NEOFITI'S REVERSAL OF THE MOTIF OF THE «WANDERING JEWS» IN GENESIS 47:21 *

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The textual and linguistic distinctiveness of the Palestinian [= PT] and Babylonian Targums [= BT] [1] are well known. The former gives an interpretation of the biblical account in Galilean Aramaic and with a wealth of haggadic interpolations. As attested to by Targum Onkelos [= O] the latter follows more literally the Masoretic Text [= MT] and uses the Babylonian Aramaic dialect [2]. Historically speaking, even though having the same roots, the two traditions developed within distinct cultural environments from the second to the ninth century A. D. Then, in the tenth century, spurred on by the hegemonic course of the eastern Gaons and by

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* This article develops a line of research which privilegiates both a "synagogal" approach to the targumic traditions (see n. 38) and a reevaluation of the textual import of the Onkelos Tosefta. See L. G. PAUTASSO, *The Editorial Method of Targum Neofiti 1 with Reference to Gen. 44:18-19 and 47:21*, unpublished dissertation, University of Toronto, 1985, pp. 207-229.

[1] With reference to O, R. LE DEAUT (*Introduction à la littérature targumique*, Rome 1966, p. 80) has correctly pointed out that "Le vrai nom de ce targum serait donc Targum de Babylone". In our view, a new appraisal of the Targumic Tosefta (see our article «Gen. 44:18 -A Case for the Textual Relevance of the Targumic Tosefta», *Henoch* X (1988) 205-218) together with a discerning evaluation of Onkelos' textual history made possible by A. SPERBER edition of O (*The Bible in Aramaic, based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts*, 4 vols., Leiden 1959-1973) clearly indicates the need of approaching the evidence in terms of BT and not only of O.

[2] Targum Onkelos follows almost literally the Hebrew Text. Quite likely this is due to some kind of earlier recensional activity encouraged by the Gaonic authorities under the pressure of the Qaraitic movement and aiming at bringing Onkelos as closer as possible to the Hebrew. A. BERLINER, (*Targum Onkelos*, Berlin 1884, vol. II, pp. 224-225) and W. BACHER («Targum» in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York 1901-1906, vol. XII, p. 59) had already noted that the paraphrase of O appears to be an abbreviated form of an earlier and longer one. See G. VERMES, «Haggadah in the Onkelos Targum», *JSS* 8 (1963) 159-169; R. LE DÉAUT, *Introduction*, pp. 84-85; A. DÍEZ MACHO, *Neophyti 1: Targum Palestinense. MS de la Biblioteca Vaticana. Tomo I, Génesis*, Madrid/Barcelona 1968, pp. 98*-114*.

the renewed interest in the biblical text of the Masoretic schools, O became the official targum of both eastern and western Jewish communities [3].

Today, thanks to the medieval copyists' tendency to adjust the Galilean features of PT to the Babylonian Aramaic of O, all the surviving Palestinian targumic MSS (Pseudo-Jonathan [= PsJ], the Fragment Targum [= FT], the Cairo Geniza Fragments [= CG] and Targum Neofiti [= Neof]), to a certain degree, bear the scars of Onkelos' influence [4].

Quite remarkably, in addition to the most copious evidence of later linguistic onkelization, Neof purports also some specimens of a unique linguistic and textual phenomenon —the conflation of Palestinian and Babylonian versions of the same *haggadah*. This phenomenon is, for instance, clearly attested to in Neof's long interpolation of Gen 44:18, which marks the beginning of the pentateuchal reading ויגש (Gen 44:18-47:27) according to the annual Babylonian cycle of synagogal readings [5]. A similar feature can also be discovered in Neof's interpretation of Gen 47:21, a verse that belongs to the same *parashah* and that the targumic interpreters have shaped into an apologetic reversal of the motif of the "Wandering Jews". This study focuses on the latter instance of conflation, as found on folio 100ᵃ of Neof's Ms.

One can begin by noticing that in Gen 47:21 (as shown by Table I below) Neof witnesses to different textual traditions of the targumic version of the passage. Its main text presents a double translation of the verse [= Neofᴬ and Neofᴮ]. In addition, two different and complete versions are recorded on the left margin of Neof's Ms [= Nglᵃ and Nglᵇ]; another gloss covering the last portion of the verse is located on the right margin [= Nglᶜ], and three interlinear glosses provide more textual materials [= Ngl^{I_1}, Ngl^{I_2} and Ngl^{I_3}]. Unfortu-

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[3] See P. KAHLE, *The Cairo Geniza*, 1959², p. 195. See also R. LE DÉAUT, *Introduction*, p. 87.

[4] See A. BERLINER, *Targum Onkelos*, vol. II, pp. 107-108 and E. Y. KUTSCHER, *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*, translated by M. SOKOLOFF, Ramat-Gan 1976, p. 2. However, one should also take into account the possibility of the opposite phenomenon, namely the palestinization of O. See R. LE DÉAUT - J. ROBERT, *Targum du Pentateuque*, Tome I, Genèse, Paris 1978, p. 21, note 4.

[5] This phenomenon was first noted by G. VERMES (*Scripture and Tradition in Judaism*, Leiden 1961, p. 20) with reference to Neof's Gen 44:18. In our view, Gen 47:21 is another example of the same literary technique. See L. PAUTASSO, *The Editorial Method*, pp. 52-54.

nately, the comparative material is relatively scarce. There is no CG material available, and the FT is present with the Vatican 440 group only [= V]. Yet, an in-depth study of the pericope is facilitated by the fact that the expansion is also attested to by O and PsJ [6].

Table I - Neofiti I, Folio 100ª, lines 8-15 (Gen 47:21)
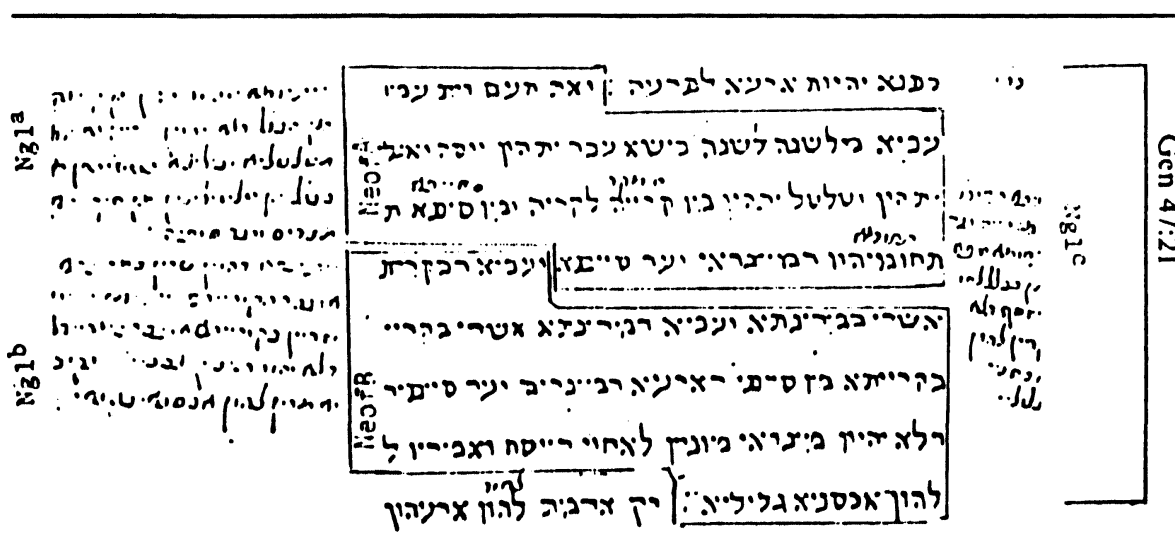
In the following inquiry, first, we will establish the conflated nature of Neof's pericope, second, we will inquire about the relationship of Neof's conflated text to its marginalia and to the other targumic witnesses, and, third, we will discuss the literary and

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[6] The expansion of Gen 47:21 is likewise attested to by the *Babylonian Talmud*, *Hullin* 60ᵇ (see also, *Yadayim* 4.4 and *Berakhot* 28ª), by *Tanhuma B*, I, 186, by *Bereshit Rabbah, 95* and by the *Midrash Ha-Gadol*, I, 695-702. In addition, a short portion of it is quoted by the *Sefer Arukh*; see M. GINSBURGER, *Das Fragmententhargum. Thargum jeruschalmi zum Pentateuch*, Berlin 1899; reprint Jerusalem 1969, p. 102.

The theme of the dispersion of the Gentiles is clearly worked out by the author of the *Midrash Ha-Gadol*, I, 701-702. "Thus you find that after the Israelites left Egypt, all peoples were scattered, so that they would not be able to taunt them as exiles; as it is written, 'Have I not brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir?' (Amos 9:7). Similarly, they did not depart from their own land to go into exile, before Sennacherib had mixed up the whole world, as it says, 'I have removed the boundaries of the people, and have robbed their treasures, and have brought down as one mighty the inhabitants' (Is. 10:13). Only after that did he drive Israel into exile, so that none could taunt them with it". All pertinent midrashic and rabbinic texts can be found in M. M. KASHER's *Encyclopedia of Biblical Interpretation, Genesis, vol. VI*, translated under the editorship of H. Freedman, New York 1965, pp. 86-87. See also L. GINZBERG, *The Legend of the Jews*, 7 vols., Philadelphia, vol. II, pp. 127-128.

historical setting and the apologetic significance of the conflated expansion itself.

I. NEOF'S CONFLATED RENDITION OF GEN 47:21

Here we maintain that in Gen 47:21 the main text of Neofiti presents a dual (Babylonian and Palestinian) version of the same haggadic account, and that the two versions are redactionally structured according to a symmetric and chiastic pattern. In order to substantiate our claim, we will begin by examining the different targumic renditions of the Hebrew text.

1. *O and PT Interpretations of Gen 47:21*

The Hebrew verse of Gen 47:21 is quite straightforward and can be easily divided into two parts:

(a) ואת העם העביר אתו לערים

(b) מקצה גבול מצרים ועד קצהו

From a textual view point, the MT differs here from the Samaritan (and Greek) text by reading לערים instead of לעבדים. Apparently the Samaritan version, i. e. "... he made them *slaves*", fits better the context of Gen 47:19-22 as suggested by the words קנה and עבדים of v. 19 and לאקנה of v. 22. Consequently, the MT has here a *lectio difficilior* which could possibly witness to an early textual corruption due to the graphic similarity between ר and ד [7].

Both O and PT support MT, but not without some sort of expansionary activity, prompted by the need to clarify the word לערים. For sake of clarity, one can anticipate that, on the one hand, the Babylonian tradition is satisfied with a slightly paraphrastic rendition of לערים, namely מקרי לקרי [= O]. On the other hand, the Palestinian targumists appended to their cumbersome renditions of לערים a further clause explaining why Joseph had to displace the Egyptians, namely to avoid the latter calling his brothers "wan-

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[7] See E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, Jerusalem 1981, p. 196.

derers". As a result, in Gen 47:21 the Palestinian targumic narrative is made up of three basic elements:

A = (1) the first portion of the MT, "As for the people he removed them to the cities", with a paraphrastic rendition of "to the cities".

B = (2) an haggadic explanatory clause.

C = (3) the second portion of the MT, "from one end of Egypt to the other end".

This trifold structure is clearly attested by PsJ.

Text of PsJ [8]

(1) = A   וית עמא דמדינתא אעבר יתהון לקורייתא
                 ועמא דקורייתא אעבר למדינתא

(2) = B   מן בגלל אחוי דיוסף דלא יתקרון
                 גלוולאי בגין כן טלטילינון

(3) = C   מסיפי תחום מצרים ועד סופיה:

Even though omitting the second portion of the Hebrew text, the V group of FT is fully cognizant of the interpolated haggadic clause:

Text of V [9]

(1) = A   וית עמא דהוון שריין במדינתה אעבר בקורייתה
                 וית עמה דהוון שריין בקורייתה אעבר במדינתה

(2) = B   דלא יהוון מונין לבנוי דיעקב ואומרין להון
                 אכסנאי גלולאי:

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[8] *PsJ*, Gen 47:21: "(1) And the people of the provinces he removed them to the cities, and the people of the cities he removed to the provinces, (2) for the sake of the brothers of Joseph, that they might not be called 'Exiles!': therefore he displaced them (3) from one end of Egypt to its (other) end". For the text of Gen 47:21 of PsJ see E. G. CLARKE, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance*, Hoboken, New Jersey 1984, p. 60; M. GINSBURGER, *Pseudo-Jonathan. Thargum Jonathan ben Usiël zum Pentateuch nach der Londoner Handschrift, Brit. Mus. Add. 27031*, herausgeben von..., Berlin 1903, (reprint eds., Hildesheim 1971, Jerusalem 1974) p. 89; D. RIEDER, *Pseudo-Jonathan: Targum Jonathan ben Uziel on the Pentateuch copied from London MS. (British Museum add. 27031)* Jerusalem 1972, p. 75.

[9] *V*, Gen 47:21: "(1) And the people who had dwelt in the provinces he moved into the cities and the people who had lived in the cities he moved into the provinces, (2) so that they would not taunt the sons of Jacob and call them 'Foreigners!' and 'Exiles!'". For the text of Gen 47:21 of V see M. L. KLEIN, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch according to their extant sources*, 2 vols., Rome 1980, p. 156.

Quite interestingly, Neof's two major glosses not only support the trifold structure of the Palestinian version, but line up nicely, the former with the full version of PsJ and the latter with the amputated version of V.

Text of Ngl^a [= PsJ] [10]

(1) = A	וית עמא טלטל יתהון מן קרי לקרי
(2) = B	מן בגלל דלא יהוון קריין לאחוי
	מטלטליא וגילוליא כנישיכפן מן בגלל כן טלטילינון
(3) = C	מן סוף תחום מצרים ועד סופיה

Text of Ngl^b [= V] [11]

(1) = A	וית עמא דהוון שרין במדינתא אעבר בקורייתא
	וית עמא דהוון שריין בקורייתא אעבר במדינתא
(2) = B	דלא יהוו מוניין לבנוי דיעקוב ואמרין להון
	אכסנאי גלולאי:

Neof's third marginal gloss, Ngl^c contains the two final elements, but in reverse order, C-B.

Text of Ngl^c [12]

(1) = C	סיפא תחומ׳ דמצריים עד תחומא✚סיפא✚
(2) = B	מן בגלל לחו דיוסף דלא קריין להון אכסניי גלוליי:

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[10] *Ngl^a*, Gen 47:21 "(1) As for the people he removed them from one city to (another) city, (2) so that they should not call his brothers 'Wanderers!' or 'Exiles!', 'Loathsome Dogs!': therefore he displaced them (3) from one end of the territory of Egypt to its (other) end". For the text of Gen 47:21 of Neof see A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1*, vol. I, p. 317. Gen 47:21 is also edited and discussed by J. A. Foster - S. Lund, *Variant Versions of Targumic Traditions within Codex Neofiti I*, Missoula, Mon. 1977, pp. 114-115 and 160 and by B. Barry Levy, *Targum Neophyti 1: A Textual Study. Introduction, Genesis, Exodus*, vol. 1, Lanham/New York/London, 1986, pp. 262-264.

[11] *Ngl^b*: "(1) And the people who had dwelt in the provinces he moved into the cities and the people who had lived in the cities he moved into the provinces (2) so that they would not taunt the sons of Jacob and call them 'Foreigners!' or 'Exiles!'".

[12] *Ngl^c*: "(1) End of the territory of Egypt to the territory at (its other) end, (2) for the sake of the brothers of Joseph, that they do not call them 'Foreigners!' or 'Exiles!'".

As mentioned before, O has a short paraphrase of לערים and is apparently unaware of the B clause:

Text of Onkelos [13]

(1) = A   וית עמא אעבר יתיה מקרי לקרי

(2) = C   מסוף תחום מצרים ועד סופיה:

However, since it has been demonstrated that many haggadic expansions of O have been editorially eliminated in order to produce a more literal rendition of the Hebrew text and given the paraphrastic clue of v. 21a, one wonders whether the same could have happened here concerning the B clause [14].

2. The Symmetric Structure of Neof's Conflation of Gen 47:21

If we now turn to the main text of Neofiti and pay attention to its constituent elements, we notice a thematic duplication which allows us to trace two different versions of the same narrative. Both versions line up with PsJ and Ngl[a] in witnessing to the three basic elements of the targumic interpretation of Gen 47:21. For clarity's sake we call the former Neof[A] and the latter Neof[B].

Text of Neofiti I [15]

- Neof[A]

(1) = B   וית עמא מלשנה לשנה בישא

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[13] *Onkelos*, Gen 47:21 "(1) As for the people he displaced it from city to city, (2) from one end of the territory of Egypt to its (other) end". For the text of Gen 47:21 of O see A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic*, vol I, p. 82.

[14] Onkelos' short paraphrases artfully tie their literal renditions to the body of haggadic traditions attested to by PT. The characteristic growth of the haggadic narratives by the addition of self-contained blocks of material, such as, for instance, the Element B of Gen 47:21, lended easily itself to both further additions (as in PT) or outright excisions (as in O).

[15] *Neof[A-B]* "(1) As for the people slandering with evil language (2) Joseph removed them, and exiled them and displaced them from one city to (another) city (3) and from one end of the borders of the Egyptians to the (other) end. (4) And the people who were in the cities he made dwell in the country and the people who were in the country he made dwell in the cities (5) from one end of the land of Egypt to the (other) end (6) so that the Egyptians would not taunt the brothers of Joseph and say to them: 'Foreigners!', 'Exiles!'".

עבר יתהון יוסף ואגלי יתהון   (2) = A
וטלטל יתהון מן קרייה לקרייה

ומן סיפא תחומיהון דמיצראי   (3) = C
ועד סייפא:

- Neof[B]

ועמא דבקרייתי׳ אשרי במדינתא   (4) = A'
ועמא דמדינתא אשרי בקרייתא

מן סייפי דארעא דמצרים ועד סייפיה   (5) = C'

דלא יהוון מצראי מוניין לאחוי דיוסף   (6) = B'
ואמרין להון אכסניא גלוליא:

The initial portion of Neof's rendition, viz. units 1-3, which we assigned to Neof[A], is clearly duplicated by Neof[B] in the second part of the same verse, units 4-6. Furthermore, by comparing the two versions of Neof to those of the allied targums (as shown in the following table), one has to notice that the inner-structure of Neof[A] is clearly ad odds with those attested by the other allied targumic witnesses, whereas the one of Neof[B] is only supported by Ngl[c], a dubious alliance since the latter could be a composite gloss (see II, 4b below).

Table II - The Thematic Sequence of Gen 47:21

Targums	The Three Constituent Elements			
PsJ		A	B	C
Ngl[a]		A	B	C
V		A	B	
Ngl[b]		A	B	
O		A		C
Ngl[c]				C	B
Neof[A]	B	A	C	
Neof[B]		A'	C'	B'

As shown in the table above, the anticipation of B by Neof[A] and the postposition of B by Neof[B] break the consistent A-B-C pattern of the other targums. In our view, one can prove, first, that the sequence A-B-C is the original one and, second, that in Gen 47:21

Neof's editor altered the original thematic arrangement of Neof[A] and Neof[B] in order to recast the targumic narrative according to a meaningful, symmetric pattern.

a) The Thematic Sequence A-B-C is the Original One.

The sequence of the elements A and B is crucial here. To prove that the original order was A-B, and not B-A [= Neof[A]] or C-B [= Neof[B]], we have to rely on the likely textual development of the targumic pericope.

At the very beginning the relative difficulty of the Hebrew לערים [= element A] was dealt with by assigning to the preposition ל- a distributive significance "city per city" [16]. The implied spatial connotation was further clarified by rendering לערים with the paraphrastic doublet, מקרי לקרי "from city to city". This simple amplification of the Hebrew word is presently attested to by O, the Peshitta, Neof[A] and Ngl[a].

At a second stage, the doublet מקרי לקרי underwent a further clarification by the hand of someone who, perhaps for the sake of a stylistic variety or because of a local lexical preference, replaced לקרי with the synonym, למדינא. Since in its plural form מדינא means "province, country", the play on words was inevitable, giving birth to a more elaborated doublet, "from the cities to the country", and vice versa. In the process, there came also the reduplication of איבר and of its object וית עמא. This latter quite clumsy amplification of לערים is presently attested to by V, Ngl[b], and, with some modifications, also by PsJ and Neof[B].

With both paraphrastic amplifications of element A in place, though, Joseph's decision still begged for an explanation. Why did he move the people "from city to city", [= O, Neof[A], Ngl[a]] or "from the cities to the country", and vice versa [= V, Neof[B], PsJ, Ngl[b]]? Here, the midrashic technique came to the rescue with two plays on words: a first one on the Aramaic term for city, קריא, which, by paronomasia, suggested the verbal form קרי, "to call", and a second one on the word בגלוליהם, "with their idols", of the related *haftarah* reading (Ez 37:23), which suggested, again by paronomasia, the term גלוליא, "exiles" [17]. Substantiated by these two

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[16] See P. JOÜON, *Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique*, Rome 1947, p. 442.

[17] *Gillulim* is a particularly favourite term for idols in Ezekiel. The term is obviously one of ridicule, a pun on *gelalim*, "dung pellets" thus "dung idols". (See J. W. WEVERS, *Ezekiel*, London 1962, p. 68).

keywords, the gloss we call B was logically appended to the paraphrastic rendition of לערים, which it was meant to explain. Consequently, the original thematic sequence of the targumic expansion was undoubtedly A-B, as attested by PsJ, V, Ngl^a, Ngl^b.

b) The Symmetric Structure of Neof's Conflated Narrative.

The peculiar thematic sequences attested by Neof^A [= B-A-C] and by Neof^B [= A'-C'-B'], are clearly of secondary formation, and, in our opinion, are due to a deliberate editorial choice.

As a matter of fact, in the present conflated narrative of Gen 47:21 the elements B and B' function as opening and closing statements of the plus, while A-C and A'-C' form its narrative core. All in all, the patterned structure of the conflated version appear to be as follows [18]:

Table III - Neof's Chiastic and Symmetric Structure

B ——— A ——— C
     A' ——— C' ———B'

Through the displacement of the thematic elements B and B', the rationale of Joseph's action, namely that he wanted to avoid his brothers being called גלולאי, is emphatically reinforced and transformed into a general statement about the punishment of all slanderers of the Jews. On the one hand, even though physically reduced to a few words appended to ויח עמא, the opening statement of B, i. e. מלשנא לשנא בישא, clearly provides the key to the editor's interpretation of the passage —the punishment concerns "the people slandering with evil language", (viz. the Gentiles). On the other hand, the closing statement of B' gives new hope in the messianic restoration by emphasizing the motive of Joseph's prophetic action, "... so that the Egyptians would not taunt the brothers of Joseph and say to them: 'Foreigners!', 'Exiles!'".

While the dislocation of the chiastic elements B/B' provides a general statement of hope, the symmetric core, A/A' and C/C' functions as a scriptural proof-text, vis-à-vis the implicit restoration

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[18] For a comprehensive discussion of the various chiastic techniques see N. W. LUND, Chiasmus in the New Testament, Chapel Hill 1942, pp. 41-47.

statements of B and B'. Briefly, in the context of the related Synagogal readings and, particularly, in light of the restoration message of Ezekiel's *haftarah* (Ez 37:15-28) the message that Neof's editor wanted to stress is quite clear: What Joseph did to the Egyptians for the sake of his brothers is the anticipation of what the future Messiah will do to the Gentiles for the sake of his people. The synagogue-goers of the day were certainly in a position to understand and to sympathize with the editor's updating of the text, through which they were offered new hope for a quick reversal of their Diaspora status.

II. NEOF'S RELATIONSHIP TO ITS MARGINALIA AND TO THE OTHER ALLIED TARGUMS

In the preceding portion of this study we have found that in its rendition of Gen 47:21 Neofiti presents a patterned conflation of two different targumic versions. Now we maintain that of the two conflated versions, Neof^A is closer to Ngl^a and Neof^B to Ngl^b. In addition, we suggest that the former reflects a Babylonian textual tradition and the latter a Palestinian one.

In order to substantiate our claim, we will proceed with the textual and linguistic analysis of the pericope. For clarity's sake, Neof's dual text is laid out and discussed synchronically, along with the evidence of the other targums and of MT.

1. *Gen 47:21: The Evidence of Element "A"*

	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
MT	ואת חעם						חעביר אתו	
Neof^A	ויח עמא מלשנח לשנח בישא						עבר יתחון יוסף	
Ngl^a	ויח עמא						טלטל יתחון	
O	ויח עמא						אעבר יתיח	
PsJ	ויח עמא					דמדינתא אעבר יתחון		
V	ויח עמא			דחוון שריי		במדינתה אעבר		
Ngl^b	ויח עמא			דחוון שרין		במדינתא אעבר		
Neof^B	ויח עמא		דבקרייתי אשרי			במדינתא		

(1)

p	o	n	m	l	k	j	i	MT
					לערים			MT
	לקריה				מן קרייה		ואגלי יתהון וטלטל יתחון	Neof^A
					מקר[ייה]׃			Ngl^II
	לקרי				מן קרי			Ngl^a
	לקרי				מקרי			O
למדינתא	דקוריתא אעבר				לקוריתא ועמא			PsJ
במדינתה	בקורייתה אעבר		דהוון שריין		בקורייתה וית עמה			V
במדינתא	בקורייתא אעבר		דהוון שריין		בקורייתא וית עמא			Ngl^b
	בקרייתא	אשרי	דמדינתא		ועמא			Neof^B
p	*o*	*n*	*m*	*l*	*k*	*j*	*i*	(1)

a) The Element "A" Supports both a Babylonian and a Palestinian Targumic Textual Tradition.

A divergent tendency is noticeable in the overall evidence of Element "A". On the one hand, a group of targumic witnesses omits the Hebrew אתו of unit *1g*, viz. V, Neof^B and Ngl^b. On the other hand there is a far more visible tendency to repeat some portion of the Hebrew text. The phenomenon starts in units *1a* and *1f* which are repeated in units *1k* and *1o* by PsJ, Neof^B, Ngl^b and V and culminates in units *1j* where all the targumic witnesses double the word לערים of the Hebrew text. In this latter instance, as mentioned before, two patterns are again discernible. On the one hand, Neof^A, Ngl^a and O register a short paraphrastic form; on the other hand, Neof^B, Ngl^b, V and PsJ keep a longer one.

Broadly speaking, we can draw a distinction between two groups of texts. The former witnesses to a targumic tradition which, first, does not reduplicate the MT of *1a* and *1f*, second, gives a proper rendition of *1g*, and third, reports only a simple paraphrastic duplication of *1j*. To this group belong Neof^A, Ngl^a and, quite significantly, O, a fact that allows us to invoke a Babylonian targumic tradition. The latter witnesses to a number of versions whose textual tradition gives a redundant duplication of *1j*, omits *1g* and doubles *1a* and *1g*. To this group belong Neof^B, Ngl^b, PsJ and V. The presence of the FT representative in this latter group is sufficient reason for positing its Palestinian lineage.

b) The Relationship of Neof^A to Ngl^a and O.

The relationship of Neof^A to Ngl^a and O deserves a more accurate analysis. First, both Neof^A and Ngl^a share the same textual peculiar-

ities of O in their rendition of לערים and of אתו, the latter, though, in plural form and together with PsJ. Furthermore, contrary to all other targums, Nglᵃ's *1f* attests to Neofᴬ's *1i* use of טלטל in rendering העביר. This lexical agreement is worth noting since Nglᵃ's preference for the root טלטל surfaces also in the text of element B, with the description of the diaspora situation in *2g* and *2j*.

In our opinion, טלטל was certainly in the source of Neofᴬ. As a matter of fact, Neofᴬ translates the Hebrew העביר with three synonyms: עבר, "to move", גלי, "to exile", and טלטל, "to displace". This happened quite likely on the account of Neofᴬ's anticipation of the element "B" in unit *1b*. In fact, the appositive clause based on the denominative root מלשן and appended to וית עמא takes care of only one of the two keywords of element "B", i. e. קרי and the second keyword of element "B", viz. גלולאי was missing.

In order to reinstate it, Neof's editor transferred the related root גלי (see *2m* below) to the "A" portion of the expansion. In short, in *1i* אגלי is not original. Thus, we are left with two verbal forms —עבר— (*1f*) and טלטל (*1i*)— both of them attested to by the BT textual tradition. The former [= O] is the expected one. (The Paᶜel form could just be a scribal blunder due to haplography: בישא אעבר → בישא עבר). The latter [= Nglᵃ] is similarly at home with BT since the root טלטל is also attested in the parallel account of the Babylonian Talmud (*Hullin*, 60ᵇ).

c) The Relationship of Nglᵇ to Neofᴮ and V.

Concerning Nglᵇ and V it suffices to notice that, with the exception of minor differences in the use of the *matres lectionis*, the text of Neof's gloss is here identical to the one of the FT's representative. This peculiar agreement demonstrates beyond any shadow of doubt that Nglᵇ belongs to the Palestinian fold.

The relationship of Nglᵇ and V to Neofᴮ is less perspicuous. Along with PsJ they share with Neofᴮ the more extended rendition of the Hebrew לערים. Yet, they differ from Neofᴮ in the symmetric structure of their paraphrases. If we posit a = "country" and b = "cities", the pattern of Neofᴮ is, from "b" to "a" and from "a" to "b". On the other hand, Nglᵇ, V and PsJ's pattern is from "a" to "b" and from "b" to "a".

Here Neofᴮ's structure shows clear marks of its being editorially revised. One can assume that, in order to avoid repetitions, Neof's

editor omitted אעבר as well as ית at the beginning and in the middle of the Neof^B's narrative [19]. The omission of אעבר (already introduced in Neof^A, unit 1f) had its repercussion on the text itself, since it forced Neof's editor to search for a substitute. He thought suitable for the purpose the verbal root of the circumstantial clauses דהוון שריין (1d, 1m) of his source and changed it to אשרי. Consequently, he had to anticipate מדינתא, prompting the unique chiastic pattern b-a a-b. Thus, if one takes into consideration the editorial rearrangement of the passage, the conclusion that Neof^B had its source in Ngl^b [= V] is inevitable.

2. Gen 47:21: The Evidence of Element "B"

j	i	h	g	f	e	d	c	b	a	(2)
										MT
										Neof^A
		קריין לאחוי				יהוון	דלא		מן בגלל	Ngl^a
			תקרון				דלא	אחוי דיוסף	מן בגלל	PsJ
להון		קריין					דלא	לחו דיוסף	מן בגלל	Ngl^c
להון	ואומרין	דיעקב	לבנוי	מונין		יהוון	דלא			V
להון	ואמרין	דיעקוב	לבנוי	מונויין		יהו	דלא			Ngl^b
להון	ואמרין									Aruch[20]
להון	ואמרין	דיוסף	לאחוי	מוניין	מצראי	יהוון	דלא			Neof^B

q	p	o	n	m	l	k	(2)
							MT
							Neof^A
טלטילינון	כן	מן בגלל	כנישיכפן	וגילוליא		מטלטליא	Ngl^a
טלטילינון	כן	בגין		גלולאי			PsJ
				גלוליי:	אכסנאי		Ngl^c
				גלולאי	אכסנאי		V
				גלולאי	אכסנאי		Ngl^b
				גלולאי	אכסנאי		Aruch
				גלוליא	אכסנייא		Neof^B

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[19] Broadly speaking, one can assume that whenever the linguistic features of Neof's conflated text are supported by those of their allied targumic witnesses, chances are that the present text of Neof has not been affected at all by any editorial activity. On the other hand, whenever the linguistics or textual traits of Neof^A or Neof^B depart from those attested by their allied witnesses, the possibility arises, among others, that the differences could be caused by the redactional activity which is responsible for the present conflated text of Neof. In the case of a conflation of linguistically different versions, one has to expect, among others things, stylistic and lexical changes dictated by the desire of producing a plausible, homogeneous text.

[20] The quotation of *Sefer Aruch* supports *verbatim* the reading of V and Ngl^b.

Broadly speaking, the data of element "B" confirm the affiliation of the targumic versions to either the Palestinian or the Babylonian targumic tradition. In addition, they validate the hypothesis that Neof[B] is closely related to Ngl[b] and that, even though indirectly, Neof[A] is also related to Ngl[a]. To bear it out, we will examine how קרי and גלולאי, the two basic originators of the "B" expansion, are dealt with by the different targumic witnesses.

a) The Keyword קרי: "Calling" the Gentiles Wanderers.

The play on the word קריא [= city] read as קרי [= to call] serves to preempt and counteract the Gentile habit of "calling" the Jews "wanderers". The apologetic motif is one that the Diaspora Jews could certainly appreciate.

i. Linguistic and Textual Data.

Concerning the linguistic and textual data the targumic witnesses can again be divided into two groups. On the one hand, PsJ, Ngl[a] and Ngl[c] introduce the expansionary clause with מן בגלל (2a). On the other hand, Neof[B] joins Ngl[b] and V in omitting it, and in sharing, instead, the relative clause דלא (2c) with all other targums. Furthermore, while PsJ, Ngl[a] and Ngl[c] report the verbal root קרי, i. e. the keyword dependent on קריא, Neof[B], Ngl[b] and V use the synonymic doublet מוניין ... ואמרין (2f, 2i). In addition, Ngl[a] and PsJ add uniquely a further explanatory gloss to the second keyword גלולאי, making explicit the intention of Joseph —מן בגלל כן טלטילינון "for this reason he displaced them".

ii. Ngl[a] and the BT Group.

In "B" Ngl[a] sets itself clearly a part from the Palestinian group, by adding extra material (with PsJ) in 2a and 2o-q, by employing different (2f-g) or unique lexical items (2f,i, 2k, 2n), and by omitting in 2l (again with PsJ) the word אכסנאי, shared by all members of the PT group.

As noted above, here Neof[A] incorporates some of its "B" material at the beginning and some in the middle of element "A". The former addition, 1b, expands on the keyword קריה with the alliterative statement —מלשנה לשנה בישא, "(the people) that slandered with evil language", which is but an echo of Ngl[a]'s דלא יהוון קריין לאחוי מטלטליא..., "so that they should not call his brothers homeless...". The latter, 1i, combines the appellatives of Ngl[a]'s 2k and 2m into two verbal statements ואגלי יתחון וטלטל יתחון (1i) which are

added to the standard interpretation of the verse עבר יתהון (*1f-g*), "(Joseph displaced them) and exiled them and moved them...". Briefly, even though textually displaced and editorially tampered with, Neof^A appears to be cognizant of the rendition of Ngl^a.

iii. Neof^B and the PT Group.

As a general statement one can say that, V and Ngl^b band again together throughout section "B", while Neof^B follows them closely, but with minor deviations in *2e* and *2g-h*.

In *2e*, the one word-gloss, מצראי, could be a scribal or an editorial addition. We prefer the latter. In fact, by interjecting the appositive clause מלשנה לשנה בישא in *1b* the editor had the first וית עמא qualified, at least in the ears of his listeners, as referring to the gentile nations of the Diaspora in general. Now, that general reference had to be brought in line with the biblical evidence. Since element "C", which in the present text of Neof precedes "B", clearly relates the two ועמא of Neof^B to the ארעא דמצרים (*3b-c*), the editor made sure that such a reference was not missed and introduced in *2e* the explanatory gloss מצראי.

In *2g-h* V and Ngl^b read לבנוי דיעקב, "the sons of Jacob", whereas Neof^B has לאחוי דיוסף, "the brothers of Joseph" [= PsJ and, in parts, Ngl^a and Ngl^c]. In our opinion, Neof^B has here the original reading. In fact, after the editorial addition of מצראי and the mention in the preceding element "C" of the ארעא דמצרים one can expect "the brothers of Joseph" and not "the sons of Jacob". The fact that in their version of Gen 47:21 Ngl^b and V omit element "C" could explain why, instead of the unusual appellation לאחוי דיוסף, they prefer the more general and commonly used diction לבנוי דיעקב.

b) The Keyword גלולאי: The "Wandering" Jews/Gentiles.

i. Textual and Lexical Remarks.

From a lexical view point the contrast between the Babylonian and the Palestinian targumic traditions could not be more evident. On the one hand, the PT group qualifies גלולאי with the word אכסנאי, which comes from the Greek ξένος, whereas, on the other hand, for the same purpose Ngl^a uses a derivative of the Aramaic root טלטל, uniquely in *2k* and with PsJ in *2g*.

ii. The Likely Scribal Formation of Ngl^a's Derogatory כנישיכפן.

In *2n* Ngl^a adds uniquely to וגילוליא the cryptic term כנישיכפן. In our opinion, this derogatory term is due to later scribal activity. It could stand for the composite expletive כ + אנש + כפין "(exiles) like starving men" [21]. Or it could be the transliteration of another taunting idiom, not uncommon in the dialect of North Italian speakers, "cani schifon" which stands for the formal Italian "cani schifosi", (= loathsome dogs). If our guess is correct, the term could have been added to Ngl^a by an Italian copyist, eager to bring up to date the list of insults aimed at the Jews. Consequently, even though unrelated to any genuine targumic tradition, כאנשיכפין tells us something about Neof's textual history, particularly concerning the freedom with which Neof's marginalia have been treated by the copyists.

To sum it all up, as far as element "B" is concerned, the relationship between Ngl^b and Neof^B is clearly upheld by the evidence, while the hypothesis of a relation between Neof^A and Ngl^a is at least implicitly called for, once the editor's reworking of Neof's text is granted.

3. *Gen 47:21: The Evidence of Element "C"*

קצהו:		ועד	מצרים	גבול	מקצה	MT
סייפא:		ועד	תחומיהון דמיצראי		ומן סיפא	Neof^A
					סייפא:	Ngl^12
				תחומא:		Ngl^13
...סיפא	תחומא	עד	דמצריים	תחומ'	סיפא	Ngl^c
סופיה:		ועד	מצרים	תחום	מן סוף	Ngl^a
סופיה:		ועד	מצרים	תחום	מסוף	O
סופיה:		ועד	מצרים	תחום	מסיפי	PsJ
...סייפיה		ועד	מצרים	דארעא	מן סייפי	Neof^B
f	*e*	*d*	*c*	*b*	*a*	(3)

a) Evaluation of the Textual Data.

Ngl^a continues to share the textual and linguistic peculiarities of O, even in minor orthographic details. For example, in *3a* and *3f* it renders the Hebrew מקצה/קצהו with סוף, whereas Neof^A, Neof^B and Ngl^c employ סיפא instead. PsJ is here emblematically ambivalent,

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[21] A. Díez Macho's *editio princeps* omits it, but acknowledges the existence of a problematic word with "(?)" (p. 317). J. A. FOSTER - S. LUND, transcribe it correctly as כנישיכפן (*Variant Versions*, p. 115) and translate it as "like chaff".

reading סיפא in *3a* and סוף in *3f*. The same grouping appears again in
3c where O, Ngl[a] and PsJ read תחום, whereas Neof[A] and Ngl[c] have the
third pl. suffix added, and Neof[B] changes it uniquely to דאערא.

b) Neof's Editorial Work.

Both Neof[A] and Neof[B] were editorially revised, apparently to avoid
the repetition of the same idioms. In fact, in Neof[A] the Hebrew words
מצרים גבול are rendered תחומיהון דמיצראי, "(and from one end) of the
territories of the Egyptians". In Neof[B] the same words of the MT are
translated דארעא דמצרים, "(from the end) of the land of Egypt".

It is worth noting that the odd translation of Neof[A] was brought
in line with the regular rendition of the other targumic witnesses by
both an interlinear gloss, תחומא (Ngl[i3]) and a marginal gloss, Ngl[c], *3a-f*.

4. *Nature and Function of Neof's Marginalia in Gen 47:21*

In Neofiti's Ms there are only seven other places, in addition to
Gen 47:21, where one can find a set of three marginalia for a single
verse [22]. They are the following: Gen 15:11; 44:18; 48:22; 50:1; Ex 20:2;
22:14(15); Quite remarkably, with the exclusion of Ex 22:14, which is
not a narrative pericope, all passages mentioned above show also some
traces of conflation. The logical conclusion is that Neof's conflated
texts attracted a great deal of erudite attention. In an effort to
unscramble the conflated text and to determine its targumic compo-
nents, the learned readers of yore brought eagerly together all versions
of the same text they could put their hands on. This learned approach
which is at the core of much of the glossing targumic activity that took
place on the margin of Neof's Ms, is clearly visible in Gen 47:21. In
what follows, we will discuss first the two glosses sitting on Neof's left
margin and second, the gloss of the right margin.

a) Nature and Function of Ngl[a] and Ngl[b].

Ngl[a] and Ngl[b] are both copied consecutively on the same left

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[22] J. A. FOSTER - S. LUND, *Variant Versions*, p. 82. The two authors, though,
admit of being unable to classify this class of marginalia, ("Members of the group
present difficulties in understanding the relationship of the Mss to the text"!). In our
opinion, once the erudite function of the sets of glosses is taken into account, it is
possible to search them for Type I [= PT] and Type II [= PsJ, O] of marginalia
according to Foster-Lund general assumption.

margin of folio 100ᵃ of Neof's Ms. An indentation at the end of Nglᵃ shows that they do not constitute a single gloss. Right at the beginning of Neof's main text a small circle on ויֵת ענא points out the lemma of Nglᵃ. No lemma is indicated for Nglᵇ, hinting at the possibility that the two separate glosses cover, consecutively, the whole text of Neof, Nglᵃ being referred to Neofᴬ and Nglᵇ to Neofᴮ. However, notwithstanding this peculiar physical relationship to Neof's main text, in our opinion, the two glosses fulfill a different function [23].

i. The Seminal Function of Nglᵃ.

Broadly speaking, one can assume that the version of Gen 47:21 was originally in line with the Palestinian tradition and not very dissimilar from Neofᴮ. To this version, the final editor of Neof joined a targumic tosefta of the Nglᵃ type, after having deliberately altered both the preexistent and the added text to fit the symmetric structure he had envisaged for the pericope [24].

Taking a step further, one can submit that Nglᵃ is the actual source of Neofᴬ, and that it was left on the margin of Neof's Ms by the editor himself, for the benefit of his readers. Our assumption, here, is that on the one hand, the editor intended to give the readers a cue about the conflated nature of his version, and that, on the other hand, he had also in mind to allow his readers, especially the more conservative ones, a way of checking the propriety of his dealing with the biblical material and, eventually, the opportunity of reading the traditional version. Thus, with Nglᵃ the margin of Neof's Ms provided an alternate, Babylonian reading to Neofᴬ⁻ᴮ [25].

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[23] This is particularly apparent in Neof's translation of Gen 44:18 where most of the marginalia are scribal annotations commenting both directly or indirectly on the conflated narrative. See our discussion in *The Editorial Method*, pp. 195-205.

[24] Here we disagree with B. BARRY LEVY's statement about the nature of Nglᵃ [= M¹], (*Targum Neophyti 1*, vol. I, p. 264), namely that it "is a simple conflation of Onk., (acf --c and e are synonymous) and the group PJ [= PsJ], Frag. [= V], M² [= Nglᵇ] (kl, or klj)". Barry Levy's assumption that Nglᵃ's Elements B [= k,l] and C [= j] are dependent on the Palestinian textual tradition is unwarranted. In B Nglᵃ follows the קרי tradition and ignores the Greek/Palestinian term אכסניי, whereas in C it lines up uniquely with O. In our opinion, both Nglᵃ and Nglᵇ are true glosses which represent opposite textual traditions, the former witnessing to an otherwise unknown Onkelos Tosefta and the latter being a copy of V.

[25] A similar function can be assigned to Neof's longer gloss in Gen 44:18.

ii. The Erudite Function of Nglᵇ.

Nglᵇ is a clear example of the learned glossing activity we mentioned before. The fact that its text is but a copy of V can only signify that a learned scribe copied V on the margin of Neof's Ms to have it handy in his effort to unscramble Neof's conflated text. It could also have a practical function, this time offering an alternate, Palestinian reading to Neofᴬ⁻ᴮ.

b) The Composite Nature of Nglᶜ.

As Nglᵇ, also Nglᶜ can be categorized as a mere scribal exercise, with a good chance of being not a continuous gloss, but the juxtaposition of two unrelated learned glosses, accidentally conflated on Neof's margin by a later copyist.

The composite nature of Nglᶜ can be predicated in light of the following:

First, Nglᶜ does not attest to the whole version of Gen 47:21 but only to elements "C" and "B". The absence of element "A" and the reverse sequence C-B sets the gloss apart from all other targumic witnesses (but the conflated Neofᴮ). Thus, since the structure C-B is foreing to the targumic tradition, Nglᶜ can wery well be a composite gloss.

Second, from a textual and lexical viewpoint Nglᶜ lacks homogeneity. On the one hand, the portion of it covering element "C" is completely on its own, with the unique repetition of תחומא before the second סיפא. The glossing activity could have been prompted here by the unusual word דמיצראי introduced by the editor of Neofᴬ. The two words סיפא תחומי (the latter without the prefixed מ־) provide its likely lemma. On the other hand, of the portion covering element "B", units 2a-f, are almost identical to Nglᵃ and PsJ while units 2j-m line up with Neofᴮ, Nglᵇ and V and witness to the peculiar Greek/Palestinian term אכסטאי. In our opinion, this portion of Nglᶜ could have functioned as a real gloss with the purpose of bringing Neofᴮ מניין...ואמרין in line with the lexical interpretation of the קרי group. If that be true, its lemma could be found in the final words אכסנאי גלוליי of Neofᴮ. However, one cannot forgo the possibility that an erudite scribe could have concocted it on Neof's margin using V and PsJ as his sources, while comparing the two types (מניין ...ואמרין/קרי) of targumic translations.

Finally, the composite nature of Nglᶜ appears to be hinted at by

the peculiar collocation of the gloss on the margin of Neof's Ms (see Table I). As a matter of fact, Ngl^c consists of eight short lines, sitting on the right margin of Neof's Ms in correspondance of both Neof^A (Ngl^c's first three lines covering element "C") and Neof^B (Ngl^c's last five lines covering element "B"). It is worth noting that the distance between the third and the fourth line, which marks the beginning of element "B", is slightly wider.

Briefly, we maintain that two glosses, one commenting on Neof^A and a second one commenting on Neof^B were unintentionally conflated on the margin of the Ms of Neofiti I, giving birth to the present hybrid text of Ngl^c.

5. *The Babylonian and Palestinian Nature of Neof's Conflated Version*

Taking into consideration all the data discussed so far, one could graphically summarize the textual and linguistic evidence as follows:

Table IV - Textual Grouping of the Targumic Translations of
Gen 47:21

Gen 47:21	BABILONIAN TRADITION	PALESTINIAN TRADITION
Element "A"	Neof^A, Ngl^a, O	Neof^B, Ngl^b, V, PsJ [26]
Element "B"	Ngl^a, PsJ	Neof^B, Ngl^b, V
Element "C"	Ngl^a, O	[Insufficient data]

The data referring to element "C" are inclonclusive since V and Ngl^b omit it and Neof^A and Neof^B show marks of heavy revision. However, even here there is no doubt about Ngl^a being part of the Onkelos' tradition.

All in all, the textual data of elements "A" and "B", could reasonably be represented by the two following groups of texts:

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[26] Not unexpectedly, PsJ shows affinities to both BT and PT. Whether this inconsistency reflects a later conflation of BT and PT's materials or an earlier stage of the targumic tradition, prior to the division into BT and PT, it remains still a matter of speculation.

Neof^A = *Ngl^a*, *O*, *(PsJ)*

Neof^B = *Ngl^b*, *V*, *(PsJ)*

The reduction of all the evidence to only two textual groups comes as no surprise since it brings forcefully to light the dual nature, Palestinian and Babylonian, of the extant targumic traditions considered in their entirety. More important is the fact we are called to recognize and to investigate, namely, that in Gen 47:21 Neof's editor purposefully conflated a Palestinian (Ngl^b group) and a Babylonian (Ngl^a group) version of the same biblical narrative.

III. THE LITERARY SETTING AND APOLOGETIC SIGNIFICANCE OF NEOF'S
      RENDITION OF GEN 47:21

Broadly speaking, three specific issues have to be addressed here: first, the appropriateness of the literary technique used by Neof's editor, second, the baffling choice of a Palestinian and of a Babylonian version for the purpose of conflation, and third, the setting of the activity of Neof's final editor.

1. *The Appropriateness of Neof's Literary Technique in Gen 47:21*

As mentioned before, Gen 47:21 is part of the pentateuchal reading ויגש (Gen 44:18-47:27) according to the annual Babylonian cycle of synagogal readings [27]. In Neof, this synagogal reading begins with the highly elaborated conflation of Gen 44:18-19, whose chiastic structure —the interpolation of a Babylonian version into a Palestinian narrative— we have discussed elsewhere [28]. We have also previously indicated the seminal influence of Ezekiel's *haftarah* reading on the literary technique of Neof's editor for Gen 44:18-19. As a

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[27] Gen 44:18-19 and 47:21 are part of the same *parashah* of the Babylonian Annual Cycle, whereas according to the so-called Palestinian Triennial Cycle, Gen 44:18 marks the beginning of the *Seder* 41, whereas Gen 47:21 belongs to *Seder* 42. See C. PERROT, *La Lecture de la Bible dans la Synagogue*, Hildesheim 1973, p. 71. A comprehensive discussion of the subject is provided by B. Z. WACHOLDER, «Prolegomenon. A History of the Sabbatical Readings of Scripture for the 'Triennial Cycle'», in J. MANN, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, New York 1971, pp. XI-LI.

[28] *The Editorial Method*, pp. 51-84.

matter of fact, Ez 37:15-28 comments on the idea of the future end of the exile of Babylon. With the symbolical action of "writing on (two) sticks" the names of Joseph and Judah and then "joining them" the prophet anticipates the reunion of the divided sons of Israel.

The joining of the two sticks and the fact that in Ezekiel's account the names of Judah and Joseph are repeated in a chiastic order (Ez 37:16,19) was taken by Neof's editor as a literary pattern worth imitating in his recasting of Gen 44:18-19. Concerning Gen 47:21, the obvious conclusion seems to be that, after introducing the pentateuchal reading וייגש with a chiastically conflated expansion, Neof's editor thought it proper to finish the same with a similar literary technique. In one word, Gen 47:21 has to be understood in light of Gen 44:18-19.

Having dealt with the literary problem of Gen 47:21 from the viewpoint of the author, now we turn to his audience. Was such a conflating technique fashionable with and acceptable to the synagogal audience? The answer is yes, if we take into account the vast *piyyut* production created for the synagogal usage from the 4th to the 10th centuries A. D., and dearly cherished by the synagogue-goers of the time [29]. In comparison to the complex structures of the *piyyutim* which were usually construed on the festivals's readings [30] and were copiously packed with acrostics, rare biblical words, neologisms, and intentional obscurities, the conflated structures of Gen 44:18-19 and 47:21 were but very elementary arrangements. Thus, one can conclude that, from a literary viewpoint, in Gen 47:21 (and 44:18-19) Neof's editor endeavour could have been favourably understood and received by his target audience.

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[29] The *piyyutim* were collected in *mahzorim*, "collections", devoted to each of the holy days of the Jewish calendar. They helped to capture and sustain the heightened religious moment of a particular festival.

[30] "The *piyyut* is poetry, yet poetry that is different from the lyric, romantic, expressive conception most of us have of the poem. The *piyyut*, to begin with, is always subordinate to its context in the synagogue service and has no meaning or function as a freestanding poem". A. MINTZ, «Prayer and the Prayerbook», in *Back to the Sources. Reading the Classic Jewish Texts*, ed. by H. HOLTZ, New York 1984, p. 423.

2. *The Message Conveyed by the Conflation of Both a Palestinian and a Babylonian Version*

Here, the seminal influence of Ezekiel's "joining" the sticks of Judah and Joseph is again apparent. Mimicking in a literary way Ezekiel's symbolic action, Neof's editor joined a Babylonian (or Diaspora/Joseph's) version with a Palestinianan (Judah's) rendition of the same biblical passage. By so doing, he intended to enhance the message of the *Parashah* ויגש.

In fact, on the one hand, by recounting the initial conflict between Joseph and Judah (and the other brothers) and their final pacification and reunion, the pentateuchal reading called in no uncertain terms for the end of the Jewish Diaspora. On the other hand, as already seen, the *haftarah* expressed the same view in a highly dramatic way. Neof's editor shared the hopes of both readings and used the expansions of Gen 44:18-19 and 47:21 to urge on his listeners or readers the ineluctability of the impending reunion of the Babylonian and Palestinian Jewry. The two conflations were but its literary anticipation.

In particular, while Gen 44:18-19 stressed the theme of the reunion, Gen 47:21 tackled the complementary issue of the Jewish Diaspora. Here, all the targumists are at one in their reading into Joseph's action, as described by Gen 47:21, an anticipation of the things to come in the messianic age. Joseph's brothers are reunited and confortably settled on fertile soil whereas the Egyptians are forced to wander from city to country and viceversa. It is the "talion rule" applied to history, with the implied certainty of the reversal of the immemorial "wandering" of the Jews.

Prior to its conflation, Neof already shared this apologetic interpretation of Gen 47:21 with the other targums. By means of the dual conflation of a Palestinian an Babylonian text, Neof's editor transformed a popular apologetic tale into a sophisticated theological pronouncement. As a matter of fact, by using the literary technique suggested by Ezekiel's reading, he made clear that the distressful Diaspora situation had to be understood in light of the prophetic message, which linked the Dispersion of the Jews to their past transgressions —the גלולי status being directly caused by the גלוליהם mentioned by Ezekiel. From a theological viewpoint, the fact of being aware of the cause of the evil situation had an important role

in hastening the day of the messianic salvation [31]. Neof's editor banks on this belief, and, in addition, gives his audience the feeling of the *fait accompli* by actually joining, in a liturgical context, a Diaspora's version with the version of the Land. His readers and/or listeners could not fail to be delighted by the prop he was offering them by means of the new and skillful disposition of the targumic material.

3. *The Historical Setting of Neof's Conflated Narrative*

With reference to the setting of the pericope, it would be almost impossible to pinpoint a specific period of Jewish history, from the time of Exodus to this very day, when the hopeful reversal of the theme of the "Wandering Jews" could not be appropriate. Díez Macho has pointed out that the idiom מלשנה, "to slander", crept into the Spanish language as *malsinar* through the Jewish medium [32]. In our wiew, it would be as absurd to argue that the redactor of Neof's text of Gen 47:21 was a late medieval Spanish copyist, as to try to prove that he lived under the Hadrianic persecution [33]. Yet, in our opinion, there are external data suggesting a later Gaonic period

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[31] This theological attitude recurs consistently in the history of the Diaspora, especially in conjunction with outbursts of Messianic revival. See, for instance, for a period as early as the Arabic conquest of Palestine, the formation of the messianic movement known as אבילי ציון, "the mourners of Sion". They spent their lives fasting and praying for the restoration of the temple and the advent of the Messiah. See J. MANN, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, 2 vols., Oxford 1920-1922, (repr. New York 1970) vol. I, pp. 47-48.

[32] On מלשין see A. DÍEZ MACHO, *Neophyti 1*, vol. I, p. 316. See also J. COROMINAS, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico de la Lengua Castellana*, 4 vols., Berna 1954-1957, vol. III, pp. 208-209. The root is found in the targumic renditions of Psalms 52 and 120 (See M. JASTROW, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, 2 vols., Philadelphia 1903 (repr. New York 1967) p. 794. According to J. GENOT («Censure idéologique et discourse chiffré: le Sefer Hayašar, oeuvre d'un exilé espagnol réfugié à Naples», *REJ* 140 (1981) 433-451, especially p. 446) in 1432 the Jewish Communities of Spain decided that a delator should be first punished by having the word מלשין stamped on his forehead with a branding-iron. In case he would מלשין again, he had to be banned or sent to death.

[33] As mentioned by J. GENOT («Censure idéologique», p. 446, note 26) the slanderer is an old acquaintance of the Jewish synagogue-goers. In fact, in the form which has reached us the *Birkat ha-Minim* (composed by Samuel the Small who lived in the second half of the first century and inserted in the *'Amida*, the daily blessing recited in the Synagogue) consists of a cursing of the "slanderers". See J. W. PARKES, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue*, London 1934, pp. 77-78.

for the setting of the activity of Neof's final editor. One can mention, for instance, first, the usage of a Babylonian version by Neof's editor, and second, the reference to the Ezekiel's reading. The former can make sense only in the late Gaonic period, when Babylonian and Palestinian communities, following opposite liturgical rites, were an established fact in Palestine and elsewhere in the West [34]. The latter points also to the Gaonic period since Ezekiel's reading was unknown to the Cairo Geniza list of *haftarot* (v/vi centuries A. D.) [35] but was commented upon, in the context of the

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[34] Concerning the relationship between the Palestinian and the Babylonian schools of thought, the Gaonic era can be conveniently divided into three periods: *First Period: 750-878 A. D.* - The year 750 marks the advent of R. Yehuday b. Nahman (author of the *Halakhot Gedolot*; see L. GINZBERG, *Geonica*, 2 vols., New York 1968², pp. 101-117) to the Gaonate of Sura and the beginning of the Abbasid Caliphate, with the centre of the political life shifting from Damascus to Baghdad. In this period the Gaonim tried to impose their own Talmud and their own interpretation of that Talmud on the Jewish communities everywhere, aiming at a centralized system, with no room for local differences. This trend culminated with the halakhic and liturgical works of the Gaons Sar Shalom, Paltoi, Natronai and Amram. The Palestinian communities expressed their opposition to the Babylonian homogeneization of the Jewish life by remaining faithful to different *minhag* or customs and by following different halakhic practices, rooted in their own Talmul and going back to the Tannaitic period. *Second Period: 878-969 A. D.* - A new political climate follows the Tulunid conquest of Syria (868 A. D.). Ben Meir's confrontation with the Babylonian exilarch (921-922 A. D.) reaffirms the traditional Palestinian prerogative concerning the fixing of the calendar. (See H. MALTER, *Saadia Gaon, His Life and Works*, Philadelphia 1921, pp. 73-84). Further evidence of the ascendance of the Palestinian schools is given by the call of the Egyptian born and Palestinian educated Saadya to the Gaonate of Sura (928 A. D.). With him begins a new era of reciprocal respect and tolerance. *Third Period: 969-1099 A. D.* - This period begins with the Fatimid conquest of Egypt and ends with the Crusaders' conquest of Palestine. The former event marked the decline of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad, the end of the Gaonate of Sura (1034 A. D.) and of Pumbedita (1038 A. D.). The latter brought to a tragic conclusions the activities of the Palestinian communities. During this period, under the pressure of the Turkish advance, the Babylonian communities began their movement eastwards, bringing with them Targum Onkelos, Amram's *Siddur* and their own Talmud. Thus, spurred by the conciliatory and tolerant approach of the exhausted Babylonian academies, the new Babylonian exiles learned how to coexist with and, eventually, win over their western (Palestine, Africa, Europe) brothers, in spite of the latter's halakhic and liturgical differences. During this period, positive efforts, such as the one implied by Neof's conflated text, were made in some Jewish circles in order to bridge the gap between the Palestinian and the Babylonian schools. There was even an attempt at digesting and conflating the *Halakhot* of the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds, with the publication of the ספר מתיבנתא, *The Book of Academies*. (See L. GINZBERG, *Geonica*, vol. I, p. 180 and S. W. BARON, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 8 vols., New York 1952-1960, pp. 83 and 366, note 92).

[35] See C. PERROT, *La Lecture*, pp. 49-87.

Parashah ויגש by the *paytan* Shemuel the Third whose activity took place in Palestine circa 1000 A. D [36].

IV. CONCLUSION

Broadly speaking, the study of Neof's conflated version of Gen 47:21 calls for a new appreciation of the inner-relation among the extant targumic witnesses and reinforces the primacy of their synagogal origin.

Concerning the former, the evidence points in the direction of a twin targumic tradition, Babylonian (Onkelos and its Tosefta) and Palestinian (Neof, FT, CG), somewhat bridged by PsJ. Here it is important to notice the textual relevance of the Onkelos tosefta (Ngl[a] for Gen 47:21) which, unless proven otherwise, are not fragments of the Palestinian tradition somewhat onkelized but full-fledged witnesses to BT.

As for the latter point, the route followed in our study underlines once more the importance of the synagogal liturgy as the primal *Sitz im Leben* and the ultimate source of the targumic traditions. The Pentateuchal Palestinian *Sedarim* as well as the Babylonian *Parashot* of the Torah together with their *Haftarot*, their *Piyyutim* and their pertinent homiletic production, constitute a particularly homogeneous and compatible body of literature. In other words, to illustrate the redactional history of any targumic pericope, the celebrated "internal comparison" proposed by R. Bloch [37] has to start by addressing, first, the synagogal literature, and, second, all other midrashic and talmudic texts commenting on and/or related to the synagogal passages under scrutiny.

With reference to Neofiti I, contrary to common scholarly opin-

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[36] The *paytan* Shemuel the Third lived in Palestine ca. 1000 A. D. He was a renowned talmudic scholar, with connections in the rabbinic circles of Damascus and Cairo. His *piyyut* on the *Parashah* ויגש has been edited and published by M. WALLENSTEIN, *Some Unpublished Piyyutim from the Cairo Genizah*, Manchester 1956.

[37] R. BLOCH, «Note méthodologique pour l'étude de la littérature Rabbinique», *RSR* 43 (1955) 194-227. As a second step, the "internal comparison" has also to include the talmudic evidence. As a matter of fact, in view of their official position and contemporaneity with the formation of both the written targums and the homiletic literature, we believe that the Talmuds rank among the first witnesses to the targumic tradition. (See E. P. SANDERS's critique of R. Bloch methodological approach in *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, Philadelphia 1977, pp. 24-29).

ion, one can safely state that its expansions cannot be acritically considered typical of PT [38]. Unless the contrary is proven, Neof's longer expansions, especially those housing conflated materials, have to be searched for marks of both later editorial activity and distinct theological and apologetic insights. In this context also Neof's glosses take on a new significance. Their presence in numbers on the margin of certain pericopes of Targum Neofiti points to an early scribal, comparative search that modern scholars should notice to their advantage.

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[38] P. V. FLESHER's recent discussion of the PT's expansions («Translation and Exegetical Augmentation in the Targums of the Pentateuch», in *New Perspectives on Ancient Judaism - III, Judaic and Christian Interpretation of Texts: Contents and Contexts*, ed. by J. NEUSNER and E. S. FRERICHS, Lanham, MD 1987, pp. 29-85) fails to notice the peculiarities of Neof and seems satisfied with a quantitative assessment of the inter-relationship among the different members of PT. In our view, an all-encompassing synoptic approach to the PT witnesses is unwarranted. First, contrary to Flesher's opinion, "Mss P and V of the Fragmentary Targums" are not "complete texts of PT" (p. 61); second, as admitted by Flesher himself, PsJ is clearly atypical since, "more than any other PT, PJ agrees with the translation of TO and occasionally follows its choice of words, against the other PTs" (p. 32); third, unknown to Flesher, the longer expansions of Neofiti have been quite likely reworked by Neof's final editor and cannot be taken at their face value; last but not least, the targumic traditions belong to and have to be approached in the context of the midrashic traditions at large. In our view, to prove the textual history of PT one has to proceed by limiting the synoptic comparison to a specific targumic tradition, within the context of a given synagogal reading. Then, one has to search for the midrashic potential of the related Hebrew text. Here, the control of the midrashic and rabbinic literatures is of a paramount importance, since it tells us which potentialities of the biblical narrative have been actually exploited, how they have been exploited and, eventually, also by whom (intertestamental, tannaitic, amoraic or gaonic interpreters). As a result, one will be able to understand to what degree (and, eventually, why and when) the midrashic potential of the biblical text was appropriated by the targumic pericopes under scrutiny. Concerning Flesher's distinction between literal and expanded targumic translations one remark is also in order. One has to be aware that the line dividing "the material that simply translates the Scripture from that which expands upon its ideas", (p. 67) is a very thin one. All targumic expansions are deeply rooted in the biblical text by means of the different midrashic hermeneutic ways or *Middot* of approaching it. Consequently, from the targumists' viewpoint both simple and expanded passages were meant to convey a fair and appropriate rendition of the *Peshat* of the Scripture as understood in the context of a specific synagogal selection of readings.

RESUMEN

Estudio casuístico de un rasgo literario exclusivo del Targum Neofiti: la fusión de las versiones palestinense y babilónica de la misma *haggadâ*. Pueden encontrarse ejemplos de este tratamiento poco frecuente de un texto targúmico al principio y al final de la traducción del Neofiti de la *paraśâ* ויגש (Gen 44,18-47,27), es decir, en Gen 44,18 y Gen 47,21. En ambos casos Neofiti lleva al margen tres glosas, otro rasgo curioso que ocurre muy raramente (sólo otras seis veces en todo el Neofiti). En Gen 47,21 la *lectio difficilior* לערים del TM motivó la actividad targúmica y dio lugar a dos expansiones diferentes, una corta, atestiguada en su forma más simple por O (= TB) y otra larga, atestiguada por V (= TP). La base de las notas marginales del Neofiti se encuentra tanto en TB como en TP, mientras que el texto mismo del Neofiti funde deliberadamente las dos expansiones. Una conflación simétrico-quiástica como la de Gen 47,21 no puede ser accidental. Aquí los testimonios (primero, las referencias midrásicas a la *haftarâ* de Ez 37,16-19 que no aparece en la lista de *haftarôṯ* de la Genizah de El Cairo —siglos V-VI d. C.— pero que fue comentada por el *paytan* palestinense Samuel Tercero —*ca*. 1000 d. C.—, y segundo, la posibilidad de insertar una versión targúmica babilónica en otra palestinense) apuntan al período gaónico tardío como el *terminus ante quem non* de la actividad del último editor del Neofiti.

SUMMARY

This is a case study of a unique literary feature of Targum Neofiti — the conflation of Palestinian and Babylonian versions of the same *haggadah*. Specimens of this unusual treatment of a targumic text can be found at the beginning and at the end of Neof's rendering of the *parashah* ויגש (Gen 44:18-47:27), namely in Gen 44:18 and Gen 47:21. In both instances Neof's margin carries three glosses, another striking feature, which occurs very rarely (only six other times in the whole of Neof). In Gen 47:21 the targumic activity was prompted by the *lectio difficilior* לערים of the TM, which gave way to two different expansions, a short one witnessed to in its more simple form by O (= BT) and a longer one attested to by V (= PT). Neof's margin splits its support between BT and PT, whereas Neof's main text deliberately conflates both expansions. A symmetric/chiastic conflation such as the one of Gen 47:21, cannot be accidental. Here, the evidence (viz., first, the midrashic reference to the *haftarah* of Ez 37:16,19, which is unknown to the Cairo Geniza list of *haftarot* [v/vi centuries A. D.], but was commented upon by the Palestinian *paytan*, Shemuel the Third, [*ca.* 1000 A.D.], and, second, the feasibility of inserting a Babylonian targumic version into a Palestinian one) points to the late Gaonic period as the *terminus ante quem non* of the activity of Neof's final editor.