

ON THE SHORES OF THE RED SEA: A MEDIEVAL RECONSTRUCTION OF PALESTINIAN TARGUM?¹

Jeroen Verrijssen

1.0. Background

The expansion of the ארבע כיתין, or ‘four groups’, appears in all the different recensions of Palestinian Targum (PalTg): the ‘running text’ Targums such as Targum Neofiti (TgNeof) and some manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah (TgCG) as well as the consciously collected units of Targum found in the Fragment Targums (FragTgs). It is also found in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (TgPsJ). To this list we can now add the Targum units preserved in medieval *mahzorim* (festival prayerbooks), also known as the

¹ This research is part of the TEXTEVOLVE project, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No. 818702).

Liturgical Targum.² These manuscripts contain the Targum portions that were traditionally read for the major festivals. The *mahzorim* still extant, however, only contain the readings for the seventh day of Pesach for the crossing of the Red Sea (Exod. 13.17–15.26) and the first day of Shavuot for the Decalogue (Exod. 19.1–20.26).

This expansion has received only scant scholarly attention: Zunz (1867, 21) mentions it, though he only provides the opening words; Epstein (1895, 48–49) published the version he found in *Mahzor Vitry*; Klein (1980, 21–22) mentions this expansion in his discussion of the Fragment Targums; and Díez-Macho (1981, 248–49) published the expansion as he found it in Parma, Palatina, MS 3089 and discusses some of the rabbinic and midrashic parallels.

The story of the four groups of Israelites standing on the shores of the Red Sea knew a history outside of its attestations within the various Palestinian Targums. A Hebrew version is attested in early sources such as the Palestinian Talmud (y. Ta'anit 5.2) and the *Mekhilta de R. Shimon ben Yochai*. It remained popular throughout the Middle Ages, appearing in various midrashic collections such as *Leqach tov* (Exod. 14.14), *Sekhel tov* (Exod. 14.14), and an expanded version in *Sefer haYashar* (Book of Exodus 51). Exactly how and when the Aramaic version(s) of the expansion originated is unclear, however their attestations in

² A text-critical study of the Liturgical Targum was the focus of my dissertation, titled 'The Medieval European Liturgical Targum' (KU Leuven, 2024). For a survey of previous scholarship concerning this tradition, consult Verrijssen (2023, 166–184; 2024, 30–38).

various redactions of the Palestinian Targum as well as their continued transmission within liturgical manuscripts signify their popularity alongside their Hebrew counterparts.

The version that we find in the Palestinian Targums is structured as a dialogue between the four groups of Israelites and Moses. With Pharaoh's troops in pursuit, the Israelites plead with Moses and suggest four different routes of action. To each of these suggestions, Moses provides an answer in the form of (part of) a biblical verse. The verses in question are Exod. 14.13–14, which is also where the expansion is found in all but one of the Palestinian Targum witnesses.

In FragTg^p (Paris, Nationale, MS hébreu 110), and in many *mahzorim*, we find the expansion at Exod. 15.3. In its transposition, the text underwent a fundamental change which reveals important clues about the transmission of this expansion and the Palestinian Targum in general.

2.0. Text

I present below two versions of the ארבע ביתין expansion. One is preserved in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS 2894 (a French *mahzor*) and another in London, British Library, MS Add. 19944–19945 (an Italian *mahzor*). I have added the letters in parentheses (a–d; א–ד) to present the structure of the expansion more clearly.

Legend

- (x) deletion by scribe
- <x> insertion by scribe
- {x} completion of an abbreviation

2.1. Parm. 2894, Biblioteca Palatina (13th century)

Exod. 15.3:

ארבע כיתין איתעבידו בני ישראל {אל} כד הוה קיימין על ימא דסוף

(a) חדא הוה אמרה ניפול בימא

(b) וחדא הוה אמרה <נחזור למצראי>

(c) וחדא הוה אמרה נימני³ לקיבלהון סידרא קרבא

(d) וחדא הוה אמרה נימני לקיבלהון ונערבב יתהון

(א) כתא דהוה אמרה ניפול בימא אמר להון משה לא תדחלון איתעתדו

וחמון לפורקנא דיי דיעביד לכון יומא דין⁴

(ב) כתא דהוה אמרה נחזור למצראי אמר להון משה לא תידחלון ארום

כמא דחמיתון ית מיצראי יומא דין לא תוספון למיחמיהון בשיעבוד

עוד עד עלמא

(ג) כתא דהוה אמרה נסדר לקיבלהון סדרי קרבא אמר להון משה לא

תידחלון <יי> ביקר שכינתיה הוא דעביד לכון נחצני קרביכון

(ד) כתא דהוה אמרה נמני לקיבלהון ונערבב יתהון אמר להון משה לא

תידחלון קומו ושתוקו והבו יקר ותשבחן ורוממן לאלהכון

יי גברא עביד ניצחני קרבכון יי שמיה כשמיה כן גבורתיה כן תוקפיה כן

מלכותיה יהא שמיה מברך ומשבח לעלם ולעלמי עלמין:

Translation:

The Isra{elites} formed four groups when they were standing by the Sea of Reeds.

(a) One said: "Let us fall to into the sea."

(b) And one said: <"Let us return to Egypt.">

(c) And one said: "Let us form battle-ranks before them."

³ The form נימני here is a scribal corruption, a conflation with the following line. The appropriate form attested in other witnesses is נסדר. We have translated נסדר for clarity.

⁴ יי is the convention in these texts to refer to the Tetragrammaton.

- (d) And one said: "Let us chant before them and confuse them."
- (ס) [Regarding] the group that said: "Let us fall into the sea," Moses said to them: "You should not fear! Stand firm and see the salvation of the Lord, that he has performed for you this day."
- (ז) [Regarding] the group that said: "Let us return to Egypt," Moses said to them: "You should not fear! Because just as you saw the Egyptians this day, you will never see them in enslavement (= as enslaved people) ever again."
- (א) [Regarding] the group that said: "Let us form battle-ranks before them," Moses said to them: "You should not fear! <The Lord>, by the glory of his Shekinah, is he that will make the victories of your battles for you."
- (ז) [Regarding] the group that said: "Let us chant before them and confuse them," Moses said to them: "You should not fear! Stand, be silent, and give glory, praise, and exultation to your God."
- (Exod. 15.3) The Lord is a warrior, (who) makes the victories of your battles. *Adonai* is his name! As is his name, so is his might! So is his strength! So is his kingdom! May his name be blessed and praised forever and ever.

Each of the four suggestions, (a) 'Let us fall into the sea', (b) 'Let us return to Egypt', (c) 'Let us form battle ranks before them', and (d) 'Let us shout before them and confuse them', have a suitable response from Moses that incorporates part of a biblical verse. To the group that suggests (a) *falling* into the sea, Moses answers (ס) '*stand firm* and see the salvation of the Lord' (first

half of Exod. 14.13); to the group that suggests (b) returning to *Egypt*, Moses answers 'you will never see them [the *Egyptians*]... again' (second half of Exod. 14.13); to the group that suggests (c) forming *battle-ranks*, Moses answers (ג) 'the Lord... will make the victories of your *battles* for you' (first half of Exod. 14.14); and lastly, to the group that suggests (d) *chanting* before them and confusing them, Moses answers (ד) 'stand and *be silent*...' (second half of Exod. 14.14). At the end of the expansion, we find Exod. 15.3, the verse to which it is attached in this manuscript.

The version of the expansion preserved in this manuscript has a logical sequence of suggestions and answers, and largely reflects the versions preserved in other witnesses of the Palestinian Targum, which strongly suggests that this is the original version.

Below I present the text according to an Italian *mahzor*, where an interesting change has occurred within the text.

2.2. Add. 19944–19945, British Library (14th/15th century)

Exod. 15.3:

- ארבע כתין אתעבידו בני ישראל כד הוו קיימין על ימא דסוף
 (a) כיתא חדא הות אמרה נפול לימא
 (b) וחדא הות אמרה נחזור למצרים
 (c) וחדא הות אמרה נסדר לקבליהון סדרי קרבא
 (d) וחדא הות אמרה נבלבל לקבליהון ונערבב יתהון
 (א) כיתא חדא דהות אמרה נפול לימא אמר להון משה לא תדחלון
 אתעתדו וחמון לפורקניה דיי דהוא עביד לכון יומא דין
 (ב) וכיתא דהות אמרה נחזור למצרים אמר להון משה לא תדחלון היך
 מה דחמייתון למצראי יומא דין לא תוספון למחזיהון תוב עד עלמא

(ד) וכיתא דהות אמרה נסדר לקבליהון סדרי קרבא אמר להון משה לא
 תדחלון קומו ושתוקו והבו יקר ותושבחתא ורממו לאלהכון
 (*ג) וכיתא דהות אמרה נלבבל⁵ לקבליהון ונערבב יתהון אמר להון משה
 לא תדחלון יי גברא עביד לכון סדרי נצחני קרביכון יי שמיה
 כשמיה כן גבורתיה כן תוקפיה כן מלכותיה יהא שמיה מברך לעלם
 ולעלמי עלמין:

Translation:

The Israelites formed four groups when they were standing by the Sea of Reeds.

- (a) One group said: "Let us fall into the sea."
- (b) And one said: "Let us return to Egypt."
- (c) And one said: "Let us form battle-ranks before them."
- (d) And one said: "Let us shout before them and confuse them."
- (א) [Regarding] the group that said: "Let us fall into the sea," Moses said to them: "You should not fear! Stand firm and see the salvation of the Lord, that he has performed for you this day."
- (ב) [Regarding] the group that said: "Let us return to Egypt," Moses said to them: "You should not fear! As you saw the Egyptians this day, you will never see them ever again."
- (ג) [Regarding] the group that said: "Let us form battle-ranks before them," Moses said to them: "You should not fear! Stand, be silent, and give glory and praise; and exult your God."

⁵ The form נלבבל is likely a corruption of the forms נלולי (as preserved in TgCG^J, see Klein 1986, 225) and נבלבל, both meaning 'to confuse'.

(ג*) [Regarding] the group that said: “Let us shout before them and confuse them,” Moses said to them: “You should not fear! The Lord is a warrior who forms the ranks of the victories of your battles for you. *Adonai* is his name! As is his name, so is his might! So is his power! So is his kingdom! May his name be blessed forever and ever.”

If we compare the previous example (i.e., Parma, MS 2894) to what we find in London, MS Add. 19944–19945, we find that Moses’ responses (ג) and (ד) have switched places. Furthermore, Exod. 15.3 has been incorporated into (ג).

As mentioned previously, most known witnesses of the PalTg tradition (TgNeof, FragTg^V, FragTg^{StP}, TgCG^J, TgCG^{FF}) as well as TgPsJ and Parma, MS 2894 (above) follow the original version. In MS Add. 19944–19945, however, the expansion has been transposed and adapted to accommodate its new place at Exod. 15.3. This transposition was possible due to the similarity between the first half of Exod. 14.14 and the first half of Exod. 15.3, which is conflated to (ג) גברא עבד לכוֹן סדרי נצחני קרביכוֹן ‘the Lord is a warrior (≈ Exod. 15.3), (who) forms the ranks of the victories of your battles’ (≈ Exod. 14.14).

3.0. Klein’s Explanation

This paper is not the first to address the peculiarities of this expansion, as the late Michael Klein (1980, 21–22) noticed the expansion in his work on the Fragment Targums. In this brief section, Klein made two key observations that laid the foundation for this present work. He noted:

(1) Festival-liturgical targums⁶ frequently transfer expansions from their original places to verses within the Song of the Sea. Since most targumic expansions end with the verse they are expanding, when אַרְבַּע בֵּיתִין was transposed, the ending was changed to accommodate its new place at Exod. 15.3. Klein noticed that in some liturgical manuscripts, answers (ג) and (ד) were sometimes switched so that the expansion would end with Exod. 15.3, but suggestions (c) and (d) remained in their original positions, resulting in incorrect sequencing. To the group that suggests forming battle-ranks (c), Moses answers (ד) ‘stand and be silent’; and to the group that suggests shouting before them and confuse them, Moses answers (ג) ‘the Lord makes the ranks of the victories of your battles for you’ (as in MS Add. 19944-19945 above).

(2) FragTg^p also transposes אַרְבַּע בֵּיתִין from Exod. 14.13–14 to Exod. 15.3, and contains the alternative sequencing, which, in Klein’s eyes, contributed to his suspicion that some of the material in FragTg^p belonged to the “festival-liturgical” genre.

This paper seeks 1) to confirm Klein’s preliminary observations on the expansion with a larger text corpus and 2) to explore a case of Targum reconstruction (or ‘recycling’) related to the expansion and the version found in FragTg^p.

⁶ It is important to note that Klein’s designation of ‘festival-liturgical collections’ includes more than simply the Targum units in *mahzorim*; he includes some (parts of) the Fragment Targums and manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah (some of which may actually be *mahzorim*) under this category.

3.1. Expanding the Data Set

Klein only had a few *mahzorim* at his disposal, and therefore his initial observations about the ארבע כיתין expansion within the festival-liturgical manuscripts were not sufficiently substantiated.

This present work is part of my doctoral research on the Liturgical Targum (the Targum contained in medieval European liturgical manuscripts). I transcribed the Targum text of 32 *mahzorim* (from the 13th–16th centuries) from various European liturgical rites (Italian, Ashkenazi, French, Romanian, Carpentras, Sephardi) and compared them with the ‘known’ Targums (i.e., TgOnk, TgNeof, TgPsJ, the FragTgs, and TgsCG).⁷

Out of our corpus of *mahzorim*, 28 manuscripts contain the ארבע כיתין expansion. Using a larger corpus of textual data, it is possible to evaluate Klein’s initial observations and substantiate them with more evidence.

3.2. Transposition and Alternative Sequencing

Klein’s first observation was that liturgical manuscripts transfer expansions from their original places to the Song of the Sea, though he gave no motivation as to why this happened.⁸ He noticed that all of the festival-liturgical collections with the exception of TgCG^J end ארבע כיתין with Exod. 15.3, and that this was the result of the transposition of the expansion from Exod. 14.13–

⁷ The full list of manuscripts can be found in Verrijssen 2024, 44–63.

⁸ This not only applies to ארבע כיתין, but also for other expansions such as ארבע לילות ‘the Four Nights’, whose original place was Exod. 12.42 but appears in Ashkenazi *mahzorim* at Exod. 15.18 (Klein 1980, 23).

14 to Exod. 15.3. While this is true for most *mahzorim*, there are a few exceptions in our corpus. Parma, Palatina, MS 2894 and Parma, Palatina, MS 3000, both thirteenth-century French *mahzorim*, contain the entirety of the text in the original order (i.e., ending with (d) → (ד); Exod. 14.14) and add Exod. 15.3 at the end, separate from the expansion, instead of conflated in (ג). A fourteenth-century Romanian *mahzor* (Oxford, Bodleian, MS Oppenheim Add. 4^o 171) also contains the correct order of suggestions and answers.

Furthermore, as Klein noticed in a few manuscripts, the transposition of the expansion led to the adaptation of the text and the alternative sequencing of suggestions (c) and (d), and their corresponding answers (ג) and (ד). This sequencing is present in 16 of the 28 *mahzorim* in the corpus: all 11 Italian *mahzorim* exhibit this feature, alongside three of the 13 French/Ashkenazi *mahzorim*, and two Sephardi *mahzorim*. Even more striking is the fact that, though the Italian *mahzorim* end the expansion with Exod. 15.3, the text is found at Exod. 14:13–14 (i.e., introduced by the lemma יִלָּחֶם לָכֶם). In other words, the version of the expansion that was adapted to Exod. 15.3 has been ‘returned’ to its original position at Exod. 14.13–14. Therefore, the אַרְבַּע כִּי־תִּתֵּן expansion must have entered Italian liturgical collections after it had already been transposed and adapted to Exod. 15.3.

3.3. Reading Traditions and Textual Adaptation

The question remains why the expansion was transposed in the first place. This is likely due to the diminishing tradition of reading the Targum in the synagogue—the direct effect of which is

already visible in the fact that, by the Middle Ages, only the readings for the seventh day of Pesach and the first day of Shavuot have stood the test of time. These readings, it would seem, were further reduced.

This shortening of the reading (see also, Mikva 2011, 319–42) is most clearly evident in the Italian *mahzorim*, which preserve only select expansions (e.g., וְהוּא בַּד שְׁלֹחַ פֶּרֶעַה, or the *piyyut* מִשֶּׁה אֵיזֵל) and the Song of the Sea (Exod. 14.30–15.18) instead of the entire reading (Exod. 13.17–15.26). In Ashkenazi *mahzorim*, the manuscripts that contain the verses before and after the Song of the Sea contain TgOnk. In the reduction of the reading, expansions that were attached to verses before the Song of the Sea were at risk of being lost. אַרְבַּע בִּיתִין, which was originally attached to Exod. 14.13–14, was therefore transposed as an act of conscious preservation by scribes. The expansion was moved to a verse that was conveniently similar so that it would not seem out of place, namely Exod. 15.3.

4.0. Palestinian Targum Recycling

Apart from the liturgical manuscripts and FragTg^p,⁹ which place אַרְבַּע בִּיתִין at Exod. 15.3, all other PalTg witnesses have the expansion at Exod. 14.13–14. When something is moved from one

⁹ The similarity between FragTg^p and the Liturgical Targum tradition has been argued in Verrijssen (2023, 179–82), and in more detail in Verrijssen (2024, 145–201). To summarise, we believe that FragTg^p copied some of its material from a Sephardi liturgical manuscript. See also, Gleßmer (1988, 204–40); Kaufman and Maori (1991); and Campbell (2002, 105–14).

place to another, an empty space is left behind. How did scribes deal with the lacuna left at Exod. 14.13–14 in the witnesses that transposed *לכון יומא דין ארי דחזיתון ית מצראי יומא דין לא תוספון למחזיהון* to Exod. 15.3? The following tables compare Exod. 14.13–14 as it is found in TgOnk, FragTg^p, Parma, MS 2894 (a French *mahzor*), and Parma, Palatina, MS 2411 (a Sephardi *mahzor*).

Exodus 14.13

TgOnk ואמר משה לעמא לא תדחלון אתעתדו וחזו ית פורקנא דיין דעביד
לכון יומא דין ארי דחזיתון ית מצראי יומא דין לא תוספון למחזיהון
עוד עד עלמא :

Moses said to the people: "You should not fear! Stand firm and see the salvation that the Lord has performed for you this day, for (as) you saw the Egyptians this day, you will never see them ever again."

Parm. ואמר משה לעמא לא תידחלון איתעתדו וחזו ית פרקנא דיין
2894 דיעביד לכון יומא דין ארי במא דחזיתון ית מצראי יומא דין לא
תוספון למחזיהון עוד עד עלמא :

Moses said to the people: "You should not fear! Stand firm and see the salvation of the Lord, that he has performed for you this day, for as you saw the Egyptians this day, you will never see them ever again."

Parm. ואמר משה לעמא לא תדחלון אתעתדו וחמון ית פורקנא דיין
2411 דיעביד לכון יומא דין ארום היך מה דחמיתון ית מצראי יומא דין
לא תוספון למחמי יתהון בשעבוד טוב עד עלם :

Moses said to the people: "You should not fear! Stand firm and see the salvation of the Lord, that he has performed for you this day, for as you saw the Egyptians this day, you will never see them in enslavement (= as enslaved people) ever again."

Frag- ואמר משה לעמא בני ישראל לא תדחלון אתעתדו וחמון ית
 Tg^P פורקנא דיי דייעביד לכו יומא דין ארום כמא דחמיתון ית מצראי
 יומא דין לא תוספון למחמיהון טוב עד עלמא :
 Moses said to the people, the Israelites: "You should
 not fear! Stand firm and see the salvation of the Lord,
 that he has performed for you this day, for as you
 saw the Egyptians this day, you will never see them
 ever again."

Exodus 14.14

TgOnk ויזי יגיא לכו קרב ואתון תשתקון :
 The Lord will wage war for you and you will be si-
 lent.

Parm. ויזי יגיא לכו קרב ואתון תשתקון :
 2894 The Lord will wage war for you and you will be si-
 lent.

Parm. אמר משה לישראל לא תדחלון דמימרא דיי יגיא לכו קרבא קומו
 2411 שתוקו והבו יקר ותושבחתא ורוממו לאלהכון :
 Moses said to Israel: "You should not fear! For the
 Memrah of the Lord will wage the war for you.
 Stand, be silent, and give glory and praise; and exult
 your God."

FragTg^P מימרא דיי יגיא לכו קרבא קומו שתוקו והבו יקר ותושבחתא
 לאלהכון :
 The Memrah of the Lord will wage the war for you.
 Stand, be silent, and give glory and praise to your
 God.

For Exod. 14.13, Parma, MS 2894 simply has the text of TgOnk, like the vast majority of French/Ashkenazi *mahzorim*.¹⁰ Parma, MS 2411 and FragTg^p however, have a Palestinised version of the text of TgOnk. In other words, their versions are identical in meaning but contain dialectal differences (i.e., ארום vs. ארי (דחזיתון vs. דחמיתון, ארי.¹¹

It is possible that, in the case of these two latter manuscripts, the text of TgOnk was adopted and Palestinised in order to fill the gap left by the transposition of ארבע כיתין from Exod. 14.13–14 to Exod. 15.3.

Another possibility, which becomes quite evident in Exod. 14.14, is that scribes recycled or reconstructed material from the ארבע כיתין expansion in order fabricate a PalTg version of Exod. 14.13–14. Where Parma, MS 2894 has a version of Exod. 14.14 identical to TgOnk, Parma, MS 2411 contains a direct quote of (ג) from ארבע כיתין, including the addition לא ואמר משה לישראל 'Moses said to Israel: 'You should not fear!'. As we know from our presentation of the expansion above, the phrase 'You should not fear!' is repeated four times in ארבע כיתין, introducing each of Moses' answers.

¹⁰ Some of the French/Ashkenazi *mahzorim* contain some Palestinian Aramaic variants, e.g., London, British Library, MS Or. 2735 which contains דחמיתון instead of דחזיתון. In another French/Ashkenazi *mahzor*, London, British Library, MS Add. 19664, a scribe has even corrected the form found in TgOnk למיחמיהון to the Palestinian form למיחמיהון.

¹¹ Parma, MS 2411 contains a minor addition of בשעבוד 'in enslavement', which was added as clarification, i.e., as you saw the Egyptians today, *being an enslaved people*, you will never see them again.

In our opinion, it is very likely that the scribe recycled (ג) from ארבע ביתין and placed it at Exod. 14.14. The same applies to the second half of the verse, קומו שתוקו והבו יקר ותושבחתא לאלהכון 'stand, be silent, and give glory and praise to your God'; this expanded version of the second half of Exod. 14.14 is otherwise only attested in ארבע ביתין.

5.0. Adaptation as Preservation

Due to the diminishing of the Targum tradition in Medieval Europe, the reading for the seventh day of Pesach was shortened to only the most 'interesting' part, namely the Song of the Sea (Exod. 14.30–15.18). Expansions attached to verses before or after the Song of the Sea were at risk of being lost, and as such, were moved to verses within the Song of the Sea. These expansions were then adapted to their new location at Exod. 15.3. In some manuscripts, the adaptation led to an alternative sequencing of the expansion. It was thus the result of a conscious act of preservation that these expansions were moved and adapted.

In the manuscripts where this transposition had taken place (i.e., French/Ashkenazi and Sephardi *mahzorim*, as well as Frag-Tg^p), scribes were creative in filling the lacuna that was left at Exod. 14.13–14; some opted to simply provide the text of TgOnk, while others recycled PalTg from the ארבע ביתין expansion.

References

Alexander, Philip. 1988. 'Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures'. In *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpre-*

- tation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, edited by Martijn J. Mulder, 217–53. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Beit-Arié, Malachi, and Benjamin Richler. 2001. *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma: Catalogue*. Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library.
- Campbell, Ronald. 2002. 'Parashiyyot and Their Implications for Dating the Fragment-Targums'. In *Targum and Scripture*, edited by Paul Flesher, 105–14. Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture. Leiden: Brill.
- Dalman, Gustaf. 1894. *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch nach den Idiomen des palästinischen Talmud und Midrasch, des Onkelostargum (Cod. Socini 84) und der jerusalemischen Targume zum Pentateuch*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Díez-Macho, Alejandro. 1960. 'The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: Its Antiquity and Relationship with Other Targumim'. *Vetus Testamentum, Supplements* (1): 222–45.
- . 1981. 'Nueva fuente para el Targum Palestino del día septimo de Pascua y primero de Pentecostes'. *Salmanticensis* 28 (1/2): 233–57.
- Elbogen, Ismar. 1993. *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History*. Translated by Raymond Scheindlin. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America.
- Epstein, Abraham. 1895. 'Tosefta du Targoum Yerouschalmi'. *Revue des études Juives* (1): 44–51.

- Fassberg, Steven. 1990. *A Grammar of the Palestinian Targum Fragments from the Cairo Genizah*. Harvard Semitic Studies 38. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Flesher, Paul, and Bruce Chilton. 2011. *The Targums: A Critical Introduction*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.
- Frenkel, Yona. 1993. מחזור פסח לפי מנהגי בני אשכנז לכל ענפיהם. Jerusalem: Koren.
- . 2000. מחזור שבועות לפי מנהגי בני אשכנז לכל ענפיהם. Jerusalem: Koren.
- Ginsburger, Moshe. 1895. 'Die Thargumim zur Thorahlektion am 7. Pesach-und 1. Schabuoth-Tage'. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 39 (3): 97–105.
- . 1899. *Das Fragmententhargum*. Berlin: Calvary.
- . 1900. 'Aramäische Introduktionen zum Thargumvortrag an Festtagen'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 54 (1): 113–24.
- . 1921. 'Les introductions araméennes à la lecture du Targoum (suite et fin)'. *Revue des études Juives* 73 (145): 14–26.
- . 1966. 'Die Fragmente des Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch'. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 57 (1): 67–80.
- Ginzberg, Louis. 1947. *The Legends of the Jews*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.
- Gleißner, Uwe. 1988. 'Entstehung und Entwicklung der Targume zum Pentateuch als literarkritisches Problem, dargestellt am Beispiel der ZusatzTargume'. PhD dissertation, University of Hamburg.

- Houtman, Alberdina, and Harry Sysling. 2009. *Alternative Targum Traditions: The Use of Variant Readings for the Study in Origin and History of Targum Jonathan*. Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 9. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Kasher, Rimon. 1985. 'The Aramaic Targumim and Their "Sitz Im Leben"'. *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies* 75–85.
- . 1996. *Targumic Toseftot to the Prophets*. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies. [Hebrew]
- Kaufman, Stephen, and Yeshayahu Maori. 1991. 'The Targumim to Exodus 20: Reconstructing the Palestinian Targum'. *Textus* 16 (1): 13–78.
- Klein, Michael L. 1980. *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch: According to their Extant Sources*. Analecta Biblica 76. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.
- . 1986. *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*. Cincinnati, OH; Hoboken, NJ: Hebrew Union College Press.
- Lehnardt, Peter. 2010. 'Redactions of the Prayer Book according to the Italian Rite: First Reconsiderations on the Basis of Different Outlines of the Liturgical Poetry'. *Italia* 20 (1): 31–66.
- Mikva, Rachel. 2011. 'Midrash in the Synagogue and the Attenuation of Targum'. *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 18 (4): 319–42.
- Patmore, Hector, Shlomi Efrati, and Jeroen Verrijssen. 2024. 'Aramaic from Antiquity to the Middle Ages'. In *Jewish Languages and Book Culture*, edited by Judith Olszowy-

- Schlanger and César Merchán-Hamann, 30–47. Oxford: Bodleian Library Publishing.
- Sperber, Alexander (ed.). 2013. *The Bible in Aramaic: Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, 3rd ed. Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Tal, Abraham. 1975. לשון התרגום לנביאים ראשונים ומעמדה בכלל וניב. הארמית. Tel Aviv: University of Tel Aviv.
- . 1986. ‘The Dialects of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic and the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch’. *Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas* 46 (1): 441–48.
- . 2001. ‘Is There a Raison d’être for an Aramaic Targum in a Hebrew-Speaking Society?’. *Revue des études Juives* 160 (3–4): 357–78.
- . 2008. ‘The Role of Targum Onqelos in Literary Activity during the Middle Ages’. In *Aramaic in Its Historical and Linguistic Setting*, edited by Holger Gzella and Margaretha Folmer, 135–47. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Ta-Shma, Israel. 2006. ‘Ashkenazi Jewry in the Eleventh Century’. In *Creativity and Tradition: Studies in Medieval Rabbinic Scholarship, Literature and Thought*, edited by Israel Ta-Shma, 1–5. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Verrijssen, Jeroen. 2023. ‘The Liturgical Targum to Pesach’. *Aramaic Studies* 21 (2): 166–84.
- . 2024. ‘The Medieval European Liturgical Targum’. PhD dissertation, KU Leuven.
- Zunz, Leopold. 1867. *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*. Berlin: Adolf Cohn Verlag und Antiquariat.