl, in exile'.[628] Yet this is awkward in view of the continuation of the verse. The alternative construal, with כנישתא דישראל as the subject and בגלותא as the obj. of √חזי[G] ('if the assembly of Israel desires to see the exile'), is not only bizarre, but jars with 1.7 and the ensuing co-text.

Alonso Fontela opines that the reading √חזי[G] arose from an original √מחי[G] via the latter being misinterpreted as a metathesised form of the JPA √חמי[G] 'to see', which was subsequently updated to √חזי[G] under the influence of JLA.[629] This hypothesis chimes with his thesis that TgShir was originally composed in JPA and revised by copyists towards the more prestigious Aramaic dialects of TgOnq and the Babylonian Talmud.[630] Indeed, an example of confusion between √מחי[G] and √חמי[G] is evident at TgShir 8.7, where AF[7] reads למחמי instead of לממחי. Co-textually, √מחי[G] makes sense at 8.7, in describing the destructive intention of the assembled kings of the earth (who are likened to strong waters) towards Israel (≅ MT √שטף[G]), whereas √חמי[G], as at 1.8, is nonsensical.

However, it is possible that a form such as AF[1] למיחי could have given rise to the correction למ(י)חזי more directly. If the מ was construed as the G-stem inf. prefix, the ח would naturally be read as R₁, and all that would be required is for the ז to be supplied as the supposedly absent R₂. It is possible that the presence of a slightly elongated י, either before or after the ח, may have been misconstrued as ז.

An alternative proposal, which does not entail resorting to emendation and is the most straightforward reading, is to construe the inf. as √חיי[G] 'to live', carrying the overtone of 'to survive'.[631] In turn, בגלותא is naturally construed as a locative adjunct 'in (the) exile', rather than the direct obj. of the inf. This would yield 'if the assembly of Israel desires to live on in the exile'. This analysis not only satisfies Ockham's Razor but, arguably, comports best with the co-text. TgShir 1.8 reports God's response to the questions posed by Moses in the previous verse, as to how Israel will survive during her (then future) exile. The answer is given in the balance of 1.8—if she manifests righteousness, complies with directives from community leaders in liturgical matters, and ensures the attendance of her sons at the synagogue and bet midrash, she will be sustained in exile, until the sending of King Messiah. The verbal echoes between the wording of Moses' question in 1.7, and God's response in 1.8, are underlined below.

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[627] Díez Merino translates AF[7], 'si la asamblea de Israel, que se asemeja a una hermosa muchacha, quiere verse en el exilio […]'. However, a reciprocal sense is unwarranted by the Aramaic.

[628] 'Als U verlangt om de vergadering van Israel, die op een mooi meisje lijkt, in de ballingschap te zien'. Mulder, *De Targum*, p. 53.

[629] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum,* p. 301 (34). Melamed (*Targum to Canticles*, p. 18) preferred the Yemenite reading and took the contrary position, namely, that לממחי in de Lagarde's edition was an error for למחמי.

[630] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum,* p. 116.

[631] This reading is noted by Silber, *Sedeh Jerusalem*, ad loc. Cf. the parallel Latin translation in AF[2]: 'si tu queris vivere in captiuitate' ('if you desire to live in captivity'). This contrasts with the parallel Latin translation in AF[5] which assumes √מחי[G]: 'tu postulas ut dele illis exiliu' ('you desire to destroy their exile'). A large section of the Aramaic text of 1.8 in AF[5] is omitted due to parablepsis, from (בי) כנשתא to כנישתא (דישראל). Notwithstanding, the omitted material is reflected in the Latin translation.

משה [...] אמר קדם ייי גלי קדמי‎[632] דעמא הדין עתידין למחב ולמהלכא <u>בגלותא</u> כען חוי קדמי‎[633] איכדין <u>יתפרנסון</u> ואיכדין ישרון ביני עמיא [...] אי בעיא למיחי <u>בגלותא</u> כנישתא דישראל [...] תהא מהלכא באורחיהון דצדיקיא ותהא מסדרא צלותהא על פום כרזילהא‎[634] ומדברי דרא [...] ובהיא זכותא יהוון <u>מתפרנסין בגלותא</u>[...]

'[1.7] [...] Moses said before the LORD, "It has been revealed before me that this people will sin and go <u>into exile</u>. Now tell me, how will they be sustained, and how will they dwell among the nations?" [1.8] [...] if the Congregation of Israel wants to live on <u>in exile</u> [...] let her walk in the ways of the righteous and arrange her prayer according to her shepherd(s) and the leaders of her generation [...] and by virtue of this they be sustained <u>in exile</u>'.

The use of בגלותא as a locative prep. phrase in 1.7, and subsequently in 1.8, lends support to the same analysis of its function in the verb phrase למיחי בגלותא. However, once the inf. is correctly understood as the stative √חיי‎[G], rather than √מחי‎[G] or √חזי‎[G], the candidacy of בגלותא as a direct obj. is disqualified.

In conclusion, the token of √מחי‎[G] at 8.7 is a *hapax legomenon* in TgShir; its PATIENT is encoded by ית. The ב is not employed to encode the PATIENT of √מחי‎[G] in TgShir. Modern scholars appear to have been misled by a conjectural emendation by Buxtorf which entered subsequent print editions.

9.8   *Possible misreading of TgShir 1.10*

The translations of Mulder, Alexander, and Litke appear to assume that ב encodes PATIENT in TgShir 1.10: כנירא על קדל תורא דהוא חריש רדי/ומפרנס יתיה וית מריה <u>בחקלא</u> "Like a yoke upon the neck of the ox that plows <u>the field</u> and supports itself and its master". However, a LOCATION reading is plausible: 'the ox that plows <u>in</u> the field'. The latter is reflected in the translations of Pope, Alonso Fontela, Jerusalmi, Treat, and the parallel Latin translation in AF²‎.[635]

If the antecedent of יתיה is indeed תורא, ית here, uniquely in TgShir, hosts a reflexive pro.‎[636] The statement that the ox—a simile for Israel—provides sustenance for itself, may be predicated on *al tiqre*, parsing MT לחייך as 'for your (f.s.) life', rather than 'your cheeks'. However, the antecedent may rather be חקלא, with מפרנס bearing the more general sense 'tending', seen in Tibat Marqe פרדס יצחק שביק דלא מפרנס 'the garden of Isaac is forsaken, without a caretaker'.‎[637]

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[632] The use of the syntagm √גלי‎[G pass.] + קדם‎[suff. 1 c.s.], '*x* is revealed before me' by human speakers diverges from TgOnq and TgJon, in which the syntagm occurs exclusively in divine speech. For other tokens of the syntagm in human speech in LJLAtg., see TgPsJ Deut. 31.27; TgPs 51.5; 140.13; TgJob 21.27; 30.23; TgQoh 10.9; Tg2Chron 2.7 (all of which, bar TgQoh 10.9, ≅ MT √ידע‎[G] 'to know'). The contrast is illustrated by the words of Moses in Deut. 31.27 in TgOnq ארי אנא ידענא ית סרבנותך 'For I know your stubbornness', and TgPsJ, 'For your stubbornness has been revealed before me' ארום גלי קדמיי ית סורהבנותכן. AF¹⁰ and M^{E,F} amend קדמי to קדמך in TgShir 1.7.

[633] TgShir's use of √חוי‎[D] + קדם‎[ADDRESSEE] to translate MT √נגד‎[C] + ל‎[ADDRESSEE] is repeated at 5.8.

[634] כרזיל 'shepherd' appears to be only otherwise attested in LJLAtg. in TgQoh 10.10. There are further parallels between these passages. TgQoh 10.9 אמר שלמה נבייא <u>גלי קדמי דמנשה</u> בר חזקיה <u>עתיד למחב</u> mirrors the opening of TgShir 1.7. In TgQoh 10.10, Israel's appointment of כרזיליהון 'their shepherds' to pray on her behalf is one the prescriptions for the obtaining divine favour. In TgShir 1.8, Israel's ordering of prayer according to her shepherds has the same function.

[635] 'arat in agro'.

[636] Note the use of נפש as a reflexive pro. at 6.12. Cf. TgJon Ezek. 34.4.

[637] A. Tal, *Tibåt Mårqe, The Ark of Marqe: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), pp. 44–45. Cf. *CAL*, s.v. פרנס [last accessed 12 April 2021].

9.9 *Use of ב to encode GOAL arguments of verbs of motion*

A demarcation between CWs^West. and CWs^Yem. obtains with respect to the prep. selected to encode the locational GOAL of the following verbs of caused motion: √קרב^D(G?) 'to bring near' (1.4), √שדר^D 'to send' (2.8), √גלי^C 'to exile' (5.4; 7.12) and √יבל^C 'to lead' (5.7). In each case the THEME is human. With isolated exceptions, CWs^West. employ ב, but CWs^Yem. ל.[638] Each token in both recensions is set out below.

9.9.1 √קרב^D/G? 'to bring near'
TgShir 1.4:

CWs^West. + M^D	וקריב יתן/נא בַשׁ(י)פולי/א (ד)טו(ו)רא דסיני
CWs^Yem. - M^D	וקריב יתן לַשׁיפולי (ד)טורא דסיני

'Bring us near to the base of Mount Sinai'

The marking of the locational GOAL of √קרב 'bring near' with ב in the CWs^West. is notable. The construction with ל in CWs^Yem. is normative,[639] and likely secondary. It is possible that the prep. in CWs^West. is a vestige of an adapted source text. The vocabulary of the clause is resonant of Palestinian targumic renderings of Exod. 19.12.[640] However, the sense of the verb √קרב in TgShir diverges from these sources. The latter mirror MT's verb of surface contact, employing infs. √קרב^G + ב^LOCATION 'to touch' (≅ MT √נגע^G + ב^LOCATION).[641] The use of ב in this construction is expected.[642] If TgShir is interacting with this clause in Exod. 19.12, the anomalous construction in CWs^West. may be a function of conforming the verbal semantics of √קרב^G to √בוא^C 'to bring' in Song 1.4, while retaining the original prep. of surface contact. This is not implausible considering the expansion of the semantic range of infs. √קרב^G in TgShir, noted above.[643] However, in view of TgShir's use of ב to encode the locational GOAL of sundry verbs of caused motion, it more likely represents an idiolectal trait.

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[638] M^D patterns with CWs^West. at 1.4; 7.12. AF² patterns with CWs^Yem. at 2.8. Melamed (*Targum to Canticles*, p. 30) noted the distinction in preps. between de Lagarde's edition and CWs^Yem.—characterising their function as conveying 'a local sense' and 'direction toward' respectively—albeit he overlooked the token at 1.4.

[639] E.g., see targums to Exod. 29.4. The sense of caused motion in TgShir 1.4 is secure: קריב יתן ≅ MT הביאני 'he has brought me'.

[640] TgShir's domestication of *matan Torah* to the intimacy of Song 1.4, appears to subvert this intertext, in which God expressly *prohibits* the nation proximity to, and contact with, the base of Sinai. However, cf. Deut. 4.11; Exod. 19.17.

[641] MT ונגע בקצהו '[Be careful not] to touch the edge of [the mountain].' TgShir is resonant of TgNeof, FragTg^P, TgCG^F,U ad loc., ו(ד)לא למקרן(ו)ב בש(י)פולוי. (TgOnq, FragTg^V, TgPsJ likewise employ √קרב^G + ב, but render קצה by סוף/סיף 'limit', rather than שפול 'base').

[642] On the use of ב to encode LOCATION of verbs √נגע and other verbs of surface contact in Biblical Hebrew, see Bekins, *Transitivity and Object Marking*, p. 155–160.

[643] Morphologically, the imperative קריב in 1.4 could be either G- or D-stem. See section 6.3.7 above.

9.9.2 √שׁדר[D] 'to send'

TgShir 2.8:

CWs[West.] - AF[2]	ושדר יתיה במצרים למפר(ו)ק יתהון
CWs[Yem.] + AF[2 644]	ושדר יתיה למצרים למפרק יתהון

'He sent him (in)to Egypt to deliver them'

This is the only token of a verb √שׁדר in TgShir, and there is no evident motivation for the choice of either prep. in MT Song 2.8. The reading with ל in AF[2] and the CWs[Yem.] reflects the conventional method of marking a toponymic GOAL of √שׁדר.[645]

The use of ב in the Western recension could perhaps be explained as marking מצרים as a PATH, rather than a GOAL, albeit it might be expected to be prefixed to the universal quantifier,[646] or accompanied by an adv. modifier.[647] [648] However, in the Exodus narrative, which forms the context of this clause, Moses is dispatched by God to, not throughout, Egypt. Specifically, this clause together with the ensuing one, ולאפקא יתהון מגו דחוק מרוות מצראי, "and to bring them out from the oppression of the tyranny of the Egyptians", appear to paraphrase Exod. 3.10.[649]

An adversative sense is possible: 'he sent him against Egypt'.[650] However, the rest of the sentence describes the liberation of the nation, rather than the destruction wrought on Egypt. The latter is reported in the subsequent verse (2.9), and the action attributed to God, without mention of Moses' agency. On balance, it seems most likely that the prep. phrase במצרים bears the sense 'into Egypt'.

The synonymous verb √שׁלח 'to send' may feature in a comparable construction in MT Judg. 5.15 בעמק שלח ברגליו 'sent into the valley, at his feet'.[651] Tg.Jon's interpretation of the role of the argument corresponding to בעמק is ambiguous between PATH or GOAL: משתלחין בקרוי מישרא לכל אתר דצריך לתמן בתשלחתיה 'being sent throughout/into the villages of the

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[644] T-S B11.81 למצ.

[645] Cf. TgPsJ Gen. 28.6; Tg1Chron 21.15; Tg2Chon 32.9; TosTg 104, ln. 13. Most likely irrelevant here is TgJob 8.4: וישלחם ביד פשׁעם MT ≅ ושדרנון באתר מרדיהון, 'he delivered them into the power of their transgression'. באתר is likely a plene spelling of the prep. בתר 'after, in accordance with', rather than ב + אתר 'place'. For a non-toponymic GOAL marked by ב, see TgJob 18.8: אשתדר במצדתא ברגלוהי 'he is sent into a net by his own feet', mirroring MT ברגליו שלח ברשׁת.

[646] Cf. TgJon Judg. 6.35 (which mirrors MT in ellipting the universal quantifier in the second half of the verse); 2 Sam. 15.10.

[647] Cf. TgJon 1 Sam. 31.9 (סחור סחור); Tg1Chron 10.9 (חזור חזור).

[648] For √שׁדר + ב[PATH], without these factors, in LJLA, see TosTg 103, ln. 1; *Zohar* I, 198a; *Zohar* II, 278a (x2); *Zohar* III (*Piqqudin*) 83a. The direct objs. in these examples are all abstract phenomena (tumult, famine, the spirit of life) which permeate the argument marked by ב. Cf. MT/TgPs 104.10.

[649] Cf. TgPsJ Exod. 3.10 ואשדרינך לות פרעה ואפיק ית עמי בני ישראל ממצרים 'I will send you to Pharaoh to bring out my people, the children of Israel, from Egypt'. Moreover, note the verbal points of contact with between the first half of TgShir 2.8 and TgPsJ Exod. 2.23; 3.1, 9. For למפר(ו)ק יתהון, cf. TgOnq Exod. 2.25; TgNeof Exod. 2.25; 3.10.

[650] Cf. MT 2 Kgs 24.2; Isa. 10.6.

[651] A verb √שׁלח does not occur in a comparable construction in TgShir.

plain, to every place in need; there [they were sent] on his mission'.[652] The plural form of the NP may favour reading קרוי מישרא as PATH.[653] If this is the correct analysis, the construction differs from that in TgShir 2.8.

9.9.3 √גלי[C] 'to exile'

TgShir 5.4:

CWs[West. 654]	ואגלי יתהון בַלחלח ו(בַ)חבור
CWs[Yem.]	ואגלי יתהון לַלחלח וחב(ו)ר

'And he exiled them (in)to Laḥlaḥ and Ḥabor'.

TgShir 7.12:

CWs[West.] + M[D 655]	אגלי ייי יתהון בַארעא דשעיר חקלא דאדום
CWs[Yem.] - M[D]	אגלי ייי יתהון לַארעא דסעיר חקלא דאדום

'The LORD exiled them (in)to the land of Seir, the field of Edom'

These represent the only tokens of verbs √גלי in TgShir in constructions specifying the locus of exile. Alexander appears to regard the role of ב in the CWs[West.] as encoding LOCATION, rather than GOAL, arguments.[656] Yet construing the toponyms as LOCATION appears to entail that the verb √גלי[C], rather than performing its conventional function of a verb of caused motion, has been reconceived as a factitive: 'he caused them to be exiles in GN'.[657] While this is possible, the use of ב to mark GOAL arguments in TgShir 2.8 and 5.7 suggests it performs the same function here. Once again, the CWs[Yem.] (- M[D]) employs the conventional ל.[658] Two arguments for the influence of the biblical text on the choice of the ב in in the Western recension of TgShir 5.4 could be made as follows, albeit neither are persuasive.

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[652] Translation adapted from Smelik, *Targum of Judges*, p. 457, who construes קרוי מישרא as GOAL.

[653] Cf. MT/TgJon Jer. 49.14.

[654] T-S B11.81 and Valmadonna 1 בלחלח וחבור.

[655] So too Valmadonna 1.

[656] Thus, 5.4 'he carried them off to exile in Laḥlaḥ and Ḥabor' and 7.12 'the Lord exiled them in the land of Seir'. He explicitly contrasts the latter with the Yemenite reading, which he renders 'to the land of Seir'. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 150, apparatus *v*, and p. 186, apparatus *rr*. Litke consistently translates the prep. ב in all the constructions noted in this section (2.8; 5.4, 7; 7.12) as encoding GOAL ('to') but does not comment on the grammatical peculiarity. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 259, 271.

[657] The alternative explanation, namely, that the subjects (Sennacherib and God) and/or the direct obj. (Israel) were present in the locations mentioned *before* the actions described took place, is manifestly absurd.

[658] For √גלי + ל[GOAL] in LJLA: TgPsJ Num. 21.29; Deut. 28.36, 68; 30.1; Tg1Chron 8.6; Tg2Chron 6.36; 36.20; TgEstII 5.14; TosTg 125א lns. 14, 112–113; 125ג lns. 15, 61; 125ד lns. 10, 44–45; Tob.[Med] ch. 3, p. 6,ln. 3. For the same in JLAtg.: TgOnq Deut. 28.36; 29.27; 30.1; TgJon 2 Kgs 15.29; 16.9; 17.6; 18.11; 24.15; Isa. 10.13; 19.25; 22.18; 28.2; 43.14; Jer. 2.10; 8.3; 16.15; 20.4; 22.29; 23.3, 8; 24.5; 28.4; 29.1, 4; 29.7, 14, 18, 20; 31.21; 39.9; 40.1, 7; 43.3; 46.28; 48.11; Ezek. 4.13; 12.13; 17.20; Hos. 7.11; 8.9; 9.3; 11.11; Joel 2.20; Amos 1.5; Mic. 2.11; Zech. 6.8; 11.10.

1. As Alexander notes, the toponymic list in 5.4 is quarried from 2 Kgs 17.6; 18.11; 1 Chron. 5.26. The list in TgShir is closer in form to the list in 2 Kgs 17.6; 18.11, since 1 Chron. 5.26 includes an extra toponym והרא 'and Hara'.[659] Yet, the influence of 1 Chron. 5.26 is apparent in the form of the toponym לחלח Laḥlaḥ, the result of the misconstrual of ל + חלח 'to Halaḥ' as a toponym *simpliciter*.[660] Moreover, TgShir's marking of the toponyms with ב aligns with MT and TgJon to 2 Kgs 17.6 and 18.11. However, in both these passages the governing verbs are different from that employed in TgShir, albeit the verb $\sqrt{\text{גלי}}^{\text{C}}$ 'to exile' features in the preceding clause in both MT and TgJon. It could be argued that the construction $\sqrt{\text{גלי}}^{\text{C}}$ + ב at TgShir 5.4 is the product of a clumsy abridgement of 2 Kgs 17.6 or 18.11. Thus, using TgJon 2 Kgs 17.6 by way of illustration: ואגלי ית ישראל לאתור ואותיב יתהון בחלח בחבור. However, the influence of 1 Chron. 5.26, evident in spelling of the toponym לחלח, renders this unlikely.

2. TgShir may have been influenced by the vocalisation of the verb in MT 2 Kgs 18.11 וַיַּנְחֵם בַּחְלַח וּבְחָבוֹר, which suggests $\sqrt{\text{נחי}}^{\text{C}}$ 'to lead'.[661] However, the context suggests that the correct reading is $\sqrt{\text{נוח}}^{\text{C}}$ 'to place', namely, וַיַּנַּחֵם 'he placed them'.[662] [663] On the former reading, the toponyms marked by ב are GOAL arguments, whereas on the latter, they are LOCATIONS. TgShir's verb of caused motion + GOAL argument encoded by ב may be reflex of the former reading. However, the latter construal is reflected in the versions; TgShir's manifest familiarity with TgJon suggests that this construal was readily available.[664]

Rather, TgShir's use of בלחלח is likely independent of MT. The misunderstanding of לחלח in 1 Chron. 5.26 is not unique to TgShir—it is attested in several piyyutim.[665] A close parallel to TgShir's construction is found in a *qedushta* for the seventh day of Passover by the paytan Yosef be-rabbi Nisan: כמביאי בלחלח 'like he [=the king of Assyria] who brought me [=Israel] to Laḥlaḥ'.[666] In referring to the same episode in Israel's history, the toponym לחלח, as the GOAL of a verb of caused motion, is encoded by ב. This nexus between a specimen of Passover liturgy and TgShir is intriguing, in view of the latter's association with the festival.

Alexander's attempt to ground the use of ב in the CWs^West. to TgShir 7.12 in MT Gen. 32.4 is problematic.[667] TgShir does appear to invoke this passage in its deployment of the NP ארעא

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[659] הרא is rendered טורי קבלא 'the mountains of darkness' in Tg1Chron.

[660] Mulder, *De Targum*, p. 104, n. 4a; Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 150, n. 18.

[661] Cf. MT Ps. 78.14; 107.30.

[662] Cf. MT Gen. 2.15; Lev. 24.12.

[663] The same issue with the vocalisation arises at MT 1 Sam. 22.4; 1 Kgs 10.26.

[664] LXX ἔθηκεν; Vulgate conlocavitque; Peshiṭta ܐܘܬܒ; TgJon אשרינון. This reading is closer, semantically, to the parallel at MT 2 Kgs 17.6, וישב 'he settled'.

[665] Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 150, n. 18.) assumes the mistake was made by TgShir directly from 1 Chron. 5.26. So too Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 391. However, the spelling may have been adopted from another source, or been common currency.

[666] M. Zulay, *Eretz Israel and Its Poetry: Studies in Piyyutim from the Cairo Geniza*, ed. Ephraim Hazan (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1995), p. 182 (in Hebrew); E. Fleischer, *Hebrew Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1975), p. 272 (in Hebrew). It may have been intended as an alliterative pun on the inf. בהתלחלח in ln. 1. For other uses of לחלח as a toponym, see, for example, MSS. Oxford, Bodleian, Heb. g. 2, f. 24a, ln. 6, and Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, T-S H7.6, ln. 6.

[667] It is possible that the selection of the prep. was influenced by the use of ב which encodes LOCATION in MT Song 7.12bβ בכפרים 'in the villages'. However, this phrase is not generative of the clause in question, but rather,

דשעיר חקלא דאדום. Alexander claims that the Hebrew reads 'in the land of Seir', which he sets against TgOnq 'to the land of Seir'.[668] This gives the impression that the Western reading with ב aligns with MT, and the Yemenite with ל aligns with TgOnq. However, the NP in MT hosts the directional morpheme ה-, not a locative prep., and the governing verb is √שלח[G] 'to send'. The toponym is, therefore, unequivocally a GOAL, not a LOCATION: וישלח יעקב מלאכים לפניו אל עשׂו אחיו ארצה שׂעיר שׂדה אדום 'and Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his brother, to the land of Seir, the country of Edom'.[669] The Pentateuchal targums that translate this verse (TgOnq, TgNeof, and TgPsJ) reflect this reading by prefixing the toponym with ל.

Outside of TgShir 5.4; 7.12, I have only been able to identify a single comparable example in which ב is used to mark the LOCATION of exile, with the predicate √גלי[C].[670] It occurs in a plus to MT in TgPsJ, unparalleled in the other Pentateuchal targums.

<div style="text-align:center">

אגלי יתהון במדי ובעילם מן גוא שבִיַת בבל   TgPsJ Deut. 32.24

</div>

'I will exile them to Media and to Elam, from the midst of the captivity of Babylon'[671]

The function of √גלי[C] as a verb of caused motion seems clear: the SOURCE is encoded by מן, the GOAL by ב. There are a few examples in targumic Aramaic where the place of exile is marked by ב in conjunction with a predicate √גלי[G]. The majority of these involve ptc. predicates, and the toponymic argument can be analysed as either LOCATION or PATH, the former suggesting a stative reading.[672] TgPs 107.10 is an outlier in its employment of a finite verb: דגלו בבבל ויתיבו בחשוכא וטולא דמותא. It is possible that בבל is a GOAL: 'who were exiled to Babylon and dwelt in darkness and the shadow of death'. If so, this is yet another example of the phenomenon in LJLAtg.[673]

9.9.4 √יבל[C] 'to lead'
TgShir 5.7:

<div style="text-align:center">

ואובילו יתיה ברבלה/א   CWs[West.674]

</div>

בקירוי גלותא ופילכי עמיא 'in the cities of the exile and the provinces of the nations', which occurs later in the verse in TgShir. The underlying MT of the clause in question is נצא השׂדה 'let us go out to the countryside', in which the toponymic argument is marked Ø.

[668] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 186 apparatus *rr*.

[669] Translation mine. The rendition of modern English translations (e.g., NJPS, NRSV) 'to his brother Esau in the land of Seir' is potentially misleading.

[670] I discount here TgPs 106.27 ולאגלאה זרעהון בעמיא 'and to exile their seed among the nations' ≅ MT ולהפיל זרעם בגוים, since the ב with the pl. obj. has a distributive sense.

[671] Translation mine.

[672] Either reading is possible in TgOnq, TgNeof, TgPsJ Gen. 4.12, 14 (and cf. TgCG[B]). For place as LOCATION: TgNeof Lev. 26.34 ואתון גלין בארע בעלי-דבביכון 'while you are exiled in the land of your enemies' ≅ MT ואתם בארץ איביכם 'while you are in the land of your enemies'. TgNeofM ad loc., תהוון גליין ומטלטין, strikes an allusion to the fate of Cain in Gen. 4.12, 14); TgPsJ, FragTg[P] Lev. 26.44 כד (י)הוון גליין בארע בעלי-דבביהון ≅ MT בהיות בארץ איביהם). For place as PATH: TgQoh 1.12. All these examples involve ptc. tokens of √גלי[G].

[673] The relative clause דגלו בבבל (and all that precedes it in the verse) is a plus to MT.

[674] So too Valmadonna 1. T-S B11.81 יתיה ברבלה ‹ו›ּבִילוֹ.

'and they led him (in)to Riblah'

The role of רבלה as GOAL is clear. The clause describes the deportation of Zedekiah to Riblah by the Babylonians, narrated in 2 Kings 25 and Jeremiah 39, 52.[675] Once again, the encoding of the GOAL by ל in CW^Yem. reflects the conventional strategy.[676] The Western phrase ברבלה 'to Riblah' evinces a double divergence from the convention of TgJon which translates MT רבלתה 'to Riblah' by לרבלת.[677]

It is possible that the use of ב with יבל^C√ was influenced by the construction ומיני אובילו בַשִׁביתא 'and some of me they led off in captivity', which occurs earlier in 5.7, and ואוביל יתהון בַגלותא 'he led them in captivity' at 5.2. However, the referents of these NPs marked by ב are states, not geographical locations. No motivation for the choice of the ב is evident in MT Song 5.7. However, this construction is attested in ZA, ואובילת ליה בַהיכלא דמלכא 'escorting it into the palace of the king'.[678] A comparable construction in LJLAtg. occurs in TgPs 125.5 יולכינון בַגהנם 'he will lead them (in)to Genhenna' ≅ MT יוליכם יהוה 'the LORD will lead [them] away'.[679] It seems likely that ברבלה has the sense 'into Riblah'.

9.9.5   Summary

The use of ב as a directional prep., 'into', is known in Hebrew and Aramaic.[680] However, its use to encode the GOAL argument of the verbs with the sense 'to send', 'to exile', and 'to lead' appears to be rare. It is possible that TgShir, along with the other LJLA texts noted above, witness to an expansion of the use of Aramaic directional ב. This may have been catalysed by the interference of a language containing a whose functional range encompassed the encoding of both LOCATION and GOAL arguments. If such was routinely used to mark toponymic GOALS of predicates bearing the senses 'to send', 'to exile' and 'to lead', this may account for the uses of ב, where ל might be expected in TgShir (It seems likely that the variant readings

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[675] TgJon 2 Kgs 25.6; Jer. 39.5; 52.9 employ סלק^C√ 'to bring up' (≅ MT עלי^C√) to describe the transfer of Zedekiah to Riblah. TgJon 2 Kgs 25.7; Jer. 39.7; 52.11 use יבל^C√ (≅ MT בוא^C√) to describe Zedekiah's subsequent rendition from Riblah to Babylon. Riblah does occurs as the GOAL of יבל^C√ in TgJon 2 Kgs 25.20; Jer. 52.26, but the direct obj. is the Judean officials, not Zedekiah.

[676] For יבל^C√ + ל^GOAL in LJLA, see TgPsJ Gen. 22.19; 45.17; Exod. 19.4; TgPs 60.11; 66.6; Tg1Chron 2.54; Tg2Chron 33.11; 35.24; 36.6; TgEstII 1.2 (x2); TosTg 53ב ln. 4; 53ג ln. 4; MegAntioch ln.12.

[677] 2 Kgs 25.6, 20; Jer. 39.5; 52.9, 26. The form רבלת the product of mechanical subtraction of the Hebrew directional morpheme ה-, which is substituted by the prep. The form of the toponym in TgShir, רבלה, features in TgEstII 1.2 ואייתי יתהון לרבלה 'and he brought them to Riblah'. The phrase ברבלה occurs in MT/TgJon 2 Kgs 25.21; Jer. 39.6; 52.10, 27, but in each case the toponym is LOCATION.

[678] *Zohar* I, 245b.

[679] The analysis of גהנם as a PATH, while possible, is unlikely.

[680] For targumic Aramaic, see עלל^G/C√ or אתי^G/C√, in translation of MT בוא^G/C√ + ב, e.g., TgOnq Gen. 31.33; Exod. 10.4; TgJon Josh. 2.18; Judg. 11.18; 1 Sam. 9.5; Isa. 30.29; TgPs 66.11 (plus the variant targum to this verse). Also, TgPsJ Num. 26.59 במיעלהון במצרים 'when they entered Egypt' ≅ MT/TgOnq במצרים 'in Egypt'. The addition of the verbal predicate repurposes the prep. in MT/TgOnq from encoding LOCATION to GOAL.

For ZA, see Kaddari, *Grammar of the Aramaic of the Zohar*, p. 118. Kaddari, glosses this use of ב as 'אל, לתוך', citing *Zohar* III, 188a; 189b; 84a. Matt translates the latter as encoding a PATH, rather than a GOAL: כד הוה אזיל במתא 'when he was walking through town'.

with ל in CW^{Yem.} represent secondary accommodation to conventional targumic Aramaic constructions.) A possible candidate source of language interference is Latin, in which the prep. *in* encodes locative case when governing a nominal in the ablative, but allative case ('into') when governing a nominal in the accusative.[681] This could, of course, equally reflect the influence of a vernacular Romance, or any other, language possessing a similar feature.

In any event, tokens of this phenomena in TgShir are sporadic: GOAL arguments of verbs of directed and caused motion are generally encoded by ל.[682] The following example, from the climactic tenth song of the numerical proem in 1.1, in a quotation of Isa. 30.29, is noteworthy in this context. All CWs agree in the use of ל to encode a toponymic GOAL in the phrase למיעל לטורא דייי 'to enter the mountain of the LORD', *against* the use of ב in MT and TgJon.[683] The three texts are set out below.

TgShir 1.1	שירא הדין יהא לכון לחדוה כליל איתקדשות[684]
	חגא דפסחא וחדוות ליבא כעמא דאזלין לאתחזאה
	קדם ייי תלת זימנין בשתא במיני זמר וקל טבלא
	למיעל[685] לטורא דייי ולמימפלח קדם אלהא תקיפא
	דישראל
TgJon Isa. 30.29	תושבחא תהי לכון כליליא דאתקדש ביה חגא
	וחדות ליבא כמא דנגדין בתודתא ובאבובא למיעל
	בטור מקדשא דיוי לאתחזאה קדם תקיפא
	דישראל
MT Isa. 30.39	השיר יהיה לכם כליל התקדש חג ושמחת לבב
	כהולך בחליל לבוא בהר יהוה אל צור ישראל

TgShir prefaces the text with the citation formula דהכי׳ כתי׳ ומפרש על ידוי דישעיה נבייא "as is

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[681] Thus, the parallel Latin translations of TgShir in AF²·⁵ render the prep. ב in all the constructions noted in this section by 'in'. E.g., AF² 2.8 'et misit eum in egiptu' translates ושדר יתיה למצרים. Also, compare the following passages in TgShir with their biblical intertexts as rendered in the Vulgate: TgShir 7.12 בארעא דשעיר חקלא דאדום and Vulg. Gen. 32.3 'in terram Seir regionis Edom'; TgShir 5.7 ואובילו יתיה ברבלה and Vulgate 2 Kgs 25.6 'duxerunt ad regem Babylonis in Reblatha'. This contrasts with the situation in Greek, where these arguments are encoded by separate preps., εἰς and ἐν, respectively.

[682] Directed motion: √עלל^G 'to enter' (1.1; 4.8, 12, 16; 5.1); √הלך^G 'to go' (1.8; 7.13); √נפק^G 'to go out' (1.10); √סלק^G 'to ascend' (1.11, 14; 2.7; 3.3, 5; 8.1, 5); √אזל^G 'to go' (1.14; 2.13; 8.12); √נחת^G 'to descend' (6.1); √תוב^G 'to (re)turn' (7.1 [x2]). Caused motion: √עלל^C 'to bring in' (2.4, 5; 3.5 [x2]; 8.2, 14). Exceptionally, the prep. על is employed to encode the GOAL of √עלל^C at 8.14, on which, see below. There is a single use of לות to encode the GOAL of a verb of directed motion, √קרב^G 'to approach' (2.5). However, the GOAL is human beings, not a place.

[683] The only witness to TgJon registered by Sperber that reads לטורא is the Antwerp Polyglot.

[684] Litke's suggestion (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 112, n. 413) that the form איתקדשות results from scribal corruption of ליל(י)א יתקדש, a reading attested in the CWs^{Yem.}, is unconvincing. The use of an inf. cst. as the second member of a tripartite cst. chain mirrors the syntax of MT. Moreover, awkwardness attends the reading, owing to the absence of a rel. pro. before the finite verb (cf. TgJon).

[685] Alonso Fontela, Alexander, and Treat construe this inf. as √עלי^G 'to ascend'. However, the graphical absence of R₃, and the fact that TgShir is quoting Isa. 30.29 'to enter the mountain of LORD', indicates that the verb is in fact √עלל^G 'to enter'. Likewise, *pace* Pope, Alexander, and Treat, the absence of R₃ in the forms לאעלא (3.5) and מעיל (3.5) suggests that both are √עלל^C, not √עלי^C. Moreover, all three translators construe the forms תיעלי(ן)/(ון) (4.8) and אעילינך (8.2) as √עלי^{G/C} (Pope and Treat appear to conjecturally amend the former verb to 3rd person). However, the underlying MT is תבואי 'Come!' and אביאך 'I would bring you', respectively, suggesting rather √עלל^{G/C}. On these translators' handling of תעיל (8.14), see below.

clearly written by Isaiah the prophet". This is unique among the scriptural citation formulae of the proem, which otherwise take the simpler form דהכי כתי׳ 'as it is written'.[686] Alexander, while translating it as a hendiadys, suggests that מפרש may have been intended to invoke the Talmudic exegesis of מפורש in Neh. 8.8 as 'targum'.[687] If so, כתי׳ ומפרש 'could effectively mean "as is written in the text and explained in the Targum" of Isa. 30.29.'[688] Alexander reasons that such a construal is appropriate since the attendant proof text, unlike those cited in the preceding songs, 'diverges substantially from the literal sense of the Heb.'[689] Noting that it also differs from TgJon Isa. 30.29, he suggests it may derive from an otherwise unknown Palestinian targum to Isaiah.[690]

However, the external evidence suggests that כתיב ומפרש is simply, as Alexander translates, a hendiadys, 'clearly written', devoid of oblique reference to targumic exegesis. The use of this syntagm as part of a citation formula is attested in JPAtg.[691] It should be compared with the related formulations (ואמר) כתבא מפרש 'the scripture makes clear/clearly says'[692] and (הוא) (מ)(פרש) (ואמר) '(it/PN) clearly says'.[693] These are stock formulations; they do not pattern with renderings of biblical texts that diverge from the 'literal sense' of the Hebrew. Indeed, the hendiadys כתיב ומפרש features in non-citation contexts as an adj.[694]

The attestation of √פרש in citation formulae is sparser in LJLAtg. Still, there is no evidence of a semantic shift in these contexts to 'explained in a targum'. The form closest to that of TgShir 1.1, כתיב קרא ומפרש, is notable for the interposition of a NP between the ptcs.[695] Presumably, מפרש here has active voice ('the scripture is written and makes clear') although a discontinuous hendiadys may have been intended. LJLAtg. also features tokens of the JPAtg. formulations (ואמר) כתבא מפרש [696] and פריש ואמר.[697] Here too, כתיב ומפרש occurs in non-

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[686] There are no scriptural citation formulae in TgShir outside of the proem. They preface the proof texts for songs 2–8 and 10.

[687] b. Meg. 3a מפורש זה תרגום.

[688] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 77, apparatus *m*. He may be following the lead of Loewe, who translates the formula 'for thus it is written, aye, and interpreted by Isaiah the prophet'. Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs', p. 169.

[689] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 77, apparatus *m*. The proof texts for songs 2–6 hew closely to the sense of MT. The proof text for song 7 (1 Sam. 2.1) contains the plus ברוח נבואה, and that for song 8 (2 Sam. 22.1) בנבואה, both mirroring TgJon. There is no proof text supplied for song 9 owing to its self-reflexive nature—the entirety of TgShir constitutes song 9.

[690] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 78, n. 13. Cf. B. Grossfeld, *The Two Targums of Esther Translated, with Apparatus and Notes* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), p. 96, n. 1.

[691] TgNeof Lev. 22.27; Num. 21.14. FragTg[P,V] Gen. 40.23; FragTg[P] Num. 21.14.

[692] TgNeof Gen. 30.22 (x4); FragTg[V] Gen. 30.22 (x3); TgNeof, TgNeofM[1,2,3] Gen. 35.9; TgCG[C] Gen. 35.9 (x2); FragTg[P,V] Gen. 35.9 (x3); FragTg[P] Exod. 12.2; FragTg[P] Deut. 32.1 (x3).

[693] FragTg[P] Gen. 30.22 (x3); TgCG[F], FragTg[P,V], TgNeofM[2] Lev. 22.27; FragTg[P] Deut. 25.17; TgNeof Deut. 32.1; FragTg[V] Deut. 32.1 (x3); TgNeof, FragTg[V] Deut. 32.3.

[694] Of the engraving of the names of the tribes on the gemstones in the high priest's breastplate: TgNeof, FragTg[V] Exod. 28.17, 18, 19, 20.

[695] TosTg 69 ln. 61; 119 ln. 49, both of which are in MS. Manchester, Gaster 1478. Kasher notes that he was unable to locate other tokens of this phrase. R. Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1996), p. 21 (in Hebrew).

[696] TgEstII 1.1 (x5); 1.2 (x3); 7.10. At 1.1 and 1.2, the formula introduces verbatim citations of MT.

[697] TgPsJ Exod. 12.42; Lev. 22.27.

citation contexts, with the sense 'clearly written'.[698] As such it is comparable to the syntagmata חקיק ומפרש 'clearly inscribed'[699] and אימירא ומפרשא 'clearly spoken'.[700] The only distinguishing feature of the citation formula in TgShir, in relation to the foregoing examples, is that it appends the agency construction על יד + PN, to identify the prophetic amanuensis.

However, there is evidence to suggest that the formula in question in in TgShir 1.1 may be adscititious. As noted above, the citation formula that prefaces songs 2–8 is the simpler דהכי׳ כתי׳ 'as is written'. AF[3,5,7,10] contain an awkward double citation formula: דהכי׳ כתי׳ ומפרש על ידוי דישעיה נבייא דהכ(ד)ין כתיב 'as is clearly written by Isaiah the prophet, as is written'. This adverts editorial intervention. The introduction of the proof text by דהכ(ד)ין כתיב aligns this unit with that of songs 2–8. The question is, was the second דהכ(ד)ין כתיב inserted to bring symmetry between the units of the proem, or was the more elaborate formulation added for rhetorical adornment? The earliest dated extant witness to TgShir 1.1, MS. Valmadonna 1 (1189 CE), does not include the more elaborate formulation, simply introducing the proof text with דהכי כת׳. This is also the case in AF[8]. However, its absence could be explained as either (1) a function of parablepsis occasioned by homoioteleuton, if a *Vorlage* with a double formula is assumed,[701] or (2) a desire to harmonise the formula with those preceding it. Irrespectively, the originality of the double citation formula in AF[3,5,7,10] is dubious.[702]

As noted above, aside from the elaborate citation formula, the proof text for the tenth song stands apart from those preceding it by virtue of its divergence from the 'official' targumic rendering of the biblical verse.[703] Rather than a quotation of an unknown Palestinian targum to Isaiah, the passage is likely an independent reworking of MT and TgJon.[704] [705] If it was

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[698] Thus, of the great name on the foundation stone (TgQoh 3.11); of Ahasuerus' edict (TgEstI 3.12).

[699] חקיק ומפרש is ubiquitous in TgPsJ (x30, plus one asyndetic token in Exod. 39.6). E.g., Exod. 2.21. Also, Tg2Chron 23.11. Its origin may lie in Palestinian targumic renderings of Deut. 27.8. Cf. TgNeof, FragTg[P,V], TgCG[AA,D] ad loc. As Smelik observes, in the Palestinian targums at Deut. 27.8, חקיק ומפרש describes the nature of the inscription ('distinctly executed'), in contrast to its recitation and oral-performative translation, which are conveyed by מתקרי [...] ומתרגם ('read [...] and translated'). W.F. Smelik, *Rabbis, Language and Translation in Late Antiquity*, pp. 29–30.

[700] TgPsJ Lev. 16.21.

[701] Alonso Fontela (*El Targum*, p. 300) notes that, assuming a *Vorlage* like AF[3,5,7,10], the shorter reading of AF[8] could have thus arisen.

[702] A different abridgement in attested in MS. New York, JTS, Lutzki 610, f. 7v: דהכין פירש ישעיה נביא.

[703] Alonso Fontela (*El Targum*, p. 118) observes that the influence of TgOnq in TgShir is most evident in the explicit quotations in the proem, while the picture is more mixed in the balance of the targum.

[704] So, Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs', p. 169.

[705] The influence of TgJon is evident. TgShir expands TgJon's לאתחזאה קדם 'to appear before (DN)' to ליאתחזאה קדם ייי תלת זימנין בשתא 'to appear before the LORD three times a year'. This phrase may be quarried from TgOnq Exod. 34.23 (cf. TgShir 7.2). The reference to the pilgrimage festivals, reinforces the link to Passover. The use of √חזי, rather than √חמי, does not support Alexander's conjecture that this paraphrase is a remnant of a Palestinian targum. TgShir's כעמא ד 'as the people who' may represent a minor adjustment TgJon's כמא ד 'as those who'; both occur at the same juncture in the verse. *Pace* Alexander, TgShir's paraphrase and TgJon Isa. 30.29 do not share the common denominator of the identification of the unnamed festival of MT as Passover. This identification is only explicitly made in TgShir. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 78, n. 13.

Moreover, the influence of a section of b. ᶜArakh. may be discerned in this passage. Note the constellation, in 10b, of the citation of Isa. 30.29 in connection to Passover, the reference to exile, and the mention of the instrument (גורגדנא) טבלא, swiftly followed, in 11a, by the phrase מיני זמר 'different sounds'. Alexander notes the mention of the instrument in b. ᶜArakh. 10b, but not the other connections. קל טבלא also features in TgQoh

composed by the author of TgShir, the choice of ל to encode the toponymic GOAL of the verb of directed motion, against the use of ב in MT and TgJon, highlights the verb-specific nature of TgShir's use of ב in this capacity.

9.10 *Marking of causee in adjuration formulae*

The adjuration formula השבעתי אתכם 'I adjure you' punctuates MT Song (2.7; 3.5; 5.8; 8.4). In all cases TgShir renders this with שבע√[C] followed by an analytic obj. construction. Yet, notwithstanding the uniformity of the obj. marking in MT, TgShir variously employs three different markers: ית, ל and על. Moreover, in rendering MT שככה השבעתנו '[...] that thus you adjure us' (5.9), TgShir opts for קום√[D] with an analytic obj. encoded by על. The table below sets out all occurrences of שבע√[C] in MT Song, alongside their counterparts in TgShir, with materially significant variant readings noted.

Table 9: Adjuration formulae in MT and TgShir

Ref.	MT	TgShir
2.7	השבעתי אתכם	אשבעית יתכון
3.5	השבעתי אתכם	אשבעית לכון[706]
5.8	השבעתי אתכם	אשבעית לכון[707]
5.9	השבעתנו	קיימת עלנא[708]
8.4	השבעתי אתכם	משבענא[709] עליכון

The variation in verbal root between 5.8 and 5.9 may have been motivated, in part, by stylistic considerations. However, it may reflect sensitivity to the underlying MT syntax (analytic versus synthetic obj. constructions) and adumbrate literary influences. *Pace* Litke, קום√[D] at TgShir 5.9 neither bears the sense 'to swear', nor represents an 'unusual' use of the verb.[710] The syntagm קום√[D] + על bears the sense 'to adjure' and is well-attested in targumic literature as a translation equivalent of MT שבע√[C], as shown below.

Notably, TgOnq and TgJon are consistent in employing קום√[D] + על to render MT שבע√[C] + synthetic pro. obj.[711] This is precisely the underlying structure in Song 5.9 (השבעתנו). In

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7.5.

[706] AF[2] עליכון; AF[4,12] יתכון.

[707] AF[4] יתכון.

[708] AF[1] is a lone outlier in reading לנא here. The balance of CWs read עלנא, as do T-S NS 312.3, and Valmadonna 1.

[709] This is the only instance of a ptc. hosting an enclitic sub. pro. in the CWs. AF[3] (א)משבעַ אנא; AF[4,5] משביעא אנא; AF[11] משבע אנא.

[710] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 366. For the sense 'to swear to someone', קום√[D] + ל would be required, as per TgShir 2.12, 13, 17; 3.5. An outlier is found in TgPsJ Gen. 24.7, in which קום√[D] + על ≡ MT שבע√[N] + ל. The reading of the manuscript, תקיים עלי (≡ MT אשר נשבע לי), should be amended to דקיים עלי, as per the *editio princeps*. Cf. the text of TgPsJ in *CAL* [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[711] TgOnq Gen. 24.3, 37; 50.5, 6. TgJon Josh. 2.17, 20; 1 Kgs 2.42; 22.16.

contrast, TgOnq and TgJon consistently opt for √ימיC + analytic obj. where MT has √שבעC + analytic obj. construction.[712] [713] This *modus operandi* differs from JPAtg. TgNeof translates all tokens of MT √שבעC with the cognate root (always with an analytic obj.) and only features √קוםD + על in a reflexive construction.[714] TgCGKK Gen. 24.3 and FragTgP,V Exod. 13.19 likewise render MT √שבעC with the cognate root, both with analytic objs., the former *contra* MT.

LJLAtg. texts are less consistent. TgPsJ aligns with TgOnq in consistently rendering MT √שבעC + analytic obj. by √ימיC + ית. However, MT √שבעC + synthetic obj. is variously translated by √ימיC + synthetic obj.,[715] + analytic obj.,[716] and √קוםD + על.[717] Tg2Chron is similarly inconsistent; the two instances of MT √שבעC, both with pro. obj. suff., are rendered as √קוםD + על (18.15) and √ימי C-stem + analytic obj. (36.13). The translation strategies of the various targums are set out in the tabulation below.

Table 10: LJLAtg. renderings of MT √שבעC + obj.

LJLAtg.	MT √שבעC + את + obj.	MT √שבעC + synthetic obj.
TgShir	√שבעC + ית/ל/על	√קוםD + על
TgOnq	√ימיC + ית	√קוםD + על
TgJon[718]	√ימיC + ית	√קוםD + על
TgNeof	√שבעC/tG + ית	√שבעC + ית
TgCGKK		√שבעC + ית
FragTgP,V	√שבעC + ית	
TgPsJ	√ימיC + ית	√ימיC + synthetic obj. √ימיC + ית √קוםD + על
Tg2Chron		√קוםD + על √ימיC + ית [719]

[712] TgOnq Gen. 50.25; Exod. 13.19; Num. 5.19, 21. TgJon 1 Sam. 14.27, 28; 1 Sam. 20.17; 1 Kgs 18.10; 2 Kgs 11.4.

[713] This demarcation is intriguing. The syntax of MT does not appear to clash with a syntactic constraint in the dialect of TgOnq or TgJon, such as a tendency to avoid synthetic obj. constructions with III-י verbs, of which both furnish abundant examples. Moreover, there appears to be no clear theological motivation for such a distinction; in all instances of MT √שבעC, the subjects are human.

[714] In TgNeof √קוםD + על only appears in the legislation of Numbers 30 pertaining to a woman who binds herself by an oath: קיימה די קיימת על נפשה 'the oath which she has taken upon herself', in all cases rendering MT אסרה על נפשה.

[715] TgPsJ Gen. 24.3.

[716] TgPsJ Gen. 24.37.

[717] TgPsJ Gen. 50.5, 6 (aligning with TgOnq).

[718] TgJon renders the two unusual uses of √שבעC without an obj. in MT Josh. 6.26 and 23.7 by √ימיC and √קוםD respectively. In neither case does TgJon supply an obj.

[719] Tg2Chron 36.13. Le Déaut and Robert register a synthetic obj. variant in MS. Cambridge, Or. Ee 5.9: אימיה. R. Le Déaut and J. Robert *Targum des Chroniques, Tome II Texte et Glossaire* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971), p. 167.

As can be seen, TgShir patterns with TgOnq and TgJon in its rendition of MT √שׁבע[C] + synthetic obj. by √קום[D] + על at 5.9. It is possible that TgShir 5.9's rendition of MT השבעתנו as קיימת עלנא is specifically quarried from TgJon to Josh. 2.17, 20, which contain the only other tokens of השבעתנו (2 f.s. pf. + 1 c.p. obj. suff.) in MT. A nexus between these passages exists in the exegesis of Exod. 15.2 in Mek. RI, Shirta 3.[720] The midrash cites Song 5.9, framed as an enquiry made by the nations of the world to Israel about her God, and Josh. 2.10-11 as an example of God's renown reaching the nations.

However, TgShir diverges from TgOnq and TgJon in employing the cognate root in translating MT verbs √שׁבע[C] + analytic obj.[721] Moreover, its use of ל (3.5; 5.8) and על (8.4) to encode the causee diverges from JPAtg.[722] The use of על with the ptc. construction משבענא/ משביע אנא עליכון also likely reflects literary influence. The verb-subject linearisation of a ptc. and independent pro. is a marked outlier in TgShir.[723] The only other token is in a quotation of Gen. 15.14 in TgShir 2.12.[724] The syntagm משביע אני על appears to be a conventional formula in Mishnaic Hebrew,[725] and, along with its Aramaic equivalent, in magical texts.[726]

9.11 *Marking of comparata*

The encoding of the obligatory obj. of comparison of √דמי[G] fluctuates between the preps. ל and כ in TgShir.[727] Encoding with ל predominates.[728] The use of כ is restricted to 5.2 (CWs[West.]

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[720] Mek. RI, Horowitz-Rabin, pp. 127–12.

[721] No tokens of verbs √ימי feature in TgShir.

[722] For the use of ל elsewhere in LJLAtg., see TgLam 1.12 אשבעית לכון and TosTg 74 ln. 2 ב מומינא יתך ומשבענא לך. Kasher is correct in identifying the style of the first clause of this doublet as characteristic of TgOnq and TgJon. However, his claim that the second is characteristic of 'the Palestinian targums' requires clarification. As per the foregoing, in JPAtg. the causee of √שׁבע[C] is encoded by ית. Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot*, p. 126.

[723] Cf. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 162.

[724] TgShir 2.12 ואוף ית עמא די ישתעבדון בהון דאין אנא 'Moreover, the people who shall enslave them I will judge'. *Pace* E.Z. Melamed and Alexander, TgShir does not agree with TgOnq's rendering of Gen. 15.14 (aside from in the uncorrected text of the Geniza fragment T-S B11.81, with which neither engage. See the transcription of this fragment below). TgOnq translates MT יעבדו with יפלחון, not ישתעבדון (as already noted by Churgin. Sperber registers ישתעבדון as a variant in a single printed edition of TgOnq). Rather, TgShir may be modifying TgOnq, which alone of the Pentateuchal targums supplies a PATIENT argument encoded by ב in this clause: עמא דיפלחון בהון 'the people who will work them' (for √פלח + ב[PATIENT] in TgOnq, see Exod. 1.14; 6.5; Lev. 25.39, 43, 46; 25.53). *Pace* Litke, ישתעבדון has active voice and בהון is PATIENT, not AGENT, as per JPA and JBA. (Cf. TgJon Jer. 30.8 and TgNeofM to Gen. 15.14, אומייא די ישתעבדון יתהון 'the nations who will enslave them'). E.Z. Melamed, 'Targum Song of Songs', p. 202; Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 109, n. 78; Churgin, *Targum to Hagiographia*, p. 125; Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 247, 381. For √שׁעבד[t] + ב[PATIENT], see *DJPA* p. 647; *DJBA* p. 1166–1167.

[725] m. Shebu. 4.3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; Mek. RI, BeShelach (Horowitz-Rabin p. 80).

[726] E.g., *MSF* A26:1. *AMB* A1:21; A4:28, 31–32. *AIB* 8:4–5; 43:6. On the rhetorical motif of adjuration in Jewish magical texts, see Y. Harari, *Jewish Magic Before the Rise of Kabbalah* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2017), pp. 172–173.

[727] I exclude the form דמיין הי כמא at 8.5 since the verb is most likely a corruption of רמיין 'thrown'. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 195, apparatus *t*.

[728] TgShir 2.11, 16; 4.1, 2, 3, 5, 8; 5.13, 14; 6.6; 6.12 (CWs[West.] only); 7.4, 5, 9, 10; 8.6, 14.

only);[729] 6.12 (CWs[Yem.] only);[730] 7.7,[731] 7.8 (CWs[West.] only).[732] No obvious motivation for this alternation with כ is evident in the underlying text of MT Song. On the contrary, the only passage employing √דמי[G] + כ that has an explicit comparative counterpart in MT is TgShir 7.8 which, notwithstanding the use of the cognate verb, diverges from MT's obj. marking with ל: דמיין ארבען[733] ידיהון מתפרשין כַלולבי דתמר וקומתהון כדיקליא "The parted fingers (?) of their hands resemble the branches of the date-palm and their bodies are like the palm" ≅ MT זאת קומתך דמתה לתמר 'This, your stature, is like a palm tree'.[734] This divergence from MT is all the more striking given that encoding the comparatum of √דמי[G] with ל is the predominant strategy in TgShir.[735] This alternation between ל and כ in TgShir may be another example of dialectal admixture. The encoding of the comparatum of √דמי with ל is standard in JLAtg.[736]

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[729] CWs[Yem.] simply read the comparative prep. without the verb. This is likely haplography occasioned by homoioarcton. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 147, apparatus *l*.

[730] CWs[West.]: ל.

[731] AF[3], M[E,F]: ב. Melamed's apparatus erroneously indicates that M[E] reads ו, a reading found in M[C]. This minority use of ב (if not a scribal error for כ) is likely influenced by the prep. in the underlying MT בתענוגים 'in delights'. However, the construction √ܕܡܝ[G] + ܒ is attested in Syriac (*SL*, p. 308) and as a minority construction in ZA (*Zohar* II, 231b).

[732] CWs[Yem.] simply read the comparative prep. without the verb.

[733] Alonso Fontela transcribes אדבען, marking the reading of the second consonant as dubious. Litke transcribes אדבען without reservation. However, as can be seen in the image below, the ductus of the second consonant indicates ר, not ד. (The curvature of the long vertical stroke matches the ר in ישראל, and contrasts with the more rectilinear stroke of the ד in דמיין and ידיהון). Cf. AF[3,4,5] ארבעת. Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 182, apparatus z) suggests that ארבע 'four' is a corruption of אדבע, a variant of אצבע 'finger' (the balance of CWs read forms of אצבע). The spelling אדבע is attested in TgPsJ. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 186.
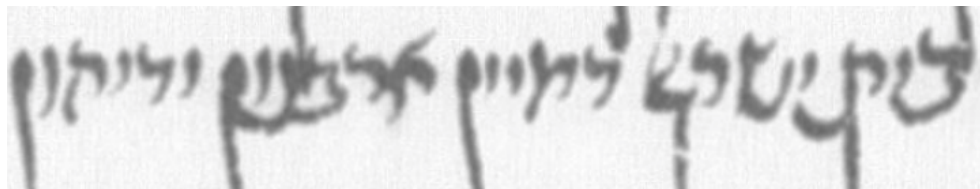
AF[1] f. 95v: בית ישראל דמיין ארבען ידיהון (TgShir 7.8). Source: gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

[734] All tokens of verbs √דמי in MT Song encode their obj. with ל (1.9; 2.9; 2.17; 7.8; 8.14). TgShir 1.9 may contain a double reflex of MT דמיתיך 'I have compared you', which it interprets as signalling the moral similitude between the wicked Israelites at Yam Suf and the Egyptians: ובעא לשנוקתהון במוי דימא הי כמא דאשתנקו פרעה וסוסוותוי רתיכוי ופרשוי "He would have drowned them in the waters of the sea, just as Pharaoh and his mares, chariots and horseman were drowned." (Cf. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 86, n. 68.) In addition to the obvious reflex, הי כמא 'just as', it may be that לשנוקתהון 'to drown them' is a pun on דמיתיך as 'I would have destroyed you'. See *HALOT*, s.v. דמה[III]. Cf. Ezek. 27.32.

[735] The passages encoding the comparatum by ל in TgShir that have an explicit comparative construction counterpart in MT are: 4.3, 5; 5.13; 7.4, 5; 8.6, 14. In all these cases MT simply reads the comparative prep., without a verb. The exception is 8.14, where TgShir mirrors MT's √דמי[G] + ל.

[736] The sporadic outliers, employing כ, are all in TgJon to the Latter Prophets. The tokens in Jer. 9.2; Hab. 1.9 appear innocent of MT influence. The following appear to retain the MT comparative prep. while supplying the verb, resulting in a double translation: TgJon Ezek. 19.10 (דמיא כגופן ≅ MT כגפן; contrast verse 13 דמיא לגפן, where there is no MT counterpart); Hos. 7.11 (דמן כיונה ≅ MT כיונה), 16 (דמן אנון כקשת נכילא ≅ MT היו כקשת רמיה). The clause in TgJon Hos. 7.16 matches verbatim that in TgJon Jer. 9.2, raising the possibility that the former influenced the latter.

and other LJLA texts.[737] The use of √דמי[G] + כ, alongside ל, is attested in JBA[738] and, as a minority construction, in ZA.[739]

A similar situation pertains to the synonymous √מתל[G/tG]. The use of ל predominates as the marker of the comparatum. However, the use of ב is attested as a variant in some CWs[Yem.] at 1.8 (M[F]); 2.8 (M[E]);[740] 3.8 (M[A]);[741] 6.11 (M[A,B,E,F]); 7.13 (M[C,D]), and some CWs[West.] at 8.11 (AF[1,7,8,10]). This construction is known in JPA,[742] JBA,[743] JLAtg.,[744] and LJLA.[745] The occurrence at 8.11 דהיא מתילא בכרמא "which [=the nation of Israel] is likened to a vineyard" may in fact be quarried from TgJon Isa. 5.1 ישראל דמתיל בכרמא 'Israel who is likened to a vineyard'.[746] However, whether this is the original reading of TgShir, or a secondary development, cannot be determined.[747] A further alternation with כ features among the CWs[Yem.] at 4.11 (all CWs[Yem.]), albeit the reading is questionable,[748] and twice at 7.13 (1st: M[A,B,E,F]; 2nd: M[E,F]).[749] This construction is also attested in LJLA.[750]

Finally, the CWs[Yem.] include a comparative prep. in 4.11 ולהון «זלחן» ספתווי כיערת דובשא 'and their lips drip like a honeycomb', versus CWs[West.] זלחן שיפוותי יערת דובשא 'their lips drip honeycomb (?)'. Alexander prefers the Yemenite reading, since a simile appears to be demanded.[751] However, the CWs[West.] replicate the metaphoricity of the underlying MT נפת תטפנה שפתותיך 'your lips drip nectar'. To reject the metaphor in CWs[West.] on the grounds of

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[737] Exceptions to obj. marking with ל in LJLAtg. are as follows:

- With כ: TgPsJ 29.20 (≅ MT כ); 38.15; TgLam[West.] 1.1 (variant); 2.5 (variant ≅ MT כ); TgLam[Yem.] 1.1; TosTg 125ג, lns. 37, 39, 42, 45, 47. However, the forms in TosTg 125ג, may represent corruptions of √רמי[G] 'to be high', as noted by Kasher, *Targumic Toseftot*, p. 192.

- With כאלו: TgPsJ 18.8; 19.3; TgPs 66.11 (variant targum);

- With ∅: TgPs 21.10 (variant);

- With היך: TgPsJ Gen. 27.12; 33.10; Exod. 15.5; Num. 13.33; TgPs 90.6; 126.1 (variant); TgJob 24.17; 38.14; TgProv 6.26; TosTg 106, ln. 8. This construction is attested in Syriac (*SL*, p. 308).

- With ב: TgJob 26.3 (variant). This construction is attested in Syriac (*SL*, p. 308) and as a minority construction in ZA (*Zohar* II, 231b).

[738] *DJBA*, p. 342; glossed as 'to be considered as'.

[739] *Zohar* I 217a; 179b; 297b; 217a; *Zohar* II 207b; 217b; *Zohar* III 196b; 172a–b; *Zohar Hadash* 90b (*Midrash haNeˢelam, Ruth*); *Zohar* II 71a (*Raza de-Razin*).

[740] This variant is omitted by Melamed but captured by Alonso Fontela.

[741] Melamed (*Targum to Canticles*, p. 39) amends the reading of M[A], his base text, to ל, regarding ב as an error.

[742] *DJPA*, p. 372.

[743] *DJBA*, p. 721.

[744] TgJon Isa. 5.1; Ezek. 17.22.

[745] TgPsJ Lev. 9.3; TgJob 30.19 (variant); TgEstII 2.7; 5.10, 14 (Supplements, MS. 2).

[746] Sperber registers the variant לכרמא, but only in printed editions (Bomberg's first and second Rabbinic Bibles and the Antwerp Polyglot).

[747] AF[2,4,5,9] and all CWs[Yem.] texts read לכרמא.

[748] CWs[West.] √מתק[G] 'sweet', rather than CWs[Yem.] √מתל[G], is to be preferred.

[749] The second token at 7.13 is almost certainly secondary, from an original √מלי[G].

[750] TgJob 30.19 (variant, albeit MT influence is likely); TosTg 144, ln. 44.

[751] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 140, apparatus *ii*.

semantic maladroitness is to beg the question of TgShir's construal of the sense of ירת דבשא. While the phrase is doubtless a reflex of ירעת הדבש in MT 1 Sam. 14.27, traditionally understood as 'honeycomb', its precise sense in the context is unclear. The comparative prep. in CWs[Yem.] was likely supplied secondarily to remedy the perceived inconcinnity. A different strategy is adopted in MS. Oxford, Bodleian, Digby Or. 34 (f. 18r), testifying to unease with the construction within the Western textual tradition itself: זלחן שפתוותוי ברז דובשא 'their lips drip a flow (?) of honey'. The phrase ברז דובשא is derived from TgJon 1 Sam. 14.26 ≅ MT הלך דבש, which parallels ירעת הדבש in verse 27.

Alexander comments that the construction ענה [...] וכן אמר 'he answered [...] and thus said' at 5.2, where the God is the subject, is 'deliberately prophetic style', representing a hybrid of the Hebrew (1) ויען ויאמר and (2) כה אמר יהוה.[752] Presumably, it is the resonance of the latter construction that motivates this intuition, since the former is not restricted to prophetic utterances in the Hebrew Bible.

If TgShir's כן אמר is indeed a reflex of the ubiquitous biblical (כה אמר (יהוה, its choice of adv. diverges from those exhibited in JLAtg., JPAtg., and elsewhere in LJLAtg. when translating this clause.[753] The consistent policy of TgOnq and TgJon, is to translate the adv. with the compound כדנן 'thus': כדנן אמר 'Thus says'.[754] This contrasts with the use of (כד(י)ן in JPAtg., attested in TgNeof *passim* and TgCG[D] Exod. 7.17.[755] The adv. selected in LJLAtg. texts is not uniform. The JLAtg. convention of employing כדנן is adopted consistently in TgChron.[756] However, TgPsJ employs the form כדנא for all tokens in the Pentateuch, bar Exod. 32.27 where it reads כדנן: presumably, this outlier derives from TgOnq. Thus, if Alexander's observation is correct, the use of כן in TgShir 5.2, as a translation of Hebrew כה, appears to be independent of any of these targumic texts.

However, the plausibility of Alexander's identification of וכן אמר at 5.2 as 'deliberately prophetic style' is compromised by a wider view of the data. There are ten tokens of the quotative וכן אמר 'and thus said' in TgShir. All these are, as at 5.2, coordinate to a verb of speaking (explicit or implicit), with the exception of the tokens at 2.14 and 4.1, which both read נפלת/נפקת ברת קלא [...] וכין אמרת 'a *bat qol* fell/went forth[757] [...] and thus said'.[758] Only four tokens introduce divine speech (2.14; 4.1, 7; 5.2) and the balance are not exclusive to contexts of prophetic discourse.[759] The tokens of וכן אמר in TgShir, categorised according to the coordinate verb of speech it follows, are as follows: √תוב[C] 'to reply' (1.16; 3.3; 6.1); √פתח[G] 'to open (the mouth)' (2.7); כרוזא נפיק בחיל 'a herald went forth with strength' (3.11);[760] √קלס[D] 'to

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[752] Alexander, p. 148, apparatus *n*.

[753] The scope of this discussion is restricted to translations of MT כה אמר, where God is the subject.

[754] Variants with כדנא are attested at TgJon Jer. 10.12; 15.2; 20.4, as noted in *CAL*, s.v. כדנא [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[755] The expression כדין אמר ייי also occurs in JPAtg., ≅ MT אני יהוה 'I am the Lᴏʀᴅ': TgNeof Lev. 18.5, 6, 30; 19.2, 3, 4, 10, 12, 14, 18; 22.30; 23.22; TgNeofM Lev. 19.16, 18; FragTg[V] Lev. 18.21; 19.16; TgCG[F] Lev. 23.22, 43. Also, כדן א׳ ממ׳ דיי 'Thus says the memra of the Lᴏʀᴅ', in TgCG[DD] Deut. 33.9, in plus to MT.

[756] Cf. TosTg 119 ln. 49, which reproduces כדנן in its quote of TgJon Isa. 57.15.

[757] AF[1,2] read נפלת 'fell' in 2.14 (along with T-S B11.81) and 4.1. The balance of CWs read נפקת in both places, bar AF[7,9] (and Valmadonna 1) which read נפלת at 4.1. Alonso Fontela's apparatus erroneously omits AF[8] from the witnesses to נפקת at 2.14.

[758] Although, it could be argued that the notion of speech is implicit in the designation ברת קלא 'daughter of a voice'. The question hinges on the ontological status of the ברת קלא in the author's theology, namely, is it an entity independent of, or identical to, the reported speech?

[759] Often, וכן אמר functions as the bridge between the targum's identification of the speaker and the unattributed direct speech of MT.

[760] As Alexander notes, this clause is a brachylogy. He suggests, reasonably, that it stands for כרוזא נפיק ואכריז בחיל 'a herald went forth and announced loudly', with the de-nominative verb implicit in the *nomen agentis*. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 129, apparatus *tt*. However, in view of the influence of the Aramaic of the book of Daniel in TgShir, it may represent an adaptation of the following clauses from that text: וכרוזא קרא בחיל 'the herald proclaimed aloud' (Dan. 3.4) and קרא בחיל וכן אמר 'he cried aloud and said' (Dan. 4.11). If so,

praise' (4.7); √עני^G 'to reply' (5.2); √שעי^{tD} 'to talk' (5.10).

Thus, based on the internal evidence, the case for וכן אמר [...] ענה at 5.2 either constituting 'prophetic style' or representing a hybrid construction, appears unsustainable. Rather, it is one of a number of instantiations of a construction in the general stylistic repertoire of TgShir.[761] The token at 6.1 is of particular interest, since an adv. temporal clause awkwardly interposes between the quotative and the reported speech: אתיבו נביאיא וכן אמרו[762] כדו שמעו תושבחתא דייי מפום כנישתא דישראל על אי דין חובא איסתלק מביניך שכינתא דייי "The prophets replied and thus said, when they heard the praise of the Lᴏʀᴅ, from the mouth of the assembly of Israel, "For what sin did the Shekhinah of the Lᴏʀᴅ depart from among you?""[763] If the temporal clause is original,[764] it may adumbrate the stereotypical nature of the construction for the author: it was deployed as a unit, with the adv. clause rudely juxtaposed, rather than appropriately integrated into it.

Notably, the quotative וכן אמר is a stylistic feature of several LJLAtg. texts, in which it features in coordination with a plethora of different verbs of speech.[765] In marked contrast, I

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the author may have intended the verb קרא as the ellipsis to be supplied, rather than אכריז.

[761] TgShir also uses ואמר, without כן, after verbs of speech. Cf. TgShir 1.15; 5.3, 9; 8.10.

[762] AF¹ is an outlier in reading the (solecistic) sing. אמר.

[763] The divergent syntax of AF³⁴⁵ is almost certainly secondary. Irrespectively, it does not affect the point made here. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 163, apparatus *a*.

[764] Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 163, apparatus *a*) suggests it may be an intrusive marginal gloss.

[765] Tokens of וכן אמר in LJLAtg., outside of TgShir, categorised by the preceding coordinate verb include:

- √עני^G 'to reply': TgPsJ Num. 25.6; TgPs 90.1; 91.9; TgQoh 10.8; TgEstI 3.1, 9; 5.1; 6.1; TgLam 1.1; 2.20; TgLam^{West.} 4.13; TgEstII 1.2 (x6); 4.1, 16; 6.1 (variant); TosTg 7 ln. 1; 24א lns. 6, 12; 69 lns. 35, 37, 71, 74; 107ב ln. 12; 125א ln. 9; 142 ln. 3.

- √תוב^C 'to reply': TgPsJ Gen. 35.22; Deut. 32.51; TgPs 91.10; TgEstI 2.1; TgEstII 1.2 (x4); 7.10; TosTg 69 lns. 55, 58; 93א lns. 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 27; 125א lns. 18; 125ב ln. 13.

- √פגן^G 'to cry out': TgQoh 1.12.

- √צלי^D 'to pray': TgEstI 1.14; TgEstII 5.1.

- √קרי^G 'to call out': TgEstI 1.22.

- √רחש^G 'to move (lips)': TgLam 1.18.

- √חנן^{tD} 'to entreat': TgPsJ Exod. 12.31.

- √בעי^G 'to pray': TgPsJ Num. 10.35, 36.

- √פתח^G 'to open (the mouth in prayer)': TgPsJ Deut. 32.50.

- √צוח^G 'to cry out': TgEstII 5.1.

- √שבח^{tD} 'to worship': TosTg 125א ln. 11.

- √חשב^D 'to plot': TosTg 125א ln. 15.

- √לוט^G 'to curse': TosTg 72 ln. 9 (reconstructed by Kasher).

- √בכי^G 'to weep': TgEstII^{Sup. KK} 6.11.

- √ידי^C 'to praise': TgPsJ Gen. 16.13.

- Following multiple coordinate verbs: TgEstII 1.2; TosTg 69 ln. 20; 93א lns. 18, 23; TgEstII^{Sup. N, P, PM-1} 5.14.

- With *bat qol* as subject: TgPsJ Num. 21.6; Deut. 28.15; 34.5; TgEstI 3.7; TgEstII^{Sup. P} 3.7.

- Without prior verb of speaking: TgPsJ Gen. 29.25; 38.25; Deut. 28.12; 33.7; TosTg 92 lns. 1–2; TgEstI 3.1;

have been unable to identify any tokens of וכן אמר in JLAtg., JPAtg., or ZA.[766] Thus, this construction furnishes further evidence with respect to the dialectal affinity of TgShir.

The original motivation for the adoption of וכן אמר in LJLAtg. was most likely a desire to imitate BA, in which the self-same construction is multiply attested (Dan. 2.24, 25; 4.11; 6.7; 7.5; Ezra 5.3), including an instance coordinated with a preceding verb of speech (Dan. 4.11). The impress of BA forms in LJLA is a well-known phenomenon. However, whether the author of TgShir was consciously imitating BA in his uses of וכן אמר, or simply operating under the influence of LJLAtg. stylistic convention, cannot be determined. Irrespectively, *pace* Alexander, it is unlikely he was drawing on Biblical Hebrew (כה אמר (יהוה at 5.2.

TgEstII 4.1; 6.1.

A non-targumic LJLA token of וכן אמר in MegAntioch lns. 22–23, pursuant to the verb אמר, is notably superfluous: וסדר צלותיה קדם רבון עלמא ואמר אילהי ואלהא דאבהתי אברהם יצחק וישראל וכין אמר לא תמסרינני ביד ערלא הדין 'He ordered his prayer before the Lord of the world and said, "My God, and the God of my fathers, Abraham, Isaac and Israel", and thus he said, "do not deliver me into the hand of this uncircumcised one".'

[766] Diversity within the LJLA corpus is evident. Tob.^Med uses וכדין אמר (chapter 3, p. 5, lns. 22–23 and p. 6, ln. 17). This construction also features in ZA.

11   Conclusions

1. The JPA component of TgShir's idiom has long been a cynosure for scholars. While the current consensus is that TgShir was composed in a dialectally eclectic literary idiom (LJLA), Kutscher's premises that JPA features in a text are, *ceteris paribus*, (1) more likely than not to be original, and (2) signal composition in the region of Palestine, continue to exert influence. Yet the high prestige of TgOnq, TgJon, and the Babylonian Talmud in rabbinic culture does not preclude JPAtg. forms possessing a cachet for intellectuals—authors and copyists alike—who were neither in spatial, nor temporal, proximity to vernacular JPA. TgShir exudes a literary aesthetic that prized variety; lexical, grammatical, exegetical, and dialectal. The abundance of solecisms and non-normative usages catalogued in this study comports with an author whose knowledge of Aramaic was mediated via literary sources, not a vernacular tradition. The JPAtg. forms are insufficient to tie the locus of composition to the region of Palestine. Moreover, the number of JPA features in a manuscript cannot be assumed to be a reliable index of the relative primitivity of its text.

2. The hypothesis of an Arabic speaking author and intended audience is significantly underdetermined by the evidence that has been advanced for it. Notwithstanding the likely originality of the gemstone list in TgShir 5.14, as transmitted in the Western tradition, the author's acquaintance with Arabic gemstone names could have derived from a glossary list, commerce, or lapidary traditions. This isolated cluster of loanwords are insufficient to situate the author in the Middle East.

3. Litke's recent dating of TgShir to the tenth century CE based on a putative Greek mediated loan of mediaeval Latin *olibanum* in 4.11 is unsecure. The form אוליבנון may be a corruption of דליבנן(א)כריח) as per MS. New York, JTS, L125, or possibly, as suggested by Epstein, a plural of אלבן, a species of tree mentioned in Cant. R. 7.9 §1.

4. Several examples of TgShir's non-normative usage of argument marking, verbal stems, nominal dimensions, and particle usage find parallels in other LJLA texts, ZA, and mediaeval Hebrew. It is thus clear that TgShir participated in more widespread innovations, such as extension of the semantic range of the G-stem verbs to senses conventionally the preserve of derived stems, and the use of the intrg. adv. אן ('where?'), as an intrg. adj., 'which/what?'

5. Cumulatively, the results of this study challenge Litke's recent claim that TgShir is 'primarily a JLA text'. While the influence of JLAtg. on TgShir's idiom is extensive, a molecular, rather than atomistic approach to the lexical data, and close consideration of semantic and syntactic features, indicates many divergences.

6. An exegetical strategy adopted on several occasions in TgShir is the repurposing of preps. in MT Song to encode thematic roles different from those in the source text. This means of subtlety suturing the texts, yields, variously, both well-formed and infelicitous Aramaic constructions. It underscores TgShir's sophisticated engagement with the fine details of its MT source.

7. Desiderata include:

8. A critical edition of TgShir based on a comprehensive collation of manuscripts, both

Western and Yemenite, and construction of a *stemma codicum.*

9. Research into the reception history of JPA in intellectual circles outside of Palestine, including stemmatological analysis of JPA forms in witnesses to TgShir to gauge their distribution and relative age.

12   Geniza Fragments Cambridge T-S B11.81 & T-S NS 312

12.1   *Introduction*

As noted above, Alexander reports that Klein considered these fragments to derive from the same manuscript.[767] The text aligns with the Western recension and seems to have greatest affinity with the textual subgroup AF[7,8,9,10].[768] However, it contains some readings which, among the CWs, are only found in CWs[Yem.]. Significantly, it features several readings unattested in any of the CWs. It has been subject to amendment by a second hand, some of the interventions reflect readings only attested, among the CWs, in Yemenite manuscripts. Sublinear vocalisation has been supplied sporadically to isolated words.[769]

To ease navigation, chapter and verse references have been inserted in square brackets, in bold. Footnotes indicate affinities with other witnesses to TgShir, highlight readings distinctive to these fragments, and contain ad hoc textual commentary. Ligatures feature sporadically in the fragment, most commonly involving the sequence אל. The transcription does not differentiate these from non-ligatured sequences.

The following textual symbols are employed in the transcription:

[…]	lacuna, faded, or abraded text
אׄ	letter is partially legible or visible; probable reading
(א)	text erased by the scribe or another hand
‹א›	scribal correction of the manuscript

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[767] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 2, n. 1.

[768] On the textual subgroups of CWs[West.], see Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, pp. 111-134.

[769] Klein erroneously states that vocalisation in T-S B11.81 is restricted to עִירָא in TgShir 5.2, and that there is no vocalisation in T-S NS 312. Klein, *Targumic Manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah Collections*, pp. 23–24 68.

12.2 *Annotated transcription*

12.2.1 T-S B11.81, 1r: TgShir 2.7-11

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1 [2.7] השבתי : בתר כין אתאמר למשה בנבואה מן קדם יייִ למשלח אזגדין

2 לאֹללא ית ארעא[770] וכדו[771] תבו מאֹלליא‹ו›אפיקו[772] שֹׁום ביש על ארעא דישראל

3 ואתעכבו ארבעין שנין במדברא פתח פומיהֹ[773] משה רבהום[774] דישראל

4 וכן אמר אשביעית יתכון כנישתא דישראל בייי צבאות ובתקיפי

5 ארעא דישראל[775] דלא תזידון למיסק לארעא דכנען עד דיהי[776] רעוא מן

6 קדם יייִ ויסופון כל דרא[777] אנשי קרבא לממת מגו משריתא היכמא

7 דזדו אחיכון[778] בני אפרים דנפקו ‹קדם›[779] תלתין שנין ממצרים עד לא מטא

8 קיצא ונפלו ביד פלישתאי דיתבין בגת וקטלו יתהון אלהין אוריכו עד

9 זמן ארבעין שנין ובתר כן ייעלוּן[780] בניכון ויחסנון יתה : [2.8] קול דודי :

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[770] Obj. ארעא = AF[3,4,5,7,9,10], M[A,B,C]. AF[1,2,8,10M], M[E,F]: ארעא דכנען.

[771] כדו with the sense 'when' (known from other LJLA texts) = AF[2,3,4,5,7,9], M[A,B]. AF[1,8,10], M[CEF]: כד. Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 54, 130.) notes that, outside of LJLA, the form כדו bears the sense 'now; enough'. However, the use of כדו with the sense 'when' is attested in TgJon Judg. 5.8, 9, albeit these tokens are likely revisionary. See Smelik, *Targum of Judges*, p. 437, citing Tal, *Former Prophets*, pp. 196–197, 199, 203.

[772] The coordinating conj. has been inserted secondarily, and a mark supplied above the final א of the inf. to clarify the word division. The original reading, without the conj. = CWs[West.]. The amended reading with the conj. = CWs[Yem.], Valmadonna 1. The polysyndeton is awkward in the context and likely reflects the influence of TgOnq Num. 13.32. The conj. is not infelicitous in TgOnq, as it commences the sentence: ואפיקו שום ביש על ארעא 'and they [=the scouts] spread a bad name against the land' (≡ MT ויוציאו דבת הארץ). However, in TgShir it prefaces the matrix clause, after a subordinate temp. clause. The beginning of the sentence in TgShir, וכדו תבו מאלליא, is quarried from Num. 13.25, supplemented by the temp. conj.

[773] AF[1,2] linearise this sentence V-S-O.

[774] 3 m.p. pro. suff. with ם- = AF[7].

[775] Western trait. בייי [...] דישראל is a minus in CWs[Yem.].

[776] Spelling aligns with CWs[Yem.]. The verb terminates in א- in all CWs[West.].

[777] Western trait. CWs[Yem.] do not include this noun, aside from the margin of M[C], in which a second hand supplies the pl. cst. דרי, a reading known from the print edition AF[6]. Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 103, apparatus *ff*) claims that the det. דרא is 'syntactically awkward' and should be emended to the cst. דר. However, TgShir is mirroring the appositional structure of MT Deut. 2.14 עד תם כל הדור אנשי המלחמה מקרב המחנה 'until the whole generation, the warriors, had perished from the camp' (cf. TgOnq, TgNeof, and TgPsJ ad loc.). Note that TgShir presents a composite quotation of Deut. 2.14 and 16, converted into the future tense. The sense of √סוף[G] with infinitival complement לממת, ≡ MT Deut. 2.16 למות [...] תמו (cf. TgNeof לממות [...] ספו), is most likely 'to finish dying out'. Cf. TgOnq and TgPsJ Num. 17.28. Alexander and Litke appear to construe the sense of √סוף[G] here as 'to perish', translating 'perish utterly' and 'should die', respectively. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 103; Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 245, 346.

[778] אחיכון = AF[8], CWs[Yem.]. Balance of CWs[West.], Valmadonna 1: אחוכון. On the use of אחו as a pl. form hosting pro. suffs. in LJLAtg., see Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 83, n. 200.

[779] Prep. קדם 'before', supplied as a correction, is pleonastic in view of the conj. עד לא 'before'. It is only otherwise attested in the CWs[Yem.]: קדם [...] עד דלא. Cf. the compound conj. קדם עד לא 'before' in JPAtg. and LJLAtg. *DJPA*, p. 545.

[780] 3 m.p. prefix with the double יי is only otherwise attested in the CWs[Yem.].

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10 אמר[781] שלמה מלכא בעידן דהוו יהיבין[782] ‹פלחין›[783] עמא בית ישראל במצֹ סליקת

11 קבילתהום[784] לשמֵא[785] מרומא ‹הא›[786] בכין איתגלי יקרא דייי למשה על טורא

12 דסיני[787] ושדר יתיה למצֹ[788] למפרק[789] יתהום[790] ולאפקא יתהום[791] מגו דחוק

13 מרות מצראי[792] וטפא[793] על קיצא בגין זכותא דאבהתן[794] דמתילן לטֹוריא

14 ושוור על זמן שעבודא מאה (ועשרין)[795] ‹ותשעין› שנין על צדקתא דאימהתן דמתילן

15 לגבעתא[796] : [2.9] דומה דֹודי : אמרת כנישתא דיש בזמן דאיתגלי יקרֹא

16 דייי במצֹ בליליא דפיסחא וקטל כל בוכרא רכב על חזיזא קֹלילֹא ורהט

17 כטביא וכאורזילא דאייל‹א› ואגין על בתיא דאנן תמן ואתעתד בתר אשֹו‹ו›תא[797]

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[781] Western trait. CWs[Yem.] contain the apocopated JBA form, אמא 'he said'.

[782] Pl. pass. ptc. √יהב[G] = AF[1,3,7,8,9], Valmadonna 1. Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 104, apparatus *gg*) regards it as an error, preferring AF[2,4,5,10] יתבין ('dwelling'). So too Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 245, n. 6) who translates AF[1] יהיבין with active voice 'giving'. Alonso Fontela retains יהיבין in his translation of AF[1], albeit appears to regard it as elliptical for a state of subjugation: 'Cuando los israelitas estaban sometidos en Egipto' ('When the Israelites were subdued in Egypt'). M[A,B] read a double ptc. יהיבין פלחין: in this syntagm Alonso Fontela construes יהיבין as active, 'prèstando servicio' ('providing service'). M[CEF]: פלחין.

Pace Alexander and Litke, the reading יהיבין is viable. יהיב with the sense 'situated, existing' occurs in JPA, CPA, and SA (cf. Rabbinic Hebrew נתון). See *DJPA*, pp. 250–1. For other tokens in LJLAtg., see TgPsJ Gen. 16.14; Deut. 3.11; 11.30; 32.23. The conflate Yemenite reading may be an attempt to make sense of an unfamiliar construction.

[783] Supralinear insertion of פלחין suggests revision towards an exemplar akin to M[A,B].

[784] 3 m.p. poss. suff. in ם- is otherwise only in AF[3א] and M[A,B] (Melamed's apparatus fails to register that it terminates with ן- in M[C,E,F]).

[785] All CWs (conventionally): לשמי. Cf. ln. 19 below. The *tsere* under the א was presumably supplied to clarify the pronunciation in view of the anomalous spelling.

[786] Absence of presentative הא (here supplied by a corrector) = AF[8,10] (supplied as correction in AF[10] margin).

[787] סיני 'Sinai', versus all CWs: ח(ו)רב 'Horeb'. This may represent harmonisation with TgShir 2.3 איתגלי על טורא דסיני "he was revealed on Mount Sinai". However, there, the context of the theophany is the giving of the Torah. Cf. Exod. 19.11 (TgOnq; TgNeof; TgCG[F,U]; FragTg[P,V]; TgPsJ); 19.20 (TgOnq; TgNeof; TgCG[F]; FragTg[P,V]; TgPsJ); 33.2 (TgNeof; FragTg[P,V]); TgJon Hab. 3.10; Tg1Chron 29.11. But this verse is analeptic, describing Moses' commission as divine envoy pursuant to the anguished cries of the enslaved Israelites (Exod. 2.23 et seq.). In the biblical pericope the mountain is referred to as Horeb, not Sinai (Exod. 3.1). Note that TgShir approximates TgOnq and TgPsJ to Exod. 3.1. TgOnq reads ואתא לטורא דאתגלי עלוהי יקרא דיוי לחורב 'and he [=Moses] came to the mountain upon which was revealed the glory of the LORD, to Horeb.' (Cf. TgJon 1 Kgs 19.8). Thus, the majority reading טורא דחורב is more cogent.

[788] Encoding of the toponymic GOAL by ל = AF[2], CWs[Yem.].

[789] Aligns with the majority CWs, contra AF[1]: למפרוק (JPA inf. form).

[790] 3 m.p. pro. suff. with ם- = AF[7], M[A,B] (Melamed's apparatus fails to register that it terminates with ן- in M[C,E,F]).

[791] 3 m.p. pro. suff. with ם- = AF[7], M[A,B]. AF[4], M[C,E,F] omit ולאפקא יתהון/ם.

[792] Pl. gentilic adj. agrees with the majority of CWs, contra AF[3,4,5] and M[E]: מצרים.

[793] טפא = M[A,B]. Presumably error for טפז 'he leaped' (≡ MT מדלג). There is a great deal of confusion in the CWs on the reading of this verb.

[794] Spelling אבהתן = AF[1,10M], M[A,B].

[795] The original reading, 'one hundred and twenty years'. All CWs: 'one hundred and ninety years', as per the correction. On the chronology, see Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 105, n. 55.

[796] לגבעתא (≡ MT הגבעות) = AF[7,8,910], Valmadonna 1, CWs[Yem.]. Balance of CWs[West.]: לגלמתא.

[797] Absence of 1 c.p. poss. suff. on the noun (≡ MT כתלנו 'our wall') = AF[7,9,10], Valmadonna 1, CWs[Yem.]. The corrected spelling with double וו = AF[7,9,10], the uncorrected spelling, with single ו, = Valmadonna 1.

18 וֹאֹשׁגח מן כו‹ו›תא ואסתכל מן חרכיא וחזא דמא דנכסא דפיסֹחא ודמא

19 דגזירת מוהלתא[798] דחקיק על תרענא וחזא[799] מן שמי מרומא וחס[800] וחזֹא[801] לעמֹא[802]

20 דאכלין ית נכסת חגא דפסחא[803] טוי נור על[804] (פסֹחא) תמכ(א)‹ה›[805] ועולשין וֹפֹטירֹא[806]

21 וחס עלן ולא יהב עלן[807] רשותא למלאך מחבל לחבלא בן : [2.10] עֹנֹהֹ דֹ[...]

22 ובעידן צפרא אתיב רחומי[808] ואמר לי קומי ליך כנישתא דיֹשֹׁרֹ[...]

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[798] Several translators (Mulder, Alonso Fontela, Jerusalmi, and Alexander) construe the sense of גזירת מהולתא as 'the decree of circumcision'. Yet, based on the use of this LJLAtg. locution in TgPsJ (Gen. 24.2, 9; 45.4; 47.29; Exod. 4.25), it is likely 'the cut of circumcision', or simply 'circumcision' (as per the translations of Pope, Treat, and Litke), unless a metonymy of origin is posited. However, the association in the verse between the blood of the Passover sacrifice and the blood of circumcision (cf. TgPsJ Exod. 12.13) may have been catalysed, in part, by the juxtaposition of גזירת פסחא 'the decree of Passover' (Exod. 12.43) and verbs $\sqrt{גזר}$[G] 'to circumcise' (Exod. 12.44, 48) in Pentateuchal targums (see TgOnq, TgNeof, and TgPsJ). For other factors underpinning this linkage, see Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 106, n. 61. Notwithstanding his translation, Litke's glossary (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 299) does not discriminate between the senses of גזירה in TgShir.

[799] CWs: וחש. חזא likely arose by vertical dittography from the line above, catalysed by the clustering of verbs of visual perception. *Pace* Mulder (*De Targum*, p. 59), חש is undoubtedly a loan of Hebrew $\sqrt{חוש}$[G] 'to hurry', rather than Aramaic $\sqrt{חוש}$[G] 'to sense', which his translation—'was Hij bekommerd' ('He was concerned')—appears to presuppose. As Alexander notes (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 105, n. 58), Song 2.9 דומה דודי לצבי או לעפר האילים 'My beloved is like a gazelle or a young stag', is interpreted in TgShir as signifying God's alacrity and eagerness in effecting the redemption of Israel from Egypt—chiming with an opinion in Mek. RI, *Pisḥa* 7 that בחפזון ('hurriedly', MT Exod. 12.11) adumbrates 'the haste of the Shekhinah' at the time of the Exodus, based on Song 2.8-9. Cf. TgPsJ Exod. 12.11.

[800] וחס = AF[7,10], Valmadonna 1, CWs[Yem.]. Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 106, apparatus *pp*) attributes it to vertical dittography of וחס later in the verse.

[801] וחזא = AF[7,8,9,10], Valmadonna 1, CWs[Yem.]. Balance of CWs[West.]: וחמא.

[802] Det. עמא versus CWs: עמיה 'his people'.

[803] נכסת חגא דפסחא = AF[8]. All CWs, bar AF[1,2], = נכסת חגא 'the sacrifice of the festival' (cf. TgOnq Exod. 23.18); AF[1,2] (metonymically): חגא דפ(י)סֹחא 'the festival (sacrifice) of Passover'. The tripartite NP occurs in TgOnq and TgNeof to Exod. 34.25, ≅ MT זבח חג הפסח.

[804] TgShir's use of על as a comitative prep. to introduce the herbs aligns with MT, TgOnq, and TgPsJ Exod. 12.8, versus עם in TgNeof and TgCG[AA].

[805] תמכא = AF[8,10], M[A,B,E,F]; תמכה = balance of CWs.

[806] The final letter(s) cannot be determined with confidence, however an א seems most likely. The reading clearly diverges from AF[7,8,9,10] and M[A,B,E,F], which read the abs. sing. פטיר (= TgOnq, TgPsJ Exod. 12.8). The abs. pl. פטירין is found in AF[3,4,5] and the margin of M[C] (= TgNeof Exod. 12.8), whereas the eastern pl. form פטירי = AF[1,2]. However, the vestige of the final letter is not compatible with the ductus of final ן or י in the fragment. If the reading is indeed det. sing., פטירא, it diverges from all CWs.

It is notable that TgShir reverses the order of the unleavened bread and bitter herbs in Exod. 12.8. In contrast, the Pentateuchal targums adhere to the order in MT. E.g., TgPsJ, whose rendering TgShir approximates most closely: טוי נור ופטיר על תמכה ועולשין 'roasted by fire and unleavened bread with *tamkha* and endives', ≅ MT צלי אש ומצות על מררים. This is doubtless an exegetical intervention by the author of TgShir, to make explicit that the command to consume 'bitter herbs' is inextricably linked to the consumption of the meat, and that the consumption of unleavened bread is a separate command. See Nachmanides' commentary on Exod. 12.8, and b. Pes. 120a.

[807] This prep., presumably dittographic, is not attested in the CWs.

[808] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 184) links רחום and רחומה in TgShir with Syriac. However, they may be Hebraisms.

23 דמולקדמין[809] ושפירת עובדין אזילי נפקי[810] מן שעבוד מִֹ[...]

24 [2.11] ארום[811] זמן שעבודא דדמי לסיתוא פסק ושניא דֹאֺ[...]

12.2.2 T-S B11.81, 1v: TgShir 2.11-16

1 פלגיא אתקטעו ומר‹ו›ות מצראי דמתיל למטרא טרידא[812] חלף ואזל ולא

2 תוספון למחזיהון[813] ‹עוד›[814] עד עלמא : [2.12] הנצנים : ומשה ואהרן דאימתיל‹ו›‹ל›לולבי[815]

3 דתמר אתחזו למעבד ניסין בארעא דמצרים ועידן קיטוף בוכראי מטא

4 וקל רוחא דקודשא דפורקנא דאמרית לאברהם אבוכון כבר שמעתון

5 מה דאמרית ליה ואף ית עמא (דיפלחון)[816] ‹דישתעבדון› בהון דאין אנא ובתר כן יפקון

6 בקנינא סגי[817] וכען צביתי למעבד מה דקיימית ליה במימרי : [2.13] התאנה :

7 כנישתא דישראל ‹ד›דמיא[818] לביכורי תאנים[819] פתחת פומה ואמרת שירתא

8 על ימא דסוף ואף עלימ‹י›א וינוקיא[820] שבחו למרי עלמא בלישנהון מן יד אמר

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[809] The *hireq* under the מ was presumably supplied to clarify the pronunciation in view of the anomalous spelling with ו, or the ambiguity arising from an elongated י.

[810] The retention of R₁ in this imper. √נפק[G], consistent throughout the CWs, is notable. Sporadic retention of R₁ in imper. verbs I-נ occurs elsewhere in LJLAtg. It contrasts with the forms חות (1.13) and פוקו (3.10), albeit neither are preserved in this fragment.

[811] Absence of presentative הא after the conj. (≅ MT כי הנה) = AF[7,8,9,10], Valmadonna 1, CWs[Yem.].

[812] The use of this adj. = AF[1,3,4,5], M[A,B,C]. Translators generally construe its sense as 'constant'. Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 206), with reference to MT Prov. 19.13; 27.15, regards it as a Hebraism, claiming that 'the meaning "continual" is limited to this TgSong instance'. However, מטרא טרידא can be straightforwardly understood as 'the driving rain' (cf. TgJon Isa. 57.20). The variant in AF[2], תדירא, bears the sense 'constant'. Alexander (Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 108, apparatus *ss*) claims that תדירא is 'the more common synonym' of טרידא.

[813] √חזי = the majority of CWs; AF[1,2,8] = √חמי.

[814] The haplography of the adv. עוד 'again' was presumably due to its graphical similarity with the immediately following prep. עד. The use of עוד aligns with the majority, contra AF[1,2], which read the JPA form תוב. This quotation of Exod. 14.13 thus aligns with TgOnq.

[815] The spatial constraints at the line end may have compelled the scribe to cram the letters together. However, the final ו of the verb and the following ל appear to have been added retrospectively; whether by the first scribe or another hand cannot be determined. These letters sit lower than the others, and there is an uncharacteristic ligature in the final syllable of the verb, לו-, which appears secondary. If these letters were added by a second hand, the original reading, דאימתיל לולבי, is unattested in the CWs. A pl. verb is expected, in view of the compound sub. משה ואהרן 'Moses and Aaron', as is the prep. marking of the comparatum. It is likely that these letters simply fell victim to haplography owing to the sequence -לו ללול-.

[816] This reading is unattested in any of the CWs, which read as per the correction. However, יפלחון בהון = TgOnq to Gen. 15.14, of which this is a quotation. (TgPsJ also employs this verb but marks the obj. with ל).

[817] סגי = AF[9,10], CWs[Yem.], and TgOnq Gen. 15.14; Balance of CWs: סגיא.

[818] CWs: מתילא. The absence of the rel. pro. in the uncorrected text is likewise unattested in the CWs.

[819] Pl. morpheme ים- = AF[3,4,5,7,9], Valmadonna 1; Balance of CWs: ין-.

[820] Spelling ינוקיא = AF[7,9,10].

9 להום⁸²¹ מרי עלמא קומי ליך⁸²² כנישתא דישראל ‹רחימתי› ושפירתי ואזילי‹ ‹ליך›⁸²⁴ מיכא
(ל)‹ב›ארעא⁸²⁵

10 די קיימית לאבהתיך⁸²⁶ : [2.14] יונתי בחגוי : כד⁸²⁷ רדף פרעה רשיעא בתר עמא

11 בית ישראל הות מתילא כנישתא דישראל ליונתא דסגירא בחגוי טינרא

12 וחווא מעיק לה מג‹א›או ונ‹י›‹צא מעיק לה מברא כדין⁸²⁸ הות כנישתא דישראל

13 סגירתא מארבע רוחי⁸²⁹ ‹ד›עלמא⁸³⁰ דמן קדמיהון ימָא ומן בתריהום⁸³¹ רדיף סנאה

14 ומן סטריהון⁸³² ‹מדבראן›⁸³³ מליין חיוון קלן דנכתין וקטלין באיריסיהון ית בני אנשא⁸³⁴

15 מן יד פתחת פומה בצלו קדם יי ונפלת⁸³⁵ ברת⁸³⁶ קלא מן שמי מרומא וכן⁸³⁷

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⁸²¹ 3 m.p. pro. suff. with ם- = M^{A,B} (Melamed's apparatus fails to register that it terminates with ן- in M^{C,E,F}).

⁸²² TgShir follows MT *Qere* with 'centripetal' construction קומי לך 'arise!', rather than the double imper. of the *Ketiv*, קומי לכי 'get going!'.

⁸²³ The inclusion of the conj. before the imper. (≅ MT ולכי לך) = AF^{2,8,10}, CWs^{Yem.}. Note that imper. √אזל^G 'to go' in TgShir (1.13; 2.10; 2.13) do not exhibit apheresis of R₁, in contrast to JBA and Syriac. Retention of the א appears to be the norm in LJLAtg.

⁸²⁴ The absence of the centripetal ל construction in the uncorrected text = AF^{3,4,5}.

⁸²⁵ The original prep. marking the GOAL was ל, as per all CWs. The marking of locational GOALS of verbs of motion with ב is attested elsewhere in this fragment and CWs^{West.}, as discussed in section 9.9 above.

⁸²⁶ The exhortation to come to 'the Land promised to the patriarchs' suggests that TgShir heard in MT לכי לך an echo of Gen. 12.1.

⁸²⁷ כד = CWs^{Yem.}; CWs^{West.} וכד.

⁸²⁸ כדין = AF^{7,8,9,10}, CWs^{Yem.}; Balance of CWs: היכדין.

⁸²⁹ רוחי עלמא 'the winds of the world' (=the four cardinal points); all CWs: A-term pl. סטר 'side'. Possibly due to harmonisation with the phrase מארבע רוחי עלמא in TgShir 2.6, and not beset by the gender discordance in the CWs, between fem. ארבע and masc. סטר. The uncorrected reading of a cst. chain = M^{A,B,C} (albeit, as noted, featuring a different A-term); balance of CWs = ד-relation (as per the correction).

⁸³⁰ Det. = AF^{2,5,7ב,8}, M^{A,B,C}; balance of CWs = דעלם.

⁸³¹ 3 m.p. pro. suff. with ם- not attested in CWs.

⁸³² Absence of the numeral תרין 'two' prior to the noun = AF^{7,9,10}, CWs^{Yem.}.

⁸³³ Pl. מדבראן 'deserts' in the correction aligns with the majority of CWs^{West.}; CWs^{Yem.}: sing. מדברא (albeit with pl. ptc. predicate); AF⁹: מד׳ מליא.

⁸³⁴ Retention of initial א = AF^{4,7,9,10}, Valmadonna 1, CWs^{Yem.}; balance of CWs: aphetised form.

⁸³⁵ נפלת = AF^{1,2}; balance of CWs: נפקת (Alonso Fontela's apparatus omits AF⁸). Cf. Dan. 4.28.

⁸³⁶ This spelling of the sing. cst. form of 'daughter' = all CWs, bar AF⁷, which reads בת. It is the spelling used in JPA, CPA, and SA, in contrast to בת in JLAtg. and JBA. See, S.E. Fassberg, 'The Forms of 'Son' and 'Daughter' in Aramaic' in H. Gzella and M.L. Folmer (eds.), *Aramaic in its Historical and Linguistic Setting* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), p. 49. The NP *bat qol* also occurs in 4.1 but is not preserved in this fragment: majority of CWs: ברת קלא; AF^{3,4,5}: בת קלא. The only other token of 'daughter' in TgShir is in the status pronominalis: ברתי 'my daughter' (1.15). The form of the stem hosting the pro. suff., -ברת, is common across the dialects. The underlying abs. form in the idiom of the author could be either ברה (as per JPA) or ברת (as per JBA). Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 297.) appears to assume the latter, since his glossary entry headword is ברת.

⁸³⁷ Western trait. The conj. and adv. are minuses in CWs^{Yem.}.

16 אמרת אנ(ת)‹א› ⁸³⁸ כנישתא דישראל דמתילא ליונתא דכיא⁸³⁹ ומיטמרא בסגור

17 חגוי טינרא ובחביוני דרגיתא אחזיני ית חזויך וית עובדיך תקנין⁸⁴⁰

18 אשמעיני ית קליך ארום קליך מערב בצלותא בבית מקדשא⁸⁴¹ (זעיר)⁸⁴²

19 וחזוויך שפיר בעובדין טבין : [2.15] אחזו לנו : בתר דעברו ית ימא

20 אתרעמו על מיא ואתא עיליהום⁸⁴³ עמלק רשיעא דנטר להום⁸⁴⁴ דבבו על

21 עׄיׄסׄק בכורותא וברכתא דשקל יעקב מן עשו ואתא לאגחא קרבא

22 [...]ל עד⁸⁴⁵ דבטילו מן פתגמי אוריתא והוה עמלק רשיעא גניב מתחות

23 [...]נׄי יקרא נפשתא משבטוי⁸⁴⁶ דדן ומקטיל יתהום⁸⁴⁷ על דהוה בידיהום⁸⁴⁸

24 [...]מׄיׄכׄא⁸⁴⁹ בׄ‹יׄ›היא שעתא אתחי‹יׄ›בו עמא בית ישראל דמתילי‹יׄן לכרמא

25 [...] צׄדׄיׄקי דרא ההוא דמתילין לבשׁם טב : [2.16] דודי לי ⊙

26 [...]תׄיׄובתא ואתׄעתד משה נבייא וצלי קדם ייי ויהושע

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⁸³⁸ The form אנא, presumably a 1 c.s. pro. = M^{A,B}. The other CWs that include a pro. here read, more cogently, the 2 f.s. אנת, as per the correction. This comports with other indications of the revision of the text towards an exemplar akin to M^{A,B}.

⁸³⁹ Abs. adj. דכיא 'pure' = CWs^{Yem.} (Alonso Fontela's apparatus omits to register this reading in AF¹²/M^A and AF¹¹/M^E); CWs^{West.}, bar AF⁹: det.; AF⁹: דמיא 'like', an error for דכיא. Unique among the CWs is AF⁴ רגילתא, presumably a description of the markings on the dove's body (cf. רגול in TgOnq Gen. 30.39ff.).

⁸⁴⁰ Absence of the rel. pro. ד before the adj. = majority of CWs. AF^{3,4,5,10}, and the amendment in M^C include the rel. pro.—possibly secondary, to eliminate the solecism of a definite NP modified by an abs. attributive adj. The plene spelling of the adj. תקנין = AF⁷, M^{A,B}.

⁸⁴¹ Det. = AF^{7,8,9,10}, Valmadonna 1, CWs^{Yem.}.

⁸⁴² The original reading with זעיר is a Western trait. CWs^{Yem.} omit this adj. The NP is derived from מקדש מעט in MT Ezek. 11.16, understood as 'a little sanctuary', which, as Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 111, n. 93) notes, served as a sobriquet for the synagogue. The discordance in state between (det.) noun and (abs.) attributive adj. in בית מקדשא זעיר may have been facilitated by the phrase being construed as a PN. Such a construal of the Hebrew equivalent, בית מקדש מעט, is evidenced in later texts. For example, 'בית המקדש מעט' in the responsum of Rabbi Moses Alsheikh, siman 59. Cited from the Bar-Ilan University Online Responsa Project, https://www.responsa.co.il/home.en-US.aspx [last accessed 7 February 2020].

⁸⁴³ 3 m.p. suff. with ם- = AF⁷.

⁸⁴⁴ 3 m.p. suff. with ם- = AF⁹.

⁸⁴⁵ Error for על, = all CWs, bar M^{E,F} which omit it (Melamed's apparatus fails to capture this).

⁸⁴⁶ Use of the pl. A-term in the NP שיבטוי דדן 'tribes of Dan' is notable. The use of the pl. is attested in all CWs bar M^{A,B,C}, which read שבטא (possibly a secondary correction of the anomaly). However, the use of the pl. is intelligible if its referent is the tribes of Dan, Asher, and Naphtali, conceived as a single unit under the leadership of Dan, as per the configuration of tribal encampment delineated in Num. 2. TgPsJ Num. 2.25 refers to this unit as שבטוי דבני דן 'the tribes of the children of Dan' (Cf. שבטוי דבני דן 'the tribes of the children of Zebulon' in v. 7). There is a strong nexus between this passage in TgShir and TgPsJ Num. 22.41-42, which mentions the משיריין דן 'the camps of Dan' as being visible מתחות עניני יקרא 'from under the clouds of glory' and the presence of idolatry among them. For other examples of the use of the pl. 'tribes' with a single patronymic, see TgNeof, FragTg^P Gen. 49.3 (Levi); FragTg^P Gen. 49.7 (Levi and Simeon). For tribal groupings, see TosTg 125א (Ezek. 1.1), lns.4–5 רב שיבטיא דבית אפרים; 131ב (Ezek. 37.1), lns. 3–4 מלך שבטיא דבית יהודה.

⁸⁴⁷ 3 m.p. pro. suff. with ם- = M^{A,B} (Melamed's apparatus fails to register M^{C,E,F}: ן-).

⁸⁴⁸ 3 m.p. pro. suff. with ם- = AF⁷ and M^{A,B} (Melamed's apparatus fails to register M^{E,F}: ן-).

⁸⁴⁹ Spelling of PN = AF²; balance of CWs: מיכה.

12.2.3   T-S B11.81, 2r: TgShir 4.12–5.2

1 [4.12] טמירן וגניזן[850] באנפ‹י›לין[851] וחתימן (בכין) ‹תמן›[852] כמבוֹעא דמיין חיין דנפיק מתחות עיקרי

2 אילנא דחיין ומתפרש לארבעה רישי נהרין ואֹלמלא דהוא חתים בשמה[853] רבה[854]

3 וקדישא הוה נפיק ומבע ושטף כל עלמא : [4.13] שֹלחיך : ועולימיך מליין פיקודיא

4 הֵיכרימונין ורחמין לנשׁיהון וילדן בנין צדיקין כותהון וריחיהון מֹטולהֹיד[855]

5 כבוסמין טבין דגינתא דעדן כפורין עם רשׁקין : [4.14] נדר : רשק וֹמוֹרֹיֹקא וקנִי[856]

6 בוסמא וקנמון עם כל קיסי לבונתא מורא[857] דכיא ואסקיל‹א›לואן[858] עִׄם כל מיני

7 שבח בוסמנין[859] : [4.15] מעֹין גנים : ומיא דשילוח מדבריֹן[860] בניח עם מותר מויֹין[861]

8 דנגדין מן לבנון לאשקאה ית ארעא דישראֹל בגין דאינון עסיקין בפתגֹמי

9 אוריתא דאמתלֹן[862] לבאר מין חיין ובזכותא דניסוך מיא דנסכין על מדבחא

10 בבית מקדשא דמתבני בירושלם דמתקרי לֹבנון : [4.16] עורי צפון :ועל סטר

11 ציפונא הוה פתורא ועלוהי תרי עשר לֹחֹמֹיׄן דֹאֹפֹיא[863] ועל סטר דרומא הות

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[850] Prefacing of verb with conj. = CWs[West.]; CWs[Yem.]: prep. כ.

[851] Spelling of this noun varies among the CWs. However, the CWs[Yem.] are distinguished by reading the second consonant as ל. The reading of the second consonant as נ in this fragment = CWs[West.].

[852] Adv. תמן 'there' = CWs[Yem.]; CWs[West.]: בכין 'then' (bar AF², which omits the adv.), which was most likely the original reading of this fragment. The reading may have been occasioned by parablepsis, as there is a preceding token of תמן in the verse (not preserved in this fragment). This is another indication of revision of the text towards an exemplar with affinities to CWs[Yem.].

[853] Terminal ה-, either marking det. or perhaps 3 m.s. poss. suff., diverges from the majority reading, שמא. Cf. AF⁵ שמי; AF¹⁰ שמיה.

[854] ה- to mark det. All CWs: רבא.

[855] Error for מטול הכי 'on account of this', as per CWs (AF³,⁴,⁵ מתול הכי).

[856] קני = AF⁸,¹⁰, CWs[Yem.]; balance of CWs[West.]: קנה. The NP קני בוסמא 'sweet calamus' is quarried from Exod. 30.23. The spelling of the fragment = TgOnq (TgPsJ קנה בושמא; TgNeof קנה דבשם).

[857] Spelling מורא = AF⁴, CWs[Yem.], versus מירא in the balance of CWs[West.] (bar AF² מרא). The phrase מורא דכיא 'pure myrrh' is likely quarried from TgOnq Exod. 30.23 (TgNeof, FragTg[V], TgPsJ read מ(ו)ר בחיר 'choice myyrh', a phrase deployed in TgShir 5.13).

[858] Representation of the noun, 'aloes' (< ξῠ̓λαλόη), as a single word is notable. All the CWs split it into two. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 143, apparatus *nn*. Valmadonna 1 also reads a single word. The uncorrected reading is ואסקיל לואן. Among the CWs, CWs[Yem.] have this initial consonant sequence אסק-, rather than the more accurate אקס-.

[859] Spelling = AF³,⁵,⁷,⁸. Cf. AF¹ בושמנין. CWs[Yem.] and balance of CWs[West.] read forms without the נ expansion.

[860] Use of verb √דבר[tD] to describe the motion of the water suggests an adaptation of TgJon Isa. 8.6.

[861] All CWs: מיין 'water'. מויין could be analysed as a backformation from מוי, which features as a variant of the abs. and det. in TgPsJ. See S.E. Fassberg, 'Translations of 'Water' in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan', *Massorot: Studies in Language Traditions and Jewish Languages* 9–11 (1997), pp. 483–494 (in Hebrew). However, it may simply be an error, possibly influenced by the first syllable of the immediately preceding מותר 'surplus'. Note the standard spelling מיין later in this verse (f. 2, ln. 9) and at 4.12 (f. 2, ln. 1).

[862] This form, apparently a JBA 3 f.p. pf. (albeit with m.p. subject), = AF¹,⁷,⁹[א], Valmadonna 1. See, Bar-Asher Siegal, *Introduction*, p. 113.

[863] Use of the pl. of לחם 'bread' to refer to the individual showbread loaves, consistent throughout the CWs, diverges from the Pentateuchal targums. For this, the latter employ גריצן (TgOnq and TgPsJ) and חלין (TgNeof) ≅ MT חלות (Lev. 24.5). TgShir approximates the phrase לחם אפיא (≅ MT לחם הפנים), which they employ to refer to the loaves collectively (e.g., TgOnq Exod. 25.30). Closer is the bare ד-relation, לחם דאפיא, attested in

12 בּוֹצִינָיָא864 לאנהרא ועל מדבחא הוו מקרבין כֹּהניא קורבנא ומסקין עילוי

13 קטורת בוסמין865 אמרת כנישתא דישראל ‹יֽיֽעֹו(ן)ל866 אלהי רחימי לבית מקדשיה

14 ויקבֹּל בּֽרֽעוֹאֿ קֹורבניהון867 דעמיה : בֹּאתי לֹגֹני : [5.1] אמר קודשא בריך הוא

15 לעמיה בית יש‹ראל› (ד)עַֿלית868 לבית מקדשא869 דבנֹּית לי אחווֹתי כנישתא דישראל

16 דֿ[...]ׄתֹלֹאֿ870 לנינפֿי צניעא ואשריתי שכינתי בֹּיניך קבֹּילֹית ברעוא ית קטורת

17 [...]סֹֿמֹֿיֿך דעבדת לשמי שליחת אשתא מן שמיא ואכלת871 ית עלון וית נכסת

18 [...]קֹֿבֹּֿל בּֽרֽעֹֿוֽא קדמי ניסוך חמֹֿר סומק וחמר חיור דנסיכו כהניא

19 על מֹ[...] [...] רחמי פיקודֹֿיֿי אֿכולו מה דמשתאר מן קרבניא

20 ואתפנקֹֿו [...] לֹ[...]סֹֿם872 : [5.2] אני יֽשֹנה : בתר כל פתגמֹיֽיׇֽא האילין

21 חבו עמא בית יֿ[...] [...] [...]יֽי יתהום873 בּֽיֿד נבוכדנצר874 מלכא דבבל ואוביל

TgPsJ Exod. 35.13, albeit with a sing. A-term.

864 Pl. בוציניא 'lamps', as per CWs[Yem.]. CWs[West.] read sing. However, CWs[Yem.] do not include an immediately preceding verb, here 3 f.s. הות, as per the majority of CWs[West.]. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 145, apparatus *tt*. This use of a 3 f.s. verb with non-human pl. sub. may reflect the influence of Arabic deflected agreement. However, the vowel pointing appears to direct pronunciation of the noun as sing. Gender discordance is also likely involved, since בוצין is conventionally masc. However, note that בוצין is also construed as fem. in TgPsJ Gen. 24.67, נהרת בוצינא דטפת 'the lamp that had died out gave light'.

865 TgShir may conflate the bronze and golden altars (cf. 5.5; 6.2). Alexander's claim that 'only one kind of offering is in view' begs the question. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 145, apparatus *uu*. For examples of confusion pertaining to the tabernacle/temple cultus in TgShir, see Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 160, n. 50; p. 151, n. 23.

866 In the CWs, the 3 m.p. prefix with the double יי is only otherwise attested in AF[8] and M[A,B] (so too Valmadonna 1).

867 Pl. noun + 3 m.s. suff. = AF[2,4,9,10].

868 The inclusion of the particle ד before the verb, presumably as a direct speech marker, is only otherwise attested in AF[7,9]. However, it appears that an attempt was made to correct the ד into a אל ligature and retrofit it as the concluding syllable of the preceding word יש 'Israel'. Note that the dot above the ש marks an abbreviation (cf. יש in T-S B11.81 f. 2, ln. 8 below). The resultant spelling ישאל is anomalous, lacking the medial ר.

869 Det. = AF[8], CWs[Yem.]. Balance of CWs[West.]: בית מ(ו)קדשי 'my temple'.

870 JBA style 3 f.s. pf., √מתל[tG], = AF[1,7,8,9], Valmadonna 1, M[E,F]. (Melamed's apparatus fails to register the latter attestations).

871 3 f.s. verb = M[A,B,C,F], versus 3 m.s. אכל in CWs[West.] (AF[8ᵇ] amends the original 3 m.s. to 3 f.s.). The 1 c.s. in M[E] אכלית may be due to the influence of the underlying MT אכלתי 'I ate', rather than dittography of the obj. marker ית. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 146, apparatus *c*. A 3 f.s. verb is expected with sub. אשתא 'fire'.

872 The final letter is barely legible. However, a ם is likely. Presumably, the word is לכום 'for you'. If so, the spelling diverges from all CWs, which read לכון.

873 3 m.p. pro. suff. with ם- not in CWs.

874 The spelling of this PN, and its representation as a single word, = AF[4], M[A]. Alonso Fontela's apparatus indicates that it is likewise in M[E] (AF[11]). However, M[E,F] both split the name over two lines, indicating two words (as correctly identified in Melamed's apparatus).

22 יתהון בגלותא והוו דֹּ[...] [...]לֹ[...]אַ⁸⁷⁵[...] כֹּגֹבֹּרֹ דֹּמִיכֹא⁸⁷⁶ דלא יכיל לאתערא משינתיה

23 וקל רוחא דקודשֹׁאֹ מֹזהרֹאֹ לֹ[...] עֹל ידי נֹבֹּיֹאֹיֹא והות עֹיֹרֹא יתהום⁸⁷⁷ מדמוך

24 לבבהום⁸⁷⁸ ענה רבון כל עלמא וכן אֹ[...] בתיובתא פתחי פומיך ובועי ושבחי

12.2.4   T-S B11.81, 2v: TgShir 5.2-8

1 לי אחוותיֹ⁸⁷⁹ רחימתי כנישתא דישראל דמתילא ליונתא בשלימותא עובדיך ארום

2 שער רישי אתמלי מן דמעתיך בגבר דשער רישיה מצטבע מטלא דשמיא

3 וציצית נזֹרֹ⁸⁸⁰ כגבר דציצית נזרוהי מליין מטיפי מטרא דנחתין בליליא :

4 [5.3] פשטתי : ענת כנישתא (דבני)⁸⁸¹ ‹דיﬞ›ישראל (?אמרין) ‹ואמרת›⁸⁸² כלקביל נביאיא הא כבר

5 אעדיתֹי מֹיֹנֹי ‹ניר›⁸⁸³ פיקודיֹ⁸⁸⁴ ופלחית לטעות עממיא והיכדין יהוון לי אנפין למהדר

6 לֹוֹתיֹהֹ אתיב להון מרי עלמא על יד נביאיא ואף אנא הֹ‹א›כבר⁸⁸⁵ דקדישית⁸⁸⁶

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⁸⁷⁵ The text is extremely faint here. However, the terminal א on the word before כגבר can be discerned, as can the tip of a ל. The gap between the ל and the א suggests that the word is גלותא 'exile', as per the minority reading of AF^{3,4,5}. The balance of CWs have a form of the noun hosting a 3 m.p. poss. suff., 'their exile(s)'.

Inclusion of בגלותא והוו דמין is Western trait. CWs^{Yem.} omit by parablepsis, reading 'and he led them away in their captivities like a man asleep.' Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 147, apparatus *l*) notes the parablepsis but errs in its scope.

⁸⁷⁶ Spelling דמיכא 'asleep' = M^{A,B,E,F}, versus דמוכא and דמכא in balance of CWs.

⁸⁷⁷ 3 m.p. pro. suff. with ם- = AF³.

⁸⁷⁸ Spelling of the noun with double ב, לבב 'heart', = AF^{1,7,8,9,10}. 3 m.p. pro. suff. with ם- not in CWs.

⁸⁷⁹ Spelling with double ו only otherwise in AF^{1,10}.

⁸⁸⁰ Does not contain the fuller reading אתמלי מן טפי עיניך "are full of drops from your eyes" found in AF^{3,4,5}. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 148, apparatus, *o*.

⁸⁸¹ The original reading, כנישתא דבני ישראל, is unattested in the CWs.

⁸⁸² The m.p. ptc. is attested in AF^{1,2,7,8,9}. The corrected form, a 3 f.s. pf., is attested in AF¹⁰ and the CWs^{Yem.}. The verb is a minus in AF^{3,4,5}. The corrections are the work of a second hand.

⁸⁸³ The absence of ניר 'yoke' = AF¹⁰, Valmadonna 1, albeit it is supplied in the margin of the former. In this fragment, it appears to be written in the same hand as the main text.

⁸⁸⁴ The reading of a 1 c.s. suff., 'my commandment(s)', = AF⁷, Valmadonna 1, CWs^{Yem.}. It is resonant of the underlying MT פשטתי את כתנתי "I had put off <u>my</u> garment". The other CWs^{West.} read a 3 m.s. suff. (bar AF² פיקודיא).

⁸⁸⁵ The original reading הכבר is otherwise only attested in AF¹⁰ and Valmadonna 1. Both the *qametz* under the ה, and the א, have been added by a second hand.

⁸⁸⁶ Inclusion of rel. particle ד after the adv. *contra* all CWs. Cf. TgEstII 5.14.

The CWs divide into three groups with respect to this section of the verse. This fragment aligns with AF^{7,8,9,10} and the CWs^{Yem.} in not including the clauses סליקת שכינתי מבינייך והיכדין אהדור ואת עבדא עובדין בישין, "I have taken up from among you my Shekhinah, so how can I return while you are doing evil deeds?" The second textual group, which consists of AF^{1,2}, is characterised by the converse, namely, it includes these clauses but not the reading of this fragment, AF^{7,9,10} and all CWs^{Yem.} קדישית ית רגלי מסואבותיך והיכדין אטיניפינון ביניך בעובדיך בישיא "I have purified my feet from your uncleanness, so how can I defile them [again] among you with your evil deeds?" The third group consists of AF^{3,4,5} which includes both units. Alexander opines that the original reading included both units and the omission of either unit in the various manuscripts is attributable to parablepsis, occasioned by the homoioarcton and homoioteleuton of the successive sentences. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 149, n. *r*.

Alternatively, the two units may represent variant readings, which were conflated in the common ancestor of AF^{3,4,5}. This possibility may receive support from AF¹⁰. As indicated above, AF¹⁰ reads [...] קדשית ית רגלי in the

7 יֵת רִגְלֵי מסואבותיך והיכדין אטניפינון ביניך בעובדיך בישיא : [5.4] דודי שלח :

8 כֹּד אתגלי קדם יֵיי דעמא[887] בית יֵש לא צבן למחרט ולמיתוב[888] לותיה אושיט

9 יֵת מחֹת גבורתיה על שבטא דראובן וגד ופלגות שבטא דמנשה דמעיברא

10 לירדנא ומסר יתהון ביד סנחריב מלכא דאתור ואגלי יתהון בלחלח[889] וחבור[890]

11 נהרי[891] גוזן וקרוי מדאי[892] ודבר מֹדּיהון יֵת עגלא מתכא[893] דשוי ירבעם חייבא

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main text. However, it also registers the unit commencing סליקית שכינתי as a marginal variant for קדשית ית רגלי […], under the rubric ל׳א׳.

It is evident that the unit commencing קדישית ית רגלי 'I have sanctified my feet' hews close to MT Song 5.3b רחצתי את רגלי איככה אטנפם 'I had bathed my feet; how could I soil them?' (For translations of MT Hebrew √רחץ[G] 'to bathe' by Aramaic √קדשׁ[D] 'to sanctify' elsewhere in targumic literature, which occur in contexts of priestly purification, see TgOnq, TgNeof, and TgPsJ to Exod. 30.18, 19, 20, 21; 40.30, 31, 32; TgNeof Exod. 29.4; 40.12; Lev. 8.6; TgPs 26.6; Tg2Chron 4.6). Alexander interprets סליקית שכינתי מבינייך as exegeting MT Song 5.3a פשטתי את כתנתי איככה אלבשנה 'I had put off my garment; how could I put it on again?' Yet, as he notes, on this reckoning, the author appears 'curiously' to have construed MT Song 5.3a as spoken by *both* Israel *and* God, since the preceding confession of Israel as to having laid aside the yoke of divine commandments clearly corresponds to this segment of the verse in MT.

However, *pace* Alexander, it seems more likely that סליקית שכינתי מבינייך […] rather exegetes MT Song 5.3b. The most straightforward correspondence of the intrg. clause והיכדין אהדור ואת עבדא עובדין בישין is MT Song 5.3bβ איככה אטנפם (in which evil deeds are a source of defilement), rather than MT Song 5.3aβ איככה אלבשנה. Alexander himself notes, with reference to Ezek. 43.7-8, that MT Song 5.3bα רחצתי את רגלי is construed by TgShir in relation to 'God's departure from the defiled temple, his "footstool."' This straightforwardly corresponds to the reference to God's withdrawal of the Shekhinah סליקית שכינתי מבינייך (cf. TgJon Ezek. 10.18-19).

Thus, it seems likely that the two units constitute a doublet, both exegeting MT Song 5.3b. Their predominant separation in the CWs, both Western and Yemenite, along with evidence of their substitutivity in AF[10], suggests that these are conflated variant readings. If so, they constitute evidence for the evolution of the text. The variants are markedly different in character. The unit commencing קדישית ית רגלי is, as Alexander notes, 'extremely anthropomorphic' in its claim that the deity Himself is susceptible to the contraction of defilement from the moral uncleanness of Israel. The alternative unit simply states that the divine presence has been removed due to Israel's evil deeds. Interestingly, MS. New York, JTS, Lutzki 610, ff. 30r–30v, includes both units, like AF[3,4,5]. However, the second unit has undergone substantial reworking: ואף אנא הא סלקית שכינתי מבינך והכדין אהדור ליך ואת עבדת עובדין בישין ואנא קדישית שכינתי מסובתיך והכדין אשרינה בגו טינופיך 'Look, I have removed my Shekhinah from among you, so how can I return to you, seeing you have performed evil deeds? I have purified my Shekhinah from your uncleanness, so how can I make it to dwell among your filth?'. The substitution of God's feet by the Shekhinah likely attests to unease at the original imagery.

[887] Western trait. CWs[Yem.] read כד אתגלי יקרא דייי לעמא.

[888] JPA form of hollow root G–stem inf. = AF[1,7,9], Valmadonna 1, and M[C].

[889] This fragment aligns with all CWs[West.], and Valmadonna 1, in encoding the toponymic GOAL with ב.

[890] Aligns with AF[2,7,9,10], and Valmadonna 1, in not repeating the prep. before this second member of the GOAL constituent.

[891] The pl. form occurs throughout CWs[West.], bar AF[8ב] which completes the line-ending abbreviated form נה׳ as נהר. A pl. also occurs in LXX 2 Kgs 17.6: ποταμοῖς Γωζαν 'rivers of Gozan', as noted in Mulder, *De Targum*, p. 104, n. 4a. CWs[Yem.], bar M[E], read a sing., as per MT and TgJon.

[892]The pl. gentilic adj., מדאי 'the Medes', only otherwise occurs in AF[1,7,9,10] and Valmadonna 1. This aligns with LXX 2 Kgs 17.6; 18.11 Ορη Μήδων 'Ore of the Medes'. The balance of CWs read the toponym מדי 'Media', as per MT and TgJon.

[893] This fragment aligns with AF[3,4,5,10] in casting עגל 'calf' in det. The balance of CWs read cst., either sing. (AF[1,2] and CWs[Yem.]) or pl. (AF[7,8,9] and Valmadonna 1). The referent of this NP in TgShir is the calf idol installed at Dan by Jeroboam I. Alexander observes that the pl. reading in AF[7,8,9] could find support in Jeroboam's commissioning of two calf idols (citing 1 Kgs 12.28; 2 Kgs 17.16), yet he notes the difficulty that only one calf was

12 בלשם דן דמתקריא פָּמְיָאס ביומי פקח בן[894] רמליהו וכד שמעית אנא

13 רחמי א‹י›‹תגוללו[895] עליהון : [5.5] קמתי אני : וכדו תקיפת ‹תקפת›[896] עלי מחת גבֿורתא

14 דֿ֗יֿ֗וֿ֗י֗ תהית על עובדי וכהניא קריבו קרבניא[897] ואסיקו קטרת בוסמיא

15 ולֿאֿ איתקבל ברעוה[898] ארום מרי עלמא אחד דשי תיובתא באנפַי : [5.6] (פֿתֿח)

16 פתֿחתי : אמרת כנישתא דֿישראל צבית֗י למיתבע אולפן מן קדם ייי

17 ואיהו סליק שכינתיה מביני וֿנפשי תאיבא לקל מילוהי תבע‹י›ֿת שכינֿת֗

18 יקריה[899] וֿלא אשכחית צליתי קדמוהי ואיהו טלי‹ם›‹ל›[900] שמיא בעֿנֿנין וֿ֗ן[...]

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installed at Dan according to 1 Kgs 12.29 (the other in Bethel). Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 150, apparatus *y*. However, TgJon Jer. 4.15 and 8.16 record a tradition (in pluses to MT) that a plurality of calf idols was in Dan: יגלון על דפלחו לעגליא דבדן 'they will go in captivity because they worshipped the calves that are in Dan'. (Similarly, TgJon Hos. 1.4; 6.10; 10.5 refer to a plurality of calves in Bethel: עגליא בבית אל 'the calves in Bethel'.) Such a tradition may have motivated the pl. reading ע(י)גלי מתכא in AF[7,8,9].

Other places in the targums where מתכא is employed as descriptor of Jeroboam's calf idols are TgJon 2 Kgs 17.16; Hos. 13.2, where מתכא ≡ MT מַסֵּכָה. As noted above, 2 Kgs 17.6 is quoted earlier in this verse of TgShir, in the itemisation of the destinations of exile, raising the possibility that 2 Kgs 17 played a structural role in the composition of TgShir 5.4. However, the NP 'molten calf' is never applied to either of Jeroboam's idols in the Hebrew Bible or the targums. Rather, they are styled 'golden calves' (1 Kgs 12.28; 2 Kgs 10.29). The descriptor 'molten calf' is only applied in these sources to the idol made by the Israelites in the wilderness. Curiously, TgShir refers to this calf as 'the golden calf' in 1.12 and AF[3,5,6] 2.17, inverting the referents of the Biblical NPs.

In this connection, the cst. chain reading with sing. A-term found in AF[1,2] and CWs[Yem.], ע(י)גל מתכא, occurs in TgOnq Exod. 32.4, 8; Deut. 9.16; TgPsJ Exod. 32.19. (TgPsJ also contains the phrase in the places where it occurs in TgOnq, bar Exod. 32.8 where TgPsJ reads עיגל מתכו. TgNeof instead reads עגל מסכה, reproducing the Hebrew.) In these passages, the phrase is semantically indefinite, 'a molten calf', suggesting that מתכא is an abs. fem. noun (rather than the masc. cognate מתך in det.) and the phrase thus tightly corresponds to its MT counterpart עגל מסכה. Regardless of whether ע(י)גל מתכא is the original reading in TgShir 5.4, it may have been conditioned by its use in Pentateuchal targums. If מתכא in TgShir 5.4 is indeed correctly parsed as fem. abs., all cst. chain readings are solecisitic, since the molten calf in question is semantically definite ית עגל מתכא דשי ירבעם חייבא בלשם דן "the molten calf which wicked Jeroboam had set up at Leshem of Dan". As noted previously, solecisms pertaining to state are legion in TgShir. It is possible that this instance was the product of the quarrying of the indefinite NP from accounts of the molten calf in the wilderness and its employment in TgShir 5.4, without the B-term being inflected to det.

The use of det. ע(י)גלא in this fragment and AF[3,4,5] is also solecistic, since it results in an awkward juxtaposition to the noun מתכא 'cast metal', whereas a compound NP is intended, 'the molten calf'. In contrast, AF[10] (which, as noted, also reads det.) is grammatically coherent since it reads a bare-ד relation עגלא דמתכא.

[894] The use of the Hebrew בן, rather than Aramaic בר, is only otherwise attested in AF[4].

[895] Spelling = AF[1,2,3ᵇ,10], CWs[Yem.].

[896] The original spelling תקיפת has been overwritten by a second hand to תקפת. The reading תקיפת is only otherwise attested in the CWs[Yem.].

[897] The pl. is only otherwise attested in AF[2,8,10].

[898] Spelling with final ה- is not attested in the CWs.

[899] The cst. NP is Western trait. CWs[Yem.] שכינתיה.

[900] The correction appears to have been undertaken by a second hand. The original reading, טלים, is unattested in any of the CWs, which read, as per the correction, טליל 'he covered'. If not simply an error, טלים may be an Arabism, a factitive of √ظ.ل.م [IV] 'to become dark': 'but he darkened the heavens with clouds'. Alternatively, it may be a metaphorical extension of Aramaic √טלם 'to oppress' (*DJPA*, p. 236; *DCPA*, p. 150; *DSA*, p. 313; *SL*, p. 533).

20 קַבִּיל צְלוֹתִי [5.7] מְצָאוּנִי : אַדְבִּיקוּ לִי[901] כַּסְדָּאֵי[902] דְּנָטְרִין אוֹרְחָתָא וֹ[...]קִין חֹזוֹר

21 חֹזוֹר עַל קַרְתָּא דִירוּשְׁלֵם מְנִי קְטַלוּ בְּחַרְבָּא וֹמִנִי אוֹ[...]יֹל[...] בְּשִׁבְיֵיתָא

22 נְטַלוּ תְּגָא דְּמַלכְ‹וֹת›א[903] מֵרֵישָׁא[904] דְּצִדְקִיָּהוּ מַלְכָּא[905] ו[...][906] [...]וֹבִילֹ‹ו›[907] יָתֵיהּ[908] בְּרַבְלָה[909]

23 וְסַיִּימוּ יָת עֵיֹנוֹהִי עַמָּא דְּבָבֶל דְּמַעִיקִין עַל[910] קַרְתָּא וְנָטְרִין יָת שׁוּרַיָּא :

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[901] Analytic obj. construction is Western trait. CWs[Yem.] read synthetic construction.

[902] Spelling of the gentilic with ס = CWs[Yem.]. CWs[West.] spell with שׁ.

[903] The correction appears to have been undertaken by the first hand. The reading דמלכא is unattested in the CWs.

[904] This fragment diverges from the CWs in the use of a simple prep. מן, rather than the compound מעל (≡ MT מעלי). The use of רישא 'head', rather than צוארא 'neck', is only otherwise attested, among the CWs, in AF[4], although in AF[4] it hosts a proleptic 3 m.s. pro. suff. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 153, apparatus *jj*. Cf. MS. New York, JTS, L610 מעל רישא דצדקיה.

[905] The fragment aligns with AF[9] and the CWs[Yem.] in not giving the royal title as מלכא דיהודה 'the king of Judah', as do balance of CWs[West.].

[906] A reading not attested in the CWs, which, owing to a tear in the paper, cannot be recovered with certainty. After the mention of 'Zedekiah, the king (of Judah)', all CWs read a co-ordinating conj. followed by a 3 m.p. pf. verb √אבל[C] 'to lead away'. While the unit after מלכא in this fragment unmistakably commences with ו, there is a word before the verb √יבל[C].

The first letter after the conj. appears to be either א or ח. The strokes of the bottom of the next two letters are visible. Their alignment suggests ת followed by א with an elongated downstroke, as per the ductus of the final א in בעיא in T-S NS 312.3[B], ln. 2. If the first letter is א, this would yield ואתא 'and he came'. Support for reading a 3 m.s. verb is found in the subsequent uncorrected text, וביל[אֹ] יתיה 'he led him away'. The sub. is likely the Babylonian army.

[907] The verb appears, originally, to have been a 3 m.s. form, which a second hand has amended to 3 m.p.. All the CWs read a 3 m.p. verb. The printed version, AF[6], reads a 3 m.s. verb.

[908] Analytic obj. construction = CWs[West.], versus synthetic in CWs[Yem.].

[909] Encoding the toponymic GOAL of √יבל[C] 'to lead' with ב = CWs[West.], versus ל in CWs[Yem.]. This patterns with the encoding of the toponymic GOAL of √גלי[C] 'to exile' at 5.4, noted above.

[910] TgShir differentiates between √עוק[C] + ל[PATIENT] 'to harass' (2.14 [x2]) and √עוק[C] + על[PATIENT] 'to besiege' (5.7 [x2]). The construction with ל is conventional, whereas that with על is rare in targumic literature. It constitutes another divergence from JLAtg., in which √צור[G] is routinely employed to describe siege operations, not least in the intertexts of TgShir 5.7 (e.g., TgJon Jer. 32.2; 39.1). (The variant in MS. New York, JTS, L610 וצַיְדִין may be an error for וצַיְרִין, and the phrase צַיְדִין על ירושלם quarried from TgJon Jer. 32.2. If not an error, √צוד[G] 'capture; restrain'). Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 153, apparatus *hh*) notes that TgShir's use of √עוק is independent of TgJon, along with its use of the JPA adv. חזור חזור, versus סחור סחור in TgJon 2 Kgs 25.1, 4; Jer. 52.4, 7. A further divergence is TgShir's use of √סמי[D] to describe the blinding of Zedekiah, as opposed to √עור[D] in TgJon 2 Kgs 25.7; Jer. 52.11; 39.7. The dialectal patterning matches that of the adv.: √סמי is not attested in JLAtg. but does feature in JPAtg. and LJLAtg.

In JLAtg., √עוק[C] + על only features in TgJon 2 Kgs 19.21 and its parallel in Isa. 37.22, both ≡ MT √לעג[G] 'to mock' + ל[STIMULUS]. However, the reading מעיקא is suspect owing to its contextual incongruity (the sub. of the ptc. is the personified Judean polity besieged by the Assyrian army addressing her oppressors). It seems likely that מעיקא is a scribal error for ממיקא, from √מיק[D] 'to deride'. This reading is registered as a variant in Codex Reuchlinianus in Sperber's apparatus at Isa. 37.22 (siglum f). Although √מיק is not attested elsewhere in JLAtg., it is attested in 11QtgJob 4.2 ≡ MT Job 21.3 √לעג[C].

However, √עוק[C] + על[PATIENT] with the sense 'to besiege' is attested in Tg1Chron 20.1 (≡ MT √צור + את); Tg2Chron 28.20 (≡ MT √צרר + ל); 32.9 (≡ MT ellipted verb + על, in the context of siege). Similarly, √עוק[G] + על[PATIENT] bears this sense in SA. See *DSA*, p. 628. The extension of the semantic range of √עוק from 'harass' to 'besiege' is likely a calque of Hebrew √צור. See *HALOT*, s.v. צור, 3:1015. *CAL*, s.v. עוק, notes that √עוק[G] 'to besiege' in SA is a

24 [5.8] השבעתי : אָמרת כנישתּא דישראל אשׁבּעית ‹לכון›[911] נְבִיּיֵּא בגזירת מימרא

25 דיוי מה אם[912] אתגלי עליכון רחמנא חוויאו קדמוהי דמרעיתא מן חיבת

12.2.5   T-S NS 312.3B: TgShir 5.9-14

1 [5.9] [...] : עָנוֹ[913] נְבִיאיא ואמְרוֹן[914] לן[...]

2 [...]ת בֹעֵיאֹ[915] לֹמֹפֹלח כנישתּא דישראֹל דשֹפֹירתּא מכל עֹ[...]

3 אֹת צביאֹ[916] לֹמֹדֹחל[917] דֹהכֹדֹין קיימֹת עלנא : [5.10] דֹודי צח : בֹכֹן [...]

4 דֹישׂראֹל לֹמֹשׁתעי בֹשֹׁבֹּח[918] דמרי עלמֹא [...] אֹמרת לההואֹ אֹל[...] [...]תי

5 למפלח דעטיף ביממא באיצטלא חיור כֹתֹלֹג ועסיק בעשרין [...]

6 ספֹרין[919] דֹאוֹריתֹא ופתגמי נֹבֹוֹאה וכתיבי ובליליא הֹוא עסיק בשתא סֹדֹרֹי

7 משנֹה וזֹיו יקרא דאנפוי זהורין[920] כנורא מסגיאות חֹכמתא[921] וסברא

8 דֹהֹוֹא מֹחֹדת שמועֹוֹן חדתין בֹכל יֹומֹא ועתיד לפרסומֹי[...] לעֹמֹיה ביומא

9 רבה[922] וטיֹקסיה על ריבוא רבֹ‹וו›[923] דֹמלאכים[924] דֹמֹשׁמשׁין קֹ[...]י[925] :

10 [5.11] רֹאֹשׁוֹ : אֹוֹרִיתֵ(א)‹י›‹ה›[926] דהיא רגיגא מדהב טֹב ופירוש מיליא [...]

Hebraism [last accessed 12 April 2021].

One of the catalysts for expounding Song 5.7 in relation to the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem and deposition of Zedekiah may have been the detail that his ill-fated attempt to escape the city occurred *at night* (2 Kgs 25.4; Jer. 39.4; 52.7). Song 5.7 describes the accosting of the female lover during a nocturnal search for her beloved (cf. verse 2).

[911] The correction has been made by a second hand. All CWs include the causee.

[912] The representation of this conditional as two words aligns with the CWs[Yem.], however they spell it מא אם.

[913] Pf. verb is Western trait. CWs[Yem.]: m.p. ptc., עני(י)ן.

[914] M.p. ptc. = M[E,F]. Balance of CWs read 3 m.p. pf. verb.

[915] Western trait. CWs[Yem.] צביא.

[916] Western trait. CWs[Yem.] בעיא.

[917] In all CWs the STIMULUS of this verb, here unpreserved, is encoded by ל: לַאי דין אלהא אנת צבייא למדחל ל "Which God do you desire to reverence?". (AF[3,4,5,8,9] omit the noun אלהא, but the length of the line suggests it was present in this fragment). This contrasts with the marking of the STIMULUS of verbs √דחל[G], with the same referent, at 1.4 (מן) and 8.2 (מן קדם + the tetragrammaton. AF[7,8,9,10] simply read קדם). The prep. מן is also employed with √דחל[G] at 3.8, where the referent of the STIMULUS is demons, and the separative, perforce, conveys aversion. There is no evident source text motivation for this alternation.

[918] This use of abs. is unattested in any of the CWs, which read det. שבחא.

[919] The use of the abs. pl. as the A-term of a bare ד-relation aligns with AF[3,4,5,7,8א] and Valmadonna 1.

[920] Spelling זהורין = AF[3א,7,9]. Balance of CWs זהירין.

[921] Spelling חכמתא = AF[7,8,9]. Balance of CWs חומתא.

[922] The use of ה- to mark det. All CWs: רבא.

[923] A second hand has corrected the spelling to double וו, but the original spelling is unclear. The CWs exhibit various spellings.

[924] The reading of ד before an abs. pl. noun aligns with AF[7,10], Valmadonna 1, and M[A,B]. However, in these manuscripts the noun is spelt מלאכין. The termination with ם- is unattested in any of the CWs.

[925] The length of the space between these letters suggests קדמוהי as per AF[7,8,10], CWs[Yem.]. This is the form in the intertext Dan. 7.10.

[926] The original reading appears to have been, אוריתא 'the Torah'. It is unattested in any of the CWs, but occurs in Valmadonna 1. The corrector has overwritten the final letter with ה-י, the 3 m.s. poss. suff., which accords

11 דְּגוֹרִין טַעֲמִין וּפִיקוּדִין לְמָן דְּנָטְרִין לְהוֹן ח(ו)⟨י⟩וּרִין[927] י⟨י⟩וּרִין כְּתִלְֹגָֹא[...]

12 וִיתְהוֹן[928] אוכמין כָּא(נ)⟨ג⟩‹פי›[929] עוֹרְבָא : [5.12] עֵֹינָוִי : עֵינָוֹהִי [...]

13 לְאוֹטְֹבָא לַהּ וּלְבִרְכָה[930] מְרִישַׁהּ דְּשַׁתָֹּא [...]

14 [...]לֵֹיָֹן עַֹל [...] בְֹּגָֹֹן [...]

15 בְּאֹוֹרִיתָֹ[...]

16 וּמַתִּינ בֹּ[...] [5.13]

17 דִּיהַב לְעַמֵיהּ כֹּ[...]

18 וּסְפוּתִי חֲכִימֵי ד[...]

19 פּוּמְהוֹן כְּמ(י)⟨ו⟩רָא[931] בֹּ[...] [5.14]

20 עַל צִיץ כְּלִילָא דֹּ[...]

21 תְּלָתָא אֲבָהָת[...][932]

22 גְֹּלִֹיֹף עַֹל עָֹקִֹין[...]

12.2.6 T-S NS 312.3F TgShir 5.14–6.2

1 [...]ף עַֹל ?ֹלְֹ?ֹר [נֹ]פְֹתָֹלֹֹי [...]יֹף[...]

2 [...] טָֹבָאג אַשֵֹּׁר[933] גְֹּלִיף עַל [...]ף גְלִיף עַֹל מְרִיבַג

3 [...]פְֹּנְטוֹר דְּמִֹיֹן לִתְרֵי עְֹשַֹׂר מְֹזָֹֹל[...] [...]ֹן כְֹּעַֹשֹׁשִֹׁית

4 [...]בְּדֵיהוֹן כְּשַׁן דְּפַל כְֹּשַׁבְזוּזִֹין[934] : [5.15] שׁוֹק[...] : וֹ?ֹדִֹיֹק[..]ֹי אִינוּן

5 עָֹ[...] [...] [...]א בַּסִיסַן עַל סֻמְכֵֹי דְהַב טָב אִֹינֹוֹן (עמודי)[935] פִֹּתְֹגָֹמֵֹי אוֹרָיתָֹא

6 דְּעָסְקִין בֹּהוֹן וּמוֹכִיחִֹֹין בְּהוֹן[936] עַמָּא בֵית יִשְׂרָאֵֹל לְמֶעְבַּד רְעוֹ[...] וֹאִֹיהוּ

7 מִֹתְֹמְלֵי עִֹילָוֵיהוֹן רַֹחֲֹמִין כְּסַבָא וּמַחֹוֹ[...] [...]רֹ[...] [...]ל כְֹּתִלֹג

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with all CWs. Vocalisation for the new reading has been supplied.

Commencing the verse with the noun אוריתיה/אוריתא is a Western trait. CWs^{Yem.} commence with a form of ראש/ריש 'head'. On this, see the excursus at the conclusion of this transcription.

[927] A second hand appears to have corrected an original spelling חוורין, which aligns with AF^{7,8ב} and M^{A,B}.

[928] The alternation in marking the THEME of √נטר^G 'to keep' in this verse, ל followed by ית, = AF^{1,2,3,5,7,9}. AF^{8,10}, Valmadonna 1, CWs^{Yem.} employ ל in both cases. AF⁴ repeats ית.

[929] The original spelling כאנפי עורבא 'like the face of the raven' is attested in AF⁹ and the CWs^{Yem.} (so too, albeit without dis-assimilation of the nasal, AF⁴ כאפאי). The corrected reading, 'like the wings of the raven', is attested in the balance of CWs^{West.}.

[930] This reading is unattested in the CWs. The majority reading is the anomalous form לברכהא. AF^{3,4,5} read the analytic לברכא לה. If this form is indeed a D-stem inf. cst., hosting a 3 f.s. obj. suff. 'to bless her', rather than the noun 'blessing', it may reflect the influence of Hebrew.

[931] Original reading apparently כמירא, as per CWs^{West.}, bar AF². Corrected reading כמורא = AF², CWs^{Yem.}.

[932] The numeral followed by the spelling of אבהת(א/ן) 'the fathers' with ת is only otherwise attested in M^F (תלתא אבהתא). The majority reading is תלתא אבהן, versus AF^{3,4,5} אהבת תלתא.

[933] The precedence of Naphtali before Asher in the list aligns with the sequence of the patronyms in the Western recension.

[934] Aligns with AF^{7,9}, Valmadonna 1, CWs^{Yem.} in not including ובהיק(י)ן 'and glittering' before this noun. (It is included in the margin of M^C by a second hand, along with Western gemstone names). The spelling שבזוזין is unattested in any of the CWs.

[935] Dittography owing to repetition of אינון. It is marked with a supra-linear line. This dittograph provides indirect evidence for the reading עמודי עלמא 'the pillars of the world' earlier in the line (the majority reading), following the אינון which concludes the previous line.

[936] A plus to all CWs. Both tokens of בהן in this line are marked with a supra-linear line.

8 ומתעתדֿ למעבד נצחן קרבאֿ937 ב[...] [...]בֿרין על [...] [...]לֿ[...]

9 [...]לֿמֿיֿשֿיֿן938 : [5.16] חֿכו : מֿילֿי מֿוֿרֿיֿגֿ[...] מֿתיקן כדובשאֿ וכֿ[...]

10 [...] על חכֿימוי מדהב וכסף939 דין הוא תשבחתיה דאֿלֿ[...] רֿחֿיֿמֿי

11 [...]סֿנֿיה דמרי חביבי נבֿיֿאֿיא דמתנבן בירוֿשֿלֿם :

12 [6.1] [...]בֿיֿאֿיא וכן אמרו כדי940 שמעו תושבחתיה941

13 [...]יֿן חובא אסתלקֿ942 מביניך943 שכינתא

14 [...] : ולאֿן אֿתֿרֿ אֿיתפני רחימיך

15 [...] עֿלֿ חֿובֿיֿן ומרודֿין944

16 [...]תֿא ונקום אנת

17 [6.2] [...]יֿ עלמא קביל

18 [...]רֿווח לעמיה

19 [...]מֿיה וזרובבל וסבי

20 [...] וליואי על מטרת

21 [...]עֿוא ית קורבנא

22 [...] בתפנוקין כן

23 [...]ן מן בבל :

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937 The absence of a coordinating conj. before this noun = AF³,⁴,⁵, CWsᵧᵉᵐ· bar Mᶜ, which does not include the noun. Cf. TgOnq Exod. 15.3 יוי מרי נצחן קרביא 'the LORD is the master of victory in battle'. This verse, refracted through a midrashic prism, is an intertext for the second half of TgShir 5.15. See Mek. RI, *Shirta* 4, cited by Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 162, n. 56. The majority reading, נצחן וקרבא, was presumably intended as a hendiadys. The discordance in the nominal state of the constituents may be due to its adaptation from a cst. NP, as per this fragment.

938 The use of the dendronym גולמיש as a translation of MT ארז 'cedar' also occurs at 1.17, קיסי גולמיש *'gulmish* wood'. The latter verse also deploys the dendronyms בראתי ושאגי ושורביני. Alexander opines that TgShir derived these three from Ezek. 31.8. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 95, n. 131. However, while this is a plausible intertext, the source of the nomenclature is most likely an opinion recorded in b. Rosh Hash. 23a, which lists these three species in the self-same order, in the identification of a series of dendronyms mentioned in Isa. 41.19: ברוש ברתא תדהר שאגא תאשור שוריבנא *"berosh"* is cypress, *"tidhar"* is shagah, *"teashur"* is shurbina'. In the sugya, these are claimed, among others, to be members of the set ארז :אמרי בי רב עשרה מיני ארזים 'The house of Rab say there are ten types of cedar'. This links with the mention of ארזים in MT Song 1.17. The connection between TgShir 1.17 and this sugya and is reinforced by the identification of קתרוס, which is also held to be a type of ארז, as גולמיש, in the immediately preceding opinion.

TgShir 3.9 features a similar list: אילני זנגבילא ושאגי ושורביני 'trees of ginger, shage and shurbine' ≅ MT מעצי הלבנון 'from the trees of Lebanon'. The CWsᵧᵉᵐ· read דמבל(י)גא in place of זנגבילא. Litke regards this form as a misreading of JBA זמבליגא. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 310. The entry in *DJBA* for זמבליגא (p. 415) references the form in TgShir 3.9 as מבליגא, apparently construing the initial ד as a genitive marker, אילני דמבליגא *'mabliga* wood'. The forms מבליגא and דמבליגא are attested in manuscripts of b. Rosh Hash. 23a, in which they serve as the initial identification of קתרוס, to which גולמיש is advanced as a counterproposal. Thus, *pace* Litke, the Yemenite recension may have replicated a faulty form, rather than misread a correct one.

939 Western trait. The CWsᵧᵉᵐ· do not include וכסף 'and silver'.

940 Spelling כדי 'when' is unattested in the CWs, which read כדו or כד. Cf. Dan. 3.7.

941 The inclusion of a 3 m.s. poss. suff. is unattested in the CWs, which read det., ת(ו)שבחתא, as the A-term of a bare ד-relation genitive.

942 The gender discordance between the masc. verb and fem. sub. occurs in all CWs, bar Mᴬ,ᴮ,ꟳ.

943 Western trait. CWsᵧᵉᵐ· do not include a prep. here.

944 Cf. TgPsJ Exod. 34.7.

13   Geniza Fragment Oxford Heb. f. 56 (folios 105a–113a)

13.1   *Introduction*

This fragment contains sections of TgShir accompanied by a Judaeo-Arabic translation of the same.[945] The Aramaic and Judaeo-Arabic alternate on a verse-by-verse basis. The scope of the Aramaic text is TgShir 6.10–7.8; 8.2-14, while that of the Judaeo-Arabic is 6.9–7.7; 8.1-14. The colophon bears the date 1416 CE[946] and locates the scribe in the province of Mardin. The Judaeo-Arabic diverges episodically from the sense of the Aramaic. Such are highlighted in the annotations to the transcription.

Alonso Fontela noted, based on an examination of a reproduction of folio 108 of this fragment, that the Aramaic text aligns with the textual subgroup AF[3,4,5], which has a close affinity with the text of TgShir in Bomberg's first Rabbinic Bible.[947] Systematic analysis of all folios confirms this judgement.

Alexander states that he is unable to locate a Judaeo-Arabic translation of TgShir predating the late sixteenth century.[948] He suggests that the Ladino version of TgShir, if it originated in pre-expulsion Spain, was transmitted abroad by the Sephardi diaspora after 1492, where it inspired the other versions. Thus, he conjectures, the genesis of 'the' Judaeo-Arabic version of TgShir may have been in Syria, North Africa, or southern Italy, 'within the orbit of Sephardi influence'.[949] However, the colophon date of 1416 CE demonstrates that Judaeo-Arabic renderings of TgShir emerged significantly earlier and predate the extant evidence for Ladino versions.[950]

To ease navigation, chapter and verse references have been inserted in square brackets, in bold. As a formatting expedient, section breaks between MT lemmata, the Aramaic targum and the Judaeo-Arabic translation have been marked by a colon, although ∵ is employed in the fragment. Moreover, for the sake of clarity, spaces have been inserted between the Aramaic and Judaeo-Arabic verses. Footnotes indicate affinities with other witnesses to TgShir, highlight readings distinctive to this fragment, and contain ad hoc textual

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[945] For a description, see MS. 2821 in A. Neubauer and A.E. Cowley, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. 2, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906), p. 241. The entire fragment can be viewed at https://genizah.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/volume_206#MS_Heb_f_56-part32-item1-item1

[946] It is possible the date was copied from an earlier colophon and does not pertain to the coping of this fragment. I thank Prof. Geoffrey Khan for this observation.

[947] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 83. The manuscripts constituting this subgroup are as follows. AF[3]: Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Solger 1–7, 2° (1290/1 CE), missing 8.6-14; AF[4]: New York, JTS, L478 (1580 CE), missing 1.1-12 and 7.1; AF[5]: Salamanca, Biblioteca Universitaria, M-2 (estimated circa 1532 CE), impairment in text at bottom of folios due to wear. Alonso Fontela does not include Oxford Heb. f. 56 in his collation. Alignments with the printed version AF[6], *Miqraʾot Gedolot* (ed. Jerusalem, 1961), are not noted, notwithstanding its affinity with this subgroup. Alonso Fontela only collated this edition to serve as a proxy for the lacunae in AF[3,4,5].

[948] He states that the earliest example he was able to locate is that in AF[4], dated 1580 CE. P.S. Alexander, 'Notes on Some Targums of the Targum of Song of Songs', in P.V.M. Flesher (ed.), *Targum and Scripture: Studies in Aramaic Translation and Interpretation in Memory of Ernest G. Clarke* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 160–161.

[949] Alexander, 'Notes on Some Targums', p. 174.

[950] In his review of the Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts, Alexander ('Notes on Some Targums', p. 161, n. 4) registers the existence and date of Bodleian 2821/Heb. f. 56 and states that he was unable to consult the manuscript to establish whether the 'Arabic translation' noted in Neubauer's catalogue description refers to a translation of TgShir or the Hebrew. He ventures the suspicion that the Judaeo-Arabic is in fact a translation of the Hebrew. However, this is incorrect.

commentary.

The following textual symbols are employed in the transcription:

[…]   lacuna, faded, or abraded text
å   letter is partially legible or visible; probable reading
(א)   text erased by the scribe or another hand
‹א›   scribal correction of the manuscript

13.2 *Annotated transcription*

13.2.1 f. 105a: TgShir 6.9-12

1. פֿי קלב כֿאמל וצאפֿי א[...]

2. מצר הודא חניד כרגו חשמונאי⁹⁵¹ ומתתיא וגֿמיע

3. קום ישראיל⁹⁵² וצאדאמוהום בל חרב וסלמהום אלה

4. פי ידהום וענד שאפו סכאן אל קראיה וצפוהום ומלוך

5. אל בלאד ול צלאטין פכרוהום : [6.10] מא⁹⁵³ זאת הנשקפה כמו :

6. אמרו אומיא כמא זוותנין עובדי עמא הדא כקריצֿתא⁹⁵⁴

7. שפירין עולימהא כסיהרא וברירין זכותהא כשמשא

8. ואימתהא על כול יתבי ארעה בזמן⁹⁵⁵ דהליכו ארבעﬠ⁹⁵⁶

9. טקסאהא במדברא :

10. קאלו אל אומם אש קדר משכורין⁹⁵⁷ אעמאל האדי אל קום

11. כֿשקת אל פגֿר ומליחין שבאבהא כל בידר וצאפי אגרהא

12. מתל אל שמס והיבתהא עלא גמיע אל אומם⁹⁵⁸ וסכאן אל

13. בלאד פי וקת אלדי סארו ארבע ביארקהא פי אל בר :

14. [6.11]⁹⁵⁹ אמר מרי עלמא לבית מקדש תנֿיין דאתבני על ידֿוהי⁹⁶⁰

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⁹⁵¹ The translation transcribes the Aramaic gentilic, as does the Judaeo-Arabic translation in AF[4].

⁹⁵² The spelling ישראיל 'Israel', which is employed throughout, does not comport with the transliteration convention adopted in this fragment. The expected form, יסראיל, only occurs once. (f. 108a, ln. 2). The representation of the sibilant by ש is a reflex of the Hebrew/Aramaic spelling, ישראל.

⁹⁵³ Diverges from MT מי 'who?'.

⁹⁵⁴ AF[4,5] read בקריצתא 'in the dawn'. This may be an error, or an intervention to alleviate the inconcinnity of the modification of the predicative adj., which functions as a tertium comparationis, by the adv. כמא 'how!'. However, the reading כקריצתא seems secure in view of the corresponding MT, כמו שחר 'like the dawn'. Moreover, note that the structure of predicative adj. + sub. NP + comparative prep. + NP is repeated twice more. The adv. may have been intended to modify the adjs. in all three clauses, rather than just the first.

⁹⁵⁵ The reading בזמן 'in the time' = AF[3,4,5,7,8,9] (cf. the Judaeo-Arabic פי וקת). Balance of CWs read כזמן 'like the time', which is undoubtedly correct (cf. MT כנדגלות).

⁹⁵⁶ The gender discord between the fem. numeral and the masc. noun is only otherwise attested in AF[8]. The balance of CWs that include the numeral read ארבעת.

⁹⁵⁷ 'praiseworthy', for Aramaic זוותנין 'splendid' (ln. 6).

⁹⁵⁸ 'the nations'; a plus to the Aramaic (cf. ln. 8).

⁹⁵⁹ The MT lemma is omitted.

⁹⁶⁰ The non-syncopation of the ה in the 3 m.s. pro. suff. = AF[3,5].

15. דְּכוּרַש אשריתי (ס)‹שׁ›כינתי[961] למחמי עובדין טבין דשמי[962]

16. ולמיחמי אילולי כשׁן[963] וסגן חכימיא דמתילין לצוכֹּפֿא[964] ולב

17. לוביהון[965] מליין עובדין טביין דהֹבֹּרֹימונין[966] :

18. קאל סייד אל דונייא לבית אל מקדס[967] אלדי אנבנא עלא

19. יד[968] כורש אגלי[969] שכינתי אגלי שכינתי[970] חתא אנצֹור אעמאל

20. קומי אל גֹיידא ואנצור הל נמו וכתרו אל עולמא

21. אל מתשבהין לל כרם וקלובהום מליאנין אעמאל אן

22. גֹיידא[971] כל רמאן : [6.12] לוא[972] ידעתי נפשי שמתני מרכבות עמי :

23. וכדו אתגלי קדם ה אינון[973] צדיקין ועסיקין באורייתה

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24. אמר ה במימריה לא אוסיף[974] למבכינון[975] וֹאֹף לא אעבֿ[...]

13.2.2   f. 105b: TgShir 6.12–7.2

1.   [...]מֹהון גמירא אלהין אֹמליך בנפשי לאוטבותהון

2.   ולשאוה יתהון גיותנין ברתיכי מלכין בגין זכוותה[976]

3.   דצדיקי דרא דדמיין בעובדיהון לברהם[977] אבוהון :

4.   וענד כאן קודאם אלה צאלחין[978] ומשתגלין בל תורה קאל

5.   אלה פי קולו לם אעווד לאהלכהום ואיצה לם אצנע

6.   מעהום לאשה לאכן אפתכר פי קודרתי[979] לאתחסן

7.   להום ואגעלהום זינא עלא אל צלאטין[980] פי סבב

8.   אגֹר אל צאלחין[981] אל ישבהון פי אעמאלהום לאברהים

9.   אבוהום : [7.1] שובי שובי השולמית שובי :

10. תובי ליתי[982] כנישתא דישראל תובי לירושלם תובי

11. אולפן אורייתה[983] תובי לאקבלא[984] נבואה מן נביאיה די

12. מתנבאין בנום[985] מימרא דה ומא טיבכון נביאי שקרה

13. למטעי עמא דירושלם בבנואתכון די אתון ממללין

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[974] Absence of adv. עוד 'again' after the inf. = AF[3,4,5], versus balance of CWs.

[975] Error for למכבינון 'to crush them' (the spelling of AF[4,10]), possibly construed as √בכי 'to cause to weep'. If the verb is D-stem, the absence the morpheme ות before the obj. suff. is notable. Several witnesses read a JBA style inf.

[976] The use of det. aligns with AF[3,4,5] and the CWs[Yem.], versus the hosting of a pro. suff. in balance of CWs[West.].

[977] Error for אברהם 'Abraham'.

[978] 'And when before God (they were) righteous'; diverges from the Aramaic 'And when it was revealed before the LORD (that) they were righteous' (f. 105a, ln. 23). This construal may have been facilitated by the omission of the conj. ד before the pro. in the Aramaic.

[979] 'in my power'; for Aramaic בנפשי 'with myself' (ln. 1).

[980] 'and I will make them an ornament over the kings'; diverges from the Aramaic ולשאוה יתהון גיותנין ברתיכי מלכין 'and set them proud in kings' chariots' (ln. 2).

[981] Omitting 'of the generation' in the Aramaic: צדיקי דרא 'the righteous of the generation'.

[982] Error for לותי 'to me'. All tokens of prep. לות 'towards' in TgShir (2.5; 5.3, 4; 7.1) have an animate being as their GOAL argument.

[983] The GOAL of the verb of directed motion is unmarked. This is doubtless due to the accidental omission of לבית prior to אולפן אורייתא, which is included in all CWs. Thus, 'Return to the house of instruction of the Torah!' This is reflected in the Judaeo-Arabic translation רודי לבית תעלום אל תורה (ln. 16)

[984] The use of a C-stem inf. is unattested in any of the CWs, which all read the D-stem, לקבלא 'to receive'. The Judaeo-Arabic employs Form X, לתסתקבלין (ln. 16).

[985] Error for בשום 'in the name of'.

14. סטיא על מימרא⁹⁸⁶ דה ולאחלא משרית ישראל ויהודה :

15. רודי לטאעתי⁹⁸⁷ יא גמאעת ישראיל רודי לדאר אל סלאם⁹⁸⁸

16. רודי לבית תעלום אל תורה רודי לתסתקבלין אל נבווא

17. מן אל אנבייא אל מתנבין פי אסם כלאם אלה ואש

18. נפעכום⁹⁸⁹ יא אנביא אל כדב אל תייהתום קום דאר

19. אל סלאם בנבוותכום אלדי תתכלמון אל כדב עלא מא

20. קאל אלה⁹⁹⁰ ותתייהון⁹⁹¹ עסאכר ישראיל ויהודה :

21. [7.2]⁹⁹² אמר שלמה ברווח נבואה מן קודם ה כמא שפירן

22. רּגליהון דישראל כד סלקן לאתחזאה קדם ה תלת זמנין

23. בשתא

13.2.3   f. 106a: TgShir 7.2-3

1.   בסנדלין דססגונה ומקרבין נדריהון⁹⁹³ וית נדבתהון

2.   ובניהון נפקי ירכיהון יאוון כויהרין⁹⁹⁴ דקביען על כלילא

3.   דקודשא דעבד בצלאל אומנה לאהרון⁹⁹⁵ כהנה :

4.   קאל סלימאן פי רוח אל נבואה מן קודאם אלה אש

5.   קדאר מלאח כטואת ישראל ענד אל יצעדון

6.   לינצרון בין אידין⁹⁹⁶ אלה תלת אווקת כל⁹⁹⁷ סנה פי משאשי

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⁹⁸⁶ The inclusion of מימרא ד 'the memra of' = AF^{3.5}. The Aramaic of the verse is missing in AF⁴.

⁹⁸⁷ 'Return to my obedience', interpretative of the Aramaic תובי לותי 'return to me' (ln. 10).

⁹⁸⁸ 'Dar al Salaam', 'the House of Peace', for Aramaic ירושלם 'Jerusalem' (ln. 10).

⁹⁸⁹ 'What benefit is it to you?' The choice of נפע 'benefit' to translate the Aramaic טיב 'nature, character' is presumably predicated upon a mistaken identification of the root of the latter as √טוב.

⁹⁹⁰ Note the variation in the rendition of the two tokens of the Aramaic מימרא דה 'the word of the Lord' in this verse: כלאם אלה 'the speech of God' and מא קאל אלה 'what God has said'.

⁹⁹¹ The verb √ت.ا.ه 'to lead astray', employed in ln. 18, is repeated. This diverges from the Aramaic לאחלא 'to defile' (ln. 14).

⁹⁹² The MT lemma is omitted.

⁹⁹³ All CWs^{West.} include the obj. marker ית before this NP. Its absence = CWs^{Yem.}.

⁹⁹⁴ Error for כיוהרין 'like jewels'.

⁹⁹⁵ The plene spelling is unattested in any of the CWs, which read אהרן.

⁹⁹⁶ An *iḍāfah* construction is expected.

⁹⁹⁷ The (distributive) universal quantifier is implicit in the Aramaic בשתא 'a year' (f. 105b, ln. 23).

7. גלוד⁹⁹⁸ ויקרבון כֹדורהום⁹⁹⁹ וצבֹואתהום¹⁰⁰⁰ ובנינהום אל בֹארגין

8. מן צלבהום¹⁰⁰¹ יצֹוון כל גֹוהר אל מרצע עלא תאגֹ אל מקדס

9. אלדי צנע בצלאל אל אסתאד להרון אל אומם :

10. [7.3]¹⁰⁰² וריש מתיבתך די בזכותיה מתפרנסין כל עלמא היכמא

11. דעוברא מתפרנס מן פרתיה במעיינא דאימיה

12. בהיק באורייתה כאוגנא דסיהרא במיתיה לדכאה

13. ולסאבא לזכאה ולחייבא ולא חסרין פתגמי אורייתה

14. תדירא מפומיה היכמא דלא חסרין מוי דנהרא¹⁰⁰³ רבא

15. די נפק מעידן ושבעין חכימין מסחרין יתיה כאידר

16. סגלגל ואוצריהון מליאן מן מעשר קודשא ונדרא

17. ונדבתה דסייגו להון עזרה¹⁰⁰⁴ כהנא וזרובביל¹⁰⁰⁵ וישוע

18. ונחמיה ומרדכי בלשן אנשי כנישתא רבתא דמתילין

19. לוורדין בגין דיהי להון חילא למעסק באורייתה יומם¹⁰⁰⁶ ולילא :

20. וראס מגֹלסתך אלדי פי חסנתו תנגאז גמיע אל דונייא

21. מתל מא ינגֹאז אגנין מן פרתותה מן בטן אמו וינור

22. בל תורה כדורת אל קמר פלמא יגי ליטהר וינגֹס

13.2.4   f. 106b: TgShir 7.3-5

1. לֹברֹי וילֹזם ולם ינקוץ כלאם אתורה¹⁰⁰⁷ מן אותמו כמא

2. אלדי אלדי לם ינקוץ מאי אל נהר אל כביר אל יוכרג

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⁹⁹⁸ 'Leather'; interpretative of the enigmatic Aramaic סטגונה (ln. 1).

⁹⁹⁹ Presumably, an error for נדורהום (نذورهم) 'their votive offerings', corresponding to the Aramaic נדריהון (ln. 1).

¹⁰⁰⁰ Presumably, an error for צחואתהום 'their sacrifices' (ضحواتهم); for Aramaic נדבתהון 'their freewill offerings' (ln. 1).

¹⁰⁰¹ 'Their loins'; for Aramaic ירכיהון 'their thighs' (ln. 2).

¹⁰⁰² The MT lemma is omitted.

¹⁰⁰³ The use of ד-relation = AF^{3,4,5,8}, versus a cst. in the majority of the other CWs.

¹⁰⁰⁴ This spelling of the name 'Ezra' is, among the CWs, only otherwise attested in AF². All the others employ the MT spelling עזרא.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Spelling of the name with י in the final syllable diverges from all the CWs.

¹⁰⁰⁶ The Hebrew form of the adv., 'by day', = AF^{3,4,5}, M^{C,E}. Alonso Fontela's apparatus fails to register this reading in AF⁴.

¹⁰⁰⁷ 'the Torah'; the orthographic representation of the assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article to the following coronal consonant is an outlier in this fragment. Cf. f. 111b, ln. 3.

3. ‏מן עאדן וסבעין אל עולמה מסתחיטה כבידר אל

4. ‏מדוור ומכאזנהום מליאנה מן אל עשור ול‎[1008] קודס ול

5. ‏נדור אל צכווא אל סייגו להום עזרה אל אומם וזורבבל‎[1009]

6. ‏וישוע ונחמיה ומרדכי אלדי כאן יוערף סבעין לסאן‎[1010]

7. ‏מן‎[1011] אהל גמאעת אל כבירא אלדי ישבהון לל ורד

8. ‏לאגّל יכון להום קווא לישתגّלון בל תורה אל נהאר וליל :

9. [7.4]‎[1012] ‏תרין פריקיד דעתידין למפרקייד משיח בן‎[1013] דויד

10. ‏ומשיח בן‎[1014] אפרים דמין למושה‎[1015] ואהרון‎[1016] בני יוכבד

11. ‏דמתילין לתרין אורזלין תיומי טביא :

12. ‏ותנין פאכינך אל מתוובדון ליפכוך מסיח אבן דאוד

13. ‏ומסיח אבן אפרים אלדי ישבהון למוסה והארון

14. ‏ולאד יוכבד אל מתווצפין לתנין אל כשוף תום אל

15. ‏גזאלה‎[1017] : [7.5] צוריך‎[1018] כמגדל :

16. ‏ואב בית דינא דדאין דיניך חסין‎[1019] על עמה לכפתה

17. ‏יתהון ולמנגד מן די‎[1020] יתחייב בדינא לנגדא כשלמה

18. ‏מלכה דעבד מגדלא דשן דפיל וכבש ית עמא בית

[1008] Rather than constituting the B-term of an *iḍāfah* construction, mirroring the Aramaic מעשר קודשא 'the holy tithes', קודס is in apposition to עשור: 'the tithes and the holy [offering]'.

[1009] Spelling contrasts with זרובביל (f. 106a, ln. 17).

[1010] The relative clause 'who knew seventy languages', a well-known exegesis of בלשן, is a plus to the Aramaic of TgShir. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 178, n. 16.

[1011] The use of the partitive prep. contrasts with the appositional structure of the Aramaic (f. 106a, ln. 18).

[1012] The MT lemma is omitted.

[1013] The use of Hebrew בן, rather than Aramaic בר, diverges from all CWs.

[1014] The use of Hebrew בן, rather than Aramaic בר, diverges from all CWs.

[1015] The plene spelling is unattested in any of CWs, which read משה. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic מוסה (ln. 13).

[1016] The plene spelling is unattested in any of the CWs, which read אהרן. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic הארון (ln. 13).

[1017] The translation does not deploy cognates to the faunal terms in the Aramaic: גזאלה (غزالة) 'gazelle' = טביא 'deer', rather than the cognate אורזלין (ln. 11). Cf. f. 112b, lns. 15–17.

[1018] MT צוארך 'your neck'.

[1019] Possibly a paronomastic pun on MT השן 'ivory'

[1020] Analytic rel. pro. די = AF⁴·⁵.

19. ישראל[1021] ואהדר יתהון למרי עלמה ספרייך מלייא

20. חוכמתה כפרקטינין[1022] דמיא וידעין לממני חושבנה[1023]

21. עיבורין ומעברין שנין וקבעין רישי ירחין ורישי

22. שנין[1024]

13.2.5   f. 107a: TgShir 7.5-6

1.   שנין בתרע בית סנהדרין רבא ורב בית יהודה[1025] דْמ[...]

2.   לדויד[1026] מלכה דבנה מצדתה דציון די[1027] מתקרי מגדלא

3.   דלבנון דכל מן דיקום עלוהי יכיל לממני כל מגדל[...]

4.   די בדמשק :

5.   ואב בית דין[1028] אלדי ישרע שרעך כסבّין[1029] עלא אל קום

6.   ליכתבהום[1030] ויבצט כול מן יסתחק אל בצט פי אל שריעה

7.   כל צולטאן סלימאן[1031] אלדי צנע מגדל סן אל פיל וטווע

8.   בית ישראיל[1032] ורדהום לטאעת[1033] סייד אל דונייה וכתאבינך

[1021] Cf. Tg2Chron 8.10.

[1022] Spelling = AF[4,5,10].

[1023] The sing. det. is unattested in any of the CWs, which read a pl. The majority of these, including this fragment's congeners AF[3,4,5], read a cst. pl.

[1024] The order 'the beginnings of months and the beginnings of years' is only otherwise found in AF[3,4]. The balance of CWs read the inverse order of these two constituents.

[1025] This form of the title is presumably a function of parablepsis. All CWs read ורב בית אבא לבית יהודה 'The chief of the family of the House of Judah'. This is the sole token of this genitive construction, expressed by ל, in TgShir. Cf. TgRuth 4.20; Tg2Chron 3.17. The Judaeo-Arabic likewise reflects an abbreviated version of the title.

[1026] The plene spelling is only otherwise attested in M[E] (correctly noted by Alonso Fontela but overlooked in Melamed's apparatus).

[1027] Analytic rel. pro. די = AF[4,5].

[1028] The NP is anarthrous, notwithstanding the following rel. pro. אלדי. It may be functioning as a quasi-PN.

[1029] 'like a knife'?, or error for כשין (خشين)?; for Aramaic חסין 'strong' (f. 106b, ln. 16).

[1030] Presumably error for ליכבתהום 'that he may restrain them', as per the Judaeo-Arabic translation in AF[4], corresponding to Aramaic לכפתה יתהון 'to bind them' (f. 106b, ln. 16).

[1031] Inverts the order of the Aramaic שלמה מלכה 'Solomon, the king' (f. 106b, lns. 17–18).

[1032] Abbreviates the appositional title in the Aramaic, עמא בית ישראל 'the people, the house of Israel' (f. 106b, lns. 18–19).

[1033] A plus to the Aramaic, clarifying the nature of the GOAL: 'and he returned them to the obedience of the Lord of the world', for Aramaic ואהדר יתהון למרי עלמה 'and he returned them to the Lord of the world' (f. 106b, ln. 19).

9. מליאין עלם כפנטיס[1034] אל מאי ויערבון[1035] מראסת אל

10. אחסאב ויחסבון[1036] אל סנין וירסמין רוץ[1037] אל שהור ורוס

11. אל סנין פי באבית אל סנהדרין אל כביר וכביר אפ(???)

12. יהודה ישבה לצולטאן[1038] דאווד[1039] אלדי בנה קלעת ציון אל

13. תסמא מגדל אל לבנאן כול מן יקף עליה יטיק יעוד

14. גמיע אבראג[1040] אלדי פי דמסק[1041] : [7.6] ראשך :

15. מלכא דאתמני עליך רישא[1042] צדיקא כאליהו נביא דקני

16. קנאתה למרי שמיא וקטל ית נביאי שקרא בטורֹ

17. דכרמל ואתיב ית עמא בית ישראל לדחלתה דייה

18. אלהיא[1043] ודלת עמא די[1044] אזלין ברישא מכא על די אינון

19. מסכינין עתידין למלבש ארגוונא היכמא די[1045] לבש דנייל[1046]

20. בקרתא דבבל ומרדכי בשושן בגין זכותה דאברהם

21. דאמליך מן קדמת דנה למרי עלמא ובצדקתה דיצחק

22. דכתפיה אבוהי למקרביה ובחסדותה[1047] דיעקוב[1048] דקליף

23. על[1049] חוטריא ברחטיא[1050] :

[1034] < Latin *fontes* 'fountains'?; for Aramaic פרקטינין 'pools' (f. 106b, ln. 20).

[1035] Phonetic spelling of ויערפון 'they know'.

[1036] 'they calculate', for Aramaic מעברין 'they intercalate' (f. 106b, ln. 21).

[1037] A byform of the broken pl. רוס, with emphatic sibilant. Note its juxtaposition with רוס in the same line.

[1038] The definite article is not represented.

[1039] Inverts the order of the Aramaic דויד מלכה 'David, the king' (ln. 2).

[1040] Note the variation of vocabulary for 'tower' in the translation of this verse, versus the repetition of מגדל in the Aramaic.

[1041] Spelling reflects the Aramaic pronunciation, rather than the expected דמשק (دمشق).

[1042] = AF[3,4,5]. The balance of CWs prefix the noun with ל.

[1043] The use of the pl., det. aligns with AF[5]. (The balance of CWs read אלהיה 'his God', bar AF[4] אלהא). This form of the title is likely a reflex of MT יהוה האלהים in 1 Kgs 18.37, an intertext of this clause. TgShir is also resonant of TgJon ad loc. לאתבותהון לדחלתך 'to return them to your fear'.

[1044] Analytic rel. pro. די = AF[3,4,5].

[1045] Analytic rel. pro. די = AF[4,5,7].

[1046] This spelling of 'Daniel' is unattested in any of the CWs, which read the expected דניאל.

[1047] The use of det. = AF[1,3,5]. In the balance of CWs, the noun hosts a 3 m.s. proleptic pro. suff.

[1048] The plene spelling is unattested in any of the CWs, which read יעקב. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic יעקוב (f. 107b, ln. 9).

[1049] The use of this prep. = AF[3,4,5], versus ית in the other CWs. Cf. Gen. 30.37.

[1050] Error for ברהטיא 'in the watering troughs'.

13.2.6   f. 107b: TgShir 7.6-8

1. ‏[אל] מלך אל מתוולי עליך ראס אל צלאחין‎[1051] כאליהו אֹלֿ‎

2. ‏נבי אלדי סווא גירא לסייד אל דונייא‎[1052] וקתל אנביא‎

3. ‏אל כדב פי גבל אל הרמל‎[1053] ורד קום בית ישראיל‎

4. ‏למכאפת אלה‎[1054] ורעאיא אל קום אלדי ימצֿון פי ראס‎

5. ‏אן מנכוס פי סבב אנהום מסאכין ומתווכדין לי‎

6. ‏ילבסון ארגואן מתל מא לבס דניאל פי מדינת‎

7. ‏בבל ומרדכי פי ששתר‎[1055] פי סבב אגר אברהים אלדֿ‎

8. ‏וחד‎[1056] לסייד אל דונייא מן קדים אל זמאן‎[1057] ופי עדאלת‎

9. ‏יצחק אלדי כתפו אבוה מחל אן קרבו‎[1058] ופי פצֿל יעקוב‎

10. ‏אל קשר אל‎[1059] עצי בל אחואיֿ : [7.7] מה יפית :

11. ‏אמר מלכה שלמה‎[1060] יאה כמא‎[1061] אנת כנישתא דישראל‎

12. ‏בזמן די‎[1062] תסבו לי‎[1063] עליך ית ניר מלכותי בעדן די‎[1064] אנה‎

13. ‏מוכח יתיך ביסורין על חובייך ואנת מקבלא יתהון‎

[1051] 'The king who is appointed over you is the head of the righteous ones'. This diverges from the Aramaic, where צדיקא is a predicative adj. describing the king himself. But cf. M^A לרישי צדיקיא.

[1052] 'The Lord of the world'; diverges from the Aramaic מרי שמיא 'The Lord of heaven' (f. 107a, ln. 16).

[1053] Error for כרמל 'Carmel'.

[1054] 'God'; diverges from the Aramaic ייה אלהיא 'the LORD, God' (f. 107a, ln. 17–18).

[1055] Error for שושן 'Shushan' (f. 107a, ln. 20).

[1056] 'who declared the unity of the Lord of the world'; diverges from the Aramaic דאמליך […] למרי עלמה 'who acknowledged the Lord of the world as king' (f. 107a, ln. 21).

[1057] The positioning of the temp. adv. phrase after the obj. diverges from the Aramaic (f. 107a, ln. 21).

[1058] 'whom his father bound in a place in which he sacrificed him'? (I thank Dr. Nadia Vidro for suggesting this translation); diverging from the purpose clause in the Aramaic דכתפיה אבוהי למקרביה 'whom his father bound in order to sacrifice him' (f. 107a, ln. 22).

[1059] The translation does not reproduce the prep. על in the Aramaic (f. 107a, ln. 23).

[1060] The sequence 'the king, Solomon' = AF^{3,5,6} and the corrected reading of AF^4. The latter reads שלמֹה מלכא שלמה (the circumcellus above the first token of שלמה indicates it is an error). Balance of CWs שלמה מלכא 'Solomon, the king'.

[1061] The placement of the adv. כמא 'how (much)!' after the adj. is unattested in any of the CWs. In these, it precedes the adj. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic אש קדר (ln. 15).

[1062] Analytic rel. pro. די = AF^{4,5,7,9}.

[1063] An erroneous division of the 2 f.s. impf. תסבולי 'you bear'. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic תנקלין (ln. 16).

[1064] Analytic rel. pro. די = AF^{4,5}.

14. ברחים דמיין[1065] באנפיך כתפנוקין :

15. קאל צולטאן סלימאן אש קדר מליחה אנתי יא גמאעת

16. ישראיל פי וקת אלדי תנקלין עליכי ניר צולטנתי מחל

17. מא אלדי אנה מווב(?)(>ב֗<)ך פי אדב עלא כטאיאך ואנתי

18. מסתקבלתהום פי מחבה ותשופיהא ענדך כל פכהניא :

19. [7.8] ובעדן די[1066] פרסין כהנייך י(>ת<)(>ד>יהון[1067] בצלו ומברכין לאחיהון[1068]

20. בית ישראל דדמיין[1069] ארבעת[1070] ידיהון מתפרשין (?)(>לולבי[1071]

21. דֹתמר וקומתהון כדקלה וקהלייד קיימין אפין כאפין[1072] כל

22. קביל כהניא ואפיהון צבישן[1073] לארעה כאתכלא[1074] דעינבין :

13.2.7   f. 108a: TgShir 8.1-3

1. [8.1] [1075] פ֗י דאלך אל וקת ייצהר צולטאן[1076] אל מסיח לגמעתֹ

2. [י]סראיל[1077] יוקלון[1078] לה[1079] גמעת[1080] ישראיל תעאל וציר לנה[1081]

[1065] The asyndeton = AF³,⁴,⁵. However, the Judaeo-Arabic includes a conj. (ln. 18), as do the balance of CWs.

[1066] Analytic rel. pro. די = AF³,⁴,⁵.

[1067] The scribe may initially have intended to write the obj. marker ית. The marker features in AF⁴ (where it is marked as an error) and AF⁸,¹⁰.

[1068] The use of the conventional pl. stem אחי, versus אחו, = AF³,⁴,⁵,⁷, CWs^Yem.

[1069] The inclusion of a rel. pro. before the ptc. = AF³,⁴,⁵.

[1070] The numeral = AF³,⁴,⁵. Possibly a corruption of אדבעת 'fingers', a spelling attested in TgPsJ.

[1071] כלולבי 'like the branches' is expected.

[1072] באפין is expected.

[1073] Error for כבישן 'bowed'.

[1074] The sing., det. אתכלא 'bunch (of grapes)' = AF⁴,⁵, versus a pl. abs. in the balance of CWs (≅ MT אשכלות). Alonso Fontela's apparatus fails to register this reading in AF⁴.

[1075] The Aramaic of 8.1 is missing from the fragment.

[1076] The definite article is expected in this appositional title, ≅ מלכא in all CWs, bar AF⁹ which omits the noun. Perhaps this is a reflex of the definiteness discord in the ubiquitous Hebrew title מלך המשיח 'King Messiah'.

[1077] The sole instance of the spelling of 'Israel' with ס in this fragment, versus ישראיל *passim*.

[1078] Perhaps an error for ויקלון 'and they will say'. All CWs^West. include a coordinating conj. before the verb, ויימרון; the CWs^Yem. do not.

[1079] 'They will say to him'. The inclusion of ליה, making explicit the addressee, = AF³,⁵,⁸,¹⁰. AF⁴ לי is likely an error for ליה.

[1080] 'The congregation (of Israel)'; diverges from all CWs. CWs^West., M^D: בני ישראל 'the children of Israel'. Balance of CWs^Yem.: בית ישראל 'the house of Israel'.

[1081] Prep. ל mirrors the majority of CWs, תהא לַ לאח 'be to us a brother' (≅ MT מי יתנך כאח לי 'O that you were like a brother to me'). However, AF³,⁴,⁵, the congeners of the Aramaic text of this fragment, read, less cogently,

3. ‏לאך ונצעד לדאר אל סלאם ונכון ראצֿעין מנך‏[1082]

4. ‏נגמת‏[1083] ‏אל תורה מתל מא ירצֿע אגֿנין פי חצֿן אמו‏

5. ‏לאן גֿמיע וקת אלדי מהגולא‏[1084] ‏בר ארצֿי כונתו צֿאכרה‏

6. ‏אנא אסם אלה אל כביר ומסלמה נפסי עלא עבאדתו‏[1085]

7. ‏חתא שעוב אל ארץֿ אל לם כא(כ)⟨נ⟩ו יהזלוני : [8.2] אנהגֿך :‏

8. ‏אדברינך מלכה משיחה ואעלינך לבית מקדשא‏[1086]

9. ‏ותאלף יתי למדחל מן קדם יהוה‏[1087] ‏ולמהך באורחתה‏[1088]

10. ‏ותמֿן נסעוד סעודתא דלויתן ונשתי חמר עתיק‏

11. ‏דאצטנע בענבוהי מן יומא דאתברי עלמא ומרמונֿי‏

12. ‏פירי‏[1089] ‏דאתעתדו לצדיקיא בגֿנתה דעידן :‏

13. ‏אכדך יא צֿולטאן אל מסיח‏[1090] ‏ואצעדך לי בית אל מקדס‏

14. ‏ותעלמני לאכון כֿאיפה מן קודאם אלה ול אסלוך‏

15. ‏פי טריקו ותם נאכול צֿיאפת לוויתן ונשרב כמר‏

16. ‏אל מעתק אלדי מצֿכור פי ענבו מן יום אן בֿלקת‏

17. ‏אל דונייה ומן אל רמאן ול פאכהא אלדי אנצֿכרו‏

‏עמן/עמנא‏ 'with us'. It seems likely that the unpreserved Aramaic of this verse likewise read ‏עם‏. The Judaeo-Arabic translation in AF[4] adopts this strategy, rendering ‏תהא עמנא לאח‏ 'be with us a brother' by ‏אנת תכון לנא לאך‏.

[1082] 'and we will suck from you'; diverges from the Aramaic ‏ונהי ינקין עמך‏ 'we will suck with you'. It is perhaps an error for ‏מעך‏ 'with you'. However, the reading 'from you' unambiguously occurs in the Judaeo-Arabic translation in AF[4] ‏ונרצֿע מינך טעמין אל תורה‏ 'and we will suck from you the senses of the Torah'. This adjustment is non-trivial; it transfers the maternal role from the Torah to the Messiah. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 189, n. 1.

[1083] 'The melody of the Torah'; all CWs read ‏טעמי אוריתא‏ 'senses of/reasons for the Torah'. Presumably, the translation reflects a construal of the sense of ‏טעם‏ as 'cantillation sign'.

[1084] Presumably, an error for ‏מתגולא‏ 'wandering', corresponding to the Aramaic ‏מטלטלא‏, as per all CWs (bar M[D], which erroneously reads ‏מטללא‏ 'overshadowing').

[1085] 'his service'; diverging from all CWs to the Aramaic. CWs[West.], M[C,D]: ‏אלהותיה‏ 'his divinity' (bar AF[9] ‏עליה‏ 'for him'); M[A,B,E,F]: ‏אלהותך‏ 'your divinity.' The same translation strategy is adopted in f. 109b, ln. 13.

[1086] The use of det. = AF[4,7,8,9,10]. In the balance of CWs, the noun hosts a 1 c.s. pro. suff. (≅ MT ‏אמי בית‏ 'the house of my mother').

[1087] The unabbreviated tetragrammaton is an outlier in this fragment.

[1088] The use of det. is unattested in any of the CWs, in which the noun hosts a 3 m.s. pro. suff. However, the Judaeo-Arabic does include the suff., ‏טריקו‏ 'his way' (ln. 15).

[1089] The absence of a coordinating conj. before the noun = AF[3,4,5]. However, the Judaeo-Arabic includes one, ‏ול פאכהא‏ 'and the fruit' (ln. 17).

[1090] See above comment on this form of the title in ln. 1.

18. לל צאלחין לי דונייה אל גאייה[1091] [8.3] : שמולו[1092] תחת :

19. אמרת כנישתא דישראל אנא בחירתא מכל עממיא

20. די[1093] אנא קטרא תפלין ביד שמאלי וברישי וקביעה[1094] מזוזתֵא̊

21. בסטר ימינא דדשי תולתא לקביל תקי דלית רשו למזיקא[1095]

22. לחבלה בי :

13.2.8   f. 108b: TgShir 8.3-5

1.   קֺאלת גמאעת ישראיל אנה אפכר מן גמיע אל

2.   אומם לאנני שאדה תפלין ביד[1096] שמאלי ופי ראצי[1097]

3.   וחאטטא אל מזוזה פי גֺאנב ב(?)⟨א⟩בי מן אל ימין

4.   תולתהא לקבל אל מטלע לאבל לא יכון דסתור לל

5.   מודיין ליצֺרוני : [8.4] השבעתי אתכם בנות :

6.   יאמר[1098] מלכה משיחה אשביע[1099] אנא עליכון עמה[1100]

7.   בית ישראל מא דין[1101] אתון מתגרין בעמי ארעה

8.   למיפק מן גלותא[1102] מא דין אתון מרדין בחיילותיה

9.   דגוג ומגוג אתעכיבו פון זעיר עד די[1103] ישיצון[1104]

[1091] 'for the world to come'; diverging from the Aramaic בגנתה דעידן 'in the Garden of Eden' (ln. 11). The definiteness discord may be a reflex of the Hebrew עולם הבא.

[1092] MT שמאלו.

[1093] Analytic rel. pro. די = AF[4,5].

[1094] Spelling with י = AF[4,5], M[C,E,F]. It may indicate a pass. ptc., 'and the *mezuzah* is affixed to the right-hand side of my doorway'.

[1095] The use of the sing., 'the demon', = AF[3,5] and M[C,D,E,F]. However, the Judaeo-Arabic reads a pl. מודיין (f108b, ln. 5).

[1096] Note the use of the Aramaic prep. ב, rather than Arabic פי.

[1097] Spelling of ראס 'head' with emphatic sibilant.

[1098] The non-syncopation of the א = AF[2,3,4,5,7].

[1099] 1 c.s. impf. verb contrasts with all CWs (which read act. ptc.) and renders the following 1 c.s. sub. pro. pleonastic. (The independent pro. follows the ptc. in AF[3,4,5] and M[E,F], whereas, in the balance of CWs, it is suffixed to the ptc.) The Judaeo-Arabic replicates the syntax of the Aramaic, אקסמת אנה (ln. 13).

[1100] Use of det. = CWs[Yem.]. All CWs[West.]: עמי 'my people'.

[1101] The dem. expands the intrg. negator מה in MT. The Judaeo-Arabic expands this further, אש מראדכום תא 'Why do you want this?'

[1102] 'the exile' = AF[3,4,5]. ☺☺Balance of CWs: ירושלם 'Jerusalem'.

[1103] Analytic rel. pro. די = AF[4,5,7].

[1104] A t-stem is expected as the verb is pass., 'until the nations are destroyed'. However, among the CWs, a t-stem verb is only attested in AF[8] and CWs[Yem.], raising the suspicion of a secondary correction. This patterns with

10. עממיא די[1105] עלו לאגחה קרבא לירושלם[1106] ובתר כן

11. ידכיר[1107] מרי[1108] רחמי צדיקיא ויהיא[1109] רעווא מן קדמוהי

12. למפרקכון :

13. יקול צלטאן אל מסיח[1110] אקסמת אנה עליכום יא קום

14. בית ישראיל אש מראדכום תא תתחרשין מע

15. עסאכר גוג ומגוג[1111] אתעווקו ורייצו קליל חתא

16. יכלצון אל אומם אלדי צעדו ליצדמו חרב פי דאר̊

17. אל סלאם ובעד דאלך יצכרכום סייד אל דונייה

18. מחב אל צאלחין ויציר רצא מן קדאמו

19. ליפכום : [8.5] מה[1112] זאת עולא[1113] מן המדבר מתפרקת[1114]

20. [ע]̊ל דודה תחת התפוח עוררתך[1115] אמך שמה[1116] :

13.2.9   f. 109a: TgShir 8.5

1.   אמר שלמה נביאה כד יחין מיתיא עתידין[1117] לאתבזעא̊

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other verb stem anomalies in TgShir. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic יכלצון (ln. 16).

[1105] Analytic rel. pro. די = AF[4,5].

[1106] The marking of the obj. with ל aligns AF[3,5]. The balance of CWs employ either ב or על. The Judaeo-Arabic opts for פי (ln. 16).

[1107] Among the CWs, the spelling of the verb with י is only found in AF[4]. All CWs include the BENEFICIARY לכון 'for you' after the verb, bar M[C], in which it is written in the margin by second hand.

[1108] Diverges from all CWs, which read מרי עלמא 'the Lord of the world'. The latter is reflected in the Judaeo-Arabic סייד אל דונייה (ln. 17).

[1109] A hybrid spelling of the 3 m.s. impf., יהי/יהא, which is unattested in any of the CWs.

[1110] See above comment on this form of the title in f. 108a, ln. 1.

[1111] No translation is provided for בעמי ארעה למיפק מן גלותא מא דין אתון מרדין 'against the nations of the world, in order to escape from exile. Why are you rebelling … ?' (lns. 7–8). This is presumably a function of parablepsis, occasioned by homoioarcton, from בעמי to בחיילותיה.

[1112] MT מי 'who?'

[1113] MT עלה.

[1114] MT מתרפקת 'leaning'. The error may have been influenced by למפרקכון 'to redeem you' which concludes the previous verse in the Aramaic (ln. 12).

[1115] MT עוררתיך.

[1116] The lemma omits שמה חבלתך "there [your mother] was in labour with you", which occurs before אמך שמה in MT. The number of divergences from MT suggest that the lemma was written from memory.

[1117] The solecistic pl. is also attested, among the CWs, in M[E,F]. The balance read the sing. עתיד. The pl. likely arose under the influence of the immediately preceding pl., מיתיא 'the dead' and the pl. עתידין in the following line.

2. ‏טוב¹¹¹⁸ משחה וכל מיתיא דישראל עתידין למפק מן

3. ‏תחותוהי ואיפלו צדיקיא דמיתו בגאלותה¹¹¹⁹ עתידין

4. ‏למותי¹¹²⁰ אורח כוביא¹¹²¹ מלרע לארעה ונפקין מן תחות

5. ‏טור משחה ורשיעיה דמיתו ואתקברו בארעה

6. ‏דישראל עתידין למהויהון דמיין¹¹²² היכמא דרמי

7. ‏גבר אבנא באלה¹¹²³ בכן יימרון כל דיירי ארעה מה

8. ‏¹¹²⁴ הית¹¹²⁵ זכותה דעמה הדין¹¹²⁶ די סלקת¹¹²⁷ מן ארעה

9. ‏רבוא רבואן¹¹²⁸ כיומא דסלקת מן מדברה לארעה

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¹¹¹⁸ Error for טור ‘mountain’ (cf. ln. 5).

¹¹¹⁹ Spelling with א is unattested in any of the CWs.

¹¹²⁰ Error for למיתי ‘to come’.

¹¹²¹ Error for כוכיא ‘burial chambers’; = AF^{4,5}.

¹¹²² Error for רמיין ‘thrown’ (also in AF¹). Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic מרמיין (ln. 18). The construction is notably ungainly: sub. + עתיד + inf. √הוי^G, hosting pleonastic pro. sub. suff. + pass. ptc. The same construction is found in TgQoh 9.5 ארום צדיקיא ידעין דאין יחובון עתידין למיהויהון חשיבין כמיתיא לעלמא דאתי ‘For the righteous know that if they sin, they will be considered as dead in the world to come’. It may be significant that the passages are also linked thematically; they are both descriptions, by Solomon, of the contrasting post-mortem fates of the righteous and the wicked. This may speak to questions of the consanguinity of these targums, or literary influence.

¹¹²³ Alexander follows a minority reading קלע ‘sling’ (AF⁷ and M^C), owing to the incongruity of the putative Hebrew אלה ‘club, mace’ as an instrument to throw a stone. Pope’s translation, which appears to accept the reading אלא, illustrates the difficulty of such a construal: ‘… a man throws up a stone with a stick’. (So too Treat). This rather pedestrian image appears to lack the dramatic force required by the context. In a more athletic vein, Jerusalmi renders ‘as when one hits a stone with a bat’. Cf. Alexander’s quip regarding an allusion to a primitive form of baseball. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 195, apparatus *u*. Litke, while not foreclosing the possibility that קלע may be the correct reading, inclines to אלא as the original form. He conjectures that אלא may have been misconstrued by the author as bearing the sense ‘sling’, owing to a confusion of homonyms, engendered by the translation of Biblical Hebrew קלע ‘hanging’ by אילה ‘pole’, attested in TgNeof. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 189. Other variants, aside from בקלע(א), are AF² בארעא ‘in the land’; AF^{8,10} בחלא ‘in a valley’(?); AF⁹ Ø; M^D באילה; M^{EF} באילא.

However, if the ב indeed encodes INSTRUMENT (‘with’), rather than GOAL (‘at’) or LOCATION (‘in’), the noun אלא/ה may be related to Arabic آلة ‘instrument, machine’, and refer to some sort of trebuchet. The propulsion of a stone by a trebuchet would not be an inappropriate image for the eschatological expulsion of the resurrected wicked from the land of Israel.

¹¹²⁴ This line is tightly inserted in the gap between lns. 7 and 9. It was likely omitted due to parablepsis, from ארעה (ln. 7) to לארעה (ln. 9). It appears to be written by the same hand.

¹¹²⁵ Error for הות.

¹¹²⁶ Masc. dem. = AF^{3,4,5,7,9}. AF^{1,2}: עמא הדא; AF^{8,10}, CWs^{Yem.}: אומא/ה הדא.

¹¹²⁷ The reading of a 3 f.s. pf. verb is unattested in any of the CWs, which read a ptc. (≡ MT מי זאת עלה ‘who is this ascending?’). It seems likely that it was influenced by the token of סלקת מן in the following line, directly above which it is written. The Judaeo-Arabic translates with a ptc. צאעדה (ln. 21).

¹¹²⁸ This spelling is unattested in any of the CWs.

10. דישראל ומתפנקין[1129] של[1130] רחמי מרהא כיומה דאתחמת

11. תחות טורה דסיני לקבל[1131] ית אורייתה ובההיא[1132] שעתה

12. עתידא ציון דהיא אמן[1133] דישראל למילד ית בנהא

13. וירושלם לקבל[1134] ית בני גלותה :

14. קאל סלימאן אל נבי ענד אן יחיון אל מותה מוובד לינשק

15. גבל אל מסיח וכל מייתין[1135] ישראיל מתוובדין ליגון[1136]

16. פי טריק אל מגׄאייר מן תחת אל ארץׄ ויכׄרגון מן

17. תחת גבל מסיח[1137] ול צאלחין[1138] אלדי מאתו ונדפנו פי

18. בלאד ישראיל מתוובדין ליכונון מרמיין מתל מא

19. ירמי אל רגׄאל אל חגׄארה בל בוטמה[1139] חניד יקולון

20. גׄמיע סכאן אל ארץׄ אש קדר אגר האדא אל

21. קום אל צׄאעדה מן אל ארץׄ רבואת רבואת כיום

22. אן אנצׄרת חתת[1140] גבל סיני וקת[1141] נסתקבלת אל תורה ופׄי׳

23. דאלך אל סאעה מתוובדא ציום[1142] אלדי היא אום

[1129] The m.p. form of the ptc. = AF[3,4,5]. The other CWs[West.] read the f.s. מתפנקא, which corresponds more tightly with MT מתרפקת 'leaning' (on which TgShir strikes a paronomastic pun). CWs[Yem.] omit the clause through parablepsis.

[1130] Error for על.

[1131] This Hebrew form of the D-stem inf. = AF[3,5].

[1132] This spelling aligns, among the CWs, with AF[7,8,9,10] and all CWs[Yem.].

[1133] Spelling = AF[3,5] (אימן), versus א(י)מהון in the balance of CWs.

[1134] This Hebrew form of the D-stem inf. is unattested in any of the CWs.

[1135] An *iḍāfah* construction is expected, for Aramaic מיתיא דישראל (ln. 2).

[1136] The translation omits representation of מפק מן תחותוהי ואיפלו צדיקיא דמיתו בגאלותה עתידין by parablepsis, from עתידין (ln. 2) to עתידין (ln. 3)

[1137] An arthrous noun is expected (cf. ln. 15).

[1138] 'the righteous'; another error occasioned by parablepsis, from רשיעיה דמיתו 'the wicked who died' (ln. 5) to צדיקיא דמיתו 'the righteous who died' (ln. 3).

[1139] Presumably, 'terebinth' (cf. Arabic بطم and see *DJPA*, p. 73; *DJBA*, p. 190); predicated on the construal of the Aramaic אלה as Hebrew 'terebinth'. The prep. would appear, therefore, to encode GOAL: 'as men throw stones at a terebinth'(?).

[1140] Error for תחת 'under'.

[1141] The purpose clause of the Aramaic, לקבל ית אורייתה 'to receive the Torah' (ln. 11), is converted into a temp. clause.

[1142] Error for ציון 'Zion'.

1. יִשראיל לתוולד בנינהא ודאר אל סלאם לתסתקבל

2. בנין[1143] אל גלווא : [8.6] שמני כחותם על לבך :

3. אמרין בני ישראל ביומא ההוא לרבניהון[1144] בבעו

4. מנך שוי יתן כגליף[1145] דעוקא[1146] על לבך כגליף

5. דעוקא על אדרעך דלא נוסיף עוד למיהוי

6. בליין[1147] אדום[1148] תקיפה כמותה אהבת אלהותך וחסינה

7. כגיהנם קנאתה דעמה[1149] מ(ס)‹ק›‹נ›ן[1150] לן ודבבו דנטרין

8. לן דמייא לגוברין[1151] דאישה לגיהנם[1152] דברא יתיה

9. יהוה ביומא תנינא לבריית עלמא לאודיקה[1153] ביה

10. פלחי פולחנה נוכֿראה :

11. יקולון בני אל גלווא[1154] לבْאלקהום[1155] בטלבא מנך[1156] סיידנה

12. כנקש אל בֿאתם עלא דראעך[1157] חתא לא נעאוד לננגׄלי

13. אד צעבה כל מות מחבת עבאדתך[1158] ושדידה כנאר

14. גהנם[1159] גׄירת אל קום אלדי יגרון מננא ועדאות אלדי

[1143] An *iḍāfah* construction is expected, for Aramaic בני גלותה 'the exiles' (f. 109a, ln. 13). Cf. ln. 11.

[1144] The pl. noun = AF⁵ לריבוניהון. Cf. אלהיא in f. 107a, ln. 18.

[1145] Spelling, גליף 'engraving', diverges from all CWs, which read either גלוף or גלף.

[1146] Error for עזקא 'signet ring'.

[1147] 'worn out, destroyed'; presumably, an error for גליין 'exiled', the reading of all CWs. The latter is reflected in the Judaeo-Arabic translation לננגׄלי (ln. 12).

[1148] Error for ארום 'because'.

[1149] The sing., 'the people', = AF⁵, versus the pl. in the balance of the CWs.

[1150] The initial spelling מסנן, which is unattested in any of the CWs, may represent 'they hate'.

[1151] Error for גומרין 'coals'

[1152] Error for דגיהנם 'of Gehinnom'.

[1153] Error for לאוקידה 'to burn'. Spelling of the inf. with י = AF⁴˒⁵.

[1154] 'the exiles'; diverges from the Aramaic בני ישראל 'the children of Israel' (ln. 3).

[1155] 'to their creator'; diverges from the Aramaic לרבניהון 'to their lord' (ln. 3).

[1156] The temp. adv. ביומא ההוא 'in that day', immediately preceding the quoted speech in the Aramaic (ln. 3), is not represented.

[1157] The translation omits representation of לבך כגליף דעוקא על (ln. 3) due to parablepsis.

[1158] 'your service'; diverging from the Aramaic אלהותך 'your divinity' (ln. 6). Cf. f. 108a, ln. 6.

[1159] 'like the fire of Gehinnom', for Aramaic כגיהנם 'like Gehinnom' (ln. 7). Cf. ln. 15.

15. חׄאקר לנא תשבה לנאר גהנם[1160] אלדׄי אבֹלקהא[1161] אלה

16. פׄי יום תׄאני לבֹלקת אדנייה לאגׄל ישׄעל ביהא[1162] עאבדין

17. מעבודאת אל אגׄנבייה : [8.7] מים רבים לוׄ[1163] יוכלו :

18. אמר מרי עלמא לעמי[1164] בית ישראל אלולי מתכנשין

19. כל עממיא דמתילין למוי דימה דאנון סגיאין לא

20. יכלין (לממחי)[1165] למטפי ית רחמי מנך ואי[1166] מתכנשין

21. כל מלבֹי ארעה דמתילין למוי דנהרא דנגדא[1167]

22. בֹתקוף אלא[1168] יבֹלין לממחי יתיך מעלמא ואילולי יהיב

13.2.11   f. 110a: TgShir 8.7-9

1.   גבר כול ממון ביתיה למקניה[1169] חוכמתה בגלותה אנה

2.   מהדר ליה כפיל לעלמה דאתיה[1170] וכל בזיתה די בזון[1171]

3.   משרייתיה דגֹוֹגֹ די ליה[1172] :

4.   קאל סייד אל דונייה לקומו בית ישראל לאנהום מנגׄמעין

[1160] 'the fire of Gehinnom'; diverges from the Aramaic לגיהנם דאישה לגוברין (*sic*) 'the fiery coals of Gehinnom' (ln. 8).

[1161] The use of Form IV for the finite verb خ.ل.ق√ 'to create' contrasts with the Form I act. ptc. בֹאלק 'creator' (ln. 11; f. 111a, ln. 10). The 3 f.s. pro. obj. suff., whose antecedent is presumably the A-term of the genitive נאר 'the fire (of Gehinnom)'. This diverges from the Aramaic, which employs a 3 m.s. pro. obj. יתיה, whose antecedent is the B-term of the genitive, Gehinnom (ln. 8).

[1162] 3 f.s. pro. suff.; diverges from the Aramaic 3 m.s. ביה (ln. 9). See previous note.

[1163] MT לא.

[1164] Presumably, an apocopated spelling of לעמיה 'to his people', the reading of AF[1,2,5]. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic לקומו 'to his people' (f. 110a, ln. 4). The balance of CWs read לעמא 'to the people', bar AF[3] which lacks 8.7-14.

[1165] The product of parablepsis to יכלין לממחי later in the verse.

[1166] The apocopated conditional particle = AF[4,5].

[1167] The sing. ptc. = AF[4,5], versus the pl. נגדין (agreeing with the A-term of the genitive, 'waters') in the balance of the CWs.

[1168] Error for לא.

[1169] The final ה is unexpected in a G-stem inf., unless it is a proleptic pro. obj. suff. Irrespectively, the reading diverges from all CWs, which read למ(י)קני 'to buy'.

[1170] Error for אתי, under the influence of det. of the subject, עלמה 'the world'.

[1171] Analytic rel. pro. די, followed by a pf. verb = AF[4,5]. Nunation of 3 m.p. pf. verbs III-י is a JPA feature (contrast the form דבזו in M[C,E,F]). However, the reading may be the product of an incorrect word division דיבזון, the reading of the balance of CWs[West.], and M[A,B]. This could represent either an impf. or a pf. An impf. is, co-textually, more plausible. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic ינהבון (ln. 10).

[1172] All CWs include a 3 m.s. impf. הוי√[G] 'to be' before the poss. construction. The representation of די ליה as two separate words is, among the CWs, only otherwise attested in AF[4,5].

5. גמעי אל אומם אלדי ישבהון למאי אל בחר לם יטיקון

6. יבטלון מחבתי מנך ולי[1173] אלתמו גמיע תבות אל ארץֹ אל

7. מתשבהין למאי נהר אל יגרי פי זעֹ לם יטיקון

8. יקטעוכי מן אל דונייה ולאונו יעטי אל רגֹל גמיע רזק

9. ביתו ליסתמלך עלם אל גלווא[1174] אנה ארד ליה ראס ראסין

10. לדניית אל גֹאייה[1175] וגמיע נהיבת אלדי ינהבון מן עסאכר

11. גוג יכון הוא מאלו[1176] : אחות לנו קטנה ושדים אין לה :

12. [8.8][1177] ובעדנה ההיא ימרון מלכי[1178] שמיה אלין לאלין אומה

13. חדא אית[1179] לן (בע)[1180] בארעה וקלילין זבֹותאהא ומלכין

14. ושלטנין לית לה למיפק לאגחא קרבה עם משרייתיה

15. דגוג[1181] מא נעבד לאחתנה ביומה דמלילו[1182] למישק[1183] עלהא[1184]

16. לקרבא :

17. פי דאלך אל וקת יקולון מלאכת אל סמה דֹא[1185] לדֹא אומה

18. ואחדה מאגֹוד[1186] לנא פי אל ארץֹ ואגֹרהא קליל ומלוך

[1173] Error for לו 'if'.

[1174] 'Knowledge of the exile', versus the Aramaic חוכמתה בגלותה 'wisdom in exile' (ln. 1).

[1175] The indeclinable noun דניא 'world' (دنيا) has been inflected to a cst. The ד in the erroneous Aramaic לעלמה דאתיה (ln. 2) appears to have been construed as a genitive marker ('the world of the coming *x*'), rather than a rel. pro. ('the world which is to come').

[1176] 'will be his property', for Aramaic די ליה '[will be] his' (ln. 3).

[1177] The MT lemma is omitted.

[1178] Error for מלאכי 'angels', the reading of all CWs. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic מלאכת אל סמה (ln. 17).

[1179] The dative predicative poss. construction ('we have one nation') is a reflex of MT אחות לנו 'we have a sister'. However, TgShir augments it with the existential predicator אית, a *hapax legomenon* in the text. This yields syntactic symmetry with its negative counterpart in the subsequent לית לה 'she does not have' (ln. 14). The latter mirrors MT אין לה.

[1180] It appears that the scribe began to spell ארעה 'the land' as ערעה, indicating a weakening of the pronunciation of ע to /ʔ/.

[1181] The bare ד-relation is only otherwise attested in AF[4,5]. The balance of CWs read a cst. relation.

[1182] All CWs include the sub. אומי(י)א 'the nations' after the verb.

[1183] Error for למיסק 'to go up'.

[1184] Spelling of the 3 f.s. pro. suff. הא- = AF[2,4,5] and M[E,F], versus ה- in the balance of the CWs.

[1185] Sing. proximal dem. pro.; diverges from the Aramaic pl. אלין 'these' (ln. 12). The form דֹא contrasts with the invariable האדי (f. 105a, ln. 10; f. 112b, ln. 12).

[1186] The ossified m.s. form translates the existential predicator אית (ln. 13).

19. וצלאטין ליס[1187] להא ליברגון ויצאדמון בל חרב מע עסאכר

20. עסאכר גוג ואיש אלדי ננצנע לאובَתנא פִّי יום אלדי

21. יתכמלון[1188] אל אומם ליצעדון עליהא לל חרב : [8.9] אם :

22. יימר מיכאל רבהון דישראל אם היא מתעתדא כאושה[1189]

23. בני[1190] עמאמיה ויהבא כספה[1191] למקני יחוד שמיה דמארי

24. עלמה נהי אנן[1192] ואתון עם ספריהון סחרין לה כנדבכין[1193]

13.2.12   f. 110b: TgShir 8.9

1.   דבֿספה[1194] ולית רשו לעממיא למשלט ביה[1195] היכמ[ה]

2.   דלית רשו לזחלא למשלט בבֿספה ואפלוֹ[1196] מסכינאֹ

3.   הי[1197] מן פקודאֹ[1198] נבעי רחמין עלאהא קודם יי וידכרֿ

4.   חכות[1199] אורייתא דעסקן ביה[1200] ינקיֿיא דבֿתיבא על

5.   לפחא[1201] דלבא ומתעתדא לקוביל אומיה כארזא :

6.   יקול מיכֿאל אסתאד ישראל אלבאן היא ואקפא

[1187] The ossified m.s. form translates the existential negator לית (ln. 14).

[1188] Error for יתכלמון 'they speak'.

[1189] On the anomalous use of אוש 'foundation' to translate MT חומה 'wall', see Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 200, apparatus *ll*. The juxtaposition of אוש with נדבך 'course (of bricks/timber)' (ln. 24) may advert the influence of Ezra 6.3-4. Note how, in b. Yom. 9b, Song 8.9a is advanced as a description of a possibility for the nation in the days of Ezra.

[1190] Spelling of prep. = AF[4]. The balance of CWs read ביני 'among'.

[1191] If the final ה- represents det., rather than a 3 f.s. pro. suff., it aligns with AF[2,4,5], which read כספא. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic פוצّא (f. 110b, ln. 7). The balance of CWs read כספהא 'her silver'.

[1192] 1 c.p. sub. pro. = AF[9]. The balance of CWs: אנא (which is reflected in the Judaeo-Arabic, f. 110b, ln. 8). 1 c.p. pro. may have arisen under the influence of MT 1 c.p. נבנה 'we will build'. Cf. נהי אנא ואתון [...] נבעי רחמין על with TgPsJ Gen. 18.32 ונהי אנא ואינון ונבעי רחמין על.

[1193] Prep. כ = AF[1,4,5], CWs[Yem.]. Balance of CWs: ב. For נדבך as translation of MT טירה, cf. TgJon Ezek. 46.23.

[1194] Det. = AF[4,5]. The balance of CWs: כסף.

[1195] 3 m.s. pro. suff. = AF[4]. The balance of CWs (correctly): 3 f.s. בה.

[1196] Absence of a word between אפילו and the ensuing adj. diverges from all CWs. CWs[West.], bar AF[2]: אי(ן). AF[2], CWs[Yem.]: היא.

[1197] A phonetic spelling of the 3 f.s. independent pro. היא.

[1198] The use of a sing. noun diverges from the pl. in all CWs.

[1199] Error for זכות 'merit'.

[1200] The 3 m.s. pro. suff. = AF[4,5]. The balance of CWs, correctly, read 3 f.s., as does the Judaeo-Arabic (ln. 12).

[1201] Error for לוחא 'the tablet'.

7. כל צור¹²⁰² בין אל אומם ותעטי פוצّא לתווחד¹²⁰³ אסם

8. סייד אל דונייא נכון אנה ואנתום מע כתאבינהום

9. מסתדירין להא כטופת אל פוצّא ולא יכון דסתור

10. לל עת¹²⁰⁴ ליתצלט על פّוצّא ולכאן היא¹²⁰⁵ צّעיפא מנל¹²⁰⁶

11. פריّיّ נטלוב עליהא רחמא מן ענד ≷ וידכור

12. להא אגّר אל תורה אל משתגלין ביהא אל רצّעאן

13. אל מכתובא עלא לוח קלובהום¹²⁰⁷ ותקף מקאביל

14. אל אומם כל ארז : [8.10] אני חומה ושדי כמגדלות :

15. [8.5]¹²⁰⁸ אמר שלומה¹²⁰⁹ נביאה כד ייחין¹²¹⁰ מיתיא דישראל¹²¹¹

16. עתיד¹²¹² לאיתבעא¹²¹³ טור¹²¹⁴ משחא¹²¹⁵ וכל מתייא

17. דישראל עתידין למפק מן תחותוהי ואיפלו

18. צדיקיא דמיתו בגלותא¹²¹⁶ עתידין למיתי

19. אורח כוביא מלרע לארעא¹²¹⁷ ונפיקין

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¹²⁰² Spelling of سور 'wall' with emphatic sibilant. Contrast the spelling סור, translating Aramaic שׁור below (f. 111a, ln. 7).

¹²⁰³ 'to declare the unity of'; paraphrases the Aramaic למקני יחוד "to buy the unity (of the name of the Lord of the World)" (f. 110a, ln. 23), avoiding the unusual commercial metonym.

¹²⁰⁴ 'Moth' (عثّ), interpretative of Aramaic זחלא 'creeping thing'. The translation omits representation of לעממיא למשלט ביה היכֿמ[ה] דלית רשו 'the nations [have no power] to rule over her, just as [the worm] has no power' (lns. 1–2), due to parablepsis, from לית רשו (ln. 1) to לית רשו (ln. 2). The same error occurs in CWs^{Yem.}

¹²⁰⁵ The placement of the sub. pro. before the adj. diverges from the Aramaic of the fragment (lns. 2–3) but = AF², CWs^{Yem.}

¹²⁰⁶ Prefixing of prep. מן to the definite article is an outlier in this fragment.

¹²⁰⁷ 'their hearts'; diverges from the Aramaic לבא 'the heart' (ln. 5).

¹²⁰⁸ Lns. 15–20 contain part of 8.5, rubbed out, boxed, and crossed through. It differs in several particulars from the text of 8.5 in f. 109a.

¹²⁰⁹ f. 109a, ln. 1: שלמה.

¹²¹⁰ f. 109a, ln. 1: יחין.

¹²¹¹ 'the dead of Israel'; diverges from text of 8.5 in f. 109a: מיתיא 'the dead' (ln. 1), as per majority of CWs. However, the reading מיתיא דישראל is attested in M^{E,F}. This is likely dittographic of the token of this phrase in the second sentence.

¹²¹² f. 109a, ln. 1: עתידין.

¹²¹³ f. 109a, ln. 1: לאתבזעאׄ.

¹²¹⁴ f. 109a, ln. 2: טוב.

¹²¹⁵ f. 109a, ln. 2: משחה.

¹²¹⁶ f. 109a, ln. 3: בגאלותה.

¹²¹⁷ f. 109a, ln. 4: ארעה.

20. מִן תחות טור משחא[1218] ורשיעא[1219] דמיתו

13.2.13   f. 111a: TgShir 8.10-11

1. ‏[8.10] מתיבא כנישתא דישראל אנה[1220] תקיפה
2. בפתגמי אורייתא כשורא ובנוי[1221] חסינין
3. כמגדלא[1222] ובבההי[1223] זמנא תהי כנישתא
4. דישראל משכחה רחמין בעני מרהא ויהי[1224]
5. שאלין בשלמא[1225] כל דיירי ארעא :

6. גّואבת גّמאעת ישראיל והאכדא קאלת
7. אנא מתווקّפא פי כלאם אל תורה כל סור
8. ובניני קויّן כמא אל ברג ופי דאלך אל
9. זמאן תכון גّמאעת ישראיל ואגّדא רחמא
10. פי עין בّאלקהא[1226] ויכונון יסאלון אסלאמהא
11. גّמיע סכّאן אל ארץֹ :

12. ‏[8.11] אומא חדא סלקת בעדויה דמרי עלמא
13. בשלמא[1227] עמיה דהוא[1228] מתילא לכרמא אותיב
14. יתה בירושלם ומסר יתה בייד מלכייא דבית
15. דויד דיהון נטרין יתיה היכמא דאריסא

[1218] f. 109a, ln. 5: משחה.

[1219] f. 109a, ln. 5: ורשיעיה.

[1220] All CWs include ואמרת/א/ה 'and said' before the 1 c.s. sub. pro. This is reflected in the Judaeo-Arabic והאכדא קאלת 'and thus said' (ln. 6).

[1221] Spelling בנוי = AF[5]. Cf. AF[4] בניו. The balance of CWs read בני(י) 'my sons'. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic בניני (ln. 8).

[1222] The sing. = AF[4,5], CWs[Yem.], versus the pl. כמגדליא (≅ MT כמגדלות) in the balance of the CWs. The Judaeo-Arabic replicates the sing., ברג (ln. 8).

[1223] Error for ובההי(א).

[1224] Error for ויהון.

[1225] Det. = AF[4,5,7]. AF[1,9] read שלמה; the final ה could represent either det., or a 3 f.s. pro. suff., akin to שלמהא in AF[2,10], CWs[Yem.]. In the Judaeo-Arabic the noun hosts a 3 f.s. suff., אסלאמהא (ln. 10). The syntagm, √שאל[G] + בשלם + genitive, bears the sense 'to enquire of the welfare of *x*'. This tips balance of probability in favour of the originality of a 3 f.s. suff. Alexander observes the similarity of TgShir to TgPs 122.6 שאילו בשלמא דירושלם. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 201, n. 49. Note that the obj. marker ב has no counterpart in MT: שאלו שלום ירושלם.

[1226] 'her creator'; diverging from the Aramaic מרהא 'her lord' (ln. 4).

[1227] Error for דשלמא.

[1228] An error for 3 f.s. היא, as per all CWs. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic (ln. 4).

16 .נטיר לכרמא¹²²⁹ בתר דמית שלמה מלכה

17 .דישראל אשתארה¹²³⁰ בידוי רחבעם¹²³¹ בריה אתה

18 .ירבעם בר נבט ופליג עמיה מלכותה ודכר¹²³²

13.2.14   f. 111b: TgShir 8.11-12

1 .מן ידוי עסר¹²³³ שבטין על מימר פומיה דאחיה

2 .דמן שילוה¹²³⁴ די¹²³⁵ הוא גברא רבא :

3 .אומה ואחדא צעדת פי קרעת סייד אדונייא¹²³⁶

4 .אלדי היא תשבה לל כרם וסכאנהא פי דאר אל

5 .סלאם וסלמהא פי י)ב(>ד< צלטנת בית דאווד חתא

6 .יכונון ינטרוהא מתל מא ינטור אל פלאח אל

7 .כרם ובעד אן מאת סלימאן צלטאן ישראיל תבקת

8 .פי יד רחבעם אבנו גא ירבעם אבן נבט וקסם

9 .מעו אל צלטנא ואכד מן ידו עשר אצבאט¹²³⁷ מתל

10 .מא קאל אחייא אלדי מן שילוה אלדי הוא רגל אן

11 .כביר¹²³⁸ : [8.12] כרמי שלי לפני :

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¹²²⁹ The sing. det. = AF^{4,5}. The balance of CWs read לכרמיה 'his vineyard', bar AF⁸ לכרמיא 'the vineyards'.

¹²³⁰ The JBA style 3 f.s. pf. verb = AF^{4,5,7,9,10}, M^{B,E,F}.

¹²³¹ The solecistic genitive construction = AF^{4,5}. The balance of CWs read a proleptic ד-relation.

¹²³² Error for דבר 'he led away'.

¹²³³ The gender discordance between the numeral and the noun aligns with all CWs. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic עשר אצבאט (ln. 9). It may stem from analogy with the more common NP תרי(ן) עשר שבטין 'the twelve tribes' (e.g., TgShir 5.14). To arrive at 'the ten tribes' the units, תרי(ן) 'two', may simply have been disregarded, and the ten, עשר, retained. However, owing to chiastic concord, the form of the numeral 'ten' required with a masc. noun is עשרה (cf. TgShir 7.9 עשרא נסין 'ten trials'). The stereotypical use of numerals in TgShir can be seen in the indiscriminate use of the form תרי(ן) עשר to quantify both masc. and fem. nouns in 5.14: תרי(ן) עשר שיבטין דיעקב 'the twelve tribes of Jacob', and עשר מרגליתא תרי(ן) 'twelve gems'.

¹²³⁴ This spelling of the toponym contrasts with שילה in all CWs^{West.}, and שילו in CWs^{Yem.} The same is employed in the Judaeo-Arabic (ln. 10).

The mention of כרם 'vineyard' in MT Song 8.11–12, may have been one of the catalysts for TgShir's mention of (Ahiyah of) Shiloh, due to the association between Shiloh and vineyards in Judg. 21.21; Gen. 49.10-11.

¹²³⁵ Analytic rel. pro. די = AF^{4,5}.

¹²³⁶ 'the Lord of the world'; the orthographic representation of the assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article to the following coronal consonant is an outlier in this fragment. The translation omits to represent בשלמא עמיה 'with whom is peace' (ln. 13). Cf. f. 106b, ln. 1.

¹²³⁷ Spelling of اسباط 'tribes' with emphatic sibilant.

¹²³⁸ 'a man who was great', for Aramaic גברא רבא 'a great man' (ln. 2).

12. כד שמע שלמה מלכא דישראל נבואתיה דאחייא[1239]

13. דמן שילוה בעא למקטליה וערק אחייא מן קדם

14. שלומה[1240] ואזל למצרים ובבההי[1241] שעתה אתאמר בנבאה

15. למלכה שלמה[1242] למהוי איהו[1243] שליט בעסר[1244] שבטין[1245]

16. יומהי[1246] ובתר מותיה יהי שליט בהון ירבעם בר

17. נבט ותרין שבטין יהודה ובנימין יהי שליט

18. בהון רחבעם בר שלומה[1247] :

19. וענד אן סמע סלימאן צלטאן ישראיל פי נבוות

20. אחייה אלדי מן שילוה טלב ליקתלו והרב אחייא

13.2.15   f. 112a: TgShir 8.12-13

1. מן קודאם סלימאן ואנחד ואנחדר לי מצר ופי

2. דאלך אל סאעא אנקאל בל נבווא לל צלטאן

3. סלימאן ליכון הו חאכם פי עשר אצבאט גמיע

4. איאם חיאתו ובעד מותו יכון חכאם ביהום יר‹ר›בעם

5. אבן נבט ותנין אצבאט יהודה ובנימין יכון חאכם

6. ביהום ‹ר›חבעם אבן שלמה : [8.13] היושבת בגנים :

[1239] Spelling with final א diverges from all CWs, which read אחי(י)ה. So too, ln. 13. Contrast אחיה in ln. 1.

[1240] The plene spelling is unattested in any of the CWs.

[1241] Error for ובההיא. The conj. = AF²,⁴,⁵; the balance of CWs commence the sentence with the temp. adv. phrase.

[1242] Linearisation of NP = AF⁴,⁵. Balance of CWsWest.: לשלמה מלכא . CWsYem.: לשלמה.

[1243] The position of the 3 m.s. sub. pro. immediately after the inf. = AF⁴,⁵, both of which also read the JBA form איהו.

[1244] The gender discordance aligns with all CWs. See above comment on the same form in ln. 1.

[1245] Alexander (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 203, apparatus *ddd*) claims that TgShir is muddled, intending to say that Solomon would rule over *twelve* tribes during his lifetime, whereafter, Jeroboam would rule over ten of them, and Rehoboam over the remaining two (as per the biblical narrative). This is predicated on a construal of the abs. NP עסר שבטין as indefinite; 'Solomon would rule over ten tribes all his days'. However, TgShir features several instances of semantically definite nouns cast in the abs. Cf. TgShir 5.14 תרין עשר שבטין דיעקב 'the twelve tribes of Jacob'. Thus, rather than reporting the sum of the tribes ruled by Solomon, TgShir may be focussing specifically on the transition of sovereignty over 'the ten tribes', from the house of David to Jeroboam. This is confirmed by the underlying MT, האלף לך שלמה "you, O Solomon, may have the thousand". As Alexander himself notes (*Targum of Canticles*, p. 202, n. 51), 'the thousand' is exegeted by TgShir with respect to the ten tribes (10 x 100), and the subsequent מאתים 'two hundred' to the remaining two tribes (2 x 100). TgShir is not confused. On the use of the abs. in the NP 'the ten tribes', cf. TgJon 1 Kgs 11.31, 35.

[1246] The omission of the quantifier כל before the noun diverges from all CWs. Interestingly, AF⁴ contains same misspelling of 3 m.s. poss. suff. יהו-, which was subsequently corrected.

[1247] The plene spelling is unattested in any of the CWs.

7. אמר שלמה בסוף נבואתיה עתיד מרי עלמא למימר

8. לכנישתא דישראל בסוף יומיא את[1248] כנישתא דישראל

9. דמתילא לגינתא קלילא בני[1249] אומיא ויתיבא[1250]

10. בבית[1251] מדרשא עם חברי סנהדרין ושאר עמא

11. דצייתי[1252] לקל ריש מתיבה[1253] ואלפין מן פומיה פתגמיא[1254]

12. אשמעיני אורייתא[1255] קל מלייך בעדן דאת יתבא

13. לזכאה ולחייבא ואהי מסכים לכל מה דאת עבדת :

14. קאל סלימאן פי אכר נבוותו מוובד סייד[1256] ליקול לי

15. גמאעת ישראיל אל מתשבהא לגיננת אל כֿפיפה

16. בין אל אומם וגֿאלסין פי ביות[1257] אל מגלסא מע גֿמיע[1258]

17. אצחאב אל סנהדרין ובאקי אל קום אל מסתגֿטין לחס

18. ראס אל מגלסא ומתעלמין אל גֿואב מן אתמו

[1248] Spelling of 2 f.s. personal pro. = AF[4,5]. Balance of CWs[West.]: אנת. CWs[Yem.] omit the pro.

[1249] Spelling of prep. = AF[9]. The balance of CWs read ביני.

[1250] Spelling with medial י = AF[4,5].

[1251] Spelling בית aligns with AF[4,5]. The balance of CWs read the apocopated form בי.

[1252] Apocopation of the m.p. ptc. diverges from all CWs.

[1253] Abs. diverges from all CWs, which read det. מתיבתא.

[1254] Cf. AF[5] פתגמיה. The balance of CWs read פתגמי אוריתא "the teachings of the Torah".

[1255] The compound, appositional, STIMULUS, 'the Torah, the sound of your words', aligns with AF[5]. The other CWs do not include אוריתא. It is disregarded in the Judaeo-Arabic סמעיני צוט כלאמך (ln. 19).

The Ø marking of the STIMULUS of this verb of undirected auditory perception aligns with AF[5,7,9,10], the correction of AF[4], and the CWs[Yem.]. AF[1,2,8,10M] employ ית, possibly due to harmonisation with 2.14 אשמעני ית קליך ≡ MT השמיעיני את קולך 'let me hear your voice'. The alternation in the marking of the STIMULUS of verbs √שמע in TgShir, between ית (1.3; 2.5; 2.14) and Ø (6.1; 8.12, 13) likely patterns with literary influences. It is not conditioned by the definiteness of the STIMULUS; in every case this argument is definite.

The foregoing contrasts with the unanimous use of ל to mark to the STIMULUS of the verb of directed auditory perception earlier in the verse: דצייתי לקל ריש מתיבה 'who listen to the voice of the head of the school' (ln. 11). The MT underlying both of these clauses is חברים מקשיבים לקולך השמיעיני. The Masoretic punctuation indicates that the STIMULUS לקולך 'your voice' is to be construed with the preceding ptc. of directed perception: 'the companions are listening to/for your voice'. On this reckoning, the contextually recoverable STIMULUS of the imper. is ellipted: 'Cause me to hear [it]!' TgShir evidently follows the MT punctuation. Contrast the construal of לקולך as the STIMULUS of imper. in b. Shab. 63a: שני תלמידי חכמים המקשיבים זה לזה בהלכה הקדוש ב"ה שומע לקולן 'two students of sages who listen to one another with respect to *halakah*, the Holy One, blessed be He, hears their voice'.

[1256] 'lord'; diverges from the Aramaic מרי עלמא 'the lord of the world' (ln. 7). The absence of the definite article suggests that the B-term אל דונייא was accidentally omitted.

[1257] The pl. diverges from the sing. in the Aramaic בית (ln. 10).

[1258] The quantifier is a plus to the Aramaic חברי סנהדרין 'the members of the Sanhedrin' (ln. 10).

19. סמעיני צוט כלאמך פי וקת אלדי אנתי גׄאלסא

20. לתברין ולתלזמין ואכון מואתיך בגׄמיע אלדי אנתי

21. צאנעא :

13.2.16   f. 112b: TgShir 8.14

1. [8.14] בההיא שעתא יימרון סבי כנישתא דישראל

2. ערוק לך רחמי מרי עלמא מארעא הדא מסאבה[1259]

3. ותשרי שכינתך בשמי מרומה[1260] ובעדן עקתין[1261] די[1262]

4. אנחנא מצליין קדמך תהי דמי לטביא די[1263] בעדאן

5. דדמיך עינא חדא קמיץ ועינא חדא פתיח או

6. כארזליא דאילא דבעדן דעריק מסתכל בתריה

7. כן אנת תהא משגח בן ומסתכל בסערן[1264] ובסגופאן

8. משמי מרומא עד זמאן תתרעי[1265] בן ותפרו(כ)קׇ י(ה)>תׄ<ן ותעיל

9. יתן על טורא דירושלם ותמן יסקון כהנייא קדמך

10. קטורת[1266] בוסמין :

11. פי דאלך אל סאעא יקולון שיוך גׄמאעת ישראיל

12. אהרוב לך יא מחבובי יא סייד אל דוניא מן האדי

13. אל ארץׄ אל נגׄסא וסכן שכינתך פי סמא אל עאלי

14. ופי וקת אל צׄיקא נעוד נחנא נצלי קודמך תכון

15. תשבה לל גׄזאל לאן ענד אלדי ינאם עינו ואחדא

16. מצׄמומא ועין ואחדא מפתוחא אולא ככבש אל

[1259] 'this polluted land': a neglected text in the debate as to the referent of this NP is b. Shab. 63a, which cites Song 8.14 as a proof text for the departure of the Shekhinah from Israel. See Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 205, n. 63.

[1260] Cf. TgJon Isa. 33.5.

[1261] Cf. TgJon Isa. 33.2. The spelling עקתין aligns with AF[4,5,8]. Cf. M[E,F] עתקין. Litke regards the morpheme י- as the sole token of a JBA 1 c.p. pro. suff. in TgShir, thus 'our distress'. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, pp. 60, 63, n. 54. However, it seems more likely that it is the abs. m.p. inflection, thus 'distresses'. This use of the form עקתין is attested elsewhere in LJLAtg., e.g., TgPs 25.17; 31.8; 116.3; TgJob 5.19; TgEstI 3.1 (cf. also the inflection of this form, עקתוי, in TgPs 25.22; 34.7). See Dan, *Targum Psalms*, p. 218, n. 191. Cf. the Judaeo-Arabic אל צׄיקא (ln. 14). Similarly, the form עקתן in AF[1] and M[A,B,C] may be an abs. pl., rather than the noun hosting a 1 c.p. suff.

[1262] Analytic rel. pro. די aligns with AF[4,5].

[1263] Analytic rel. pro. די aligns with AF[4,5].

[1264] This spelling of צער 'suffering' diverges from all CWs.

[1265] All CWs include a rel. pro. before the verb.

[1266] Plene spelling = AF[4,8], CWs[Yem.].

17. אל אייל פענד אלדי ינהזם ירחק לי קפא כדאלך

18. אנתה תכון תטלע עלינא ותתשרף לעדאבנא ול

19. שקאנה מן סמא אל עאלי אלא לוקת אלדי תרצّא

20. עלינא ותפוכנא ותצעדנא עלא דאר אל סלאם :

13.2.17   f. 113a: TgShir 8.14 & Colophon

1.   ותם יצעדון אל איומה קודאמך בכור אל אטיאב :

2.   תאם ונשלם שבח לאל   אני זעיר מכול בני

3.   בורה[1267] עולם אמן כן יהי   עירי נער עבד עברי

4.   רצון שנת הקעו   עבדא דמארי מלחות

5.   ליצירה בחודש אדר   רגליהון של חכמיא[1268] כהר

6.   פי קרתא עיר תל   צאלח בכר יעקוב מרדכי

7.   יעקוב יّעّ תחת   יעקוב אצלאן שלומה קצאב

8.   ממשלת יוסף אבן   נّע הקורה בו ישמח והגו

9.   כלף אגّה[1269] פי ולאיית   והגונב אותו שמו[1270]

10. מארדין :   בזכות אברהם בן

11.   תרח :

13.2.18   f. 113b: Colophon

1 זה עלי אני הצעיר מֹה משה בכר יעקב אל מרד

[1267] Phonetic spelling of בורא 'creator'.

[1268] Cf. *m*. Avot 1.4.

[1269] The name/title of the Caliph, אגّה, is mis-transcribed as אנה in Neubauer and Cowley, *Catalogue*, p. 241.

[1270] The imprecation against the larcenist is ellipted.

Appendix 1: The syntax of TgShir 2.6

TgShir 2.6 describes seven theophanic clouds that formed a protective shield around the Israelites, during their wilderness wanderings:[1271]

כד הוו עמא בית[1272] ישראל אזלין במדברא הוו ענני יקרא מסחרן להון
ארבעה מארבע רוחי עלמא בגין דלא ישלוט בהון עינא בישא וחד מן עילוויהון בגין דלא ישלט בהון שרבא ושמשא
ואוף לא מיטרא וברדא וחד מלרע להון דהוה מסובר יתהון [...] וחד הוה רהיט קומיהון [...]

'When the people, the house of Israel, were moving through the wilderness, clouds of glory surrounded them: four on the four sides of the world, so that the evil eye should not have mastery over them; and one above them, so that the heat and sun should not overpower them, nor the rain and the hail; and one below them which carried them [...]; and one was running ahead of them [...]'.

Most modern translators of TgShir regard the numeral ארבעה as modifying ענני יקרא: thus, 'four clouds of glory surrounded them'.[1273] However, if this is the case, the description—as Alexander notes—is incoherent: when the verse proceeds to itemise the clouds, only three are mentioned (one above, one below, and one in front—the one behind is omitted) and their specified functions do not include the repulsion of the evil eye.[1274]

The interposition of the predicate מסחרן להון 'surrounded them' between the subject NP ענני יקרא and the quantifier ארבעה, suggests that the quantifier commences a new sentence (as per the above translation), rather than functioning as a constituent of the subject NP, 'four clouds of glory'.[1275] ארבעה is the first entry of the list enumerating the clouds, their position, and function.

The description of the position of the four clouds as מארבע רוחי עלמא 'from the four sides of the world'—from the perspective of the itinerant Israelites—pertains to the horizontal plane, not the vertical axis. It should be compared with the similar expression in TgShir 2.14 מארבע סטרוי דעלם 'from the four sides of the world'[1276] to describe the position of threats to the Israelites in their exodus, all of which are on the horizontal plane—the sea in front, Pharaoh's army behind, and serpent-filled deserts on the left and right. Thus, the clouds above and below the Israelites are not to be subsumed under the initial four. It is only the four clouds that head the list that neutralise the evil eye; the other three have different functions.

This analysis is confirmed by parallels in rabbinic literature, in which the total number of clouds (seven) is explicitly mentioned.[1277] For example, Mek. RI:

[1271] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 100, n. 30.

[1272] Reading בית with the majority of CWs versus AF¹ בני, which, as Alexander notes, is the usual title in TgShir. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 101, apparatus *y*.

[1273] Pope, *Song of Songs*, pp. 384–385; Díez Merino, 'Targum al Cantar de los Cantares', p. 253; Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 264; Jerusalmi, *The Song of Songs*, p. 59; Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 101; Treat, *The Aramaic Targum*; Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 245.

[1274] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 100–101, n. 30.

[1275] As recognised by Mulder (*De Targum*, p. 58): '[...] omgaven de wolken der heerlikheid hen, vier uit de vier wind(streken) der wereld [...]; en een was boven hen [...]'.

[1276] The Geniza fragment T-S B11.81 also reads מארבע רוחי ‹ד›עלמא here.

[1277] The parallels in Mek. RI, Sifre Num. §83, and TgPsJ Exod. 12.37 are noted by Churgin, *Targum to Hagiographa*, p. 120. He speculates that the distinctive features of the version of the midrash found in TgShir may have been introduced by later editors of TgShir rather than the original author, who, presumably, he envisages would have imported a pre-existing version verbatim. However, this is unnecessary. See also, Mulder, *De Targum*, p.

הא שבעה עננים ארבעה מארבע רוחותם ואחד למעלה ואחד למטה ואחד שהיה מהלך לפניהם [1278]

'There were seven clouds: four on their four sides; one above; one below; and one which went ahead of them'

So too TgPsJ Exod. 12.37, which shares several motifs with TgShir 2.6:

איתחפיאו שבעת עני יקרא ארבעא מארבע ציטריהון[1279] וחד מעילוייהון [...] וחד מלרע להון [...] וחד מטייל קודמיהון

'They were covered by seven clouds of glory: four on their four sides, and one above them [...], and one below them [...], and one going ahead of them [...]'

It is likely the abruptness of the transition in TgShir 2.6, from the general mention of the clouds to their numerical itemisation, which has misled some translators to construe ארבעה as a constituent of the preceding NP. While Mek. RI, Beshellaḥ 1 and Sifre Num. §83 report a dissenting opinion that there were only four clouds, TgShir does not espouse it.

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92 n. 6d; Louis Ginsburg, *Legends of the Jews*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003) p. 543, n. 241.

[1278] Mek. RI, Beshellaḥ 1 (Horowitz-Rabin, p. 81).

[1279] The gender discordance between the fem. numeral ארבע and the masc. noun ציטר 'side' may betray TgPsJ's dependence on a Hebrew source with the fem. noun רוח with the sense 'side', as per Mek. RI and Sifre Num. Cf. TgPsJ Exod. 27:4 ארבע ציטרוי 'its four sides', translating MT ארבע קצותיו. Similarly, the Hebrew phrase ארבע מארבע רוחות may lie behind the gender discordance in TgShir 1.9 ארבע סטריהון 'their four sides', and 2.14 סטרוי דעלם 'from the four sides of the world' (versus the concordant מן תרין סיטריהון later in the same verse). Cf. TgShir 2.6 מארבע רוחי עלמא 'from the four sides of the world'.

Appendix 2: The syntax of TgShir 5.11

As noted above, in T-S NS 312.3, TgShir 5.11 originally commenced with אוריתא 'the Torah', a reading also attested in Valmadonna 1. This was corrected by a second hand to read אורייתיה 'his Torah', in line with all CWs[West.]. Alexander argues that this reading is the product of haplography and results in syntactic inconcinnity. He claims, with appeal to the CWs[Yem.], that the original initial word, רישיה 'his head', was omitted under the influence of the MT lemma, ראשו 'his head'. On this basis, he offers the emendation רישיה אוריתיה 'his head is His Torah', which, as he notes, has a midrashic flavour, akin to ראשו זו התורה 'his head is the Torah' in Cant. R. 5.11 §1.[1280]

Yet, while Alexander appeals to Yemenite manuscripts in support of his emendation, none of the CWs[Yem.] contain the reading he adopts.[1281] The Yemenite readings are as follows: M[A], M[B] רישי אוריתיה; M[C] רישוהי אוריתיה; M[E] ראשוי אוריתיה; M[F] רישוי אוריתיה. It is striking that these all appear to feature a plural form of ריש/ראש 'head'. Two distinct groups are evident: (1) those that read ריש/ראש as a plural cst. A-term with אוריתיה as the B-term (M[A], M[B] and, according to the vowel pointing, M[E], M[F]), and (2) M[C] which reads plural ריש/ראש + 3 m.s. poss. pro. suff. as subject with אוריתיה functioning as predicate. The plural form of ריש/ראש renders the reading in M[C] difficult to fathom, albeit it aligns syntactically with Alexander's emendation in terms of its subject-predicate equation.

Based on the majority Yemenite reading of ריש/ראש as a plural A-term, a translation such as 'the chapters of his Torah'[1282] or 'the principal features of his Torah'[1283] would appear to be demanded. Such a construal of the first two words of TgShir 5.11 yields the same syntactic structure as found in the CWs[West.], namely, a NP, rather than the subject-predicate equation, favoured by Alexander. Crucially, none of the CWs[Yem.] support a midrashic equation between God's head and the Torah, unless one wishes to posit that M[C] reflects a polycephalic conception of the deity.

Alonso Fontela adopts the diametrically opposite stance to Alexander and opines, albeit without discussion, that the inclusion of רישי/ראשוי in AF[11,12] is an error occasioned by dittography of the MT lemma.[1284] Certainly, in view of the generally inferior quality of the CWs[Yem.], *prima facie*, the balance of probabilities is in favour of the authenticity of the Western tradition. Support for Alonso Fontela's contention may be found in the striking orthography of the plural cst. form of ריש/ראש with consonantal ו in M[E] and M[F]. The unexpected ו may betray the origin of this form in an erroneous duplication of the MT lemma ראשו. If so, the duplicate appears to have been subject to pseudo-Aramaicising, with the Hebrew 3 m.s. poss.

[1280] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 157, apparatus *xx*. Presumably, such an error would be more likely to arise in a manuscript with single headword lemmata since MT ראשו and the putative first word of the targum, רישיה, would be in immediate juxtaposition. Litke appears to have adopted Alexander's argument. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 261, n. 13.

[1281] Litke, unlike Alexander, erroneously claims that the reading רישיה 'his head' occurs in the Yemenite recension. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 261, n. 13.

[1282] So Alonso Fontela (*El Targum*, p. 312, n. 59), who translates the initial word of AF[11,12] as 'Los capítulos de' ('the chapters of'). Curiously, Loewe adopts a reading unattested in any of the CWs, רישי אוריתא, in which the B-term of the cst. NP does not host a poss. suff. This he translates 'Summary or chapter headings of Torah'. Loewe, 'Apologetic Motifs', p. 188, n. 145. (noted by Mulder, *De Targum* p. 105, n. 11a).

[1283] So Mulder ('De hoofdzaken van zijn wet'. *De Targum*, p. 71.) and Treat ('The heads [chief points] of His Law'. Note 16.).

[1284] Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 312, n. 59.

suff. וֹ transformed into a non-standard cst. plural form, perhaps under the influence of the plural form ר(י)שוותא attested in JBA.[1285] The reading in M^C may represent a secondary correction of such a form by the insertion of ה to transform the anomalous ending into a 3 m.s. poss. suff., notwithstanding the nonsensical result.

Irrespective of the genesis of the Yemenite readings, Alexander's emendation to 'His head is His Torah' is conjectural. His claim that the syntax of the verse demands this emendation will now be considered. TgShir 5.11 in AF¹ is cited below, along with Alexander's translation (which includes his emendation):

אוריתיה דהיא רגיגא מדהב טב ופירוש מיליא דבה[1286] דגורין דגורין טעמין[1287] ופיקודין למאן דנטרין להון חיורין כתלגא ודלא נטרין יתהון אוכמין כאגפי עורבא

> "His head is His Torah, which is more desirable than fine gold, and the interpretation of the words which are in it [involves] heaps upon heaps of reasonings and precepts. To those who keep them they are white as snow, but to those who do not keep them they are black as the wings of the raven."[1288]

Alexander's assumption that פירוש מיליא דבה is only predicated of דגורין דגורין טעמין ופיקודין ('the interpretation of the words which are in it') motivates his reading of the NP + relative clause אוריתיה דהיא רגיגא מדהב טב ('his Torah which is more desirable than fine gold') as part of a complete clause. His introduction of a subject NP רישיה 'his head' enables the construal of אוריתיה as a predicate, yielding a coherent clause. However, there are other ways in which the syntax of the verse can be parsed, without resort to conjectural emendation.[1289] It is possible that אוריתיה and פירוש מיליא דבה function as a compound subject of which דגורין דגורין טעמין ופיקודין is predicated. Thus, 'His Torah [...] and the interpretation of the words which are in it [are] heaps upon heaps,[1290] reasonings and precepts.'[1291] Alternatively,

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[1285] *DJBA*, p. 1078.

[1286] AF^{3,4,5} read a 3 m.p. pro. suff., דבהון, whose antecedent is either מיליא 'words' (entailing gender discordance) or a compound of אוריתה 'his Torah' and פירוש מיליא 'the interpretation of the words'.

[1287] טעמין 'reasonings' is a minus in AF¹ but it is added parenthetically by Alonso Fontela in his transcription, owing to its presence in the balance of CWs.

[1288] Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 157.

[1289] The translations of Jerusalmi and Pope align with Alexander in construing טב as the conclusion of the opening clause. However, since neither of them resort to emendation of the text, the results are problematic. Jerusalmi, despite including the rel. pro. in his reconstructed text, simply ignores it in his translation: "His Law is more desirable than fine gold". Jerusalmi, *Song of Songs*, p. 155. Pope likewise appears to ignore the pro., translating with left dislocation of the opening NP: 'As for His Law, it is more desirable than pure gold'. Pope, *Song of Songs*, p. 537.

[1290] The reduplicated NP דגורין דגורין 'heaps (upon) heaps' is the counterpart of MT תלתלים, interpreted as תלי תלים 'heaps upon heaps'. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, pp. 156–157, n. 39. While this interpretation of תלתלים is reflected elsewhere in rabbinic literature, I have been unable to locate another source employing דגורין in its exposition. Its reduplication of דגורין, rather than the use of a cst. NP, suggests that the expression was quarried from TgOnq Exod. 8.10, where דגורין דגורין translates MT חמרם חמרם 'in heaps' (with reference to the Egyptians piling up the carcases of the frogs that had plagued them). The Palestinian Pentateuchal targums instead employ a reduplicated pl. of כרי 'heap'. Thus, this likely represents another example of both the influence of TgOnq and the centrality of the text of Exodus in TgShir.

[1291] This is similar to the approach taken by Alonso Fontela, albeit he separates טעמין ופיקודין from דגורין דגורין, construing the latter as the sub. of a relative clause beginning with למאן: 'Su ley, que es más deseable que el oro fino, y el comentario de las palabras que hay en ella (son) montones montones: (órdenes) y preceptos que, para quienes los guardan [...]'. Alonso Fontela, *El Targum*, p. 282. However, the absence of a rel. pro. before למאן

albeit less persuasively, one could parse אותיתיה through to ופיקודין as a compound subject, with the predicate extending from למאן to the conclusion of the verse.[1292]

A different solution is evident in MS.New York, JTS, L610, albeit only the first word of the verse, אוריתיה, is preserved. A corrector has written די היא in the margin, after אוריתיה, indicating that the text did not include the relative clause.[1293] Thus, assuming the continuation of the verse aligned with the CWs, L610 read 'His Torah is more desirable than gold [...]' However, this simpler reading is likely secondary: an expedient adopted in the face of a perceived syntactic difficulty.[1294]

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speaks in favour of a sentence break between ופיקודין and למאן, as reflected in Alexander's translation. The absence of a conj. between דגורין דגורין and טעמין ופיקודין is insufficient motivation for Alonso Fontela's analysis since the latter may be in epexegetic apposition to the former.

[1292] This is the approach taken by Mulder: 'De hoofdzaken van zijn wet, die begerenwaardinger dan zuiver goud is, en de uitleg van de woorden, waarin hopen redeneringen en voorschriften verborgen zijn , zijn voor degenen, die ze bewaren [....]'. Mulder, *De Targum*, p. 71. As noted above, Mulder adopts the Yemenite reading of the opening NP. This approach entails construing the antecedent of בה as פירוש (with attendant gender discord, unless ה- represents a defective m.s. pro. suff.), or reading בהון with AF[3,4,5] and construing the antecedent as מיליא (again, with gender discord), or a compound of אוריתה and פירוש מיליא.

[1293] The same hand has supplied missing text in the margin, throughout TgShir.

[1294] Cf. the first two clauses of 6.1 in MS. New York, JTS, L610, which do not exhibit the syntactic inconcinnities attested in all CWs. Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, p. 163, apparatus *a*.

Appendix 3: The lexica of TgShir & Zoharic Literature

Below are several lexemes catalogued by Litke as either unique to TgShir, or restricted to LJLA, which are also attested in ZA. As can be seen, the lion's share consists of Hebraisms. This inventory should not be misconstrued as an implicit claim for a dependency relation between TgShir and any Zoharic text: clearly, lexical overlap is to be expected in the exegesis of common texts.

Aramaic

אניסו 'coercion' (TgShir 4.2; 6.6).[1295]

בהיק 'shining' (TgShir 1.11; 5.14; 7.3).[1296] The cognate noun בהיקו, which is likely de-adjectival, < בהיק, is attested in ZA.[1297]

Hebraisms[1298]

אהבה 'love' (TgShir 8.6)[1299]

√אשר^D 'to bless' (TgShir 6.9).[1300]

חתימה 'seal' (TgShir 3.8)[1301]

ייחוד 'unity' (TgShir 8.9)[1302]

מילה 'circumcision' (TgShir 3.8).[1303]

משנה 'Mishnah' (TgShir 1.2; 5.10).[1304]

[1295] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 189) notes an occurrence at TgQoh 5.7. Yet, also, *Zohar* I, 49b.

[1296] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 190) notes that attestation of this pass. ptc./ adj. is restricted to TgShir. The cognate verbs in the various dialects, noted by Litke, are all √בהק^C, whereas בהיק appears to be derived from √בהק^G. This may reflect the influence of Hebrew, which features an intransitive verb √בהק^G. Even-Shoshan, *Dictionary*: vol. 1, p. 146.

[1297] Zohar Hadash II, 9a.

[1298] Litke classifies חיבה 'love' (TgShir 1.2, 16; 2.4, 5; 4.9, 10; 5.8) as a Hebraism attested in JPA and CPA, whose only LJLA attestations are in TgShir. Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 202. It also occurs in *Zohar* II, 81a.

[1299] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 205): 'the only Aramaic attestation.' It is ubiquitous as a *terminus technicus* in ZA. For example, *Zohar* I, 11b (x5); 12a (x7); 85a; 181a (x5); II 9a; 56a; 97a; 146b (x7).

[1300] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 290): '[this root with this sense] is only attested here'. Yet, also *Zohar* I, 49a; 246a (x2); *Zohar* II, 85a.

[1301] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 206): 'the only Aramaic attestation.' Yet, also *Zohar* I, 82a; *Zohar* III, 35a (x2); 90b; *Zohar* II, 50b; *Zohar Hadash*, 20c.

[1302] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 207) notes a second attestation in TgLam 3.28. Yet, also *Zohar* I, 12b; 76a; 229b; *Zohar* III, 120b; 121a; *Zohar Hadash*, 90c (x3); 63a (x8); 68a (x2); 68b; 70b (x3); 74c; 105b; *Zohar* I (*Sitrei Torah*), 89b; *Zohar* II (*Heikhalot Pequdei*), 245a; 259a; *Zohar Hadash* (*Qav haMiddah*), 56d (x4); *Zohar Hadash* (*Parashah Naso*), 50a (x2).

[1303] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 207) notes a second attestation in the Cambridge manuscript of T. Lev.^{CG}. Yet, also *Zohar* I, 93b; 95a; 101a; 181b; 238b; *Zohar* II, 36a (x2); 174b (x2); *Zohar* III, 43b (x2); 91b (x2); 164a; *Zohar* I (*Sitrei Torah*), 99a; *Zohar Hadash* (*Parashah Vayeshev*), 29d.

[1304] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 207) notes a second attestation in TgLam 2.19. However, in addition to TgNeofM Exod. 36.16, the noun occurs in *Zohar* II, 156b; 166b; *Zohar Hadash* (*Midrash haNeˤelam*), 60c (x2); 84c; 64a; *Zohar* I (*Heikhalot Bereshit*), 42a; *Zohar* II (*Heikhalot Pequdei*) 247b; 257b (x2); *Zohar Hadash* (*Qav haMiddah*) 58c (x2);

√נדף^G 'to waft' (TgShir 1.12; 4.10; 7.9).[1305]

נמיך 'bowed' as a minority Yemenite variant (TgShir 7.6). Litke notes that this G-stem pass. ptc. is 'an Aramaized hypercorrection' of Rabbinic Hebrew נמוך, √מוך^N, misconstrued as √נמך^G.[1306]

עול 'yoke' in CWs^Yem., bar M^C (TgShir 7.7).[1307]

עששית 'lantern' (TgShir 5.1).[1308]

√קדר^tG (TgShir 1.5) and √קדר^G (TgShir 1.6).[1309]

שׂכר 'reward' (TgShir 2.3).[1310]

תפוח 'apple' (TgShir 2.5; 7.9)[1311]

(*Parashat Balaq*) 55d.

[1305] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 207) notes a second attestation in TgPsJ Exod. 40.15. Yet, also *Zohar* II, 237a; *Zohar* III, 251b, using the Hebrew form of the ptc. נודף. Moreover, *CAL* registers a variant in b. ꜤAvod. Zar. 55a with √נדף^tG, s.v. נדף [last accessed 12 April 2021].

[1306] Litke, *TSoS & LJLA*, p. 207. *Contra* Litke, the reading is not limited to a single MS.; it is found in M^E,F. While Litke correctly identifies the origin of נמיך in the reanalysis of √מוך^N as √נמך^G, this was not an innovation by the Yemenite scribes of TgShir. This process had already occurred earlier within Hebrew. The Yemenite reading נמיך may, therefore, have been influenced by forms such as the Hebrew abstract nouns נמיכה and נמיכות 'lowliness'. See Even-Shoshan, *Dictionary*, vol. 4, p. 1204 (in Hebrew). Alternatively, it could represent the influence of ZA, or both. See *Zohar* I, 249b (apparently √נמך^tG); *Zohar* III 8b; 48a (x2); 54a; *Zohar* I (*Tosefta*), 147a; *Zohar Hadash* (*Raza deRazin*), 36c. Also note the Hebrew syntagm נמיכות הרוח in *Zohar Hadash* (*Midrash haNeꜤelam*), 19c.

[1307] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 207): 'the only attestation in Aramaic'. Yet, also *Zohar* I, 204b; 242b (x3); 243a; *Zohar* II 160b (x3); 192a (x2); 237a; *Zohar* III, 9b; 108a (x15); 120a (x5); 120b (x5); 186b.

[1308] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 207): 'the only attestation of this word in an Aramaic text'. Yet, also *Zohar* I, 34a; *Zohar* II, 130b; 186b; 221a; *Zohar Hadash*, 63b (x2); 122b; 41c. Moreover, as noted by Jastrow, whom Litke references, it also features in Aramaic sentences in Cant. R. 3.11 §1 and Exod. R. 12 §4, although these mixed Hebrew-Aramaic compositions may not fall within Litke's definition of 'an Aramaic text'. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, p. 1128. Yet, if this is the case, his glossary (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 355) entry for עששית which states, 'This is the only Aramaic attestation', is particularly misleading.

[1309] Aside from the LJLAtg. tokens noted by Litke, the root, in both stems, is attested in ZA: √קדר^tG: *Zohar* II, 46a (x2); 232b; *Zohar* III, 59b. √קדר^G: *Zohar Hadash* (*Midrash haNeꜤelam*), 6a (x2).

[1310] Also in *Zohar Hadash*, 29d.

[1311] Litke (*TSoS & LJLA*, p. 208): 'the only Aramaic attestations'. Yet, also (excluding occurrences where תפוח is used metaphorically of the heel of the foot) *Zohar* I, 85b (x2); 142b; 143b; 224b (x2); 249b; *Zohar* II, 13a; 60b; 61b; 84b; 88a (x3); 88b; 177a; 177b; 207b (x2); *Zohar* III, 40a; 74a (x5); *Zohar* III, 84a; 95a; 128b; 131a (x3); 133b (x9); 134a; 134b; 135b; 139a; 141a (x3); 143a; 162b; 170b (x3); 191b; 208a; 286a (x2); 288a; 292b; *Zohar* II (*Midrash haNeꜤelam*), 15b; *Zohar* II (*Matnitin*), 13a; *Zohar* I (*Tosefta*), 152a; *Zohar* I (*Sitrei Torah*), 151b; *Zohar* III (*Piqqudin*), 271a; *Zohar Hadash*, 30a.

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