

Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

14

Andrew Chester

Divine Revelation and
Divine Titles in the
Pentateuchal Targumim



Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

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Divine Revelation and Divine Titles in the Pentateuchal Targumim

by
Andrew Chester



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For my parents,
with love and gratitude

FOREWORD

The present work represents a completely revised version of my doctoral dissertation, submitted to the University of Cambridge in 1981. The process of typing the complex manuscript has taken rather a long time. Hence although I have tried to take account of most of the relevant literature up until mid-1985, the actual revision was finished at least two years before this, and I am well aware that there are important recent works which I have not been able to see, or which I have been able to refer to only briefly. Further, the constraints of typing for offset printing have led in places to words being divided in an aesthetically displeasing way. My thanks and sympathy go to Mrs. Jean Towers and Mrs. Joan Trowbridge, who have laboured with the typing; my hope is that the intrinsic interest of the Targumim, richly reflected in recent scholarship, may compensate for the problems involved.

My grateful thanks are also due to the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst for awarding me a scholarship to enable me to study for a year at the Institutum Judaicum, Tübingen. I am also glad to acknowledge my gratitude to the University of Cambridge Faculty of Divinity, and especially the Managers of the Theological Studies Fund, as also to St. John's College, Cambridge, and to the Pantyfedwen Fund of St. David's University College, Lampeter, for considerable financial and related help; and above all I wish to place on record my appreciation of the generous help from the University of Durham Research Fund towards the cost of having the book typed.

It is also proper here to note, although briefly and inadequately, my debt to a number of scholars. I am extremely grateful to Professor Raphael Loewe and Dr. Robert Gordon, both of whom acted as examiners for the doctoral thesis, for the great care with which they read the work and for the stimulating suggestions which they made. It is a pleasure also to express my deep gratitude to Professor Martin Hengel, who has taken a kind and generous interest in my work and has offered typically helpful and incisive advice. I have also benefited from the kind advice and criticism of Professor Peter Schäfer; and I am further indebted to both Professor Hengel and Professor Schäfer for offering to include this book in the series *Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum*. Above all, I am profoundly grateful to Dr. William Horbury, who supervised my doctoral work. His never-failing patience and encouragement have been matched only by his constant friendship and help; my debt to him is very great. The errors that remain are of course my responsibility alone. It is important that none of those I have named should be incriminated, since on a number of occasions I have wilfully ignored good advice that I have been given. Equally, I have learnt much from those scholars with whom I have had to differ during the course of the book, especially my Durham colleague, Robert Hayward, and also others, including Domingo Munoz Leon.

Finally, I wish to thank my family for all their help and support. My small children have tried to keep me working by waking me up every hour or two every night for the last four-and-a-half years. I am deeply grateful to my wife for her forbearance and her caring assistance in so many ways. My brother has taken a constant interest in my work, and given me great encouragement. The book is dedicated to my parents, who have given me more than they will ever know or than I can ever repay; their simple but profound Christian faith has allowed me, I believe, to enter a little more sympathetically into the world of the Targumim and those whom they address.

Andrew Chester

CONTENTS

Foreword	vii
Contents	ix
List of passages discussed in chapter 1-5	x
Abbreviations	xiii
Introduction	1
Chapter One: אַתְּגַלִּי : Linguistic Background and Usage	8
A. Summary of Main Usage of גַּלְיָה/גַּלְיָה/גַּלְיָה	8
1.1 גַּלְיָה in Biblical Hebrew	8
1.2 גַּלְיָה/גַּלְיָה in Biblical Aramaic	14
1.3 גַּלְיָה in the Qumran Texts	14
1.4 גַּלְיָה/גַּלְיָה/גַּלְיָה in Rabbinic Literature	17
1.5 גַּלְיָה/גַּלְיָה in the Targumim	18
B. אַתְּגַלִּי and גַּלְיָה in the Pentateuchal Targumim	22
1.6 Gen.9.21	22
1.7 Gen.35.7	23
1.8 Ex.20.23(26)	27
1.9 Num.24.4,16	28
1.10 Dt.29.28	28
Chapter Two: אַתְּגַלִּי and Verbs of Seeing	31
2.1 Niphal of רָאָה with Y, God or related subject	31
2.2 Niphal of רָאָה with כְּבוֹד יְהוָה 'Glory of Y' as subject	57
2.3 Niphal of רָאָה with מַלְאֲכֵי-יְהוָה 'angel of Y' as subject	64
2.4 Further probable instances of the niphal of רָאָה	67
2.5 Qal of רָאָה and אַתְּגַלִּי	79
2.6 מְרִאָה and אַתְּגַלִּי	81
2.7 בָּאֵר לְחַי רְאִי/אֵל רְאִי and אַתְּגַלִּי	85
Conclusions for ch.2	95
Chapter Three: אַתְּגַלִּי and Verbs of Motion	100
3.1 יָרַד 'go down' and אַתְּגַלִּי	100
3.2 בָּוֵא 'come' and אַתְּגַלִּי	127
3.3 נִקְרָא/נִקְרָה 'meet' and אַתְּגַלִּי	140
3.4 עָבַר 'pass through' and אַתְּגַלִּי	144
3.5 יָצָא 'go forth' and אַתְּגַלִּי	148
3.6 קָוַם 'arise' and אַתְּגַלִּי	149
Conclusions for ch.3	151
Chapter Four: אַתְּגַלִּי Associated with a Place	156
4.1 אַתְּגַלִּי and בָּאֵר-לְחַי-רְאִי	156
4.2 אַתְּגַלִּי and בֵּית-אֵל	156
4.3 'Mountain of God', אַתְּגַלִּי and מֹתַן-יְהוָה	159
4.4 'Sinai' and אַתְּגַלִּי, Dt.33.2	165
Chapter Five: אַתְּגַלִּי: Further Usage and Significance	169
5.1 אַתְּגַלִּי and Invocation for Y to Judge	169
5.2 אַתְּגַלִּי and Death-Bed Setting	177
5.3 אַתְּגַלִּי: Apocalyptic and Eschatological Themes	184
5.4 Developed Targumic Tradition and אַתְּגַלִּי	219
5.5 Further uses of אַתְּגַלִּי	224
Conclusions for 5.1-5.5	228

5.6	Summary of the usage of אַתְּגַלִּי overall	230
	Summary of the main points concerning אַתְּגַלִּי	263
Chapter Six: The Targumim and Anthropomorphism		265
Chapter Seven: Memra, Shekinah, Yeqara		293
7.1	Memra	293
7.2	Shekinah and Yeqara	313
7.3	Conclusion	322
Chapter Eight: Targumic Renderings of the Divine Name		325
8.1	יהוה	325
8.2	אֲדֹנָי	326
8.3	אֱלֹהִים	330
8.4	אֱלֹהִים/אלה	338
8.5	אל	339
8.6	שם	342
8.7	Conclusions	347
Chapter Nine: Divine Titles and Epithets in the Targumim		352
Conclusion		371
	Summary of Main Conclusions	383
Bibliography		387
Index of Passages		406
Index of Authors		430

List of passages discussed in chh.1-5

1.6	Gen.9.21	22-23
1.7 (cf 4.2.1)	Gen.35.7	23-27
1.8	Ex.20.23(26)	27-28
1.9 (cf 5.3.5)	Num.24.4,16	28
1.10	Dt.29.28	28-30
2.1.1	Gen.12.7	31-32
2.1.2	Gen.17.1	32-33
2.1.3	Gen.18.1	33-37
2.1.4	Gen.26.2	37
2.1.5	Gen.26.24	37-38
2.1.6	Gen.35.1	38-39
2.1.7	Gen.35.9	39-45
2.1.8	Gen.48.3	45
2.1.9	Ex.3.16	46
2.1.10	Ex.4.1	47
2.1.11	Ex.4.5	47
2.1.12	Ex.6.2,3	47-51
2.1.13	Lev.9.4	51-52
2.1.14	Lev.16.2	52-53
2.1.15	Dt.31.15	54
2.2.1	Ex.16.10	57

2.2.2	Lev.9.6	58-59
2.2.3	Lev.9.23	59-60
2.2.4	Num.14.10	61
2.2.5	Num.16.19	61-62
2.2.6	Num.17.7	62-63
2.2.7	Num.20.6	63-64
2.3	Ex.3.2	64-67
2.4.1 (cf 4.3.1)	Gen.22.14	67-74
2.4.2	Num.14.14	74-79
2.5.1	Ex.5.21	79-80
2.5.2	Ex.16.7	80-81
2.6	Num.12.6-8	81-85
2.7.1	Gen.16.13	86-90
2.7.2 (cf 4.1)	Gen.16.14; 24.62; 25.11	90-95
3.1.1	Gen.11.5	100-101
3.1.2	Gen.11.7,8	101-104
3.1.3	Gen.18.21	105-109
3.1.4	Ex.3.8	109-110
3.1.5	Ex.19.11	110-111
3.1.6	Ex.19.18	112-114
3.1.7	Ex.19.20	114-116
3.1.8	Ex.34.5	117-118
3.1.9	Num.11.17	118-121
3.1.10	Num.11.25	121
3.1.11	Num.12.5	121-122
3.1.12	Gen.46.4	122-123
3.2.1	Gen.20.3	127-130
3.2.2	Gen.31.24	130-131
3.2.3	Ex.19.9	131-132
3.2.4	Ex.20.17(20)	133
3.2.5	Ex.20.21(24)	133-136
3.2.6	Num.22.9	136
3.2.7	Num.22.20	136-137
3.2.8	Dt.4.34	137-138
3.3.1	Ex.3.18	140-141
3.3.2	Ex.5.3	141-142
3.3.3	Num.23.3,4,16	142-144
3.4.1	Ex.12.12,13	144-146
3.4.2	Ex.12.23	146-148
3.5	Ex.11.4	148-149
3.6	Num.10.35	149-151
4.1 (cf 2.7.2)	Gen.16.14; 24.62; 25.11	156
4.2.1 (cf 1.7)	Gen.35.7	156
4.2.2	Gen.31.13	157
4.2.3	Gen.29.13	158
4.3.1 (cf 2.4.1)	Gen.22.14	159
4.3.2	Ex.3.1	159-160
4.3.3	Ex.4.27	160
4.3.4	Ex.18.5	161
4.3.5	Ex.24.13	161-162
4.3.6	Num.10.33	162
4.4	Dt.33.2	165-167
5.1.1	Gen.16.5	169-173
5.1.2	Gen.31.49	173-175
5.1.3	Ex.5.21	175
5.1.4	Ex.14.12	175-176
5.2.1	Gen.47.31	177-178
5.2.2 (cf 5.3.2)	Gen.49.1	178
5.2.3	Dt.34.5,6	179-183

5.3.1	Gen.35.21	184-185
5.3.2 (cf 5.2.2)	Gen.49.1	185-191
5.3.3	Ex.12.2	191-192
5.3.4	Ex.12.42	192-199
5.3.5	Num.24. 3-4, 15-16	199-203
5.3.6	Num.24.23	203-205
5.3.7	Dt.32.39	205-211
5.3.8	Dt.33.19	211-213
5.4.1	Dt.32.8	219-220
5.4.2	Dt.33.16	220-222
5.4.3	Dt.34.10	222-223
5.5.1	Gen.21.19	224-225
5.5.2	Ex.5.2	225-227
5.5.3	Dt.32.41	227-228

ABBREVIATIONS

AJBA	Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology
ARN	Aboth de Rabbi Nathan
Ant.	(Josephus) Jewish Antiquities
Apoc. Adam	Apocalypse of Adam
b.	Babylonian Talmud
Bam. R.	Bamidbar Rabbah
Bar.	Baruch
Ber. R.	Bereshith Rabbah
BDB	Brown-Driver-Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament
BH3	Biblia Hebraica, (ed. R. Kittel)
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CahSin	Cahiers Sioniens
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CD	Damascus Document
DBS	Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement
Deb. R.	Debarim Rabbah
Dial.	Justin, Dialogue with Trypho
En.	Enoch
EstBibl	Estúdios bíblicos
EstEcl	Estúdios eclesiásticos
EstFran	Estúdios franciscanos
Esth. R.	Esther Rabbah
ET	English translation
EvTh	Evangelische Theologie
ExpT	Expository Times
Heb.	Hebrew
Hekh.	Hekhalot
hiph.	hiphil
hithp.	hithpael
hoph.	hophal
HDB	Hastings Dictionary of the Bible (2nd rev. ed.)
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	International Critical Commentary
j.	Jerusalem Talmud
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JE	Jewish Encyclopaedia
JHS	Journal of Hebraic Studies
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JfPT	Jahrbuch für Protestantische Theologie
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
Jub.	Jubilees
KB	Koehler-Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros
LAB	Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum
LXX	Septuagint

Mekh.	Mekhilta of R. Ishmael
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
M.	Mishnah
MHG	Midrash ha-Gadol
Midr. Teh.	Midrash Tehillim
Midr. Taan.	Midrash Tanna'im
MRSY	Mekhilta of Rabbi Simeon b. Yohai
MT	Massoretic Text
niph.	niph'al
n.F.	neue Folge
n.s.	new series
NovTest	Novum Testamentum
NT	New Testament
NTS	New Testament Studies
OT	Old Testament
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
Pesh.	Peshitta
pi	piel
pu.	pual
Pes. R.	Pesiqta Rabbati
PRE	Pirque de R. Eliezer
PRK	Pesiqta de R. Kahana
IQH	Hodayoth
IQM	War Scroll
IQS	Community Rule
IIQTgJob	Qumran Targum of Job
REJ	Revue des Études Juives
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse
Sam. Pent.	Samaritan Pentateuch
Sam. Tg.	Samaritan Targum
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SemBibEsp	Semana Biblica Española
Shem. R.	Shemot Rabbah
Shir. R.	Shir ha-Shirim Rabbah
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
Somn.	(Philo) De Somniis
StRel	Studies in Religion
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
Tanh.	Tanḥuma
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
Test. Levi	Testament of Levi
Test. Naphtali	Testament of Naphtali
Tg	Targum
THAT	Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
Tos.	Tosefta
TSK	Theologische Studien und Kritiken
V	Vulgate
VT	Vetus Testamentum
Vit. Mos.	(Philo) De Vita Mosis
Way. R.	Wayyiqra Rabbah
Yalq.	Yalqut
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

Abbreviations for the Targumim

B	First Rabbinic Bible (Fragment-Targum at end of VolIV)
Br.	British Museum MS Or. 10794
CG	Fragments of Palestinian Targum from the Cairo Genizah
FT	Fragment-Targumim
J	MS 605 of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York
L	MŠ B.H., fol.1, of the Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig
N	Codex Neofiti I (Vatican Library)
Ngl	Marginal glosses of Codex Neofiti I
N(I)	Interlinear glosses of Codex Neofiti I
Nur	Codex I of the Stadtbibliothek, Nuremberg
O	Targum Onqelos
P	MS 110 of the Bibliotheque nationale, Paris
PJ	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan
V	MS Ebr. 440 of the Vatican Library
27031	British Museum Add. Ms 27031

For B, Br., FT, J, L, Nur, P, V, the edition of M.L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch*, has mainly been used; for CG, that of P. Kahle, *Masoreten des Westens*, vol.2; for N, Ngl, N(I), that of A. Diez Macho, *Neophyti I*, together with a microfilm of the Codex; for O that of A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, vol.1; for PJ, 27031, that of D. Rieder, *Pseudo-Jonathan*, together with a microfilm of BM Add. MS 27031 and the text of the *editio princeps*, printed in B. Walton, *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* and the Rabbinic Bibles.

Nb (i) Y is used as an abbreviation for the tetragrammaton throughout, both to save space and also to refer to the various Targumic forms of this (so also e.g. PJ is used, instead of Ps-J, to save space, while Shekinah is used throughout, as a more familiar and 'technical' form in English, although for the Targumim Shekinta would be a better transliteration).

(ii) In the texts presented in chh.1-5, divergences from MT in the Targumic renderings are indicated by the use of italics; where (especially in the case of O) no text or variants are given, the implication is that the rendering agrees with MT. The translations are deliberately very literal for the most part, to show points of similarity and difference. To save space, the texts are given in compressed form; thus the main distinctive readings of Ngl, N(I) and FT are given, but not all their variants. Similarly, often only one form of ללא is cited in the texts, and frequently throughout ללא is used to represent various forms of the *ithpe'el* of לל .

(iii) Commonly accepted abbreviations are used for biblical books, and for Qumran, Rabbinic and related texts.

(iv) Books (secondary literature) cited frequently are usually referred to by abbreviated title; full details (with note of the abbreviation) are given in the Bibliography.

INTRODUCTION

In the last two or three decades, especially since the identification of Codex Neofiti in 1956, there has been a massive growth in scholarly interest in the Targumim, above all the Pentateuchal Targumim, and this shows no signs of diminishing.¹ Hence it is necessary at the outset, in face of the great mass of scholarly literature on these Targumim, to indicate something of the scope, and especially the limitations, of the present work. It is concerned to examine a number of related theological themes, in the particular sense that it sets out to examine specifically some of the ways in which the Pentateuchal Targumim speak of God. Even a superficial reading of these Targumim indicates various distinctive developments, as compared with the Hebrew text, in the ways of referring to God. One striking feature is the number of instances of the language of *revelation*, where a form of the verb **לגלל** is used with divine subject; there are well over a hundred such occurrences in one or more of the Targumim, a marked increase compared with the one solitary example of **נגלה** with God as subject in the Hebrew (Gen.35.7). A second prominent and distinctive aspect of these Targumim, to be observed both in connection with **לגלל** and otherwise, is the way that various divine *names* are changed or modified. Not only are the Targumic forms of the tetragrammaton frequently used for 'God', but in addition a number of terms, especially Memra, Shekinah and Yeqara, are frequently introduced alongside the tetragrammaton in a great variety of contexts. Again, there are many other divine *titles* or epithets, along with further des-

1. For comprehensive bibliographical information on work done on the Targumim, cf. B. Grossfeld, *A Bibliography of Targum Literature*, 2 vols., 1972, 1977, supplemented by the *Newsletter for Targumic and Cognate Studies*, 1974-.

criptions of God, which are variously introduced into the text. Thirdly, it is noticeable that the Targumim appear, in comparison with the Hebrew text, more cautious and reserved in what can be said of and attributed to God; they use a variety of paraphrases to circumvent what seem to be improper expressions.

These various features of the Pentateuchal Targumim are, then, immediately and constantly striking, and demand careful consideration. In the case of *יגאנא* there has been little discussion of the relevant material. Hence it is necessary to devote an apparently disproportionate amount of space simply to setting out the evidence reasonably fully, by presenting in translation all the passages where *יגאנא* occurs and discussing them in at least some detail. This discussion is mainly concentrated on material directly relevant to the significance of *יגאנא* and portrayal of God found in these passages, but since there is still very little in the way of full-scale commentaries on the Targumim, or detailed discussion of many of these verses, it is also necessary to take some account of other differences from and interpretations of the Hebrew text in one or more of the Targumim, at least partly to understand the various Targumic techniques, methods and interpretations involved, and the points of similarity and difference between the various Targumim. At the same time, the discussion of these passages is set in relation to other relevant treatments of them, as far as they exist, especially and often critically with reference to Domingo Muñoz Leon's major works, *Dios-Palabra* and *Gloria de la Shekina*,² where some of the same passages are brought into consideration from the vantage-point of his own interests. The overriding concern in the first five chapters here, however, is to determine the particular understanding of God, and especially the extent, if any, to which there is a developed concept of theophany, in some or all of these Targumim. Hence a brief account is given of the relevant linguistic background of *יגאנא*

2. D. Muñoz Leon, *Dios-Palabra: Memra en los Targumim del Pentateuco*, 1974; *Gloria de la Shekina en los Targumim del Pentateuco*, 1977.

and the usage in the non-Pentateuchal Targumim, along with as full and clear as possible a summary of the overall evidence, of the passages considered, in order that the main distinctive themes of each Targum may be allowed to emerge.

It is in fact a consideration of these passages, as well as a survey of the Pentateuchal Targumim overall, that compels giving attention to the further themes relating to anthropomorphism and divine names and titles. Here we are in the much more fortunate position, as compared with יגלגל, of finding that much of the material has been investigated thoroughly, especially in recent work. Hence we are able to draw upon and discuss the main results of these studies, without having to present the evidence in full ourselves. Only this fact, indeed, enables us to take account of so much of the Targumic material and such wide-ranging issues. It is also the case, of course, that the very fact that these various themes have already been discussed so fully is itself an indication of how prominent and potentially important they are within the Targumic literature. At the same time, however, the conclusions drawn have often been conflicting, and the issues raised contentious. There is therefore further justification for reviewing the various arguments, since these questions are not only intrinsically important, but also need to be taken up again.

Thus the question of anthropomorphism is raised by the study of יגלגל, since it is commonly asserted that יגלגל is used by the Targumim as a device to avoid anthropomorphic expressions in the Hebrew. But the issue of anthropomorphism in relation to the Targumim has a long history, while in recent scholarship the assumption that a main concern of the Targumim in general is to avoid anthropomorphisms has been sharply challenged. Hence a review of the main issues is clearly called for, not least because one of these issues concerns the ways in which the Targumim variously understand and portray God. Thus also the question of the significance of Memra, Shekinah and Yeqara arises from the frequent use of these terms as subjects of יגלגל. Again, however, these terms (especially Memra) have formed the central focus of a very long and often controversial debate. In recent scholarship there have been major monographs on Memra, in addition to the earlier

important work of Hamp, by Hayward and Muñoz Leon, and on Glory and Shekinah by Munoz Leon and Goldberg, with considerable discussion also of all these terms in the recent thesis by Aufrecht.³ Yet there is no clear scholarly consensus emerging from these recent works; instead, there are very marked divergences and disagreements, especially on the extent of their theological significance and the distinctive understanding of God that the Targumim wish to convey by using them. Here again, therefore, it is important to give some assessment of the issues involved. The question of the Targumic treatment of the tetragrammaton and other divine names, along with divine titles and other characterizations used of God, also arises both from the specific study of the usage of אלהים and also from an investigation of these Targumim more generally. In these cases, however, there has been relatively little treatment in recent scholarship, and the main concern here has therefore been the presentation, with limited discussion, of the evidence.

It must indeed be stressed that everything presented here is necessarily preliminary and provisional. The whole area of Targumic studies, especially that of the Pentateuchal Targumim, is still a minefield. There is considerable debate and dispute even now not only on the issues outlined above, but also the much wider questions of the date and relative priority of the various Pentateuchal Targumim, and their literary interrelationship and affinity. These questions are not discussed in detail here, although the distinctive features of the various Targumim, and their significance, are dealt with at least briefly throughout; further, a limited treatment of the questions of date and interrelationship, with an indication of the position we find most plausible from the evidence of the Targumim themselves, is offered in the course

3. V. Hamp, *Der Begriff 'Wort' in den aramäischen Bibelübersetzungen*, 1938; R. Hayward, *Divine Name and Presence: The Memra*, 1981; A. M. Goldberg, *Untersuchungen über die Vorstellung von der Schekhinah in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur*, 1969; W. E. Aufrecht, *Surrogates for the Divine Name in the Palestinian Targums to Exodus*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1979; for the works of Muñoz Leon, cf. previous note.

of the overall conclusions, especially at the end of ch.5. But a full review and investigation of these issues is simply not possible within the space available in this book and the scope of its enquiry. Detailed discussions of this range of questions are of course otherwise available; most recently, for example, Le Déaut has provided an excellent survey of the *status quaestionis*.⁴

In view of the complex and unresolved nature of these fundamental issues, it may seem unwise at this stage to take up wide-ranging theological themes in relation to these texts. But the fact is that these questions cannot be resolved by literary-critical approaches alone, and will remain in some respects intractable; certainly further progress may be made, especially in light of the recent and continuing advance in the publication of excellent editions of the main texts.⁵ The use of computer-aided technology to help produce synopses of the texts and in other ways may also offer considerable help;⁶ nevertheless, these various aids will not in themselves resolve the main problems. In any case, as we have noted, these Targumic texts have already been investigated in relation to a number of theological issues, but with considerably conflicting conclusions; these theological themes are therefore irrevocably on the agenda of Targumic studies, whatever the inherent problems may be.

It is, as we have already stressed, a basic concern of

4. R. Le Déaut (with J. Robert), *Targum du Pentateuque, I Genèse*, 1978, 15-67; a fuller survey is given in his *Introduction à la littérature targumique*, Rome, 1966, a revised edition of which will, it is hoped, be published shortly.
5. Thus A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic, I, The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos*, 1959; A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti I, Targum Palestinense ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana*, 6 vols., 1965-1979; D. Rieder, *Pseudo-Jonathan: Targum Jonathan ben Uziel on the Pentateuch (BM add. ms 27031)*, 1974 (Heb.); M. L. Klein, *The Fragment Targums of the Pentateuch, Vol. I, Texts, Indices and Introductory Essays*, 1980; Klein also announces (*op. cit.*, 42) a forthcoming edition of Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch.
6. Thus a proposed computer-aided edition of a 'Synopsis of the Pentateuchal Targums', along with a corresponding synoptic translation, under the direction of Prof. K. Koch, Hamburg, is announced in the *Newsletter for Targumic and Cognate Studies*, 10.2, 1983, 1f.

the present work that the Pentateuchal Targumim should be understood in their own right, with concentration of their own distinctive themes, including specifically theological themes, and that their importance for Judaism should be assessed on their own terms, not simply for the light they are supposed to shed on the implicitly more important bodies of New Testament or Rabbinic literature. Certainly in the case of Rabbinic Judaism, much specific work remains to be done in assessing the relationship between at least some of this literature and Targumic texts and traditions; as far as the New Testament is concerned, we have not been persuaded that the Targumim are of as much help as has often been argued, despite the enormous output of literature concerned to demonstrate such connections.⁷ To approach the Targumim with particular themes deriving from, for example, the New Testament runs the risk of prejudicing the study of what the Targumic texts themselves contain; instead, the Targumim should be investigated in the first place for what they say, and with reference to the main socio-cultural context to which they belong, especially that of the synagogue and worship. To treat the Targumim in this way does of course present its own problems of method; the texts can properly be considered as finished products of the Targumic process within the synagogue, but the precise connection between the texts we possess and the process of oral translation and transmission, and the ways in which the traditions have developed, are by no means clear. Nevertheless, we are glad to note the sustained and successful application of this kind of approach, treating Targumic traditions as a whole within their own context, in the recent work of Avigdor Shinan.⁸ Indeed, we would now want to emphasize throughout, more obviously than we have in the work as it stands, the importance of what may at least loosely be termed socio-cultural

7. For bibliographical details, cf. P. Nickels, *Targum and New Testament. A Bibliography together with a New Testament Index*, 1967; J. T. Forestell, *Targumic Traditions and the New Testament. An Annotated Bibliography with a New Testament Index*. SBL Aramaic Studies 4, 1979, together with the reference works cited in n.1 above.

8. A. Shinan, *The Aggadah in the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch*, 2 vols., 1979. (Hebrew).

perspectives, especially in seeing the Targumim as products of the synagogue (and to an extent the school as well). Provided, however, that the appraisal which we present here of the various ways in which these Targumim offer a distinctive and developed understanding of God, and his relation to his world and his people, does not allow itself to be treated as some kind of theological abstraction, divorced from its proper context, then no further apology should be necessary. For it is surely the case that the way in which God and his activity are understood is central to those who produce the Targumim and those whom they address; and the context to which these primarily belong, that of the synagogue, itself affects and acts as a constraint upon this understanding.

Chapter One

אגלי: LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND AND USAGE

The first main theme to be considered in this study is the usage of אגלי with divine subject in the Pentateuchal Targumim. We have already noted that even a cursory reading of the Targumic texts shows there to be a striking increase in this usage, compared with the sole instance of נגלה with God as subject in the Hebrew Pentateuch (Gen.35.7). What we wish to determine is whether this increased usage is of theological significance in any or all of the Targumim. Hence it will be necessary to examine all the instances of this usage individually and in detail. First, however, in order to provide an appropriate basis for this investigation, we give a brief survey of the linguistic background and usage for the אגלי as a whole; we then proceed, at the end of this chapter, to consider the four instances of אגלי with a corresponding usage of נגלה in the Hebrew text.

A. SUMMARY OF MAIN USAGE OF אגלי/גלי/גלא/גלה

1.1 גלה in Biblical Hebrew

גלה is one of the few verbs in biblical Hebrew that is found in all seven forms.¹ It is found 46² times in the *gal*, in the sense 'go into exile' (e.g. 2 Ki.17.23), 6 'depart'

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1. This is so if all seven forms belong to the same verb; but it is possible that there are two separate roots (cf. below). On the usage of גלה overall, cf. TDOT, II, 476-488; THAT, col. 418-426; cf. also Haag, ThZ 16, 1960, 251-258.
 2. The figures given here differ slightly throughout from those given by Westermann and Albertz, THAT, col. 419; the reason apparently is that we count an example of the verb with infinitive absolute together as one instance, while they count these separately.

(e.g. 'glory', 1 Sam.4.21; 'grass', Prov.27.25), and 20 in the sense, variously, 'uncover' (e.g. 'eye', Num.24.4; 'ear', 1 Sam.9.15), 'disclose', 'reveal' ('fact', e.g. 1 Sam.20.12; 'secret', e.g. Am.3.7), and 'publish' (decree, e.g. Esth.3.14). The *niphal* occurs 25 times, 5 in the sense 'reveal, disclose oneself' (2 with God as subject, Gen.35.7; Isa.22.14; 3 with men as subject, e.g. 1 Sam.14.8), 5 'be revealed, disclosed' (e.g. 'glory' of Y, Isa.40.5; 'righteousness' of Y, Isa.56.1; 'arm' of Y, Isa.53.1; secret things, Dt.29.28), 2 'uncover, expose oneself' (2 Sam.6.20), 12 'be uncovered, exposed' (e.g. 'nakedness', Isa.47.3; 'skirt', Jer.13.22; 'wickedness', Ezek.16.57; 'foundation', 2 Sam.22.16), and 1 with the sense 'be removed' ('dwelling', Isa.38.12). There are 56 instances of the *piel* with the various senses 'uncover', 'expose' (e.g. 'nakedness', 27 times, e.g. Lev.18.6; 'feet', Ruth 3.4; 'eye', Num.22.31), 'remove' (e.g. 'clothes', Job 41.5), 'disclose', 'reveal' (e.g. 'righteousness', Ps. 98.2; 'secrets', Prov.11.13). The *pual* is found only twice; at Nah.2.8 the form and meaning are disputed,³ while at Prov.27.5 (ptcp.) it denotes 'uncovered', 'made open' (of a 'rebuke'). All 38 instances of the *hiphil* have the meaning 'take into exile' (e.g. 2 Ki.15.29); correspondingly, the 7 occurrences of the *hophal* uniformly denote 'be taken into exile' (e.g. Jer.13.19). The *hithpael* occurs twice, denoting 'be uncovered, exposed' (Gen.9.21, 'Noah') and 'reveal, show itself' (Prov.18.2, 'heart').

These various meanings can be further illustrated, and the semantic range defined, by the verbs found in parallel to גלה. Thus synonymous with the *qal* 'take into exile' and 'depart' are e.g. סור (*qal* pass. 'made to depart'; *hiph.* 'remove'), נגר (*niph.* 'be poured', 'vanish'), and implicitly ערב (? 'come to an end'), מות ('die'), and in the sense 'un-

3. Cf. e.g. G. R. Driver, Farewell to Queen Huzzab!, JTS n.s. 15, 1964, 296-298, who proposes repointing the *pual* גִּלְתָּה 'has been uncovered' as *qal* גָּלְתָּה 'has gone into exile' (citing Tg. and V. in support), and H. F. W. Saggs, Nahum and the Fall of Nineveh, JTS n.s. 20, 1969, 220-225, who argues that in fact it should be taken as a noun with 3 sg. fem. suffix, either sing. גִּלְתָּה or pl. גִּלְתָּה(י), corresponding to the Akkadian *gullatu* 'column base'.

cover the ears', אמר ('say') and חלץ (pi. 'deliver'). For the piel='uncover' synonymous are ('nakedness') ראה (hiph. 'cause to see'), ('veil', 'hiding-place') חשף ('strip off', 'lay bare'), ('eyes') נבט ('behold'); = 'expose', 'disclose' ('fugitive') סתר, antithetically ('hide', 'conceal'); = 'disclose', 'reveal', synonymously, ('righteousness') ידע (hiph. 'cause to know'), ('deep things') יצא לאור (hiph. 'bring to light'), antithetically ('blood', 'secrets') כסה ('cover', 'conceal'). With the niph'al, the main parallel is the synonymous ראה (niph. 'be seen', 'appear'), variously for 'reveal, disclose oneself' (also יצא 'come out'), 'be revealed, disclosed' (also ידע 'know', נוא 'come' and, antithetically, סתר, niph. 'be hidden, concealed'), and 'be uncovered, exposed' (also שפך, niph. 'be laid bare' and, antithetically, כסה, hithp. 'be covered'); for the sense 'be removed', נסע (niph., 'be pulled up') is used as a synonymous parallel.

It is thus clear, from the usage of גלה and these parallels, that there are two distinct meanings of the verb; the first is basically 'uncover', 'disclose', 'reveal' (qal, niph., pi., pu., hithp.), used both literally and metaphorically, and the second 'go/take into exile' (qal, niph.(?), hiph., hoph.). The precise connection between these two meanings is unclear; perhaps the idea of 'go into exile' is to be understood as a secondary, metaphorical development of the basic sense of 'uncover', comparable to extended usages such as 'remove'. Possibly the metaphorical extension of 'uncover nakedness' (and related terms), especially in the prophetic writings, to denote shame or sin being 'exposed', contributed to the further development of being 'exposed', 'laid bare', or 'put to shame' by 'going into exile'. It may be, however, that there are two different verbs involved, rather than a development within the same root.⁴

Whatever conclusion is reached on this question, it is in any case striking that גלה in the Hebrew bible is used predominantly with reference to man, not God. Of the total of 182 occurrences of גלה, only 38 relate directly to God,

4. Cf. TDOT II, 477f.

INDEX OF PASSAGES

Hebrew Bible

Genesis

1.27 335
 3.5 335
 6.2 336
 6.4 336
 9.21 9,22
 9.26 337
 11.5 100,124
 11.7 124
 11.7f 101f
 12.7 31
 15 196
 15.1 129
 15.2 327
 15.8 327
 15.18 93
 16.5 169-171
 16.7 93
 16.9 93
 16.10 93
 16.10-12 93
 16.13 86,341
 16.14 90f
 17 93
 17.1 32,35
 17.7 332
 18.1 33f,35
 18.12 328
 18.21 105,124
 19.2 328
 19.18 328
 20.3 127f,143
 20.13 336
 21.19 224f
 21.53 341
 22.14 67-69
 24.12 326,328
 24.62 90f
 25.11 91
 26.2 37
 26.24 37f
 28 12,25,26,158
 28.7-22 159
 28.10 25
 28.12 26,157
 29.13 158
 31.13 25,157f,341
 31.24 130,143
 31.25ff 174
 31.44ff 174
 31.49 173f
 31.50 174
 31.53 174

32.31 361
 33.10 335,361
 35.1 12,38,241,339
 35.3 24,339
 35.6-10 25
 35.7 1,8f,12f,156,157f,
 241,341
 35.9 12
 35.21 184
 40.1 326
 40.7 326
 41.45 215
 43.23 331
 46.3 123,339
 46.4 122,124
 47.31 177f
 48.3 45
 49.1 185-187

Exodus

3 164,220-222,224
 3.1 159,163
 3.2 64,66
 3.4 66
 3.7 80
 3.8 50,109,124
 3.11-16 141
 3.12 50,207f
 3.14 50,207f
 3.16 46
 3.18 140f
 4.1 47
 4.16 337
 4.27 160,163
 4.31 80
 5.2 225f
 5.3 141f
 5.21 79,175
 6.2f 47f
 6.3 341
 6.7 332
 7.1 337
 11.4 148
 12 148
 12.2 191
 12.12f 144f
 12.23 146f
 12.42 192-194
 15.2 339
 15.2f 261
 16.7 77,80
 16.10 57,61,247

18.3	147	<i>Numbers</i>	
18.5	161,163	6.7	331
18.11	331f	10.10	331
19-20	75	10.33	162f
19	243	10.35	149f
19.9	131	11.17	118,124
19.11	110f	11.25	121,124
19.18	112	12.5	121f,124
19.20	111,114,124	12.13	339
20.2	206	14.10	61
20.3	333	14.14	61,74f
20.17(20)	133	15.40	331
20.21(24)	133f	16.19	61
20.23(26)	27	16.22	339
21.6	334	17.7	62
22.7	334	20.6	63
22.8	334	22-24	200,202
22.27	334	22.9	136,143
24	164,196	22.20	136,143
24.10-11	361	22.31	9,12,13
24.13	161f,163	22.32	149
24.16	13	23-24	204
24.16f	75,77,153,241	23.3	141-143
24.17	76,162	23.4	141-143
24.19	162	23.8	339
33.11	76,222f,361	23.16	141-143
33.14f	76	23.19	291,339f
33.18-23	76,77	23.22	339
33.20	361	23.23	339
33.22	148	24.3f	199-201
33.23	84,361	24.4	9,12,13,28,214,339
33.34	75,85	24.8	339
34.5	117,124	24.14-22	204
34.6	148	24.15f	199-201
34.6f	50	24.16	12,13,28,214,339
34.9	327	24.23	203f
34.14	340	25.13	331
		31	202
<i>Leviticus</i>		<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
2.13	331	3.24	340f
9.4	51	4.7	334
9.6	51,58,24	4.34	137f,261
9.23	51,59,24	5.7	333
16.2	52,61	5.22-24	75
18	14,23	5.24	77
18.6	9	9.3	148
19.14	331	10.17	327
21.6	331	10.21	337
21.7	331	12.5	342
21.8	331	12.11	342
21.12	331	12.21	342
21.17	331	14.23	342
21.21	331	14.24	342
21.22	331	16.2	342
22.25	331	16.6	342
25.17	331	16.11	342
25.36	331	26.2	342
25.43	331		

26.8	261	38.12	9
29.28	9,28,215	40ff	208,362
31.3	148	40.3f	78
31.15	54,61	40.5	9,12,13,241
32-33	208,210	41.4	206,207
32.8	219	42.15f	78
32.12	341	43.10-15	208
32.15	338	44.6	206,207
32.17	339	46.4	206
32.18	359	47.3	9
32.21	341	48.12	207
32.39	205-209,333	53.1	9,12,13
32.41	227	56.1	9,12,13,241
33.2	165-167		
33.16	220f	<i>Jeremiah</i>	
33.19	211-213	7.1	128
34.5f	179-181	13.19	9
34.10	222	13.22	9
		33.6	13
<i>Judges</i>			
5	243	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
		7.2ff	187
<i>1 Samuel</i>		16.57	9
2-3	128	20.2	128
2.27	12,13,128		
3.7	12,13,128	<i>Hosea</i>	
3.10	128,241	1.1	128
3.15	12		
3.21	12,13,128,241,247	<i>Joel</i>	
4.21	9	1.1	128
9.15	9	3.17	164
14.8	9		
20.12	9	<i>Amos</i>	
		3.7	9,13,14,214
<i>2 Samuel</i>		5.26f	16
6.20	9,22	7.9	150
7.17	35	8.2	187
22.16	9		
		<i>Micah</i>	
<i>1 Kings</i>		1.1	128
3.5	129	1.3	149
		4.1f	164
<i>2 Kings</i>		4.8	184f
15.29	9	4.8-5.5	184
17.23	8	5.1-3	184
<i>Isaiah</i>		<i>Nahum</i>	
2.2f	164	2.8	9
2.19	150		
14.22	150	<i>Zephaniah</i>	
22.1	35	1.1	128
22.5	35	3.8	150
22.14	9,11		
26.19	209	<i>Haggai</i>	
28.21	150	1.1	128
31.2	150		
33.10	150	<i>Zechariah</i>	
38.4	128	1.1	128
		13.4	35

<i>Psalms</i>		<i>2 Chronicles</i>	
3.8	150	3.1	69
7.7	150	32.32	35
9.20	150		
10.12	150		
12.6	150		
17.13	150		
33.6	311		
33.9	311		
44.27	150		
48.1f	164		
68.2	150		
68.8	112		
68.15ff	164		
74.22	150		
76.10	150		
82.8	150		
89.19	35		
98.2	9,13,82,241		
102.14	150		
132.8	150		
<i>Proverbs</i>			
11.13	9		
18.2	9		
27.5	9		
27.25	9		
<i>Job</i>			
4.13	129		
41.5	9		
<i>Ruth</i>			
3.4	9		
<i>Lamentations</i>			
4.22	13		
<i>Esther</i>			
3.14	9		
<i>Daniel</i>			
2	214,239		
2.19	14		
2.22	14		
2.28	14		
2.29	14		
2.30	14		
2.47	14		
9.2	128		
10.1	12,13		
10.13	104		
10.20	104		
10.21	104		
12.1	104		
<i>Ezra</i>			
4.10	14		
5.12	14		
		<i>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha</i>	
		<i>Apocalypse of Adam</i>	
		3.1	214
		<i>2 Baruch (Syriac Baruch)</i>	
		29.3	215
		39.7	215
		48.3	214
		54.5	214
		54.20	214
		<i>1 Enoch (Ethiopic Enoch)</i>	
		38.2	214
		38.3	214
		46.2	214
		93.2	214
		98.6	215
		<i>3 Enoch (Hebrew Enoch)</i>	
		11.1f	214
		<i>4 Ezra</i>	
		3.18	112
		6.28	215
		7.28	215
		10.38	214
		13.32	215
		13.52	213
		<i>Jubilees</i>	
		10.22	104
		10.23	103
		18.13	72
		21.12	70
		<i>Testament of Levi</i>	
		18.2	215
		23	70
		<i>Testament of Naphtali</i>	
		8.3-9.5	104
		<i>Septuagint</i>	
		<i>Genesis</i>	
		24.62	94
		31.13	157
		<i>Exodus</i>	
		3.18	141
		5.3	142

Numbers		17.1	19, 32f, 45, 196, 353
14.10	61	17.7	332
		17.8	332
Deuteronomy		17.22	152
4.34	138	18	365f
		18.1	33-37
Psalms		18.3	147, 326
68.9ff	167	18.12	328
		18.16ff	366
Job		18.19	19
1.21	345	18.21	80, 101, 105-109, 153
		18.25	354
Isaiah		18.27	326
22.14	11	18.30	326
		18.31	326
Vulgate		18.32	326
Exodus		18.33	152
3.18	141	19.2	328
		19.18	328
Samaritan Pentateuch		20.3	127-130, 136, 143
		20.4	326
Exodus		20.13	336
3.18	141	21.19	224f
		21.33	354
Peshitta		22.2	73
Numbers		22.14	67-74, 76, 94, 164
14.10	61	22.16	73
		22.17	73
		22.18	73
		24.3	359
		24.12	328, 354
Targum Onqelos		24.27	354
		24.40	354
Genesis		24.42	354
1.27	335	24.48	354
3.5	335, 336	24.62	90-94
4	365f	25.11	90-92
4.7ff	366	25.27	94
5.24	32	26.2	37, 56
6.2	336	26.24	37f, 56, 355
6.4	336	28.3	353
6.9	32	28.7-22	159
9.21	19, 22f	28.13	355
9.26	353	29.13	158
11.5	80, 100, 108	31.5	355
11.7	80, 102f	31.13	157, 168
11.7f	101f	31.24	128, 130f, 136, 143
12.7	31f, 56	31.29	355
14.18	353	31.42	355
14.19	353	31.49	173-175
14.20	353	31.53	355
14.22	353	32.3	336
15.1	129	32.10	355
15.2	327	32.31	222, 361
15.8	327	33.10	336, 361
16.5	169f, 172f	35.1	38f, 56, 339
16.7ff	87	35.2	333
16.13	86-90, 93, 353	35.3	339
16.14	90-93	35.4	333

35.7	23-27,156f	13.21	152
35.9	39-45	14.8	19
35.11	353	14.12	175f
35.13	152	15.2	339
35.21	184	15.3	357
43.14	353	15.17	326
43.23	331,355	16.7	80f
46.1	355	16.10	57,58
46.3	339,355	17.16	360
46.4	122-124,127,152, 245,267	18.5	161,163
47.31	177f	18.11	333f
48.3	45,56,353	19.9	131f
49.1	185f,190	19.11	110f
49.10-12	188	19.18	112-114
49.18	188	19.20	112,114-116
49.24	355	20.3	333
50.17	355	20.5	357
Exodus		20.17(20)	131,133,153
2.25	270	20.20(23)	332
3.1	159-161,163	20.21(24)	133-135,140,153
3.2	64-67,221	20.23(26)	27f
3.6	221	21.6	334
3.8	109f,221	22.7	334
3.13	355	22.8	334
3.14	356	22.27	334
3.15	355	24.10	356
3.16	46,56,355	24.10f	80,361
3.18	140-142	24.13	161f,163
4.1	47,56	32.1	332
4.5	47,56,355	32.12	152
4.10	326	32.23	332
4.13	326	32.31	332
4.16	337	33.3	152
4.27	160,163	33.5	152
5.1	356	33.11	222,361
5.2	225-227,240	33.13	270
5.3	141f,356	33.14	152
5.21	79f,101,171f, 175f,224	33.15	152
5.22	326	33.16	152
6.2f	48-51	33.20	78,361
6.3	353	33.22	148
6.7	332	33.23	361
7.1	337	34.5	117f
7.16	356	34.6	148,358
9.1	356	34.9	327,329
9.13	356	34.14	340,357
10.3	356	Leviticus	
11.4	145,148f	2.13	331
12.2	191	9.4	51f,55,56
12.12	146,149,150, 196f,333	9.6	51,55,58f
12.12f	144f	9.23	51,55,59f
12.13	147	11.45	332
12.23	145-147,149, 150,196f	16.2	52f,54
12.42	192,199	18.7	19
		18.24	19
		19.4	331
		19.14	331
		21.6	331

21.7	331	24.23	203-205, 339
21.8	331	25.13	331
21.12	331		
21.17	331	Deuteronomy	
21.21	331	1.30	152
21.22	331	1.33	152
22.25	331	3.24	327, 338f
22.33	332	4.7	334
25.17	331	4.24	357, 359
25.36	331	4.31	358
25.38	332	4.34	137f, 139, 140, 153, 223
25.43	331		
26.12	332	4.39	332
26.24	152	5.4	222
26.28	152	5.7	333
26.41	152	5.9	357
26.45	332	6.15	357
		7.9	332, 359
Numbers		7.10	33
6.7	331	9.3	148
6.25	77	9.26	327
10.10	331	10.17	327, 328, 337, 357
10.33	162, 163	10.21	331
10.35	149-151, 162	12.5	342
10.36	152	12.11	342
11.17	118-121	12.21	342
11.25	118-121	13.17	152
12.5	121f	14.23	342
12.6-8	81-85, 223	14.24	342
12.8	222	16.2	342
12.13	339f	16.6	342
14.10	61, 80	16.11	342
14.14	74-79, 222, 322	20.4	152
14.17	326	23.14	152
15.40	331	26.2	342
15.41	332	29.28	28-30, 215
16.9	356	31.3	148
16.19	61f, 80	31.6	152
16.22	339	31.8	152
17.7	62f, 80	31.15	54, 56
20.6	63f	31.16	333
22.9	128, 136, 143f	32-34	211
22.20	128, 136f, 143f	32.4	359
23.3	142-144, 200	32.8	219, 353
23.4	142-144, 200	32.12	341
23.8	339	32.15	338, 359
23.16	142-144	32.17	339
23.19	339f	32.18	359
23.22	339, 359	32.19	270
23.23	339	32.21	341
24.3	204	32.30	356
24.3f	199-203	32.31	356
24.4	28, 216, 339, 353	32.35	18
24.7	200, 202	32.36	270
24.8	339, 359	32.37	356
24.15	204	32.39	205f, 211, 333, 356
24.15f	199-203	32.41	19, 227f
24.16	28, 216, 339, 353	33.2	165-168
24.17	200, 202, 204	33.16	220-222

33.19	211-213	17.7	332
33.26	360	17.8	332
34.5f	179f	18	362f
34.10	222f, 240	18.1	33-37, 56, 98, 250
		18.3	147, 327
		18.12	328
		18.16ff	366
<i>Targum Pseudo-Jonathan</i>		18.17-20	108
Genesis		18.19	19, 108
1.27	335	18.21	80, 101, 105-109, 127, 155, 251
3.5	335	18.22ff	108
3.18	364	18.25	354
3.22	71, 352	18.27	327
4	365f	18.30	327, 329, 355
4.8	352, 364	18.31	327, 355
4.16	363	18.32	327, 329, 355
4.18	366	19.2	328
5.24	32, 66	19.18	328, 364
5.29	366	19.24	108f
6.2	336	20.3	127-130, 136, 143
6.4	336	20.4	327, 366
6.6	33	20.13	336
6.9	33	21.1	364
6.13ff	366	21.9-21	72
9.6	352	21.15	354
9.21	22f	21.19	224f, 240
9.26	353	21.21	72, 253
9.27	94	21.33	346, 354
11.5	80, 100, 127, 155, 251, 366	22.1	71, 350
11.7	80, 103f, 127	22.2	73
11.7f	101f, 103f, 127, 138, 152, 155, 210, 219, 251	22.3	71
		22.4	72
		22.5	71, 352, 363
11.8	103f, 155, 219	22.10	71
12.6	36	22.13	71
12.7	31f, 56	22.14	67-74, 94, 98, 159, 164, 250
13.10	366	22.16	73
13.18	36	22.17	73
14.13	36, 352, 366	22.18	71, 73
14.18	94, 353	22.19	71, 94
14.19	353, 366	24.3	346, 354
14.20	353	24.12	328, 354
14.22	353	24.27	354
15.1	33, 346, 353	24.40	354
15.2	327	24.42	354
15.7	353	24.48	354
15.8	327	24.62	87, 90-94, 98, 156, 168, 250, 353
15.14	362, 366	25.11	72, 87, 90-92, 94f, 98, 156, 168, 250, 353
15.16	366	25.22	94
16.5	19, 169f, 172f, 181, 240	25.23	367
16.13	86-90, 93, 98, 353	25.27	33, 94
16.13f	90, 91-93, 156	26.2	37, 56, 98, 251, 363
16.14	87, 90-93, 156, 250, 353	26.3	37
17.1	19, 32f, 45, 56, 196, 251, 353	26.20	353
17.3	201		

26.24	37f, 56, 251, 355	48.3	45, 56, 353
27.1	352	49.1	177f, 182f, 185-187,
27.40	367		190f, 195, 200,
28	71		217, 251
28.3	353	49.10-12	188
28.7-22	159	49.18	188
28.11	134	49.20	352
28.12	27, 66, 214, 216,	49.22	33
	335, 352	49.27	352
28.13	355	50.17	355
29.12	130		
29.13	158	Exodus	
31.5	355	1.19	354, 364
31.13	157, 168	2.21	364
31.21	364	3.1	159-161, 163
31.24	128, 130f, 136,	3.2	64-67
	140, 143, 155	3.8	109f, 127, 224
31.29	355	3.13	355
31.42	355	3.14	207, 356
31.49	173-175	3.15	355
31.53	355	3.16	46, 56, 355
32.3	336	3.18	140-142
32.10	355	4.1	47, 56
32.25	355	4.5	47, 56, 355
32.27	352	4.10	327, 329
32.30	363	4.13	327, 364
32.31	222, 361	4.16	337
33.10	336, 361	4.27	160, 163
35.1	38f, 56, 338	5.1	356
35.2	333	5.2	225f
35.3	339	5.3	141f, 356
35.4	333	5.21	79f, 224, 225, 240
35.7	23-27, 156f	5.22	327, 329
35.9	39-45, 56, 98, 260	6.2	224
35.11	353	6.2f	47-51, 56
35.21	184f, 195, 228, 251	6.3	346, 353
38.6	94	6.7	332
38.7	366	6.16	363
38.10	366	7.1	337
38.25	352, 363	7.5	363
38.26	366	7.16	356
40.12	362	8.18	356
40.23	355	8.19	366
41.8	363	9.1	356
41.10	363	9.13	356
42.28	366	9.16	346
43.14	353	10.3	356
43.23	331, 355	10.23	367
45.8	363	11.4	145, 148f
45.27	119	12.2	191
46.1	355	12.11	352
46.3	339, 355	12.12	146, 149, 150, 155,
46.3f	123		196f, 251
46.4	122-124, 127,	12.12f	144f
	152, 245	12.13	147
47.7	363	12.17	352
47.22	362	12.23	145-147, 149, 150,
47.31	177f, 183, 191,		155, 196f, 251
	229, 251	12.37ff	78

12.42	192-199,205,217, 228,249,251, 260,355,363	33.22 33.23 34.5	148 84,361 75,117f,127,155
14.12	80,175f,224,250, 364	34.6 34.9 34.10	77,148,358 327,367 367
14.13	362	34.14	340,357
14.31	346,363	34.17	354
15.2	339,353,355,356, 357	34.23 36.33 38.25	329,355 352 363
15.17	327	39.37	363
15.18	357	40.4	367
16.7	80f,88	40.8	367
16.10	57,58,63,81	40.11	367
17.1	367		
17.12	362		
18.5	161,163		
18.11	331f	Leviticus	
18.20	182	1.2	333
19-20	116	2.13	331
19.9	72,131f,155,251	9.1-8	58
19.9f	155	9.1-6	52,59
19.10	132	9.2	58
19.11	110f,132	9.4	51f,56,98
19.16	72	9.5	58
19.18	72,112-114,118, 127,155,250	9.6	19,58f,60,98,251
19.20	112,113,114-116	9.7	58
20.2	357	9.15-17	58
20.2f	346	9.21-24	58
20.3	333,341,357	9.22f	60
20.5	357	9.23	58,59f,98,251
20.17(20)	131,133	11.45	332
20.20(23)	332	16.2	52f,54,57
20.23(26)	27f	18	23
22.7	334	18.7	19
22.8	334	18.24	19
22.19	333	19.4	332
22.27	334	19.14	331
23.13	333	19.25	353
23.17	329,355	21.6	331
24.10	80,352,356	21.7	331
24.10f	361	21.8	331
24.11	80	21.12	331
24.13	161f,163	21.17	331
24.18	357	21.21	331
25.8	346	21.22	331
28.30	352,363,364	22.25	331
31.17	364	22.28	354
32.1	332	22.33	332
32.7	367	24.10	363
32.19	358	25.17	331
32.23	332	25.36	331
32.31	332,352,355	25.38	332
32.40	366	25.43	331
33.3	78	26.9	33
33.4	346	26.11	78
33.11	85,222,361	26.12	332
33.15	367	26.17	366
33.20	361	26.42	364
		26.45	332

Numbers		21.18	363
6.7	331	21.27	35
7.18	358	21.30	355, 356
9.8	358	21.34	363
10.10	331	22-24	136
10.33	162, 163	22.5	130
10.34	151	22.9	128, 136, 143f
10.35	149-151, 155, 162, 250, 364	27.20	128, 136f, 143f, 364
10.36	151	23.3	142-144, 200
11.17	118-121, 127	23.4	142-144, 200
11.25	118-121, 127, 155	23.7	367
12.1	83	23.8	339
12.2	83	23.10	33
12.3	83	23.16	142-144
12.5	121f, 155	23.19	339f, 342, 355
12.6-8	66, 81-85, 88, 174, 223, 251	23.22	339, 359, 362, 363
12.8	222, 224	23.23	339
12.8	83	24.3	204
12.9	83	24.3f	199-203, 217
12.10	83	24.4	28, 339, 353
12.12	83, 363	24.5	363, 364, 367
12.13	83, 339f, 342, 358	24.6	367
12.14	83	24.7	200, 202
12.16	83	24.8	339, 359, 363
13.1	367	24.15	204
13.17	365	24.15f	199-203, 217
13.18	365	24.16	28, 339, 353
14.10	61, 80	24.17	200, 202, 204
14.14	61, 74-79, 145, 222, 322, 363, 367	24.23	195, 203-205, 217, 228, 251, 339
14.17	327, 329, 367	25.8	353
15.3	352	25.13	331
15.30	364	25.28	353
15.34	358	26.1	353
15.40	331	27.1	352
15.41	332	33.42	366
16.1-17.15	62, 63	34.6	364
16.2	62, 357	Deuteronomy	
16.9	356	1.1	367
16.16	366	3.23	364
16.19	61f, 63, 80, 98, 251	3.24	327, 338f, 363, 364
16.22	339, 358	4.7	334
16.26	366	4.20	138
16.34	364	4.24	359
17.5	62	4.31	358
17.6	63	4.33	138
17.7	61, 62f, 64, 80, 98	4.34	137f, 139, 140, 155, 223
18.9	344	4.39	332
20.6	63f	5.4	222
20.8	346	5.7	333, 341
20.21	353, 354	5.10	367
21.1	352, 367	5.22	120
21.6	363, 364	5.24	78, 85
21.9	354	6.4	346
21.13	363	6.14	333
21.14	352	6.15	357
		7.6	367

7.9	332,359,366	32.37	356,360
7.10	33	32.39	195,205-211,217,228, 260,333,341,360
9.3	78,148		
9.19	346	32.41	227
9.26	327,363	32.48-33.29	180
10.17	327,337,359, 366	32.50	355
		32.51	352
10.21	331	33.2	132,165-168
11.16	333	33.11	150,210
11.24	364	33.16	220-222
11.28	333	33.19	211-213,217
12.5	342	33.26	360
12.11	342	34.1-12	180,181
12.21	342	34.5	33,352
13.3	333	34.5f	179-183,250,251
13.7	333	34.6	36,44f,66
13.8	333	34.10	85,222f
14.23	342		
14.24	342	<i>Targum Neofiti I</i>	
15.2	367	<i>Genesis</i>	
15.4	367	1.1-3.4	256
16.2	342	1-2	299,363
16.6	342	1	311
16.11	342	1.1	364
17.16	367	1.2	364
18.20	333	1.3	364
21.23	364	1.27	42,335
23.22	352	1.28	42,44
26.2	342	3.5	335
26.18	367	3.18	364
28.10	345	3.22	352
28.12	352	4	363f
28.32	354	4.7ff	366
28.58	346	4.8	352,364
29.6	367	4.18	366
29.28	28-30,215	4.26	343
30	367	5.24	32
30.19	367	6.2	336
30.20	367	6.4	336
31.3	148	6.9	32,33
31.15	54,56,57	9.21	22f
32-34	211	9.26	353
32-33	210	11.5	80,100,111,248
32.1	367	11.7	80,102f,126,248
32.4	355,359	11.7f	101f
32.5	33	12.7	31f,56,343
32.8	104,138,210,219f, 250,251,353	14.18	94,353
32.8f	103f,219	14.19	353
32.9	352	14.20	353
32.12	341	14.22	353
32.14	367	15.1	33,345,353
32.15	338,359	15.2	327
32.17	339	15.6	343
32.18	359	15.7	353
32.21	341	15.8	327
32.30	356	16.5	80,89,169-173, 176,248
32.31	360		
32.36	33		

16.13	86-90,96,248, 353	26.2 26.3	37,56 37
16.13f	90,91-93,156	26.24	37f,355
16.14	90-93,156,248, 353	27.27 27.40	353 367
17.1	19,32f,45,55,56, 196,353	28 28.3	71,174 353
17.7	332	28.7-22	159
17.8	332	28.12	134,214
18	363f	28.13	355
18.1	33-37,42,44,56, 97,224	28.21 29.13	353 158
18.3	147,326,329	30.22	355
18.12	328	31.5	355
18.16ff	366	31.13	157,168
18.17-20	108	31.24	128,130f,136,140,143
18.19	19,108	31.29	355
18.21	80,101,105-109, 126,155,248	31.32 31.42	332 355
18.22	364	31.49	80,173-175,248
18.22ff	108	31.50	174
18.25	354	31.53	174,355
18.27	326	32.3	336
18.30	326	32.10	355
18.31	326	32.31	222,361
18.32	326	33.10	336,361
19.2	328,329	33.18	33
19.7	364	34.21	33
19.18	328,329,364	35.1	38f,56,339
19.19	364	35.2	333
20.3	127-130,136,143	35.3	339
20.4	326,366	35.4	333
20.13	336	35.7	23-27,156f
20.14	364	35.9	39-45,54-56,95-98, 180-182,198,224, 227,251,260, 344,354
21.1	364		
21.19	224f		
21.33	352,353,354		
22.1	69	35.11	353
22.2	69	35.21	184
22.7	69	38.25	355,363
22.8	69,70	39.2	33
22.10	69	40.12	362
22.11	69	40.23	355
22.14	67-74,94,97, 134,159,160, 164,248,364	41.45 43.14 43.23	215 353 331,355
24.3	353,354	46.1	355
24.7	353,364	46.3	339,355
24.12	328,354	46.4	122-124,127,152, 245
24.27	354		
24.40	33	47.31	177f
24.42	354	48.3	45,56,353
24.48	354	48.22	33
24.62	90-94,156,168, 353	49.1	33,185-191,200,214, 216,217,228
25.11	90-92,156,168, 353	49.10-12 49.18	188 188
25.22	94	49.24	355,356
25.27	33,94	49.25	353

50.17	355	14.13	362
50.24	364	15.2	339,353,355,357
50.25	364	15.13	364
Exodus		15.17	326
1.19	354	15.21	357
2.23	271	16.7	80f
2.24	364	16.10	57,58
3	49-51,109,134, 141,301	17.15	343
3.1	70,131,159-161, 164	17.16	355
3.2	64-67,141,221	18.5	161,164
3.6	221	18.11	331f
3.8	109f,141,154,221	19-20	116,132
3.12	49,301,307f	19.3	115
3.13	355	19.9	131f,139,154
3.14	50,301,307,356	19.11	110f,131
3.16	4,56,355	19.18	111,112-114,132
3.18	140-142	19.20	110f,112,114-116, 131,132
4.1	47,56	20.1	115
4.5	47,56,355	20.2	357
4.10	325,329	20.2f	344
4.12	301f,305f	20.3	333,357
4.13	326,364	20.5	357
4.16	337	20.17(20)	131,133
4.27	70,160,162,164	20.20(23)	332
4.31	343,364	20.21(24)	343
5.1	356	20.22(25)	343
5.2	225f	20.23(26)	27f
5.3	141f,356	22.7	334
5.21	79f,171f,175f,224	22.8	334
5.22	326,329,364	22.27	334
6	49,301f	23.13	333
6.2f	47-51	23.17	329,355
6.3	56,345,353	23.21	343
6.7	332,353	24.10f	80,361
7.1	337	24.13	131,161f,164
7.16	356	24.16f	75
9.1	356	29.42	144
9.13	356	29.45	353
9.16	343	31.18	333
10.3	356	31.20	333
10.23	367	32.1	332
11.4	145,146,148f	32.16	358
12.2	191	32.23	332
12.12	146,148,149, 150,152,333	32.25	344
12.12f	144f	32.30	364
12.13	147	32.31	332
12.23	145-147,148, 150,152	33.6	344
12.42	192-199,224,228, 248,260, 312,363	33.11	85,222,361
13.18	33	33.13	271
13.19	364	33.20	361
14.8	19	33.22	148
14.12	175f	33.23	361
		34.5	75,110f,117f
		34.6	148,358
		34.9	327,329
		34.14	340,357
		34.17	332,333
		34.23	329,355

40.9	363	12.16	83
Leviticus		14.10	61, 75, 80
1.14	343	14.14	61, 74-79, 222
2.1	343	14.17	326, 329
2.8	343	15.40	331
2.11	343	15.41	332, 353
2.13	331	16.9	356
2.14	343	16.19	61f, 80
3.11	343	16.22	344
7.14	343	17.7	62f, 80
9.4	51f, 56, 58	18.9	344
9.6	19, 58f	20.6	63f
9.23	58, 59f	21.1	367
10.3	366	21.6	363
11.45	332	21.13	363
16.2	52f, 54, 58	21.15	355, 359
16.8	344	21.18	363
16.9	344	21.34	363
18	23	22.9	128, 136, 143f, 200
18.7	19	22.20	128, 136f, 143f, 200
18.24	19	22.30	364
19.4	332	23.3	142-144, 152, 200
19.14	331	23.4	142-144, 152, 200
21.6	331	23.8	339
21.7	331	23.16	142-144, 152, 200
21.8	331	23.19	339f, 342
21.12	331	23.21	359
21.17	331	23.22	339, 359, 362
21.21	331	23.23	339
21.22	331	24.3	204
22.25	331	24.3f,	199-203, 214, 216, 217, 228
22.33	332, 353	24.4	28, 339, 353
24.16	344	24.5	367
25.17	331	24.6	367
25.36	331	24.7	200, 202
25.38	332	24.8	339, 359
25.43	331	24.15	204
26.12	332, 353	24.15f	199-203, 214, 216, 217, 228
26.42	364	24.16	28, 339, 353
26.45	332, 353	24.17	200, 202, 204
Numbers		24.23	203-205, 217, 339
6.7	331	25.13	331
6.27	312, 344, 346	27.16	358
10.10	331	Deuteronomy	
10.33	70, 162, 164	3.23	364
10.35	149-151, 152, 162	3.24	327, 338f, 364
10.36	364	4.7	334
11.17	118-121	4.24	359
11.25	118-121	4.31	358
12.1	33, 83	4.34	137f, 139, 140, 144, 152, 155, 223
12.5	110, 121f	4.39	332
12.6-8	81-85, 223	5.4	222
12.8	222	5.6	357
12.12	83	5.7	333, 357
12.13	83, 339f, 343, 358, 364	5.9	359
12.14	83		

5.10	367	34.5f	179f
5.22	120	34.10	85,222
5.23f	76		
5.24	85	<i>Glosses of Neofiti I</i>	
6.15	357	<i>Genesis</i>	
7.6	367		
7.9	332,359	6.2	336
7.10	33	6.4	336
9.3	148	9.21	22f,249
9.26	327	11.5	100,127,152,249
10.17	328,329,337,359	11.7	80,102f,126,155
10.21	331	11.7f	101f
12.5	342	15.2	327
12.11	135,342	16.5	80,89,169-173, 176,353
12.21	342		
14.23	342	16.14	90-93
14.24	342	18.1	33f,54,56,97
15.4	367	18.3	147
16.2	342	18.21	105-109
16.6	342	18.25	354
16.11	342	20.3	127
16.16	355	21.19	224f
18.13	33	21.33	
26.2	342	22.2	69
26.17	353	22.11	69
26.18	367	22.14	67-74,94,97,159 354
28.31	33		
28.58	345	24.3	354
29.12	353	24.62	90-94
29.17-34.12	255	25.22	94
29.28	28-30,215	25.27	94
32-34	211	28.11	134
32-33	210	31.21	363
30	366	31.24	130f,139
31.3	148	33.20	345
31.15	54,56	35.1	38f
32.4	355,358,359	35.7	23-27,156f,345
32.8	219,353	35.9	39-45,54,56, 180-182,198, 248,346,355
32.12	341		
32.14	367		
32.15	338,359	46.4	122-124,127,245
32.17	332,339	47.31	177f,183,229
32.18	359	49.1	185-191,217
32.21	341	49.18	355
32.30	356		
32.31	360	<i>Exodus</i>	
32.36	364	2.12	119
32.37	332,356,360	3.2	64-67,222
32.39	205-207,209-211, 333,360	3.4	66
		3.14	356
32.41	227	3.16	46,56
32.48-33.29	180	3.18	140-142
33.2	132,165-168	4.1	47,56
33.13-17	221	4.5	47,55,56
33.16	220-222	4.27	70,160,249
33.19	211-213,214,228	5.3	141f,356
33.20	271	5.21	79f,171f,175f
33.24	354	6.2f	47-51
33.26	360	6.3	55,56,346

9.1	356	Deuteronomy	
9.13	356	3.2	354
9.20	356	4.34	137f
11.4	148f	9.3	148
12.12	196f	32.8	219
12.12f	144-146,148,249	32.18	359
12.13	147,149	33.16	220
12.23	145-147,196f		
12.42	192-199		
15.1	357	<i>Fragment Targumim</i>	
15.21	357	Genesis	
15.25	346	1-2	363
16.10	57	1	311
19-20	116	1.1	364
19.9	131f	1.3	364
19.11	110f,114	1.27	42,335(PVNurL)
19.18	111,112-114,127, 132,155,249	3.18	364(PVNurL)
19.20	110f,114-116	3.22	352(VNurL)
20.1	115	4	365f
20.7	344	4.7ff	366
20.21(24)	133-135,139	4.8	352,364(PVNur)
20.23(26)	27f,249	4.18	366(PVNurL)
24.10	356	6.6	33(P)
24.11	356	11.2	353(PVNur)
24.13	70	14.18	94,353(PVNurL)
25.1	345	15.1	33(PVNurL),35(VNurL), 129(PVNurL), 353(VNurL)
25.21	345	15.2	327(PVNurL)
32.7	33	15.7	353(VNurL)
32.16	358	16.5	80,89,169-173,176, 351(PVNurL)
33.20	361	16.13	86-90(PVNurL),250(P), 353(PVNurL)
34.5	110f,117f	16.13f	90,91-93,96,156, 340(PVNurL)
34.9	327	18	363f
Leviticus		18.1	33-37,42(PVNurL), 54(VNurL),56,97, 224(PVNurL)
9.4	51f,56	18.16ff	366
9.6	58f	18.21	80,105-109,126(PVNurL)
16.2	52f,54	19.18	328,329,364(PVNurL)
24.11	346	21.33	345,353(VNurL), 354(PVNurL)
Numbers		22.1	354(PVNur)
10.33	162	22.2	69(VNurL)
10.35	149-151,162	22.8	69,70(PVNurL)
11.17	118-121	22.10	69(PVNurL)
11.25	118-121	22.11	69(PVNurL)
12.5	110,121f	22.14	67-74,94,97,159, 354,364(PVNurL)
12.6-8	81-85,249	24.62	90-94,156,168(PVNurL)
12.13	358	25.22	94(PVNurL)
12.16	352	27.27	353(PVNurL)
14.14	74-79,222	27.40	367(PVNurL)
16.22	358	28	71(PVNurL)
17.7	62f		
20.6	63f		
22.9	136		
22.20	136f		
23.16	142		
24.4	199		
24.23	203-205		

28.12	214	17.16	355(PVNurL)
30.22	356(VNurL)	19-20	115,116
32.3	336(PVNurL)	19.3	115(PVNurJ)
35.9	39-45, 54, 56, 180-182, 198, 224, 249, 260, 346, 354, 355(PVNurL)	19.9 19.11 19.18 19.20	131f, 139(PVNur) 110f(PV) 111, 112-114, 126, 132, 155(PVNur) 112, 114-116(PV)
38.25	354(PVNur), 355(VNurL)	20.1 20.2	115(PV) 354, 357(P)
40.23	355(PVNurL)	20.3	333, 357(P)
47.31	177f(VNur)	20.5	357(P)
48.22	33(PVNurL)	20.17(20)	131, 133, 139(V)
49.1	33(PVNurL), 185-191(VNurL), 185-187, 190f(P), 200, 214, 216, 217, 228(PVNurL) 250(P)	20.20(23) 20.21(24) 20.22(25) 20.23(26) 24.10 24.10f 32.25	332(V) 133f, 139(VNur) 346(PVNur) 27f(PVNur) 356(P) 361(P) 346(PVNur)
49.10-12	188	33.6	346(P)
49.18	188	33.23	361(PVNur)
49.24	356(PVNur)	34.6	358(VNur)
49.25	353(P)		
		Leviticus	
Exodus		1.1	355(P)
1.19	354(PVB)	19.14	331(P)
1.21	354(P)	21.6	331(VNur)
3.2	64-67(VB)	21.7	331(VNur)
3.14	356(PVB)	22.27	346(VNurL)
4.10	327(PVB)	24.11	346(PVNur)
4.13	327(VB)	24.12	358(P)
4.16	337(VB)	26.42	364(PVNur)
6.3	47-51, 56, 346, 353(PVB)	27.11 27.14	346(VNur) 346(VNur)
9.20	356(P)	27.16	346(VNur)
12.2	191f, 249, 356(P)	27.21	346(VNur)
12.42	192-199, 224, 228, 229, 260, 312, 363(PVNur; P=15.18)	27.22 27.23 27.26 27.28	346(VNur) 346(VNur) 346(VNur) 346(VNur)
13.18	33(PVNurL)	27.30	346(VNur)
13.19	364(PVNur)		
14.12	175f(P)	Numbers	
14.29	357(P)	6.27	346(P)
14.31	345(P, J)	10.35	149-151, 152, 162(VNurL)
15.1	357(PVNurJ)		
15.2	339, 353(PVNur), 354(VNur), 355, 357(PVNur)	12.1 12.13	33(PVNurL), 358(P) 337f, 340, 358(VNurL)
15.11	357(P)	15.21	346(VNur)
15.12	354(P)	16.22	339, 358(VNur)
15.17	327(PVNurL)	20.21	354(VNur)
15.18	357(VNur)	21.9	354(PVNur)
15.21	357(P)	21.15	359(PVNur)
15.25	346(PVNur)	21.18	363(PVNur)
16.7	80f(VNur)	21.34	354(PVNur), 356(VNur)
17.11	354(P)	22.30	364(PVNur)
17.15	345(J)	23.8	339(PVNur)

23.19	340,342, 356(PVNur)	34.5f 34.10	179f(VNur) 222f(PNurL)
23.21	359(PVNur)		
23.22	339,359(PVNur)	<i>Genizah Fragments</i>	
23.23	339(VNur), 354(PVNur)	<i>Genesis</i>	
24.3	204(PVNur)	4	365f
24.3f	199-203,214,216, 217,228(PVNur)	4.7ff 28.21	366 353
24.4	28,339,353(PVNur)	31.13	157,168
24.5	367(PVNur)	31.24	130f
24.6	367(PVNur)	31.49	173-175
24.7	200,202(PVNur)	31.53	355
24.8	339,359(PVNur)	34.21	33
24.15	199-203(P),204 (PNur),214(P)	35.7 35.9	23-27,156f 39-45,54,56,180-182, 198,224,249,250, 260,346,354,355
24.15f	199-203,214,216, 217,228(VNur)		
24.16	28,339,353(VNur)	35.11	353
24.17	200,202,204(PVNur)	37.33	355
24.23	203-205(PVNur)	38.25	355
27.16	358(VNur)		
28.7	346(PVNur)	<i>Exodus</i>	
		5.21	79f,171f,175f
<i>Deuteronomy</i>		5.23	345
3.2	354(VNurL)	6.2f	47-51,56
3.23	364(PVNurL)	6.3	346,353
3.24	327,364(VNurL)	6.7	353
4.24	359(VNurL)	19-20	116
4.34	137f,139,152, 223(VNur)	19.3 19.9	115 131f,139
26.17	353(VNurL)	19.11	110f,126
26.18	346,367(VNur)	19.18	111,112-114,126, 132,155
32-34	211		
32-33	210	19.20	112,114-116,126
32.1	367(PVNurL)	20.3	357
32.3	358(P)	20.5	357
32.4	355,359(PVNurL)	20.17(20)	131,133,139
32.6	354(PVNurL)	20.21(24)	133f,139,152
32.8	219,353(VNurL)	20.22(25)	346
32.12	341(VNur)	20.23(26)	27f
32.14	367(PVNurL)		
32.15	338,359(VNur)	<i>Leviticus</i>	
32.17	332,339(VNur)	22.27	346
32.18	359(VNurL)		
32.21	341(VNur)	<i>Deuteronomy</i>	
32.30	356(VNurL)	34.5f	179f
32.31	360(PVNurL)		
32.37	332,350(PVNurL)		
32.39	205-207,211,333, 360(VNur)	<i>Targum of the Prophets</i>	
32.41	227(VNurL)	<i>Joshua</i>	
32.48-33.29	180	3.10	88
33.2	165-167, 168(PVNurL)	<i>Judges</i>	
33.16	220(P),220f(VNurL)	5.4	242
33.19	211-213,214, 228(VNurL)	5.5	242
		6.12	243
33.26	360(VNur)	7.1	35

8.19	88	<i>Ezekiel</i>	
13.3	243	3.23	242
13.10	243	7.7	19
13.21	243	13.14	19
		16.3	19
<i>1 Samuel</i>		16.57	19
3.10	242	20.5	242
4.21	19	21.4	242
14.8	19	43.2	19, 242, 243
16.21	242	43.4	242, 243
<i>2 Samuel</i>		<i>Hosea</i>	
6.20	19	10.5	19
22.10	242, 243	<i>Joel</i>	
22.13	242	1.15	242
<i>1 Kings</i>		3.12	171
3.5	129, 242	4.12	242
22.19	242	<i>Amos</i>	
<i>Isaiah</i>		3.7	19
2.19	239	5.5	18
2.21	239	5.17	242
3.13	171, 242	7.8	242
8.18	18	7.9	242
8.20	18	8.2	242
10.13	19	<i>Michah</i>	
14.22	239, 242	1.3	149, 242
19.1	242	4.8	184f
19.21	242	5.4	242
22.8	19	<i>Habakkuk</i>	
24.16	19	3.4	242
24.23	242	3.6	242
25.10	19	3.13	242
26.21	242	3.15	242
28.21	239	<i>Zechariah</i>	
30.7	19	3.8	19
30.30	19	<i>Malachi</i>	
31.2	239	3.3	242
33.10	239	<i>Targum of the Hagiographa</i>	
35.4	242	<i>Psalms</i>	
37.17	19	3.8	239, 242
42.1	19	7.7	239
43.14	19	18.11	242
45.8	19, 242	35.23	242
47.2	19	44.10	242
47.3	19	45.5	242
51.9	242	48.1	242
52.12	242	50.2	242
55.10	242	50.3	242
58.8	19	68.9	242
60.1f	242	68.18	242
61.11	19		
62.1	19		
66.15f	171		
<i>Jeremiah</i>			
31.3	242		

68.19	183	8.16	15
80.2	242	9.13	15
96.13	171	9.19	15
97.1	242		
102.17	242	<i>Damascus Document (CD)</i>	
144.5	242	2.2	14
<i>Job</i>		2.14	14
3.4	242	3.13	15
33.16	19	5.10	14
		7.14	16
		15.13	15
<i>Proverbs</i>		20.20	15
4.18	242		
11.13	19	<i>War Scroll (IQM)</i>	
20.8	242	10.8-18	15
<i>Ruth</i>		10.10f	15
3.4	19	10.11	15
3.7	19		
<i>1 Chronicles</i>		<i>Hodayoth (IQH)</i>	
12.7	19	1.21	15
16.33	171	5.12	15
17.21	242	6.4	15
<i>2 Chronicles</i>		12.34	15
6.41	241	13.3	15
7.12	19,243	14.16	15
		18.4	15
		18.19	15
		18.24	15
		<i>11Q Targum Job</i>	
			304,308
<i>Philo</i>			
<i>De Somniis</i>		<i>Rabbinic Literature</i>	
I. 222-223	25	<i>Mishnah</i>	
I. 227-229	25	<i>Shebiith</i>	
I. 234-237	25	10.8	17
<i>De Vita Mosis</i>		<i>Terumoth</i>	
II. 68-69	84	8.8	17
<i>Pseudo-Philo</i>		<i>Shabbath</i>	
10	180	4.2	17
15.6	112	<i>Taanith</i>	
19	180	4.2	17
23.10	112	<i>Hagigah</i>	
<i>Josephus</i>		2.1	187f
<i>Antiquities</i>		<i>Nedarim</i>	
I. 188	171	3.11	33
IV. 14	62	<i>Sotah</i>	
<i>Qumran Texts</i>		1.7	17
<i>Community Rule (IQS)</i>			
1.9	15		
8.1	15		
8.15	15		

Sanhedrin		Rosh ha-Shanah	
2.1	17	19a	280
6.4	344	Taanith	
Makkoth		21b	161
3.12	17	Megillah	
Aboth		3a	17,188
1.11	345	24b	174
2.16	62	Yebamoth	
3.2	135	44b	85
3.6	135	Nazir	
3.11	17	23b	17
3.14	62	Sotah	
4.4	345	13b	180
4.11	345	14a	42,45,180
4.13	183	Gittin	
5.1	311	31b	17
6.2	17	Baba Metzia	
Negaim		86b	36
7.1	17	Baba Bathra	
Tosefta		17a	180
Mikwaoth		Sanhedrin	
iii.1	17	17a	120
Jerusalem Talmud		31a	17
Berakoth		38b	24
13d	17	39a	180,280
Ta'anith		42a	311
64b	17	43b	29
Babylonian Talmud		94a	17
Berakoth		97b	188
7a	361	105a	129,201
56a	17	109b	17,107
Shabbath		110a	62
55a	17	Abodah Zarah	
67a	66,84	30a	17
87a	84	Hullin	
88a	183	59a-60a	280
Pesahim		Aboth de Rabbi Nathan A	
56a	177,191	18	135
119a	62	34	29,121,124,170
Yoma		Aboth de Rabbi Nathan B	
4b	54	37	29,121,122,124,
9b	17		70
Sukkah			
52a	17		

<i>Mekhilta of R. Ishmael</i>		<i>Bereshith Rabba</i>	
Pisha		8.12	42
5.8ff(I.34)	145	8.13	42,45
7.51ff(I.55)	145	21.5	352
11.88ff(I.87)	147	22.19	92
Beshallah		26.6	352
5.86-88(I.229)	101	34.9	70
Shirata		36.4	23
2.27-30(II.14)	101	38.9	124
3.28-39(II.24f)	261	45.1	172
4.1-31(II.30-32)	261	45.4	171
4.19-31(II.31f)	206-208	45.5	171
6.5(II.42)	311	45.7	87
Bahodesh		46.1	33
3.123ff(II.219)	112	48.3	17
4.47ff(II.224)	112	48.8	36
5.1-63(II.229-234)	261	49.10	107
5.14ff(II.230)	29	50.2	35
5.20-39(II.231f)	206-208	52.5	129
11.42ff(II.287)	135	53.14	224
<i>Mekilta of R. Simeon b. Yohai</i>		55-56	70
Ex.3.2,8(1,2)	135	55.4	72
Ex.20.21(156)	135	56.1	94
<i>Sifre Numbers</i>		60.14	92
39	135	61.6	94
69	29,70	63	173
84	150	64.3	37
93	124	74.7	129
95	120	78.3	158
99	84	79	174
100	84	98	177
103	84,85	99.3	352
119	183	<i>Shemot Rabba</i>	
343	166	2.5	66,84
<i>Sifre Zuta</i>		3.4	208
103	85	3.6	208
<i>Sifre Deuteronomy</i>		5.14	226
31	208	12.20	145
343	183	12.22	145
353	221	41.7	180
357	180	42.8	85
379	206,209	45.4	17
415	212f	<i>Wayyiqra Rabba</i>	
<i>Midrash Tannaim</i>		1.14	85
18	180	16.1	70
210	183	<i>Bamidbar Rabba</i>	
217f	221	3.13	170
219f	212f	4.15	183
224	180	12	84
		12.4	66
		13.20	120
		16.21	61
		20.11	129
		20.12	129
		20.12	129
		23	17

<i>Debarim Rabba</i>		<i>Yalqut Shim'oni</i>	
3.2	180	Genesis 83	107
9.5	180	Exodus 169	66
11.9	66	<i>Yashar</i>	
<i>Shir ha-Shirim Rabba</i>		28	37
2.2.1	138	<i>Yannai</i>	
3.8	66	Piyyut 21(47-50)	41-45, 181
<i>Esther Rabba</i>		<i>Rashi</i>	
1.2	280	Commentary on the Pentateuch	
<i>Tanhuma</i>		Genesis	
Toledoth		18.2	35
6	37	26.2	37
<i>Wayehi</i>		Numbers	
3	177	14.10	61
8	177	Deuteronomy	
<i>We'era</i>		29.28	29
5	226	33.19	212
<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>			
15	145		
<i>Pesiqta de R. Kahana</i>		<i>New Testament</i>	
19.36(249)	280	Matthew	
<i>Midrash Tehillim</i>		2.6	185
25.11	42,45	5.8	59
90	85	13.16f	200
<i>Midrash ha-Gadol</i>		Luke	
Genesis		2.4ff	185
47.31	177	10.23f	200
49.1	177	17.20	188
Exodus		John	
24.10	321	1	304f, 307
Deuteronomy		7.42	185
34.5f	180	Acts	
<i>Pirge de R. Eliezer</i>		1.6f	188
14	84,122,124,183	3.14	358
17	180	7.52	358
23	17	22.14	358
24	104,183	Romans	
25	107	1.17	215
26	172	3.21	215
28	35,36	4	33
29	33,36,201	16.25-27	215
30	225	Galatians	
31	70	1.11f	215
34	209	1.15	215
36	130	4.21ff	72
45	180		

Colossians

1.26	215
3.3f	215
4.4	215

1 Thessalonians

5.1ff	188
-------	-----

2 Thessalonians

2.6	215
-----	-----

1 Timothy

3.16	215
6.14f	215

2 Timothy

4.1	215
-----	-----

Titus

2.13	215
------	-----

1 Peter

1.4f	215
5.10	358

1 John

1.4ff	215
-------	-----

Revelation;

1.4	208-210
1.8	208-210
1.17	201
4.8	208
11.17	210
16.5	210

*Patristic Sources**Justin*

Dialogue with Trypho

20	66
58	25
59-61	65
120	66

INDEX OF AUTHORS

- | | | | |
|----------------------|---|-----------------------|---|
| Abelson, J. | 294,295,297,314 | Bowker, J. | 35,94,101,102,103,
104,106,107,108,170,171,
186,258,365 |
| Aber, F. | 265,314 | Box, G.H. | 295,296f,314 |
| Aberbach, M. | 32,35,36,73,87,88,
90,94,100,101,108,171,
173,174 | Brawer, A.J. | 267,277 |
| Albertz, R. | 8,12 | Brock, S.P. | 147,239 |
| Alexander, P.S. | 252,258,336,
367,380 | Burkitt, F.C. | 296 |
| Altmann, A. | 74,266,280 | Carmona, A. Rodríguez | 207,259 |
| Aufrecht, W.E. | 4,38,49,57,111,
113,132,149,227,282f,288,
303-305,308,309-311,
317-321,344,345,373,381 | Charles, R.H. | 104 |
| Bacher, W. | 253,344 | Chilton, B.D. | 69,196,259,312 |
| Bähr, S. | 123,267 | Clarke, E.G. | 159,255 |
| Barr, J. | 245,289-292 | Cohon, S.S. | 368,369 |
| Bassfreund, J. | 252 | Cortés, E. | 44,45,59,180,184,
186,187,188,189 |
| Baudissin, W.W. Graf | 325 | Cowling, G.J. | |
| Baumgartner, W. | 14 | Cross, F.M. | 214 |
| Baumstark, A. | 180 | Dahl, N.A. | 351 |
| Bergmann, J. | 280 | Dalman, G. | 252,296,325,326,
342,354 |
| Betz, O. | 15,180 | Daly, R.J. | 69 |
| Billerbeck, P. | 115,128,129,227,
295f,298f,309 | Davies, P.R. | 69,195 |
| Black, M. | 41,43,44,198 | de Lange, N.R.M. | 280 |
| Bloch, R. | 252 | Diez Macho, A. | 5,42,107,120,252 |
| Bousset, W. | 295,296,298 | Dodd, C.H. | 339 |
| | | Drazin, I. | 137,167,212,220,221,
223,227,287f,290f |

- Driver, G.R. 9
 Driver, S.R. 14,166
 Edersheim, A. 295
 Emerton, J.A. 147
 Esh, S. 354
 Finkelstein, L. 18,261
 Fitzmyer, J.A. 255
 Fohrer, G. 198
 Forestell, J.T. 6
 Foster, J.A. 255,256
 Friedlander, M. 266
 Fritsch, C.T. 285
 Gall, F. von 78,314
 Geiger, A. 253
 Gfr rer, A.F. 294
 Ginsburger, M. 115,168,253,266,
 268,271-273,274f,281,282,
 288f,294,295,296,297,
 298,313
 Ginzberg, L. 65,85,172,180,
 186,267,273,274
 Goldberg, A.M. 4,66,78,84,135,
 162,177,178,221,314-317,
 319-321,324,373
 Goldschmidt, E.D. 260
 Grelot, P. 252,255,365
 Grossfeld, B. 1,32,35,36,73,
 87,88,90,94,171,173,174
 Haacker, P. 180
 Haag, H. 8,244
 Hamp, V. 4,38,115,128,129,143,
 144,227,297-299,307,309-312
 Hayward, C.T.R. 4,38,46,48,49,50,
 52,69,70,71,72,74,110,121,
 123,132,134,135,139,144,146,
 160,162,164,207,208,210,
 301-313,320,323,343f,353,
 356,362,373
 Heinemann, J. 138,171,183,
 260,379
 Hengel, M. 180,280,350
 Herford, R.T. 62
 Hirschttag, H. 265
 Horbury, W. 74
 Isenberg, S. 365
 Jastrow, M. 35,65,173,174
 Jeremias, Joachim 354
 Jeremias, J rg 171,244
 Jervell, J. 335
 Kadushin, M. 261,278-284,288,
 297,314
 Kahle, P. 41,44,252,255
 Klein, M.L. 5,107,120,191,255,
 256,283f,286f,290f,308,
 311,325,355,357,379
 Koch, K. 5
 Kohler, K. 295
 Komlosh, Y. 265
 Koster, M.D. 239
 Krauss, S. 280
 Kuhn, P. 125,369
 Kuiper, G.J. 253,365
 Kutschler, E.Y. 255
 Le D aut, R. 5,28,36,50,52,59,
 62,69,71,72,94,101,120,132,
 138,142,145,183,184,185,186,
 187,188,194-198,253,255,262,
 353,354,361
 Levey, S.H. 185,187,188,197,
 203,218
 Levi, I. 69
 Levine, E. 42,262,365
 Levy, J. 36,65
 Lewy, H. 266
 Lindblom, J. 245
 Loewe, R. 280,352
 Lund, S. 255,256
 Luzarraga, J. 53,54,57,61,70,
 72,78,132,197
 Luzzatto, S.D. 368,271,274,
 282,288f
 McNamara, M.J. 185,187,188,196,
 200,207,208,209,210,253,
 255,354,356
 McNeil, B. 74
 Maimonides, M. 123,266-269,271,274,
 280f,287-289,293,297,313
 Marcus, R.A. 358,369
 Marmorstein, A. 42,88,280,288f,
 351,352,353,354,355,356,
 357,358,359,360,368,369
 Martinez Borobio, E. 286
 Maybaum, S. 123,124,128,129,159,
 163,168,240,266,268-271,
 273-278,281f,288f,294,295,
 298,313,330,331,332,333,
 334,335
 Mays, J.L. 149,184
 Middleton, R.D. 265,296,314
 Mirsky, A. 82
 Moore, G.F. 295f,297,298f,309,
 313,325,349
 Moxnes, H. 369
 M ller, H-P. 244
 Mulder, M.J. 106,107
 Mu oz Leon, D. 2,4,31,32,35,36,37,
 38,42,44,49,50,52,53,54,57,58,
 59,60,61,64,65,76,77,92,100,101,
 106,107,110,113,115,117,118,120,
 122,123,128,129,130,131,132,133,
 135,137,143,144,145,146,147,150,
 159,160,161,162,164,166,167,184,
 185,196,204,207,218,266,274-277,
 299-301,303-307,309-312,316f,
 319-324,342,356,373

- Nahmanides, M. 267-269,293f,
 296,297
 Neusner, J. 74,319,382
 Nickels, P. 6
 Nissen, A. 369
 Nöldecke, T. 253
 Nyberg, H.S. 167

 Oesterley, W.O.E. 295
 Ohana, M. 72,95,254
 Orlinsky, H.M. 284f

 Pannenberg, W. 244
 Patai, R. 314
 Pérez Fernández, M. 184,185,
 187,188,190,194,197,200,
 201,202,203
 Potin, J. 113,114,116,132,164

 Reif, S.C. 147
 Reisel, M. 344
 Rendtorff, R. 244
 Rieder, D. 5,254
 Robert, J. 5
 Roberts, B.J. 265
 Rosenblatt, S. 266
 Rowland, C. 16,25,184,187,
 188,201,202,203,214

 Sa'adiah Gaon 266,267,288f,293
 Saggs, H.W.F. 9
 Saldarini, A.J. 170
 Schäfer, P. 119,129,167,180,183
 Schaller, B. 210
 Schlatter, A. 3
 Schmiedl, A. 266
 Schnackenburg, R. 244
 Schnutenhaus, F. 244
 Scholem, G.G. 174,314
 Schreibman, R.D. 284
 Séd, N. 196
 Segal, A.F. 24,25,26,102,
 206,280,321,348,351
 Seligsohn, H. 265
 Shakhnai, S. 285
 Shinan, A. 6,33,35,37,38,41,42,
 45,51,58,60,66,87,89,94,95,
 102,103-108,130,145,146,150,
 158,166,167,171,173,176,178,
 182,183,189,194,198,199,203,
 226,252-254,256,258,347,351,
 365,366,367,370,379-382

 Shunary, J. 285
 Shutt, R.J.H. 369
 Singer, S. 260
 Sjöberg, E. 184,218
 Skinner, J. 24,87,91,94,
 157,173
 Sperber, A. 5,101,265,328,379
 Spiegel, S. 69
 Splansky, D.M. 60,95,252,
 253,254
 Stone, M.E. 214
 Strack, H.L. 115,128,129,
 227,295
 Stummer, F. 35
 Traub, J. 264

 Urbach, E.E. 48,65,71,167,
 183,280,319,342,345,347,
 352,353,354,368,369,381

 Vermes, G. 62,69,94,120,
 129,135,136,167,196,
 197,200,201,202,203,
 253,258,365,379
 Vermes, P. 301,307,308

 Wadsworth, M. 180
 Weber, F. 294f,296,298
 Weiss, J.G. 352
 Weiss, R. 285
 Wernberg-Møller, P.C.H. 255
 Westcott, B.F. 295
 Westermann, C. 8,12,244
 Wicks, H.J. 369
 Wiesenberg, E.J. 352
 Winter, P. 185
 Wittstruck, T. 285
 Wolkow, L.R. 284

 York, A.D. 121,255,258,
 367,380

 Zimmerli, W. 244
 Zlotowitz, B.M. 284f
 Zulay, M. 41