THE TOPONYMY OF THE TARGUMIM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TABLE OF THE NATIONS AND THE BOUNDARIES OF THE LAND OF ISRAEL

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Abstract

During the past two decades there has been growing appreciation of the importance of the Palestinian Targumim of the Pentateuch for the study both of the New Testament and of Tannaitic Judaism. However, these documents cannot be fully or properly used until they have been dated. Dating in this case is a complex problem, for each of them has many dates - the date of the basic translation, the dates when additions were made, the date of the final redaction, and the dates of the manuscripts. What, in fact, is required is a history of the development of the Palestinian Targumim.

The present study aims to provide the groundwork for such a history. It will attempt to sustain the thesis that the extant Palestinian Targumim of the Pentateuch are later elaborations of a complete Targum or Targumic tradition which originated in the period of the Second Temple.

The method which I have chosen has been to examine the equivalents given by the Targumim for Biblical geographical names. I have concentrated the inquiry on two important clusters of these terms, namely, the Targumim of the Table of the Nations in Genesis 10 and of the Boundaries of the Land of Israel in Numbers 34.

Section I discusses this method. There I have stressed the need for combining an examination of the names themselves with a comprehensive analysis of the material in which they are embedded.

Thereafter, the study has two main aspects: (1) the identification of the Targumic geographical names; and (2) the use of this information for the purpose of dating.

The task of identifying the names was beset by many difficulties, not the least of these being the fact that the names are often very corruptly transmitted. I found it necessary to establish a priori controls to act as a check on speculation. This is the purpose of section II, "The geographical lore of the Rabbis". In chapter II.2 I have tried to sketch the Rabbis' geographical horizon by analysing their sources of information about the world.

Not unexpectedly, it proved to be broadly equivalent to the areas of Jewish Diaspora. Chapter II.3 considers the question of how the Rabbis pictured the world. There it is demonstrated that their "imago mundi" is in all essential elements the same as that in Jubilees VIII-IX which provides us with an early Jewish "map of the world". In chapter II.4 I have discussed the grounds on which the Rabbis and the meturgemanim identified Biblical geographical names, and have shown that the principles of toponomy more or less explicit in Josephus' treatment of the Table of the Nations (AJ I 122) and throughout Greek ethnography will account for many of the Rabbinic equivalents.

Section III is on the Targumim of the Table of the Nations. Chapter III.2 defines a method of literary analysis and applies it to the texts in an attempt to discover their basic stratum. Then they are analysed from a haggadic point of view, both positively with regard to what is there, namely material from the Nimrod haggada in verses 8-12; and negatively with regard to what is not there, but might well have been in verses 15-19, namely, some allusion to the widespread Rabbinic speculation about the emigration of the Canaanites to North Africa. These preliminary studies of the material provided some broad clues that the basic stratum of the Palestinian Targumim of Genesis 10 is from the early Tannaitic period.

In chapter III.3 I have dealt with the equivalents themselves with respect to (1) their identification and usage; and (2) their currency. This involved relating them on the one hand to the Greek and Latin onomasticon, and on the other to the Talmudic. As representatives of the former, I have usually taken Strabo (1st cent.BC/ 1st cent. AD), Pliny the Elder (1st cent. AD) and Ptolemy (2nd cent. AD). Though the first steps towards identification were most frequently made with the help of the Greek and Latin onomasticon, the precise meaning of the Targumic term could not be derived immediately from that source. To define this, it was necessary to consider other occurrences of the name in Rabbinic texts. As predicted, the results of this chapter proved rather contradictory, for while some names appeared to be"early" others were definitely "late".

The outcome of these diverse lines of investigation was a firm indication that the equivalents of the sons of Japhet and the cities of Nimrod belong to the earliest layer of material. In chapter III.4 we addressed ourselves to dating these identifications by considering them in relation to certain other early expositions of the Table of the Nations. We were able to show that they, and consequently the stratum in which they are found, originated before the destruction of the Temple in AD 70.

Section IV is concerned with the boundaries of the Land. IV.2 considers the short Biblical boundary texts, which, through the acceptance by the meturgemanim of the principle of harmonization, have played an important part in deciding where the border-points of Num. 34 are to be located. In chapter IV.3 Num. 34 itself is treated in the form of a commentary on Ps-J. From later accretions a basic statement of the borders of the Land is separated and in chapter IV.4 considered in relation to early Rabbinic and Jewish accounts of the same subject. It is demonstrated that the Targumic view of the boundaries belongs to the period before AD 70.

Section V synthesizes some general conclusions from the results obtained in sections III and IV. There I have argued that our findings are best accounted for by supposing that the extant Palestinian Targumim of the Pentateuch are developed from a complete Pentateuchal Targum of the Second Temple period. I have also tried to sketch, on the basis of our investigations, the steps by which this old Palestinian Targum evolved into the present Palestinian texts.

Appendix I gives transcriptions, based on a fresh study of the manuscripts and early editions, of the passages on which the study is based.

The work that follows is intended primarily as a study of the Targumim, but it has a bearing on other subjects as well, such as Hebrew and Aramaic lexicography, the textual criticism of Rabbinic writings, and the study of early Syriac literature (see, in particular, the discussion of the cities of Nimrod). I hope that, on the more universal plane, I have shed light on the post-Biblical Jewish world-view. P. M. Fraser opens a discussion of the Alexandrian geographers

in his Ptolemaic Alexandria I (1972) p. 520 with the words:

> "Geographical knowledge is an essential element in any view of the world in a more immediate and direct way than is historical knowledge, and full understanding of the outlook of any individual in antiquity - or indeed at any period before the modern era - depends to a considerable extent on our ability to assess his geographical horizon."

The present study amounts to a thorough revision of some fifty per cent of A. Neubauer's La géographie du Talmud (1868). In that it seeks to elucidate the geographical ideas of the Rabbis, it is offered as a contribution to the understanding of the Rabbinic mind.

I. THE PROBLEM OF METHOD

Though there have been several attempts to marshal the geographical names scattered throughout the Palestinian Targumim of the Pentateuch as evidence of when these works originated, they have failed to produce any valid results because they paid scant attention to the nature and scope of this particular method of dating.[1] It is always prudent to assess at the outset whether one is employing sufficient means to reach one's aim, and so in this opening chapter we shall consider what may be deduced as to the date of a Targum from the presence in it of any given geographical name or names.

Take the following two cases: (1) In Ps-J Num. 34:8 the Biblical Hamath is identified with Tiberias, a city founded in AD 18 by Herod Antipas. (2) The Biblical Dan in Gen. 14:14 is equated by N with Caesarea Philippi, a city founded by Philip in c.AD 3. From these facts some conclusions may be drawn. Firstly, one may make the precise deduction that Ps-J cannot have originated earlier than AD 18 nor N earlier than AD 3 on the ground that they cannot refer to cities until these exist. Secondly, one might venture beyond this to the broader conclusion that these two Targumim were composed during the first few centuries of the current era since they identify two Biblical places with cities which rose and flourished in this period.

For these conclusions to be valid a number of assumptions must be justified. Firstly, there is the assumption that the meturgemanim identified Biblical cities with cities which were standing in their time. This is wholly reasonable, for it was one of their aims to make Scripture intelligible to their contemporaries. Respect for historical truth and accuracy may have led them on occasions to refrain from identifying a Biblical place, but when they actually offer an equivalent, it makes little sense if it is not some place contemporary to them.

Secondly, if we generalize from the presence of two geographical names about the date of the Targumim as a whole, then

we are implying that each is a literary unity. While one can conceive of a work where conclusions as to the date of the whole may be made correctly on the basis of one word, this is not the case with regard to the Palestinian Targumim for these are composed of material from widely different dates. So even allowing that any given geographical equivalent is contemporary with the meturgeman who put it there, there was not one meturgeman for each text but several, living at different periods. Thus, Ps-J's "Tiberias" and N's "Caesarea Philippi" do not necessarily tell us anything about the dates of these Targumim as a whole, but only that Ps-J has some material that originated after AD 18 and N some material from after AD 3.

The value of applying the "geographical" criterion to the dating of the Targumim depends on whether we can circumvent the problems created by the fact that these texts are composite.

One solution would be to take a large number of geographical equivalents widely dispersed through the Targumim.[2] If it could be shown that all, or the majority of these, come from the same period, then there would be some ground for concluding that an extensive, if not basic, stratum of material originated then.

Another possibility would be to find the stratum of material to which the geographical term belongs. If this can be done one can then date the stratum as a whole from the date of the geographical datum. Now if one chooses two widely separated and extensive passages for analysis and finds in each a basic stratum which can be dated by its geographical terms to the same period, then it would seem to be in order to conclude that we have uncovered a continuous and complete Targum of that date underlying the extant works. This, in the abstract, is the method that I have employed.

Much depends in this approach on a strategic selection of material. The two passages which I have chosen, namely the Palestinian Targumim of the Table of the Nations and of the boundaries of the

Land of Israel, offer a number of important advantages.

Firstly, the geographical material is sufficient in bulk. This is essential, for in view of the composite nature of the Targumim it would be precarious to found conclusions on one or two names.

Secondly, the Targumim of Gen. 10 and Num. 34 can be broken down without undue difficulty into their constituent layers of material. This is done by comparing them with the Hebrew text, testing them for internal coherency and viewing them synoptically. The results thus reached are confirmed by an analysis of their haggadic content. In each case a basic layer of material with geographical names embedded in it can be detached.

The date of the geographical equivalents may be determined in a variety of ways. Should we find, for example, as in the two cases with which we opened our discussion, that a city is mentioned whose foundation-year is known, then we have a datum which will give us a terminus a quo for any stratum in which it occurs. Conversely, a reference to a city which was destroyed in a certain year, or declined rapidly in a certain period of time will provide a terminus ad quem. An illustration of this (not from the Targumim themselves but from b.Ket.10b) is the equation of Asshur in Gen. 2:14 with Seleucia-on-Tigris.[3] This identification must have arisen before AD 165 when that city was destroyed. In fact, it is reported by Rab Joseph,who died c.AD 333,as an anonymous Tannaitic tradition.

Besides these precise ways of arriving at termini one may consider the complexion of the geographical material as a whole, and try to postulate a period when all the geographical names would have been "in play". This necessitates tracing the history of their usage.

We shall attempt to employ all these criteria where appropriate, but when all has been done the results will be rather imprecise. Professor A. Diez Macho summarizes the conclusions of one of his pupils who has been working on the toponomy of N thus:[4]

> "The impression of Cortés agrees with that of Albright . . . It is a question of the toponomy of the Roman period. There are many names which are much older; there are some which continued in use during much later centuries; on the whole, however, the geography appears to be the geography of that period."

It would be premature to judge Cortés's conclusions before seeing his work, but having spent some time studying this material I fail to see how his approach can lead to anything but the very general conclusion that N was produced at some time between the first and the fifth centuries of the current era. It does not lend support, as Díez Macho seems to suppose, to the precise position that the final redaction of N was in the second century AD. The problem with dating from the currency of names is that the Graeco-Roman onomasticon remained broadly unchanged down to the time of the Arab Conquest.

At this point we can exploit what is probably the chief advantage of our choice of material, namely, the fact that both Gen. 10 and Num. 34 were subjected to continuous and intensive study and re-interpretation in inter-Testamental Jewish, Christian and Rabbinic circles. This process began within the confines of the Bible itself. Thus the Table of the Nations was evidently utilized by the Chronicler (see I Chron. 1) and by Ezekiel for the ethnic names in chapters 27 and 37-38 of his prophecy. At a later date it constituted a fundamental element in the Rabbinic and early Christian world-views. Likewise, Ez. 47 gives what can be shown to be a re-interpretation of the boundaries of the Land as found in Num. 34. The Rabbis, too, were interested in this subject because of its direct bearing on the operation of "the commandments pertaining to the Land" such as Shebi'ith and Tithes. From this abundant comparative material it is possible to construct a history of the exegesis of both these texts and date the Targumic treatment in the light of it.

A brief illustration may help to clarify the method. In Num. 24:24 the Kittim are identified with the Romans in Targum Onkelos.* From this fact on its own the deduction may be made that O originated during the period of the Roman Empire.[5] This conclusion, however, looks much more convincing when we consider the exegetical

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*See further p. 118

history of the word Kittim. In I Macc. 1:1 and 8:5 the Kittim are equated with Alexander and his successors; in Ps-J Num. 24:24, on the other hand, we find in a gloss an identification with the Byzantine Empire.[6] Thus there are three main stages in the history of the word marking successive re-definitions to match the change of historical circumstances: (1) Kittim = the Greeks; (2) Kittim = the Romans; (3) Kittim = the Byzantines. This sort of comparison puts some "stuffing" into the conclusion that a text equating the Kittim with the Romans dates from the Roman period. We shall apply this mode of argument on a larger scale and with greater precision.

In the course of our investigations we shall, in effect, be making three separate attempts at dating the Targumim: (1) The literary and haggadic analysis will uncover the basic stratum and incidentally give some clues as to the time of its origin. (2) The geographical names will indicate a broad period. (3) The relationship of the Targumim of Gen. 10 and Num. 34 to other early expositions of these texts will give a more precise date. "A three-fold cord is not easily broken,"and if we can achieve any notable degree of convergence of these three sets of results it ought to allow us to make firm conclusions. The fundamental principle implicit in the method which I have outlined should be observed: an examination of the names in themselves will prove little. It will be of value, however, if co-ordinated with a comprehensive and diverse analysis of the Targumic material in which they occur.

II. THE GEOGRAPHICAL LORE OF THE RABBIS

II.1 Introduction

It is disconcerting how diverse have been the identifications suggested for some Rabbinical geographical names. A case in point is the word גרמניא which some have taken as Germania in northern Europe, others as Germanicia in Commagene (modern Marash in south-eastern Turkey), while one writer has argued that, at least in certain contexts, it is Carmania in southern Iran.* Locations, in other words, for this term range from one side of the known ancient world to the other. Much of this uncertainty has been unnecessary, and has arisen chiefly because the names have been handled in isolation and not within the setting of the Rabbis' general geographical knowledge.

For the purposes of Rabbinic toponomy this knowledge may be considered under three headings:

(1) The Rabbis' general geographical ideas and the extent of their knowledge of the regions of the world. It will be of special use in handling difficult Rabbinic geographical names if we can form an estimate of the cities, lands and peoples about which they knew most.

(2) The Rabbis' "image of the world". It is essential for orientation to consider Rabbinic identifications of Biblical peoples and places against the background of their picture of the world, for there is probably no aspect of their thought wherein they differ more from us than in the way they visualized the world in which we live.

(3) The principles of Rabbinic toponomy. An understanding of the exegetical processes by which the Rabbis arrived at their equivalents for Biblical geographical data will be of great use in dealing with difficult Rabbinic geographical names.

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* See further p. 121

II.2 The nature and extent of the Rabbis' geographical knowledge

A. Geography - Greek, Rabbinic and Modern

"In the whole range of Jewish literature, no branch of knowledge appears to be cultivated more scantily, or to be less known than that of geography." With these words L. Zunz begins one of the few attempts ever made to survey systematically Jewish geographical texts.[1] Though his judgment is true in the superficial sense that there was no Jewish Strabo or Ptolemy, Zunz, has, in fact, in his essay rather underestimated Rabbinic interest in geographical matters because he has not fully appreciated the fact that geography as an independent field of study hardly existed in the ancient world. Geography was taught in antiquity under forms that are alien to our way of thinking, and once we are alive to this fact we shall find much more of it in the Rabbinic corpus than did Zunz.

In the Graeco-Roman world geography was pursued at three distinct levels. (1) The highest of these is what we might call "the scientific tradition". This began with Hecataeus and the Ionians and was later taken up and greatly advanced by Alexandrian scholars. As its representatives we may take Strabo and Ptolemy, Though this tradition comes close to our own notions of geography, and has greatly influenced them, it was not widely known in the ancient world. Its students were few and its controversies arcane. Cicero once projected a geographical treatise, but, despite his excellent education, found he could not follow the debates of the scientific geographers, and so gave it up. Thereafter he reckoned geography among the "obscurer sciences" (De orat. I xiv 59-60; cf. Ad Att. II 6.1).

(2) At a lower level was "popular geography". This too, on the whole, had its roots in Ionia, but largely disregarded post-Ionian geographical developments. It was very poor stuff. Typical is Ps-Scymnus' Periegesis (c.120 BC), which was probably composed more as an essay in versification than out of a desire to advance or impart geographical knowledge, just as Aratus in the Phaenomena took up astronomy as material on which to exercise his metrical skills. Unlike the Phaenomena, however, the Periegesis never rose to the status of a school text-book.[2]

No room, in fact, was allowed for geography as a separate subject within the scheme of Greek paideia. Aristotle, though acquainted with the work of the Ionian school which had, in effect, asserted the subject's independence and roughly drawn its limits, did not include it as a distinct branch of knowledge in his programme of encyclopedic learning. Even Strabo and Ptolemy, who come closest to ourselves, defined their subject-matter as a fusion of existing academic disciplines - geometry and astronomy, with the addition of natural history in the case of Strabo (see Ptol. I 2.2; Strabo I 1.15 p.8). As late as the Middle Ages geography had still not achieved independence: the Aristotelians classified it under mathematics, the Platonists under physics.[3]

(3) Both the scientific and the popular treatises passed the majority by. Nevertheless everyone did acquire a certain amount of rudimentary geographical knowledge in the course of his schooling. Homer, "the prophet of all men" and the staple of Greek elementary education, played an important role here. When the pupil reached the stage of the "historical" investigation of the poet, he concerned himself not merely with times, events and persons in the Iliad and the Odyssey but with places as well - a type of study known as "topical history". An example of "topical history" (not, in fact, dealing with Homer, but probably with some lost Greek play) is preserved in Sextus Empiricus Adv. math. I 257: "Brilessos and Arakunthos are mountains of Attica, Akamas, a promontory of Kupria".

The importance of Homer even in geographical matters is evident from the attention paid to him by representatives of the scientific tradition. Strabo regards him as"the first geographer" and defends his geographical ideas against attack (Strabo I 1.3 p.2; I 2.9 p.20). Even Eratosthenes on occasion, did the same, sometimes going to such casuistical lengths that one is reminded of the nineteenth century fundamentalist defence of the veracity of Scripture (Strabo I 2.31 p. 39).

Besides the simple type of "topical history" by which a certain amount of isolated geographical information was imparted, there were Homeric texts which provided the opportunity for more

comprehensive geographical statement. Various cosmological passages, accounts of wanderings and catalogues such as the Catalogue of Ships are cases in point.[4]

Though the first two of these levels of geographical study, the scientific and the popular, have little to correspond to them in Rabbinic culture, there is something analogous to the the third, the study of geography through reading Homer. Just as most Greeks learned what they knew of geography through the study of Homer, so Jews learned geography in conjunction with their study of the Bible. The position of Homer in Greek education is closely paralleled by that of the Bible in Rabbinic.

The centrality of the Bible for Rabbinic culture is obvious as a general fact. It should be appreciated that it functioned as a central frame of reference in geographical matters as well as in theological. Let us suppose that a Palestinian Rabbi meets in Palestine a Jew who comes from far-distant Ctesiphon. The Rabbi, never having been in those parts, wants to know precisely where the stranger's home-town is. How is he to locate it ? He would hardly go and consult an atlas as we would. However, he can place Ctesiphon very precisely if he knows the exegetical tradition identifying this town with Calneh, the city of Nimrod mentioned in Gen. 10. This link between Calneh and Ctesiphon brings the latter city into connection with a whole nexus of geographical terms and relationships and puts it on the "Biblical map". Thus the Bible functioned for the Rabbis in geography as a co-ordinating frame of reference and an informational storage system. A new geographical fact was not assimilated until it was put on the "Biblical map."

Just as in "topical history" the Greek student learned the positions of places mentioned in Homer, so too Jews learned the identifications of places mentioned in the Bible. Take the following three examples to set beside the specimen of Greek "topical history" which we quoted above:

1. Gen. 2:14, Asshur: this is Seleucia (b.Ket. 10b)
2. Gen. 2:11, Havilah: Hindiḳi i.e. India (N and Ps-J)
3. Dan. 3:1, The Plain of Dura: R. Yoḥanan said, From the River'Eshel to Rabbath is the Plain of Dura (b.Sanh. 92b)

The Targum probably played an important part in this instruction, for it was learned by children in the Beth ha-Sepher (see b.Ber. 8b). This provides a convincing Sitz-im-Leben for its geographical material: it was included with a view to its use at the elementary stage of education.

There are cases where the Biblical passage which is glossed in Rabbinic texts is used simply as a peg on which to hang geographical information. Take, for example, Ps. 24:2, "The Lord has founded the world upon the seas and established it upon the rivers." Note that both "seas" and "rivers" are spoken of. In b.BB. 74b we find the following comment on this text:

> "When R. Dimi (PA 4) came (from Palestine to Babylonia) he said in the name of R. Yoḥanan (PA 2): The verse, <u>For he hath founded it upon the seas and established it upon the rivers</u> refers to the seven seas and the four rivers which surround the land of Israel. These are the seven seas: the Sea of Tiberias, the Sea of Sodom, the Sea of Ḥelath, the Sea of Ḥiltha, the Sea of Sibkay, the Sea of 'Aspamia and the Great Sea. These are the four rivers: the Jordan, the Yarmuk, the Keramyon and the Pigah."

The paedagogical nature of this exposition is fairly obvious from its form. That it was some kind of basic unit of instruction is further suggested by the number of places where we find it transmitted: see y.Kil. 32c.52; y.Ket. 35b.45; Mid. Teh. 24,6 (205,9).

In the Palestinian texts, after the list of the seven seas we find the following addition:

> "Why is there no mention of the sea of Emesa ? Because Diocletian brought together the waters of several rivers and made them into a sea."

Now it is a fact that Lake Ḥoms is artificially caused by damming the Orontes. The attribution of this feat to Diocletian is more doubtful. Abulfeda ascribed it to Alexander the Great, while Strabo XVI 2. 19 p.756, if, indeed, his "Egyptian wall" is a barrier across the river, seems to have regarded it as of Ptolemaic origin.[5] This

extra matter may be a rather knowledgeable gloss, but I think it is more satisfactory to regard it as part of the "lesson". When we have come this far, we are well beyond direct exegesis of Ps. 24:2.

There are other cases where the Rabbis appear to be interested in a geographical point purely for its own sake, or at least their discussion of it rapidly passes beyond their immediate exegetical needs. An example of this is the long debate on the size of the world in b.Pes. 94a.[6] Some texts appear to acknowledge even the principle of experimentation, such as the curious tale told about R. Joshua and R. Eliezer (T2), to elucidate Eccl. 1:7, "All streams run to the sea, but the sea is not full" (Gen.R. XIII 9 (118,1); Eccl.R. I 7.3). The story goes that the two Rabbis were sailing on the Great Sea when they came to a place where the waters do not flow. R. Eliezer said that they had come there for a purpose and produced a barrel which he filled with water from that spot. They sailed on to Rome where the Emperor Hadrian questioned them about the nature of the waters of Ocean. R. Eliezer demonstrated to him that they are "waters that absorb water" by pouring ordinary water into the barrel and showing that the volume of water in it is not thereby increased.

Just as the importance of the calendar and the problems of reconciling the lunar and the solar years stimulated in Rabbinic circles an interest in mathematics and astronomy, so geographically based halakhoth must have encouraged an interest in geography. These halakhoth included more than "the commandments pertaining to the Land". Thus the exposition of the places of exile mentioned in 2 Kgs 17:11,[8] which is attributed to R. Abba bar Kahana (PA 3) in b.Yeb. 16b-17a (// b.Kidd. 72a), has clearly in view the halakhic question of the racial purity and marital status of Jews living in those areas. Compare also the discussion in b.Makk. 9b of the location of the cities of refuge listed in Num. 35:14. Comment on geographical matters was not confined to the elucidation of Scripture, but was applied also to the exposition of the Mishnah. Thus R. Meir's ruling that "the Jordan is regarded as forming a division with regard to the tithing of animals" provoked in the later academies a long discussion on the course of the River Jordan (see b.Bek. 55a-b; cf., b.BB 74b).

The Bible provides a much more satisfactory basis for geographical teaching than Homer, and in this respect early Christian schools which made it the basis of instruction had a distinct advantage over their pagan neighbours. Besides the specific names requiring identification, it had an excellent range of texts which could be (and were) used as the basis of a comprehensive programme of geographical study:

(1) The Story of Creation in Gen. 1-3 provided the framework for a general and theoretical geography. There is much material of this nature in the Rabbinic commentaries on these chapters. See the relevant sections of Gen.R., Midrash Konen and PRE. So too the Christian expositors: the Hexaemeron, an elaborate commentary on the works of the six days, forms almost an independent genre in Patristic literature.[7] As an illustration of how geographical ideas came in we may take the comment in Gen.R. XIII 10 (119,5) on Gen. 2:6, "There went up a mist and watered the face of the ground". This verse provoked the question, Whence does the earth drink ? R. Eliezer said, From the waters of Ocean; but R. Joshua objected, The waters of Ocean are salty, whereas rain-water is sweet. R. Eliezer replied, evidently with an inkling of the principle of evaporation, that the clouds sweeten the water. R. Joshua will have none of this and claims that the earth drinks from the "upper waters" which are broken up into drops by passing through the clouds as through a sieve. Ps-J's rendering of this verse reflects a view similar to R. Eliezer's:

> "A cloud of glory used to come down from under the the Throne of Glory and it filled itself with the the waters of Ocean and it was drawn back up again from the earth and sent down rain and watered all the face of the ground."

(2) The Table of the Nations in Gen. 10 provided a basic regional geography and ethnography. We shall discuss later in III.4 a number of Rabbinic treatments of this text. Christian expositors were also much involved with it: most of the many Patristic Chronica give an account of it. In fact it remained one of the fundamental documents of western civilization till the late Middle Ages.

(3) The Boundaries of the Land in Num. 34 gives an outline geography of the Land of Israel. Though this text was of limited interest to Christian scholars, it was much studied in Rabbinic circles. See further IV.4.

B. The geographical horizons of the Palestinian Rabbis

The question of the Rabbis' knowledge of the regions of the world is best answered through an examination of the sources of information available to them. These may be reduced to three:

(1) General knowledge. The majority of people in the ancient world must have had a body of general geographical knowledge which they had acquired quite incidentally. They must have known something even about distant lands such as Germany and Parthia which were frequently "in the news". This information would have been derived in a variety of ways. For example, coins would have contributed to it, for these often bore not only the name of a city or province but a figure personifying it and proclaiming its distinctive features.[8]

(2) Written sources. Though it is rather unlikely that the Rabbis would have spent time reading even the popular Greek geographies, there were other written documents embodying geographical information which they may well have consulted. Some of them were widely travelled and like any other ancient wayfarer probably used the practical road-books, the itineraria which were common in the Graeco-Roman world. Copies of these itineraria were kept in public libraries in the principal cities, and portions of them engraved on stone were set up in public squares and along the roads.[9]

(3) Contacts with the Diaspora. Neither of the two foregoing sources of information is as important for the Rabbis as their contacts with the Diaspora, the outer limits of which mark the edge of the Rabbis' real geographical horizons. This point may be demonstrated in a variety of ways. It is intrinsically probable, and there is a good analogy to it, for it has been often noticed

that the knowledge of the world possessed by the early Ionian geographers coincides with the areas colonized by the Greeks.[10] Moreover, if we were to draw up on the basis of non-Rabbinic evidence, such as inscriptions and references in pagan authors, a list of the places inhabited by Jews, and then compare this with the places spoken of in Rabbinic texts, we would find that there is a large measure of agreement. I propose, then, to sketch briefly the extent of the Diaspora as a way of discovering the areas of the world about which the Rabbis would have known most.

There have been a number of attempts to list the areas of Jewish settlement in the opening centuries of the current era, but all of them have been flawed by a tendency to overestimate.[11] This has come about for a number of reasons. Too much weight, for example, has been placed on the details of rhetorical passages such as Philo Leg. ad Gaium 281-2. Some rather dubious texts have been summoned in evidence. Thus, even if we allow that the document quoted in 1 Macc. 15:15-24 is genuine, it is no proof that there were Jewish populations in any of the odd list of places which it gives. There has also been a tendency to argue inferentially. Because it is an acknowledged fact that early Christianity spread most rapidly in areas of Jewish settlement, it is supposed that conversely any area with an extensive Christian community must have had a large Jewish population.[12] Single tombstones become "large communities". For our particular purpose, there can be no harm in rather underestimating the size of the Diaspora. We are interested in places (a) with a large Jewish population, which (b) has been settled there for a long time and which (c) was in communion with Jews in the Land of Israel. We shall make c.AD 400 our upper time limit.

1. The Land of Israel and adjacent regions

That the Rabbis may be credited with a first-hand acquaintance of the land where they dwelt needs no proof. The same may be said of the immediately adjacent regions of Syria and Arabia. Of Syria Josephus has this to say:

> "The Jewish race, densely interspersed among the native populations of every portion of the world, is particularly

> numerous in Syria, where the intermingling is due to the proximity of the two countries. But it is at Antioch that they have specially congregated, partly owing to the greatness of that city, but mainly because the succesors of King Antiochus allowed them to live there in security" (BJ VII 4).

The other major concentrations of Jews in Syria apart from Antioch were in the great Phoenician ports -Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, Byblos, Tripolis and Aradus. Of Arabia, we may allow the Rabbis a fairly extensive knowledge of Transjordan and the northern Hedjaz.[13]

2. Asia Minor

Here too the Diaspora was considerable. The earliest documented movement of Jews en masse into Asia Minor took place c. 200 BC, when Antiochus the Great ordered his governor Zeuxis to have 2,000 Jewish families transported from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to Lydia and Phrygia. They were priveleged settlers brought in to garrison a troubled and sensitive area. Antiochus' letter authorizing the move is given in Josephus AJ XII 147-153.[14]

The presence and importance of Jews in precisely these areas in the subsequent centuries is attested by a batch of decrees and letters quoted by Josephus in AJ XIV 186 ff. These are mainly from the years 52-49 BC.[15] Cicero Pro Flacco 28 is a capital piece of evidence for the settlement of Jews in some numbers in western Asia Minor by the first century BC. Flaccus was charged with embezzling the Temple Tax while propraetor of Asia in 62 BC, and in the course of his defence, Cicero mentions both the amounts of the money (some of them large) and the places where it had been collected.

Adding to this documentary evidence the testimony of the inscriptions, we can work out the demography of the Jews of Asia Minor. Following the pattern established right at the beginning, they were concentrated in Ionia (at Smyrna, Sardis, Thyatira, Ephesus in particular, Miletus and Halicarnassus) and in Phrygia (Blaundos, Acmoneia, Apamea Cibotus, Hierapolis and Laodicea ad Lycum). Rabbinic sources suggest large numbers in Cappadocia as well, particularly around the capital Caesarea Mazaca (cf. b.MK 26a). The fact that this

region has not been well explored could account for the absence of epigraphic corroboration of this. Thus the Jewish population was mainly in a broad belt across the middle of Asia Minor - from Cappadocia through Phrygia to Ionia and the Aegean. Jews were, of course, to be found elsewhere, especially along the major routes. Ramsay believed that they were numerous in Galatia,[16] and, indeed, there is a reference in b.RH. 26a to R. Akiba visiting that area, and a Galatian Jewish scholar quoted in b.Ket. 60a, but the evidence is thin and I suspect that, even if there was a large Jewish element in Galatia, it was heavily assimilated. In b.Shabb. 147b there is a complaint about the alienation from traditional Jewish ways of Phrygian Jewry.

3. The Greek Islands

(A) CYPRUS: The fact that this island was close to Antioch and Syria, and that Jews were favourably treated there under Cleopatra (Josephus AJ XIII 234), led to a numerous settlement. Its strength may be gauged from the damage caused by the revolt of the Cypriote Jews under Trajan, as a result of which they were completely rooted out of the island (Cass. Dio LXVIII 32; Eusebius Chron. sub Olymp. 224 (GCS edition p. 219; PL XIX 556)). While they were there, they maintained close contact with their brethren in Israel.[17]

(B) THE REST: Only two other Greek islands are worthy of mention, Delos and Aegina. Josephus AJ XIV 231-32 gives a copy of a Delian decree from May/June 48 BC exempting the Jews on the island from military service. A synagogue from the first century BC has also been unearthed (CIJ 725-31). At Aegina, too, remains of a synagogue have come to light (CIJ 722-3, no dates). These two islands link up with evidence of Jews at Corinth and Patrae to suggest a pattern: all four points lie on one of the major routes from the east to Rome and Italy.[18]

4. Southern Russia

Trading interests swept Jews up to the Cimmerian Bosphorus. There is evidence for a Jewish community and synagogue at Panticapeum as early as AD 80 (CIJ 683; 684 is undated). Jewish influence was strong in the Crimea from the seventh century onwards with the rise of the Khazar kingdom, but it is hard to say when Jews in large numbers first came to the area. It was probably not

until the harassment of the Synagogue had begun after the conversion of the Empire to Christianity.

5. Greece

The Jewish population of Greece was never large or settled. A survey of the evidence indicates that such communities as there were, were scattered along the two main routes through Greece running between Italy and the East: (1) the northern, overland route through Macedonia and Epirus (the Via Egnatia); there are Jewish settlements attested at Philippi,[19] Thessalonica and Beroea in the mid first century of the current era; and (2) the southern sea-route via the Isthmus; thus we have Jews at Corinth and Patrae (CIJ 716,no date). The community at Corinth was undoubtedly the largest in Greece. A synagogue is mentioned in Acts 18:4,7; CIJ 718 may be its lintel inscription. At the end of the First Jewish War, Vespasian sent 6,000 Jews to the Isthmus to help dig the canal (Josephus BJ III 540; Suetonius Nero 19; cf. Orac. Sib. V 32 = XII 84). Some of these slaves would have been redeemed by their brethren.[20]

6. Italy

Here Rome is by far the most important Jewish centre. There is abundant evidence of every kind for a long-standing and large Jewish community at the heart of the Empire. When it began is not known. There may have been an expulsion of Jews as early as 139 BC.[21] They were certainly there in 59 BC when Cicero made his defence of Flaccus (Pro Flacco 28), and able to make their presence politically felt.

According to Philo Leg. ad Gaium 155 the majority of Roman Jews were freedmen who had been brought to Rome as prisoners of war and manumitted. This probably substantially true, especially for the early period, provided we can understand "freedmen" in the broad sense of both ex-slaves and their sons. Rome devloped late as a mercantile centre and there was little to attract the peregrini to it before the time of the late Republic. By then there was already an extensive Jewish settlement in the city. The wars between Rome and the Jews kept up a steady stream of Jewish slaves, and despite

periodic expulsion orders (for example, under Tiberius, Josephus AJ XVIII 81-84; Tacitus Ann. II 85.5; Suetonius Tiberius 36) and Claudius (so Suetonius Claudius 25,4, but see Cass. Dio LX 6.6) the community survived and flourished. Three large catacombs have been discovered, and epigraphic evidence points to at least eleven synagogues.[22] The Jews of Rome maintained, by all accounts, close contact with the Land of Israel. It is ironical that when Mattiah ben Heresh fled from Palestine as the teacher of a proscribed religion, after the suppression of the rebellion of Bar Kokhba, he should have gone to Rome and set up a Yeshiva on the Emperor's doorstep (b.Sanh. 32b).

As for the rest of Italy, we find Jews settled along the routes leading from the south to Rome, at Tarentum, Venusia, Capua, Neapolis, Salernum and Puteoli; but the evidence is surprisingly poor for Jewish communities in northern Italy.

According to Josephus AJ XVIII 81-84 and Tacitus Ann. II 85.5, 4,000 Jews, expelled from Rome by Tiberius, were transported to Sardinia to undertake "policing" duties against the brigands. This large group has vanished without trace.

There is some evidence for Jews in Sicily, at Catana (CIJ 650 Latin, AD 383) and Syracuse (CIJ 653 Greek, Byzantine period). This fact ties in with the presence of Jews on Malta (apparently from Republican times) and at Carthage to give the familiar pattern of Jewish settlements fanned out along the major arteries of trade. Frey (CIJ 655) is safe in his surmise that the Maltese Jews came originally from Alexandria.

7. Gaul

From the time of the Council of Vannes in AD 465 there are refrences to widespread and large Jewish communities in France, but evidence relating to the time before this date is scanty and problematical. CIJ 666-72 all fall outside the scope of this survey. However, the communities which appear in the late fifth and early sixth centuries in such strength cannot have sprung up over-night, but must have had their origins at an earlier period. The fifth and

sixth century settlements are clustered in the Rhône valley and along the south coast - at Vienne, Avignon, Arles, Uzès, Marseilles, Agde, Narbonne etc., and it is in this area that we meet the earliest recorded Jew in France, namely Archelaus, who in AD 6 was banished to Vienna (Vienne).[23] I consider that it is reasonable to posit Jewish communities prior to AD 400 at Massilia, Arelate, Narbo and Lugdunum.[24]

8. Spain

The principal problem with regard to the Jewish Diaspora in Spain is similar to that relating to Jews in Gaul: though the presence of Jews there is established by the anti-Jewish enactments of the Council of Elvira in AD 303-4, evidence for them before this date is very sparse - effectively one Jewish inscription from Adra (ancient Abdera) on the south coast (CIJ 665 Latin, beginning of the third century AD). From the anti-Jewish legislation of the Visigoth kings, however, a demographic pattern emerges: most Jews after AD 400 were living in the valley of the Guadalquivir, especially around Cordoba. The following towns in that area had Jewish populations: Cordoba; Barbi (near modern Antequera); Ipagrum (modern Cabra to the south of Cordoba); Tucci (near modern Jaén); Mentesa (south of modern Jaén); Aurgi (modern Jaén); Tuia (ancient Tugia, near modern Jaén); Viatia (or Vivatia, modern Baëza); Iliturgi (near modern Andujar); Isturgi (near modern Andujar); Tutugi (modern Galera, north-east of Baza). This concentration points to Jewish communities near Cordoba long before AD 400.[25]

9. North Africa

Jewish remains in North Africa, west of Egypt, though considerable, have not yet been properly assessed as a whole.[26] However, it is clear that there were two main areas of Jewish settlement in our period:

(A) CARTHAGE: References in Christian writers such as Tertullian and Augustine to Jews in this region of North Africa are supported by archaeological and epigraphic evidence. Note, in particular, the Jewish catacomb at Gamart, on the outskirts of Carthage, and the important synagogue at Hammam Lif (ancient Naro) about eleven miles from Tunis (dated third or fourth century AD).[27]

(B) CYRENAICA: From Josephus CA II 44 we learn that Ptolemy I (304-282 BC) settled Jews in Cyrenaica and Libya to strengthen his hold on these areas. This was the beginning of a populous and priveleged Jewish settlement in the region (cf. Strabo in Josephus AJ XIV 115). Attested Jewish centres are: Cyrene, Apollonia, Ptolemais, Teucheria and Berenice. Cyrenian Jews had close links with Israel. Two serious outbursts of violence drastically reduced the Jewish population. The first was the disturbance in AD 73 connected with the sicarius Jonathan the Weaver (Josephus BJ VII 437-50; Vita 424 f). The second was the "War under Trajan" (AD 115-117), which must have virtually brought the Jewish presence in the region to an end (Eusebius HE IV 2; Cass. Dio LXVIII 32).[28]

10. Egypt

The origin of the large Jewish population of Egypt may go back as early as the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BC (Jer. 44:1; 46:14; Ep. of Aristeas XIII 35). The Elephantine Papyri are vivid proof of a Jewish garrison-settlement in the far south of the country in the following century. However, the foundations of the large Jewish community were probably not laid till the period 312-198 BC when Palestine formed part of the Ptolemaic Empire. Jews probably came first to Egypt as prisoners of war, but later also as fortune-seekers and political refugees. It was undoubtedly during the Ptolemaic era, as the papyri prove, that Jews attained in Egypt their greatest numbers and prosperity. In the Roman period tension developed between Jew and Greek in Alexandria and soon spread to the countryside as well. There was bloody conflict in AD 38, 41 and 66. The culmination was the "War under Trajan" (AD115-117) which, as we have just seen, involved the Jews of Cyrene as well. By the end of this bitter struggle the Jewish population of Egypt was decimated. In some areas, notably, Alexandria, it survived in some strength, but in the following centuries was under constant pressure from apostasy and persecution in an increasingly Christian-dominated world. It begins to show signs of recovery only about the time of the Arab Conquest.[29]

Jews were settled in all parts of Egypt from Ethiopia to the Mediterranean. The largest numbers were in lower Egypt, particularly at Alexandria, in the Delta region and the Faiyum.[30] Their demography remains broadly constant down to the Middle Ages. At all periods, Egyptian Jews were in close contact with their brethren in Palestine and bowed to the spiritual hegemony of the Land of Israel.[31]

11. Lands beyond the Euphrates

From very early times Jews and Israelites were deported to lands beyond the Euphrates. There were three main areas to which they were taken: (a) Northern Mesopotamia between the Khabur and the Euphrates; so in the deportations of 733 BC (1 Chron. 5:26; cf. 2 Kgs 15:29) and of 721 BC (2 Kgs 17:6; 18:11). (b) Media; so in the deportation of 721 BC (2 Kgs 17:6; 18:11). (c) Babylonia; so in the deportations of 598 BC and 587 BC (2 Kgs 24:14-16). What happened to these different groups of exiles ?

(A) BABYLONIA: The Jewish community here survived intact down to the Middle Ages. It was very important both numerically and culturally, and its story has often been told. It kept the closest ties with the Land of Israel. The main Jewish cities were: Ctesiphon, Maḥoza, Sura, Pumbeditha and Nehardea.[32]

(B) NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA: There were Jewish communities in this area down till Roman times. While Trajan was at Ctesiphon during his Parthian campaign they rose in revolt in his rear and were savagely suppressed, large numbers being killed (Eusebius Chron. under AD 115 (GCS edition 196,18); Eusebius HE IV 2; Orosius VII 12.7). They cannot have been entirely eradicated for we find that during and after the war of Bar Kokhba there was a Jewish academy of some importance at Nisibis under Judah ben Bathyra II.* Their residence in this region well after this date is confirmed by the testimony of Syriac Christian texts. Chief centres: Edessa, Carrhae, Constantia (Tella) and Nisibis.[33]

(C) MEDIA: There were Jews in some numbers in Media in the Roman period, at Gazaca, Nehavend, Hamadan and Ḥulwan in particular.

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*See further p. 171ff.

A certain Nahum the Mede, who flourished c.AD 70, is cited among the Tannaim (m.Shabb. II 1). R. Akiba preached at Gazaca (called Ginzak in Rabbinic texts; see Gen.R. XXXIII 5) and gave a ruling there on a certain type of fish (b.AZ. 39a). However, though the Jews may have been fairly numerous, they were heavily assimilated. This is the implication of the statement "Media is sick" in b.Kidd. 71b (// y.Kidd. 65d.10; y.Yeb. 3b.14).

Besides these areas there are three others where one might look for Jews in some numbers beyond the Euphrates:

(D) ADIABENE: In the decade AD 30-40 Izates the king of Adiabene converted to Judaism (Josephus AJ XX 34 ff) He and the royal house entered into close relationship with Jerusalem. Despite this fact, and the fact that Jewish names crop up in early Adiabenian Church history there is no warrant for supposing that Jews were settled in any significant numbers in Adiabene. Certain Rabbinic texts have been cited as evidence that there was a Jewish community at Niniveh in the time of Rabbi (y.Ta'an. 63d.35) and also, some time later, a Rabbinical academy at the capital Arbela (y.Sot. 19d.1), but they have been misinterpreted.* It is certain that after AD 70 the bond between Adiabene and the Land of Israel grew increasingly weaker.

(E) HYRCANIA: According to some sources Artaxerxes Ochus, after his Egyptian campaign which ended in 343 BC, took a portion of the Jewish population of Egypt and deported it to Hyrcania (Eusebius Chron. under 359 BC (sic !) (GCS edition 121,7); Syncellus ed. Dindorf I 486,10; Orosius III 7.6). Two of our authorities, Orosius from the early fifth century, and Syncellus, who flourished c. AD 800, say that the Jews survived there till their day. The prsence of Jews in this area and their contact with the Land of Israel seems to be borne out by the name "Hyrcanus" which is found among Palestinian Jews, and is most naturally taken to mean, at least in origin, the "Hyrcanian". [34] Links with Israel were probably in Maccabean times; there is no evidence for contact from the first century of the current era onwards.

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* See further p. 174.

(F) ELAM: There were Jews in Elam in some numbers from the Persian period (Neh. 1:2; Esth. 9:6). Rabbinic texts from the Babylonian Talmud attest their presence there in the Amoraic period (b.Kidd. 49b // b.Pes. 87a) at Susa (b.Sanh. 94a); Shustar (Sostrate) (b.Sanh. 94a) and Ahwaz (b.Ta'an. 22a; b.Shabb. 51b). It is unlikely, however, that they maintained close contact with the Land of Israel. In fact b.Sanh. 94a more or less directly states that they did not, while b.Kidd. 71b, "Elam is on the point of death", implies that they were almost totally assimilated (cf. y.Kidd. 65d.10; y.Yeb. 3b.14). In b.Kidd. 49b (// b.Pes. 87a) the state of religious studies in the Elamite communities is adversely reflected on. On top of this evidence, there is the simple fact that in Palestinian Jewish texts the term "Elam" is used very inexactly, which argues a lack of knowledge of this area: thus Gen.R. XLII 4 (409,3) identifies Elam with Media, while Josephus AJ XII 354 appears to regard Elymais as a city of Persia ! In AJ I 143 he confuses Elam and Persia, as does the book of Jubilees IX 2.

The picture which we have drawn so far is static. To round it off we must now consider the arteries along which information about these various areas of Diaspora settlement flowed back into Palestine to become part of the Rabbis' geographical knowledge.

Up until the rise of Babylonia to spiritual hegemony over world Jewry in the mid fourth century of the current era, the Patriarch and the Palestinian academies stood at the centre of Jewish life. Jews scattered abroad looked inwards to Israel for guidance and instruction, while the religious authorities in Palestine looked outwards to meet the religious need of Jews outside the Land. There was much "toing and froing".

We find not a few important Palestinian Rabbis abroad. Most indefatigable of these travellers was Akiba. He is mentioned as being in Asia Minor (in Galatia; Phrygia; and Cappadocia, at Mazaca the capital). We meet him, in the company of Rabban Gamliel, R. Joshua and R. Eleazar ben Azariah, in Italy at Brundisium, Puteoli and Rome.

He was in Babylonia, at Nehardea; in Media, at Ginzak (=Gazaca) and in Arabia Petraea. He resided for a while at Zuphrin (the name is variously spelt) which may be Zephyrium in Cilicia, which would take him back to Asia Minor, but the identification is far from certain.* Whatever the purpose of these travels was, they were certainly, by any standard, extensive and argue a direct acquaintance with considerable areas of the ancient world.[35]

Another link between Israel and the Diaspora was the institution of the shelihim, the authorized envoys sent out by the religious authorities in Palestine to communicate with Jews outside the Land. Normally these were men of standing, and frequently Rabbis. Some of Akiba's journeys which we have just listed were undertaken undoubtedly in the capacity of a shaliah. The shelihim went on two regular missions: to collect the Patriarchal Tax (the successor of the old Temple Tax);[36] and to announce adjustments to the calendar, such as the intercalation of the year.[37] Thus we find R. Meir in Asia Minor, and R. Akiba in Nehardea, to proclaim the intercalation of the year.

As the supreme religious authorities in Judaism, the Palestinian Patriarch and the Palestinian academies were frequently applied to for responsa - rulings on points of practice. These responsa were sometimes put in written form, but at others a deputation arrived to present the problem and bring back the answer. So we read of Jews from the Roman province of Asia inquiring about certain halakhoth by deputation at Yavneh.[38] On the other hand, we find R. Yosi (PA 5) sending a written reply to R. Tanḥum bar Papa in Alexandria. On another occasion the same Rabbi appears to give a written responsum to Alexandrian Jews.[39]

Besides these outgoings there were incomings from the Diaspora to Palestine. Thus, till eclipsed by the Babylonian schools, the Land of Israel had the most prestigious Yeshivoth, and scholars from all over the world came to study in them. Many, as one might expect, came from Babylonia: R. Nathan (T 4); R. Ḥiyya bar Abba (T 5); R. Ḥanina (PA 1); Rav (BA 1); and Rav Kahana (PA 2) are just a few who could be named.[40] Other areas were also represented. Thus

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*See further p.210.

we hear of three scholars from Cappadocia, R. Yudan (y.Pea 16c.12), R. Yannai (y.BB. 16a.20) and R. Samuel (Koh.R. VII 23.3). From Galatia came Nahum (b.Ket. 60a),[41] from Egypt R. Eleazar ben Shammua and R. Yoḥanan the Sandlemaker (both T3); Ḥanan the Egyptian (b.Sanh. 17b) and R. Zakkai of Alexandria (y.Yeb. 8b.50; y.Ket. 28d.13; y.AZ. 42a.10). It has even been argued recently that R. Meir was of Anatolian origin and that his name is Phrygian.[42] These Diaspora scholars must have brought the knowledge of their home-countries into the heart of Rabbinic circles in the Land of Israel.

Jews came to Israel on pilgrimage. The destruction of the Temple in AD 70 greatly reduced the influx but by no means brought it to an end (cf. b.Ned. 23a; Lam.R. I 17.52). Pilgrims came no longer to present their sacrifices in the Temple but to mourn in its ruins. In b.MK. 26a there are precise instructions as to how the pilgrim is to rend his garments on seeing the remains of the Temple and the Holy City. These were evidently not the only sites visited. In b.Ber. 54a a baraitha is given to the effect that

> "If one sees the place of the crossing of the Red Sea, or the fords of the streams of the Arnon, or the hailstones in the descent of Beth Horon, or the stone on which Moses sat when Joshua fought with Amalek, or the Pillar of Salt of Lot's wife, or the wall of Jericho which sank into the ground - for all these he should give thanks and praise the Almighty."

The Rabbis encouraged these pilgrimages as a cohesive force within scattered Jewry which kept alive the hope of national rebirth. It was the gravest of reproaches of Elamite Jews that they spoke contemptuously of the Land of Israel and took no interest in its affairs (b.Sanh. 94b).[43]

Finally, we must take into account the fact that Israel exerted an emotional pull on Diaspora Jews to the extent that many of them returned to live there. We find, for example, tomb inscriptions of Jews from Seleucia in Isauria at Haifa (CIJ 882, no date); from Babylonia at Caesarea Maritima (CIJ 889, not earlier than the 4th century AD), and at Jaffa (CIJ 902, no date); from Cappadocia, Alexandria, Tarsus, Pentapolis and Chios at Jaffa (CIJ 910, 918, 928, 934, 931, 950, 954 - no dates). Rabbinic texts add further evidence.

Thus we find a group of Cappadocian Jews resident at Sepphoris consulting R. Imi (PA 3, see JE I p. 522) on a certain matter. These may have been students at the Yeshiva; on the other hand, considering the date, they may have been refugees of the assault of Shapur I on Caesarea Mazaca in AD 260, in which, according to Rabbinic sources (b.MK. 26a), Jews suffered terribly. There were certain pieces of Rabbinic legislation specifically designed to encourage return to the Land. Thus either partner in a marriage could compel the other to return with him and settle in Israel (m.Ket. XIII 11).[44]

Whether as a result of deportation, or of enslavement and manumission, or for reasons of trade and fortune-seeking Jews were to be found in many corners of the ancient world. In many of the lands where they settled they kept in touch with the home-land of Israel and through contact with them the Palestinian Rabbis derived most of their substantial knowledge of the regions of the world. As far as our present study is concerned, the geographical horizons of the Palestinian Rabbis may be drawn as follows: In the west they would have had little first-hand acquaintance with anything beyond Rome, with the possible exception of southern Gaul and southern Spain; in the east, little beyond Babylonia and Media, with the possible exception, at an early period, of Hyrcania. Northwards, their knowledge may have extended to southern Russia, but more likely it did not go beyond Asia Minor and Macedonia. Southwards, I suspect that they had contact with little beyond Arabia Petraea and Egypt. Though they speak of areas outside of these limits, they knew of them only very indirectly, and their information was probably neither extensive nor reliable.

It is hard to say in any given case whence the Rabbis drew their information. However, the forms of their geographical names sometimes provide a clue. The prevailing onomasticon in the Mediterranean world was the Greek, and when we set the Rabbinic names against it a number of interesting points emerge:

(1) Some Greek names are found in a corrupt form in Rabbinic texts. Particularly interesting are the corruptions of Greek names which are borne by places in non-Greek areas. Thus the

Phoenician city called by the Greek name "Tripolis" is represented as "'Aṭrabulis" in Rabbinic texts (y.Shabb. 6c.8), with which one should compare the Arabic "Aṭrabulus" (see EI IV 660). Both the Rabbinic and the Arabic forms may be parallel corruptions in Semitic of an original Greek name; on the other hand they may go back to a deformation which originated with the non-Greek natives of Phoenicia. If this is so, then it is an indication of direct contact with this region.

(2) Some non-Greek names are given in Rabbinic texts a form different to that in the Greek onomasticon. Both the Greek and the Rabbinic names, in some of these cases, seem to be independent attempts to represent the foreign name. For example, we have (a) Rabbinic Parkevi as against Greek Hyrcania, two unrelated efforts to represent the designation of the region called Varkana in Persian. Compare the rare, divergent Greek Barkania. (b) Rabbinic 'Aphriki as against Greek Phrygia. The native form of the name is not known with certainty, but compare the divergent Greek (or rather Macedonian) form Brigia. In cases such as these, we must allow the Rabbis some direct contact with the region in question. It is significant that there was a Jewish settlement both in Hyrcania and in Phrygia which could have transmitted to Palestine a form of these regions' names independent of those found in the Greek onomasticon. Other examples of this phenomenon are: Hadyeb as against Greek Adiabene; and Kardu as against Gordyene, Kordyene, Gordyaea.

(3) In contrast to this group are those cases where the Rabbinic form of the name follows the Greek onomasticon in its representation of non-Greek names. There is a significant cluster of these forms on the outer edges of the Rabbinic "world map", beyond the circle which we drew earlier as the horizon of the Rabbis' real geographical knowledge, for example, the loan-words Germania and Hindiki (=Indikē, India). Beyond these limits, one has the general impression of "fuzziness". Note as typical of this, the use of the vague Greek term Barbaria by the Rabbis to designate the lands of northern Europe.* It is very unlikely that the Rabbis had any direct information about such areas; they knew of them either through general knowledge, or low-level written Greek sources.

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*See further p. 114.

II.3 The Rabbinic "Image of the World"

A. Rabbinic Maps ?

"Babylon is north of the Land of Israel" declared R. Jeremiah (PA 4) (b. Gitt. 6a). Statements such as this are a warning to the modern student of Rabbinic geography that a great gulf separates his own and the Rabbis' "image of the world". Babylon, as we know (or should know),is due east of Israel.[1] An appreciation of this fundamental difference in outlook is essential for understanding the Rabbis' geographical pronouncements, and so we shall devote the present chapter to the question of how the Rabbis visualized the map of the world.

No Rabbinic maps survive - at least not from a period which would interest us. It would be rash, however, to conclude that they never drew any.[2] One must be careful over one's definition of a map, for it does not have to be the scientific and sophisticated thing which it so often is today. Any representation of the spatial relationships of a number of points or features on the earth's surface may be legitimately called a map. Such simple representations are as old as man himself and natural to the human mind.[3]

It is really immaterial to our study whether the Rabbis actually drew maps or not. Anyone faced with the task of comprehending and storing a number of different points or features on the earth's surface will naturally relate the one to the other, the known to the unknown,and so at least mentally create a map. Strabo has some interesting remarks on this imaginative map-making activity of the human mind:

> "However the greater part of our material both they (i.e., other geographers) and I receive by hearsay, and then form our ideas of the shape and size of the world, and also of its other characteristics both qualitative and quantitative, precisely as the mind forms its ideas from sense impressions - for our senses report the shape, colour and size of an apple, and also its smell and feel and flavour and from all this the mind forms the concept "apple". So too, even in the case of large figures, while the senses perceive only the parts, the mind forms a concept of the whole, from what the senses have perceived. And men who are eager to

> learn proceed in just that way. They trust as organs of sense those who have seen or wandered over any region no matter what, some in this some in that part of the world, and they form in one diagram their mental image of the whole inhabited world (II 5.11 p.117)."

It is perhaps not too fanciful to see an analogy between the academic geographer sitting in his study and synthesizing the reports of travellers , and Palestinian Rabbis forming in their minds a picture of the world from their contacts with the Diaspora. The difference is in degree rather than in kind. The academic geographer would have devoted time and energy exclusively to this task and relied on more precise sources of information.

Finally, it should be noted that there are geographical descriptions in both the Old Testament and Rabbinic literature which presuppose "maps", whether mental or actually drawn. One thinks of the Four Rivers of Paradise in Gen. 2:10-14, which may be based on an old Babylonian or Sumerian map; the territory of the Canaanites in Gen. 10:19; the boundaries of the Land according to Ez. 47:15-20;[4] and the boundaries of the Land according to R. Judah ben Ilai in m.Gitt. I 2 and b.Gitt. 8a. This last text will illustrate our point. The north, east and south borders are found in m.Gitt. I 2:

> "R. Judah says: Rekem and the country east of Rekem count as the east; Ashkelon and the country south of Ashkelon count as the south; Acco and the country north of Acco count as the north."

The western boundary according to R. Judah is found in b.Gitt. 8a:

> "A line is drawn from Kaphluria (?the Ladder of Tyre) to Ocean (=the Atlantic), and another line from the Brook of Egypt (Wadi el-Arish) to Ocean. All within these lines belongs to the Land of Israel and all outside to foreign parts."

The majority, however, rule:

> "We imagine a line drawn from Mt Amanus (read: Kaphluria) to the Brook of Egypt. All within the line belongs to the Land of Israel and all outside to foreign parts."

This discussion is so obviously clarified by a diagram that it is hard to imagine that it took place without one.[5] I have drawn it out in figure 4. There DE/EF/FG are respectively the northern, eastern and southern borders as agreed by all. CB is the western border according to the majority ruling; CAB the western border according to R. Judah.*

We shall approach the Rabbinic "image of the world" in two stages: Firstly, we shall try to reconstruct an early Jewish world-map which lies behind the exposition of the Table of the Nations in Jubilees VIII-IX;[6] and secondly, we shall consider how far this picture will account for the relevant Rabbinic geographical material.

B. The Jubilees World Map

A careful reading of Jubilees VIII-IX will show that it presupposes a very definite map of the world - a map so definite that it must have been actually drawn and not simply carried in the head. Note, for example, the precision with which the northern coast of the Mediterranean is described - divided into three "tongues" or bays, the Aegean, Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas (IX 11-12).

The first steps to recovering this map are to establish (a) its sources; and (b) its cartographic affinities. Analysis will rapidly show that the map had two principal sources:

(1) The Ionian World Map.[7] According to Eratosthenes (in Strabo I 1.11 p.17) Anaximander of Miletus (c.610-540 BC) was the first Greek to produce a world map. Agathemerus I 1 (GGM II 471) informs us that Hecataeus of Miletus (fl. 500 BC) took this map and improved it almost beyond recognition. From Herodotus V 49 we further learn that in 489/8 BC Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus, arrived in Sparta with a bronze plate on which was engraved a world map, which he used in an attempt to persuade the Spartans to support a Milesian revolt against the Persians. These references point to the existence by the end of the sixth century BC in Ionia of a vigorous school of cartography. Herodotus alludes to it when he writes (IV 36):"already many have drawn maps of the world" and he frequently criticizes its

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* See further p.237.

members under the collective designation of "the Ionians" (II 15-16). This Ionian framework was the basis of all subsequent Greek world maps, particularly of the popular variety. Its principal features were these:

(a) The earth was represented as a disc surrounded by Ocean. Herodotus IV 36 has the Ionian cartographic tradition in mind when he derides "compass-drawn" maps. Aristotle Meteor. II 5 (362b. 12) uses very similar language. The circularity follows also from Anaximander's conception of the cosmos as being drum-shaped, with the inhabited world on one of the flat ends (Ps-Plutarch Strom. 2 = DK[9] I p.83,33).

(b) The centre point of this disc - the omphalos of the world - was Delphi; Agathemerus I 2 (GGM II 471). This notion was probably borrowed from popular Greek ideas, for we find it in the fifth century poets (e.g., Aeschylus Choeph. 1036; Pindar Pyth. VI 3).

(c) The world was divided into three major parts or continents. Citations from later grammarians show that the commentary which Hecataeus wrote to accompany his map was in two books (i) Europe, and (ii) Asia, with Africa coming under the latter. But this was purely a literary arrangement and must not be taken to mean that Hecataeus only had two continents. It is clear from Herodotus that the Ionians, and indeed the Greeks in general, held to a tripartite division of the world (Herodotus II 16).

The Greek geographers differed as to where the divisions between the three continents lay, and there were broadly two schools of thought. One divided by "isthmuses" (the isthmus between the Caspian and the Pontus; and the isthmus between the northern end of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean). The other divided by "rivers" - the Tanais (= the Don) and the Nile. See Eratosthenes in Strabo I 4.7 and Herodotus IV 45.

Herodotus II 16 combats an Ionian view that the Nile is the border between Asia and Libya (= Africa). On the principle of symmetry this same view must have held that the Tanais separated Europe and Asia, and so it follows that "division by rivers" was an

Ionian doctrine, though there may have been divergence from early on in the Ionian tradition on this point.[8]

The boundary between Europe and Africa in the west was universally regarded as being at the Pillars of Hercules, see Ps-Aristotle <u>De mundo</u> III (393b.23).

(d) The outline of the world. The earth-disc was surrounded by Ocean which made incursions into the circular land-mass at three points: (i) in the north-east, to form the Caspian Sea; (ii) in the south-east, to form the Erythrean Sea (= Indian Ocean); (iii) in the west it spilled through the narrow straits at the Pillars of Hercules to form the Mediterranean, see Ps-Aristotle <u>De mundo</u> III (393a.17). For a reconstruction of a basic Ionian map see figure 5.[9]

(2) The Old Testament. Ionia provided the framework of the Jubilees map, but the author transposed this framework unto a Biblical base and introduced certain Biblical elements into it. The most important of these were: (a) Zion is now made the omphalos of the earth. (b) The three Ionian continents, Europe, Asia and Libya (= Africa) are correlated with the three sons of Noah, Japhet, Shem and Ham. (c) The east of the world is occupied by the Garden of Eden. (d) Certain names are introduced which figure prominently in the Bible but which would not have appeared on a Greek world-map, for example, Mt Sinai and Mt Hermon.

The transposition of the Ionian map unto a Biblical base created difficulties. For example, the correlation of the three sons of Noah with the three Ionian continents meant that Madai the son of Japhet and Canaan the son of Ham were, in fact, living in Asia, the portion of Shem. The author was forced to invent stories to account for these awkward facts. (See X 35-36 for Madai; and X 29-33 for Canaan. The latter difficulty was put to brilliant polemical use.*) But these problems would never have arisen in the first place if the author had not been adapting and forcing a pre-existing scheme. They do not arise in Josephus' treatment of the Table of the Nations.

The ethos of the Jubilees map is interesting. This may be brought out by comparing it with the geographical sections of the

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* See further p. 92f.

Book of Enoch (e.g., Eth. Enoch XVII-XVIII; XXIV-XXXVI; LXXVII). Pierre Grelot has linked these with Babylonian texts.[10] He draws attention to parallels with the famous Babylonian "map of the world", a drawing accompanying a written description of the Babylonian cosmos. The tablet on which this is found is apparently contemporary with Hecataeus - it is dated c.500 BC by Unger - but is a copy of a much older document.[11]

The text and drawing are mutilated, but reconstruction is not difficult. See figure 6. The map shows the earth as a disc surrounded by the "Bitter River",i.e., the salt ocean, beyond which at regular intervals are seven triangular islands. Babylon is the centre of the map. Though certain features of this picture are shared by the Ionian and Jubilees maps (the circular earth, the surrounding Ocean, the omphalos) yet the impression created by these maps is very different. In the Babylonian map and in Eth. Enoch there is a strong element of mythology, which contrasts with the sobriety of Jubilees. Grelot rightly observes: "Quand les Jubilés les assigneront aux territoires respectifs des fils de Noé ils les feront passer du plan de la géographie mythique à celui d'une science embryonnaire". In this respect Jubilees stands closer to Ionia than to Babylon.

The cartographic affinities of the Jubilees map are with Patristic and mediaeval maps which also display a blend of Ionian and Biblical elements. It should be borne in mind that the advances in cartography made by Eratosthenes and Ptolemy were ignored or even opposed by the majority of writers, and as a result the broad features of the Ionian map remained the standard world-picture down till the late Middle Ages. In fact, and this is a point hardly appreciated as yet, the Jubilees map is the earliest example of the universal <u>imago mundi</u> of the Christian Middle Ages. A rapid survey of these patristic and mediaeval maps will assist our investigation.[12]

(1) <u>The world map of Cosmas Indicopleustes</u>

The persistence of the Ionian features is clear from the map at IV 7 of Cosmas' <u>Christian Topography</u> which was written in Alexandria in 547 or 549 AD. See figure 7. The square shape is a personal aberration of Cosmas based on his bizarre idea that the Tabernacle in the Wilderness was a model of the universe. Note the introduction

of Biblical elements, Paradise and the Four Rivers.[13]

(2) T-O Maps

There is a widespread type of map which is derived by extreme abstraction from the Ionian picture. It represents the world by an O on which is superimposed a T. The O is the outer rim of the earth-disc; the cross-bar of the T the Tanais and the Nile, and the stem of the T the Mediterranean.[14] See figure 8. The antiquity of this type is beyond dispute. There are descriptions of it in Augustine CD XVI 17 (cf. Bede De nat. rerum LI = PL XC 276) and other early texts. A medallion of the year 22 BC has a figure of the world based on a T-O type of map.[15] See figure 9.

Under the T-O type are included the following:

(a) SALLUST MAPS: These are found in various manuscripts of Sallust Bell. Jug. and are intended to illustrate the section XVII 3 ff which begins, "In divisione orbis terrae plerique in parte tertia Africam posuere". [16] See figure 10. It is hard to say whether there was originally an illustration in the text of Sallust at this point. Some forms of Sallust maps have late and Christian elements (Constantinople, Paradise, Jerusalem etc.,) but they all betray a family likeness which suggests that they go back to a common archetype. The earliest (in a 10th century manuscript fragment in the University Library at Leipzig) is free from late or Christian features and probably stems from an early Roman T-O map.[17]

(b) ISIDORE MAPS: The distinctive characteristic of these maps is that they correlate the three world divisions of the T-O type with the territories of the three sons of Noah. They are called Isidore maps because they are found in manuscripts of Isidore of Seville's Etym. at XIV 2.1-3 and De rerum nat. at XLVIII 1-3. Both passages clearly envisage a T-O map but again it is hard to say whether the extant illustrations go back to diagrams originally in the text.[18] See figure 11. Some Isidore maps correlate the three Ionian continents not only with the portions of the sons of Noah but with climates as well.[19] See figure 12.

(c) THE HEREFORD MAP: This famous chart was produced by Richard of Haldingham c. 1290 AD. It is now preserved in Hereford

Cathedral. It is large and complex but its underlying T-O character is easily recognized. Interesting features from our point of view are the position of Jerusalem at the centre of the earth's disc and the Garden of Eden in the east.[20] See figure 13.

(3) Macrobius maps

Another type of world map which has come down to us from antiquity is the Macrobius or zone map. Examples of it are found in manuscripts of Macrobius's commentary on Cicero's Somnium Scipionis (early fifth century AD) at II 5.13 (cf. II 6.2). The text describes a diagram dividing the earth, which is taken as a sphere, into zones of temperature. The extant illustrations represent the substance of the text fairly enough, but we cannot be sure that they are derived from an original produced by Macrobius.[21] See figure 14. This type is also of some interest for the reconstruction of the Jubilees map, because the author of Jubilees divided his world into climatic regions. The analogy of the Macrobius map suggests that these must have been conceived of as roughly parallel bands - an important clue, as we shall see, to the alignment of the Nile and the Tanais on the Jubilees map.

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Armed with this information as to the sources and cartographic affinities of the Jubilees map, we can now analyse the text of Jubilees.

(1) Formal elements of the Jubilees world-picture

(a) GENERAL SHAPE: This is not stated, but it may be readily assumed that the world was represented as a disc. Thus it was on the Ionian, early Christian and Babylonian maps. This is a view, moreover, which could be given Biblical backing (cf. Job 26:10; Prov. 8:27).[22] Finally, it should be observed that the idea that the earth has a centre-point which the author of Jubilees holds (VIII 19) fits most easily with an overall circular shape.

(b) ZONES: The earth disc is divided into three climatic regions - a cold northern region, a temperate middle region, and a hot southern region (VIII 30). These are presumably zones as on Macrobius maps. The importance of this observation emerges at

once. These zones correspond to a tripartite division of the world among the sons of Noah: Japhet is assigned the northern zone, Shem the middle zone, and Ham the southern zone (VIII 30). Now the actual physical boundary between Japhet and Shem is the river Tina (=Tanais), and between Shem and Ham, the river Gihon (=Nile). When this fact is related to the zone scheme, it follows that these two rivers must run roughly parallel to each other and have an east-west alignment. Further proof of this comes from VIII 12 which describes "Shem's lot", i.e., the total territory alloted to the sons of Shem, as being situated "in the middle of the earth". This description makes sense only if Shem's portion is a band across the middle of the disc. It would not make sense on a T-O system, where the Tanais and Nile are aligned north-south.

(c) CONTINENTS: As in Isidore maps, there is a correlation between the three Ionian continents and the territories of the three sons of Noah. This is shown by the choice of the Tanais, the Nile and Gadir (=Cadiz, at the Pillars of Hercules, a reference to which the author avoids for reasons of piety) as the precise boundaries between their lands. The complete schema, then, is as follows:

1.	JAPHET:	cold northern zone	= EUROPE
2.	SHEM:	warm middle zone	= ASIA
3.	HAM:	hot southern zone	= LIBYA/AFRICA

(d) MEDIANS: Zion is the "omphalos" (VIII 19) - a view which may be supported by Ez. 5:5; 38:12. Zion, Paradise and Sinai are said to "face each other" (VIII 19), all within the zone of Shem. This probably means that they are at right-angles to each other, i.e., a prime median runs east-west through the centre of Paradise and Zion, and another north-south through Zion and Sinai. It is not hard to guess that the east-west median went out through the Straits of Gibraltar, for medians and other diameters on ancient maps tended to do this, ever since Dicaearchus (fl. c.326-296 BC) divided the world by a line through the Pillars of Hercules, the Taurus mountains and the Himalayas. This promoted neatness and symmetry - two principles beloved of the early cartographers (see, Dicaearchus frag. 110 in F.Wehrli Dikaiarchos (^{2}1967) p.35; Strabo II 5.14 p.118; and Herodotus IV 36, for a case of appeal to symmetry).

(e) ORIENTATION: Zone maps usually have north at the top, but T-O maps east at the top. The Jubilees map was probably oriented on east.

Note VIII 22-23, "towards the south, to the right of the Garden . . . the right of the Garden". This suggests that south was on the right of the map, and therefore east was at the top. Perhaps "right" simply means "south", but the pleonasm "south . . . right" (VIII 22) is against this.

(2) Physical features of the Jubilees Map

(a) SEAS

(i) Oceanus

To this belong the following:

1. The Sea of Ma'uk (VIII 22,26). The name Ma'uk may be a corruption of the Rabbinic Me 'Okyanos.
2. The Sea of'Atel (VIII 22) = the Atlantic.
3. The "Waters of the Abysses" (VIII 12).

The relationship of these three terms to each other is not entirely clear. I think that they are all sections of the surrounding Ocean. The "Waters of the Abysses" are located in the east. The name suggests an equation between the Primaeval Waters or Waters of Creation and Ocean which we find in Rabbinic texts.* 'Atel is put in the west, or more precisely the south-west. "Atlantic" and "Ocean" are interchangeable in Greek geographical texts (Ps-Aristotle De mundo III (393a.16)). The Sea of Ma'uk is also located in the west, or perhaps more precisely, in the north-west. Again compare the use of "Ocean" in both Greek and Rabbinic texts for Ocean in its western stretch.**

(ii) The Mediterranean

Called the "Great Sea" (VIII 15, IX 6). Not surprisingly this is the sea known in the greatest detail. Jubilees' account of it should be set alongside that in Ps-Aristotle De mundo III (393a.17). According to Jubilees VIII 15 the Mediterranean is joined to the outside Ocean by a narrow channel which is likened to a "mouth". The reference is to the Straits of Gibraltar, and precisely the same metaphor is used in the Ps-Aristotle. The Great Sea is divided into four bays or"tongues":

1. Three in the north (IX 11-12):
   a. "The tongue that approaches toward the portion of Lud" = the Aegean and the Pontus; Ps-Aristotle:

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* See further p. 201f.

** See further p. 49.

the Aegean and Myrtoan.

b. "The second tongue" = the Adriatic; Ps-Aristotle: Adria.

c. "The third tongue" = the Tyrrhenian Sea etc.; Ps-Aristotle: the Sardinian and Galatic Seas.

2. One in the south: VIII 13-14, "the tongue which looks towards the south" or "the Egyptian Sea". This probably embraces everything between Asia Minor and Egypt, what Ps-Aristotle calls, with more detail, "the Egyptian, Pamphylian and Syrian Seas".

(iii) The Sea of Me'at

VIII 12, 27; IX 8 = the Maeotis of the Greeks, the modern Sea of Azov.

(iv) The Red Sea

X 2; IX 4 = the Erythrean Sea of the Greeks, our Indian Ocean. IX 4 speaks of the "tongue of the sea which looks toward Egypt". The Sea here is the Erythrean Sea, and "the tongue which looks toward Egypt" is the Arabian Gulf, our Red Sea. This is confirmed by 1QGenAp. XXI 17-19:

> "I journeyed", says Abraham, "along the Euphrates until I reached the Red Sea in the east. I went along the Red Sea until I reached the tongue of the Reed Sea (Yam Suph) that goes forth from the the Red Sea. I journeyed southwards until I reached the River Gihon."*

(v) The Caspian Sea

Called in VIII 21, "the sea which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the north". A problem arises over Jubilees' representation of the Red Sea and the Caspian Sea. Both these were shown on Ionian maps as connected to Ocean; see Ps-Aristotle De mundo III (393b.3) and Arrian An. V 26. However, it is virtually impossible to give an east-west alignment to both the Tanais and the Nile and at the same time connect both these seas to Ocean. The conclusion must be that both were represented as land-locked. Herodotus I 203 states that the Caspian Sea was enclosed; and Ptolemy believed the same about the Indian Ocean (see I 17.6; VII 3.6; VII 5.2). Symmetry played a vital part in the geographical thinking of the early cartographers. In this case it could work in either way. Given that

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* See further p.247ff.

there was supposed to be a correspondence between the Caspian Sea in the north and the Indian Ocean in the south, then, if the Indian Ocean is joined to the Outer Sea, so too must be the Caspian. On the other hand, if the Caspian is land-locked, so also must be the Indian Ocean. There may have been another reason for Jubilees' departure from the classic Ionian pattern. On theological grounds the author wished to locate Shem in the most favoured region of the earth, the temperate middle zone. This involved aligning the Tanais and the Nile east-west, which in turn led to the enclosing of the Caspian Sea and the Indian Ocean. There is certainly no trace of a connection between the Caspian Sea or the Indian Ocean and the outer Ocean in the descriptions of the eastern boundaries of any of Noah's sons.

(b) ISLANDS

(i) In Shem's portion

VIII 21 (=IX 13, a corrupt gloss) speaks of "the islands of Kaftur" as belonging to Shem. Cyprus must be one of these.

(ii) In Japhet's portion

In VIII 29 we read: "For Japhet . . . five great islands". Four of these were in the Mediterranean. Note IX 3, "For Tiras (one of Japhet's sons) . . . four great islands in the midst of the sea which reach to the portion of Ham". Probably Crete, Sardinia, Corsica and Sicily are meant. Where, then, was the fifth "great island" ? It was probably Britain. In IX 9 we read: "For Madai (another son of Japhet) . . . west of his two brothers to the islands". It is one of these that must be the missing fifth "great island". Madai's original portion was in north-west Europe, so presumably Britain is included among these islands. Note, however, the plural. Britain must have been accompanied by smaller islands, perhaps Ireland and the Cassiterides. Japhet also had "small" islands in the Mediterranean. Note IX 10, "For Javan . . . the islands which are towards the borders of Lud" i.e., the Aegean islands.

(c) RIVERS

(i) The Tina

VIII 12, 16, 28; IX 8 = the Tanais of the Greeks, the modern Don.

We argued earlier that this river must have run east-west on the Jubilees map. Its source is "the waters of the abysses" (VIII 12) i.e., the Ocean in the east. The point at which the Ocean enters the channel of the Tina is called its "mouth" (VIII 12), just as the Straits of Gibraltar are called "the mouth of the Great Sea" (VIII 15). The source of the Tina is also connected with the Mts of Rafa (VIII 12,28). I take this to mean that the Tina forms a gorge through these mountains in linking up with the outer Ocean. It runs east to west into the Sea of Me'at, and then into the Great Sea (VIII 12), i.e., into the Pontus which is regarded as an extension of the Great Sea.

(ii) The Gihon

VIII 15, 22-23 = the Nile. Its source is said to be south of the Garden of Eden in the east. I think that, like the Tina in the north, it was represented as flowing out of the surrounding Ocean. This widespread idea was subscribed to by Hecataeus (See FHG I p.19 fr. 278; and cf., Herodotus II 21; Diodorus I 37). Note too, how on T-O maps both the Tanais and the Nile are joined to the Ocean.

(iii) The Euphrates

IX 4,5. Alignment must have been approximately north-south. Note the direction "east of the Euphrates" (IX 4). Presumably it rises in the Mts of Ararat and flows into the Red Sea.

(iv) The Tigris

IX 5. Presumably runs parallel to the Euphrates, rising in the Mts of Asshur and flowing into the Red Sea.

(v) The "Waters"

Besides rivers, the text also speaks of "waters" by which it probably means "oases". These are:

a. The Waters of Dedan (IX 2) in the portion of Elam. These I cannot identify.
b. The Waters of the Desert (IX 4) in the portion of Arpachshad - "all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looks towards Egypt". The oases of Arabia are meant.

(d) MOUNTAINS

(1) In Japhet's portion

"The Mts of Rafa" (VIII 12, 16, 28) = the Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη of the Greek geographers (Aristotle Meteor. I 13 (350b.7); Strabo VII 3.1 p. 295; Ptolemy III 5.15). The author of Jubilees places these to the north-east of the earth's disc, at the sources of the River Tina. He also speaks in VIII 26 of the "Mts of Qelt" in the portion of Japhet. These must be in some way connected with the Celts, and may be either the Alps or the Pyrenees.

(ii) In Ham's portion

"The Mts of Fire" (VIII 22). I cannot find these in the Greek geographers; τὰ Πυρηναῖα ὄρη are, of course, the Pyrenees, which would not fit here, for Jubilees' "Mts of Fire" are on the south-eastern rim of the earth's disc. Perhaps the author, in striving for symmetry, felt the need for something to counter-balance the Mts of Rafa in the north-east.

(iii) In Shem's portion

The following belong to Shem:

a. In the lot of Arpachshad: Sanir (VIII 21; IX 4) = Mt Hermon;* Amana (VIII 21; IX 4) = Mt Amanus.**
b. The lot of Asshur: the Mts of Asshur (VIII 21; IX 5,6) = the Median highlands, the Zagros Mts.
c. The lot of Lud: probably the Mts of Ararat (VIII 21) = the uplands of Armenia and the Anatolian plateau.
d. The lot of Elam: the Mts of the Red Sea (=Indian Ocean + Persian Gulf) (VIII 21) and the Mts of Mebri and Ela (IX 2). These presumably make up the Iranian Plateau.

(e) EDEN

The Garden of Eden is throughout represented as being in the extreme east of the earth's disc, but within the portion of Shem.

(3) The allotments

The allotments of territory to the various sons can be reconstructed with broad certainty because of the number of repetitions. They are given twice over: firstly, by delineation, i.e.,

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*See further p. 220.

**See further p. 204ff.

by outlining the total territory of Shem, and of Ham and of Japhet; and secondly, by "blocking in", i.e., by enumerating the areas occupied by their sons which fill up these outlines. All this duplication enables us to eliminate most of the uncertainties in the text. The allotments, in brief, are as follows:

(a) The sons of Japhet (IX 7-13; VIII 25-29)

(i)	GOMER	North-east of the earth-disc (IX 8).
(ii)	MAGOG	The "inner portions of the north until it reaches the Sea of Me'at" (IX 8).
(iii)	MADAI	North-west of the earth-disc (IX 9). He later changed his position (X 35-36).
(iv)	JAVAN	Greece, the Aegean islands and Ionia (IX 10).
(v)	TUBAL	Modern Romania and Bulgaria across to southern France, and including also, presumably, Italy (IX 11).
(vi)	MESHECH	Spain and southern France to the west of Tubal (IX 12).
(vii)	TIRAS	Crete, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica (IX 13).

(b) The sons of Ham (IX 1, cf., VIII 22-24)

The sons of Ham are enumerated from east to west thus:

(i)	CUSH	Ethiopia
(ii)	MIZRAIM	Egypt
(iii)	PUT	Libya
(iv)	CANAAN	Carthaginian north Africa. Canaan, however, seized another portion - the so-called Land of Canaan (X 29-33).

(c) The sons of Shem (IX 2-6, cf., VIII 12-21)

(i)	ELAM	Persia and India (IX 2).
(ii)	ASSHUR	East of the Tigris and north of Elam (IX 3).
(iii)	ARAM	Mesopotamia (IX 5).
(iv)	ARPACHSHAD	Syria, the Land of Israel, Arabia and Chaldaea (IX 4).
(v)	LUD	Armenia and Anatolia (except Ionia) (IX 6).

In figure 15 I have attempted to synthesize the results of this analysis in the form of a map.[23] This attempt will be more easily understood if a few peculiarities of ancient cartography are borne in mind. Firstly, it should be remembered that ancient geography relied much on the idea of symmetry. Where data failed symmetry took over. Thus Herodotus inferred the course of the Ister (=Danube) in Europe from what he supposed to be the course of the Nile in Africa (see also Ptolemy VIII 1.2). Secondly, ancient maps were heavily distorted, partly through ignorance, partly in an effort to make them fit the page, or a preconceived notion of the shape of the world. Finally, certain areas were exaggerated in size. Areas which were well known, and/or regarded as important, tended to become enlarged, either to leave room for all the information known about them, or to emphasize their significance. Palestine is always shown big on mediaeval Christian maps, and I believe that this was the case on the Jubilees map as well.[24]

C. Jubilees and the Rabbis' World-picture

How far will Rabbinic geographical material conform to a Jubilees-type "image of the world" ? Much Rabbinic geography belongs to the realm of mythology and is closer to Eth. Enoch than to Jubilees, but there are certain cardinal elements which are expressible in the form of a map.[25]

(1) The encircling Ocean

Okeanos occurs frequently in Rabbinic texts as a loan-word. The lexicographers (Krauss, Levy and Jastrow, for example) maintain wrongly that it is sometimes used for the Mediterranean. There is no case where this is absolutely certain[26] and it goes against the range of the term in Greek where Ocean is always the outer sea that girdles the island of the world or some portion of it. A fair summary of central Greek ideas of Ocean is contained in the following passage from Ps-Aristotle De mundo III (393a.16):

> "The sea that is outside the inhabited world is called the Atlantic or Ocean, and it surrounds us. To the west of the inhabited world, this Ocean makes a passage through a narrow strait (lit. mouth) called the Pillars of Hercules, and so makes entry into the inner sea, as if into a harbour . . . In the east, the

> Ocean again penetrates the inhabited world; it opens out the Gulf of India and Persia and without a break reveals the Red Sea, embracing these as parts of itself. Towards the other promontory (i.e., towards Asia), passing through a long, narrow strait and then broadening out again, it makes the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea."

Each of the main points here may be paralleled from Rabbinic geographical lore:

(a) Ocean encircles the world. Compare with this b.Erub. 22b, "Ocean embraces the whole world". Even more emphatically, Tg.Eccl. 1:7, "the waters of Ocean encircle the world like a signet ring". The corrollary is a circular shape for the inhabited world. This seems to be implied by the image used in b.Pes. 94a where Gehenna and the world are compared to a pot and its lid (cf. Gen.R. I 15). This figure of a pot-shaped universe is reminiscent of Anaximander's drum-shaped cosmos (Ps-Plutarch Strom. 2 = DK^{9} I p.83,33; Hippolytus Ref. I 6.3 = DK^{9} I p.84,7).

(b) In contrast to Ocean, the outer sea, is the inner sea, the Mediterranean. Compare with this the gloss in Ps-J Num. 34:6, "Ocean, together with the primaeval waters which are in the midst", where Ocean is distinguished from the"waters in the midst"of the earth i.e., the Mediterranean.*

(c) The "inner sea" of Ps-Aristotle is formed by the water of Ocean pouring through the Straits of Gibraltar. Ps-J Num. 34:6 appears to have had this idea in mind with its implied connection between the Mediterranean and the Ocean as being both remnants of the all-covering primaeval waters.* There is further, circumstantial evidence of the Rabbis' notions of the Mediterranean and the Ocean:

1. R. Judah's account of the western boundary of the Land of Israel (b.Gitt. 8a) does not make sense unless we suppose that the line drawn from Kaphluria to Ocean and the line from the Brook of Egypt to Ocean converge. It is natural to suppose that they were envisaged as converging at the Straits of Gibraltar. See again figure 4.

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* See further p. 201.

2. Note also the following passage from Midrash Konen (TS I 546):

> "The waters he called seas (Gen. 1:10). These are the seas: the Sea of Sodom; the sea of Solith; the Sea of Yarmuk; the Salt Sea; the Sea of the Arabah; the Sea of Tiberias and the Great Sea. Though these are arms (lit. borders) of Ocean, they are still called seas."

Behind the muddle of this passage it is possible to detect an exegetical problem which is troubling the writer: Why does the Bible use the plural "seas" when in fact all the seas of the world are parts of one great sea, namely Ocean ? This same difficulty vexed Rashi. Note his comment on Gen. 1:9-10:[27]

> "Let the waters be gathered together: For they were spread over the surface of the whole earth, and he gathered them together in Ocean, that is the great sea which is in all the seas. Called he seas: But is not there just one sea ? But the plural is used because the taste of fish which comes up from the sea at Acco is not the same as the taste of fish which comes up from the sea at Aspamia."

Thus Rashi and the author of Midrash Konen appear to share with the Greek geographers the idea that all the seas of world are simply extensions of the encircling Ocean.

(d) Note, finally, that Ocean was best known to the Greeks in its western stretch, and so Ps-Aristotle uses Atlantic and Ocean interchangeably. In Rabbinic texts likewise Ocean, when used without qualification, normally means the Atlantic; see b.Gitt. 8a; Ps-J Num. 34:6; Midrash Konen (BHM II 30,4), "In the west of the world . . . the waters of Ocean". In mediaeval Jewish texts (such as Ibn Ezra) Britain is sometimes referred to as "the state of Ocean".

(2) Zion as the Omphalos

Jubilees'idea that Jerusalem is the centre, the navel of the earth has its counterpart in Rabbinic texts. Most striking is the comment on Cant. 7:3, "Thy navel is like a round goblet wherein no mingled wine is wanting" which is found in PR X (34a.8) (// b.Sanh. 37a):

> "What is 'thy navel' ? This is the Great Sanhedrin which was in Jerusalem, trying capital cases. And why does he compare it to a navel ? Because the seat of the Sanhedrin was in Jerusalem, the very middle of the world, just as the navel is set in the very middle of a man."

For other statements of the centrality of Jerusalem see b.Yom. 54b; // Tanh. Kedosh. X (ed. Buber 78,5).

(3) Paradise in the east

The Rabbis distinguished between a terrestrial and a celestial Garden of Eden. As to the location of the former there is no clear tradition.[28] The Rabbis were more concerned with its haggadic possibilities than its geographical position. Gen. 2:8 would seem at first reading to put it firmly in the east, but the crucial word mikkedem could be exegeted in a variety of ways. Lev.R. XXV 3 (70b.1), for example, interprets it as meaning, "from the very beginning of the creation of the world"; b.Pes. 54a (// b.Ned. 39b) as meaning, "before the world was created". See, further, Ps-J Gen. 2:8.[29] Neither of these, however, rules out a literal interpretation as well.

Resh Lakish might be supposed to be in some doubt as to the location of Eden when he says (b.Erub. 19a):

> "If it were in the Land of Israel, its gate is Beth Shean; if it were in Arabia, its gate is Beth Gerem; and if it were Between the Rivers, its gate is Dumaskin."

However, this may be purely hypothetical. If Eden were in any of these places, then the cities mentionned would be its gate, so fertile were their territories. A more definite statement of doubt is found in Midrash ha-Gadol Gen. (ed. Schechter I 168) where it is expressly said that no-one knows the position of Eden. That will be revealed to Israel only in the Messianic Age.

Despite all this uncertainty, there is a strand of Rabbinic tradition which locates Paradise in the east of the inhabited world. See, for example, Midrash Konen (BHM II 28), "In the east of the world, the Garden of Eden". As with the Garden of Eden itself, so with the Four Rivers of Paradise. These were, on the whole, treated

midrashically, and commonly correlated with the Four Empires of the book of Daniel (see, e.g., Gen.R. XVI 4). N and Ps-J Gen. 2:11, however, identify the land of Havilah with India, which probably involves equating the River Pishon with the Indus or Ganges. This suggests an eastward location for the Garden of Eden.

(4) Tripartite division of the world

Rabbinic texts do not mention the three Ionian continents: the name "Europe" does not occur; "Asia" and "Africa" do, but not as designations of continents: the former means Roman Asia, and the latter Carthaginian North Africa.* "Gadir" and "Tanais" are not found anywhere; the Nile, of course, is. It was regarded by the meturgemanim as the southern boundary of the Land of Israel, but there is no hint anywhere that it was considered as forming a boundary between Shem and Ham.

Yet, when we take into account the structure of the Table of the Nations and its importance for the Rabbinic and early Christian world-views, it is obvious that a tripartite division of the world would have come naturally to the Rabbis. We find cases where they employ the Table as a means of organizing their knowledge of the world. The following passage from MHG Gen. (ed. Schechter I 182), based on unknown sources, is typical:**

> "All the cities that the sons of Noah divided among their sons were one hundred and four; all their islands ninety-nine; all the languages seventy-two; all the kinds of writing sixteen. For Japhet: forty-four cities; thirty-three islands; twenty-two languages and five kinds of writing. These were: Yebusi, Rehomi, Ḳaphraḳi, Yevani and Madi. For Ham: thirty-four cities; thirty-three islands; twenty-four languages and five kinds of writing. These were: Parsi, 'Aggi, 'Aphriḳi, Ẓardi and Paḳpili. For Shem: twenty-six cities; thirty-three islands; twenty-six languages and six kinds of writing. These were: Miẓri, Halabni, 'Asshuri, ʿIbri, Kasdi and Yeguṭ'azki. Shem received one kind of writing more than his brothers. It was ʿIbri, because the Holy One, blessed be He, spoke in it on Mt Sinai."

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From this survey it is evident that the Rabbis shared many of the vulgar geographical ideas of their time. The common view

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* See p. 108, 106.

** See S.Strelcyn "Une tradition éthiopienne d'origine juive yéménite" Rocnik Orientalistyczny 23 (1959) pp. 67-72.

of the world remained essentially unchanged from the time of Jubilees till the end of the Middle Ages. It was shattered only by the discovery of America and the rediscovery of Ptolemy. The Rabbis subscribed to the common view in all its essentials. Our analysis has demonstrated that there is sufficient correspondence between the Rabbis' "image of the world" and that of the book of Jubilees to make the latter a valuable means of understanding the former. The Rabbis' notions were probably more primitive than those of Jubilees, closer to the ideas of the Christian Middle Ages. Jubilees' picture is more on the level of the first century AD Ps-Aristotle De mundo, which, as things were, was high.

II.4 The Principles of Rabbinic Toponomy

A. Toponomy - Jewish, Greek and Rabbinic

The Rabbis seldom state explicitly the grounds on which they have identified Biblical peoples and places. To discover their reasons we shall consider the principles of toponomy that underlie Josephus' exposition of the Table of the Nations in AJ I 122-147, and indeed, that are standard throughout Greek ethnographical writing, and see how far these will explain the Rabbis' identifications.[1]

1. The primacy of Jewish archaeology

Fundamental to Josephus' toponomy is the belief that the Biblical account of the origin of nations is primary; it is not only historically true and ancient, but preserves above all others the original names and places of settlement of the peoples of the world. Greek archaeologists made a similar assumption as to their traditions, the body of myths and legends found in Homer and related texts. Take the following example: in 279/8 BC the Galatians crossed the Hellespont and poured into Asia Minor. They appeared on the Greek scene "out of the blue", and the question of their origin was naturally raised. Two of the leading Greek scholars of the time, Callimachus and Timaeus, provided a typical answer: they were descendants of Galates, the son of Polyphemus and the nymph Galatea.[2] These same Galatians are said by Josephus (AJ I 123) to be the sons of the Biblical Gomer, the son of Japhet and grandson of Noah. The method of the Greek and Jewish writers is the same: each presupposes the primacy of his respective traditions, and his archaeology consists of finding a niche in those traditions for the particular nation or nations which he is considering.[3] The part played by the manipulation of names in this process should be observed.

It is striking how Greek ethnographers much less "scientifically" naive than Callimachus and Timaeus often come back, in the end, to Greek sagas. Strabo III 2.12 p.149 (cf. I 2.30 p.36) lays it down as a cardinal rule that "Homer always derived his myths from certain historical facts". Even Herodotus, who was unusually sceptical about Greek traditions (see, e.g., II 45), and who paid attention to native stories of origins (as in his account of the Scythians, IV 5-7), has a pronounced bias towards the primacy of the Greek myths. Thus he

knew the Persian tradition that Achaemenes was the founder of the Persian royal house (I 125; III 75; VII 11), yet he follows the standard Greek ethnological theory that the Persians were related to Perses the son of Andromeda and Perseus (VII 61; cf. Hellanicus FGH 4F 59-60). The native Persian and the Greek traditions do not sit very easily together. Nicolaus of Damascus reconciles them in typical fashion by making Achaemenes the son of Perseus (Etym.M. 180,42 = FGH 90F 6). Thus, even when the native story is recognized it tends to be integrated in a subordinate role into the Greek account.

There was doubtless an element of chauvinism in the Greek treatment of barbarian traditions, but this is not the only explanation of it. There was a "scientific" reason as well. So long as the Greeks related everything to the one body of myths and reduced all prehistory to an extension of the Greek saga, they were able to give a coherent (if incorrect) account of the origins of nations; but if in every single case they had given ear to the barbarians' own accounts they would have lost themselves in a morass of unrelated detail and the early history of the world would have been plunged into darkness. Hence their reluctance to give weight to these non-Greek traditions.

Representatives of the old oriental cultures, such as Manetho, Philo of Byblos and Berossus,resented what they regarded as the aggressive "Pan-Hellenism" of the Greek archaeologists,[4] and it is in the setting of a general reaction by orientals to this aspect of Hellenism that Josephus' exposition of the Table of the Nations should be read. Note his remarks in CA I 6:[5]

> "My first thought is one of intense astonishment at the current opinion that, in the study of primeval history, the Greeks alone deserve serious attention, that the truth should be sought from them, and that neither we nor any others in the world are to be trusted. In my view the very reverse is the case, if, that is to say, we are not to take idle prejudices as our guide, but to extract the truth from the facts themselves. For in the Greek world everything will be found to be modern, and dating, so to speak, from yesterday or the day before: I refer to the foundation of their cities, the invention of the arts, and the compilation of a code of laws; but the most recent,or nearly the most recent,of their attainments is care in historical composition. On the contrary, as is admitted even by themselves, the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans and the Phoenicians - for the moment I omit to add our own nation to the list - possess a very ancient and permanent record of the past."

Here Josephus is content "for the moment" to range himself alongside the other old oriental cultures in a common assault on "Pan-Hellenism"; in CA I 28, however, he rounds on these and asserts, if not the antiquity, at least the reliability of the Jewish records of the past over against the Babylonian and Egyptian chronicles. Perhaps Josephus in all this is merely scoring debating points; perhaps he believed it to be true. One thing, however, is certain: the primacy, antiquity and utter reliability of the Biblical archaeology would have been for the Rabbis an article of faith, in that the Table of the Nations was an integral part of "revelation to Moses on Sinai".

2. The importance of toponomy in the scheme of ancient archaeology

Given that the Biblical account of the origin of nations is primary, Josephus' task is then to marry it and the world as he actually knew it. The union was effected primarily through the manipulation of proper names. This was an established art with its own practitioners and rules: one should not miss the implication of Josephus' remark (AJ I 125), "thus showing to the expert . . .".

In many cases the Biblical names do not slip easily into place in Josephus' world, nor his world into the Table of the Nations. Josephus has a ready explanation of this (AJ I 121):

> "Of the nations some still preserve the names which were given them by their founders, some have changed them, while yet others have modified them to make them more intelligible to their neighbours. It is the Greeks who are responsible for this change of nomenclature."

He gives a number of instances in which he alleges the Greeks are to blame:[6]

a. AJ I 123: "Gomaros founded the Gomarites, whom the Greeks now call Galatians."

b. AJ I 125: "Theires called those whom he ruled Theirians, but the Greeks changed the name to Thracians."

c. AJ I 126: "Thugrames founded the Thugramaeans, whom the Greeks have thought good to call Phrygians."

We find other oriental writers making the claim that Greek forms of names are corruptions of forms found pure in their

traditions. Thus when Philo of Byblos refers to Athene (FGH 790F 2,18) he probably means the west-semitic goddess Anat. Anat is equated with Athene in a bilingual Phoenician inscription from Cyprus (CIS pt. I, tom. I no. 95). There were two factors in the identification: a general similarity in the sound of the names, and a similarity in the functions of the two deities. Anat is the "virgin" Anat (1Aq. 1.5), and Athene is the virgin par excellence of the Greek Pantheon. Though Philo used, for the sake of his Greek speaking readers, the Greek name Athene, he would have maintained that Anat is the original form and Athene a corruption of it (see FGH 790F 1,24). The same goddess Athene was equated in Egyptian tradition with the Egyptian goddess Neith (Plato Tim. 21E) for comparable reasons: similarity of sound and similarity of nature; Neith is represented as a warrior goddess with shield and crossed arrows.[7] Once again, the orientals would have asserted the primacy of their form of the name.

All this simply stands on its head the standard Greek notion that barbarian names are corruptions of original Greek names.[8] As an illustration take the following tradition cited in Etym.M. 167,7;

> "ATRIA: a city of Tyrrhenia, said to have been founded by Diomedes and named Aithria, because, when he disembarked at the place, though it was winter, there was by chance clear sky (aithria). However, they (i.e., the barbarian inhabitants of Tyrrhenia) corrupted the name and called it Atria."

3. Why are only some names identified ?

When one reads the Targumic or Rabbinic expositions of the Table of the Nations, one unavoidably raises the question, Why are only some of the names identified ? For example, in Gen. 10:15-18 eleven sons of Canaan are named, only four of whom are identified in Ps-J. It is clear from this example that it would be impossible to solve this problem by postulating different hands for the passages with identifications and those without, for identifications and simple transliterations stand side by side.

A similar failure to identify all the Biblical names is found in Josephus' exposition of the Table of the Nations and the reasons for it are fairly clear. Josephus groups the Biblical names into three categories (AJ I 130; cf. 121):

(a) Names which have been totally obliterated. Josephus appears to be thinking of peoples and places which have long ago been destroyed or vanished from the map and so cannot be given an equivalent in the contemporary world. Take the following two examples:

1. AJ I 139: Josephus identifies only four of the eleven sons Canaan. "Of the seven others - Euaeus, Chettaeus, Jebusaeus, Amorreus, Gergesaeus, Seinaeus, Samaraeus - we have no record in the Sacred Scriptures beyond their names, for the Hebrews destroyed their cities."

2. AJ I 137: The majority of the eight sons of Mersaeus remain unidentified for the same sort of reason. "Of the rest Lumaeus, Anamias, Labimus - who alone settled in Libya and thus gave his name to that country - Nedemus, Pethrosimus, Chesloimus and Cephthomus, we know nothing beyond their names, for the Ethiopian war, of which we shall speak later, reduced their cities to ruins."

There is more than a hint here of Plato's theory of catastrophes which have obliterated the records of the past (Tim. 22C). Josephus shows acquaintance with this notion in CA I 10.

In certain cases the failure of the Rabbis to give an equivalent for a name may be due to the same reason. No identification is made because there is no longer anything with which to identify the name. Among the cities of the Canaanites which have no equivalents in Rabbinic texts are Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim (see P.Tgm. Gen. 10:19) - all of which were overwhelmed by famous catatastrophe.

This attitude evinces an historical sense among the Rabbis which may come as something of a surprise. It should warn us against supposing that they were out to give an equivalent for every Biblical geographical term. A similar historical perspective on Scripture is seen in the incident recorded in m.Yad. IV 4. When an Ammonite proselyte presented himself at the Beth ha-Midrash, Rabban Gamliel forbade him to enter on the ground of the Biblical injunction, "An Ammonite or a Moabite shall not enter into the assembly of the Lord" (Deut. 23:3). R. Joshua, however, permitted him and argued that,

for historical reasons, it is wrong to equate this Ammonite with the Ammonites against whom the prohibition was originally made: "R. Joshua said to Rabban Gamliel, But are the Moabites and the Ammonites where they were ? Long ago Sennacherib, king of Assyria, came up and put all the nations into confusion." The point R. Joshua is making is, in effect, that the Biblical Ammonites have no equivalent in the modern world and so the prohibition has lapsed.

(b) Josephus' second category is made up of names which have been heavily corrupted or changed. We have said something about these already. There are, in fact, two quite separate cases involved:

1. The case where the original name has been distorted or corrupted, e.g., AJ I 125, "Theires called those whom he ruled Theirians, but the Greeks changed the name to Thracians".

2. The case where the original name has been replaced by an entirely new one, e.g., AJ I 138, "Amathus founded Amathus which the inhabitants to this day call Amathe, though the Macedonians renamed it Epiphaneia after one of Alexander's successors".

Now supposing the current name is so corrupt that the original Biblical name can no longer be seen in it; or supposing that after the new name replaced the old, the old was irretrievably lost, then identification would no longer be possible. So we have another possible reason for non-identification: the original name can no longer be recognized. This may explain why many of the sons of Shem with odd names like Gether, Mash, Hul at the end of the Table of the Nations (Gen. 10:23) have no equivalents in Rabbinic texts.

(c) Josephus' third category is made up of names which have been preserved intact and unchanged. Thus the original Biblical name is still in use and so identification is not really necessary. Two examples will illustrate this point:

1. AJ I 131: "Of the four sons of Ham, the name of one, Chusaeus, has escaped the ravages of time: the Ethiopians,

his subjects, are called to this day by themselves and by all in Asia Chusaeans."

2. AJ I 132: "In the case of the Mersaeans also a record of their name has been preserved, for we in these parts all call Egypt Merse and the Egyptians Mersaeans."

Josephus there indicates that from the standpoint of "Asia" and "these parts" - both meaning effectively Palestine - the names Cush and Mizraim, denoting respectively Ethiopia and Egypt, had remained in use till his time, and for Palestinians needed no explanation. Neither name is given an equivalent in the Targumim.

There are other Biblical names which must have appeared self-evident to the meturgemanim,names such as"the Great Sea", "the Jordan", "the Sea of Salt", and "Sidon". The incidence of such names would have increased as one approached the Land of Israel. In some cases it is hard to be sure. Names such as "Babel", "Niniveh", "Elam" and "Aram" may have appeared self-evident, but this may have been rather illusory, and based solely on the fact that they are mentioned frequently in the Bible. In reality the Rabbis may have had little idea as to their geographical location. "Aram" is an interesting case. Josephus AJ I 144 correctly identifies it with the "Syria" of the Greeks; Tg.1 Chron. 1:17, with "Armenia", obvicusly on the basis of similarity of sound.

In some midrashic expositions of the Table of the Nations the phrase "according to its meaning" (=literally) occurs after certain words, e.g., "Madai, according to its meaning" (y.Meg. 71b. 57); "Javan, according to its meaning" (b.Yom. 10a). This is simply a way of indicating that the name needs no explanation. Because of their form the Targumim cannot employ this device. Sometimes the meturgeman does manage to indicate a self-evident name. For example, Babel in Gen. 10:10 is rendered "great Babel" by Ps-J. "Great" here has no real function save to signal to the reader that "Babel" is none other than the Babel, the famous city of that name.

4. Similarity between the ancient and the modern name

On Josephus' principles the best chance of identifying a Biblical name is when the "original" form is still recognizable

in the modern designation, that is when it has not been distorted beyond recognition, nor survived so unchanged as to make identification unnecessary. Josephus AJ I 128 describes these as cases where the modern name is "not far distant from" the Biblical one.[9] The similarity between the ancient and the modern name may be either (a) direct, or (b) indirect.

(a) DIRECT: The modern name itself reflects the "original" Biblical name. For example:

		Biblical form	Modern form
(i)	AJ I 124	Madaioi	Medoi
(ii)	AJ I 124	Iauanes	Ionia
(iii)	AJ I 127	Halisaioi	Aioleis
(iv)	AJ I 136	Phulistinos	Palaistine
(v)	AJ I 137	Labimos	Libue
(vi)	AJ I 144	Loudoi	Ludoi

A similar reliance on resemblance is found in the Greek archaeologists. We have already seen them derive the Persians from Perseus, and the Galatians from Galatea. To give a fresh example: Poseidonius was clearly influenced by similarity of sound when he identified the Cimbri with the Cimmerians of Homer (Od. XI 14; see FGH 87F 31 = Strabo VII 2.1 p.293).

Similarity of sound has also played its part in Rabbinic identifications. For example:*

	Biblical form	Modern form
(i)	Gomer	Germamya
(ii)	Elishah	'Elas
(iii)	Tarshish	Ṭarsus
(iv)	Dodanim	Dardanya
(v)	ᶜAḳrabbim	ᶜAḳrabith

In a number of instances the similarity which Josephus detects is exceedingly tenuous. For example:

		Biblical form	Modern form
(i)	AJ I 123	Gomareis	Galatai
(ii)	AJ I 125	Theireis	Thrakeis
(iii)	AJ I 126	Thugramaioi	Phruges
(iv)	AJ I 134	Euilaioi	Gaitouloi

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* For Gomer see p. 106 ; Elishah p. 116 ; Tarshish p. 117 ; Dodanim p. 121 ; ᶜAḳrabbim p. 191 .

(v) AJ I 134 Sabathenoi Astabaroi

In certain cases in Rabbinic texts one suspects that an equally exiguous resemblance was used to relate one name to another; for example:*

	Biblical form	Modern form
(i)	Tiras	Tarki
(ii)	Meschech	Musya

Great freedom was apparently allowed in the rearranging of letters. We have seen this already in the equation of Athene with Anat and Neith. So the Biblical Shepham is identified with Panyas (=Paneas, later Caesarea Philippi), while Riphat = Parkevi suggests a certain amount of "scrambling" of letters.**

(b) INDIRECT: In these cases the original name survives not in the modern name itself but in something connected with the modern name. Josephus in these instances speaks of a "sign" (semeion) of the ancient designation, where "sign" appears to be some kind of technical term (AJ I 125, 127, 128 where "witness" (martus) = "sign"; 132-3, where the idea, though not the term, occurs):

	Biblical name		Identification
(i)	AJ I 125	Meschenoi	= Kappadokes: sign:- the city-name Mazaka
(ii)	AJ I 127	Tharsos	= Kilikia: sign:- the city-name Tarsos.
(iii)	AJ I 128	Chethim	= Kupros: sign:- the city-name Kition.
(iv)	AJ I 132-3	Phoutes	= Libue: sign:- the river name Phoute.

There are exactly parallel cases in Greek archaeology. Take,for example, the identification of the Jews with the Solymi of Homer (Il. VI 184; 204; Od. V 283). The"sign" of this identification was the name of the Jewish capital, Jerusalem. See Tacitus Hist. V 2:

> "Clara alii Judaeorum initia Solymos carminibus Homeri celebratam gentem conditae urbi Hierosolyma nomen e suo fecisse."

"Hierosolyma" was taken to mean hieron Solumōn,"the temple of the Solymi".

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* For Tiras, see p. 127 ; for Meshech, p. 126 .

** For Shepham, see p. 211 ; for Riphat, p. 110 .

It is difficult to detect identifications which have been made on this basis in Rabbinic texts since the terms by which the comparisons were made have disappeared. One which is fairly certain is the equation of Ashkenaz with Asia (i.e., the Roman province of Asia).* This identification is most easily accounted for as arising out of the Rabbis' knowledge of at least one of the many geographical features in Asia Minor bearing the name "Ascanius". This they took as a "sign" of the original name of the area. Rather similar is the identification of the Biblical Erech with Edessa. This is based on acquaintance with the native name of the town, Orhay, which was linked to Erech through similarity of sound.** Where local knowledge is involved, as in these instances, the existence of an extensive Diaspora in the area will obviously make the case more plausible. Josephus may have relied on written Greek sources (note his remarks on Phoute in AJ I 133), but the Rabbis are unlikely to have done so.

B. Principles of toponomy not explicit in Josephus

All the principles which we have considered so far are more or less explicit in Josephus' treatment of the Table of the Nations. There were others involved in his and in the Rabbis' toponomy which are not so obvious, though still fairly clear.

1. A knowledge of ancient traditions

Sometimes both the Rabbis and Josephus locate correctly (to the best of our knowledge) a Biblical place. It is possible that, at least in some of these cases, they were recipients of an ancient tradition which preserved a knowledge of the correct locality. An example of this is the Rabbinic equation of the Biblical Lasha with Callirrhoe. Evidently these traditions would have been stronger and more reliable for areas close to or within the Land of Israel, but sometimes they covered more distant regions such as places of traditional Jewish Diaspora.

An analysis of the identifications offered in Rabbinic literature for the Canaanite tribes of Gen. 10:15-18 is instructive on this point. The following are all correct:***

(a)	ARKITE:	Ps-J; Gen.R. XXXVII 6 (348,4); Josephus AJ I 138 = Arca, Caesarea ad Libanum.
(b)	ARVADITE:	Rabbinic texts equate with Aradus.
(c)	ẒEMARITE:	N identifies with Zimyra.

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*See p. 108 ; **See p. 142 ; ***See pp. 178ff.

Since neither Area nor Aradus would have been well known to Palestinian Jews, and Zimyra hardly at all,it would appear that these identifications were made on the basis of ancient tradition which preserved a knowledge of the true sites of these Biblical places.

In the case of three of the Canaanite tribes we have a phenomenon which I would call "transference". When a Biblical city fell into ruin or ceased to be important the general position of it was preserved by identifying it with some other city in the area which would be more generally known, thus:*

(a)	ARVADITE	Generally equated with Aradus, but FT has Antaradus, a town on the mainland opposite. This change dates from the third century when Antaradus rose in importance at the expense of Aradus.
(b)	ẒEMARITE	N correctly = Zimyra, but the other Targumim equate with Emesa.
(c)	SINITE	Jerome correctly locates at Sin in the Lebanon. The Targumim identify with neighbouring Orthosia.

"Transference" presupposes a knowledge of the correct identification at the beginning of the process.

There are a number of cases where it is hard to be sure whether ancient tradition is involved or not. This may be illustrated from Josephus:**

(a)	KITTIM	=	Kition in Cyprus (AJ I 128), probably correctly, but is it based on ancient tradition or similarity of sound ?
(b)	JAVAN	=	Ionia (AJ I 124); again correct, but the same problem arises.
(c)	ARPACHSHAD	=	Chaldaeans (AJ I 144). Probably correct, but is this ancient tradition or a shrewd guess that the final element of this name is related to Kasdim = Chaldaeans ?[10]

When one compares the various expositions in the Rabbinic corpus of the Table of the Nations it is clear that broadly speaking they indicate the same areas for the various peoples. However, there is some freedom as to where precisely within the general area the people may be located. This fact points to the existence of ancient , if not necessarily correct, traditions of identification. It is valuable to bear this point in mind in dealing with doubtful names. For example,

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*See further pp. 179-180 ; **See further pp. 115,118,162.

when the exegetical tradition identifies the Biblical Gomer with a northern area, we should be slow to take his Targumic equivalent 'Aphriki as being Africa, despite the appearances.*

2. Etymology

Names were regarded as being much more significant in the ancient world than they are today and considerable attention was paid to their meaning. This interest is found already in the Bible (e.g., Gen. 10:25; 11:9). In post-Biblical Jewish exegesis the meaning of a Biblical name is often an important element in the exposition of a passage; see, e.g., Philo Leg. all. II 89; III 226; b.Pes. 94a-b; Ex.R. XXVII 8 (97b.10).

From early on the study of etymology was systematically pursued in Jewish circles. Thus Jerome's Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum claims to be a Latin edition of a Greek work which goes back to Philo:[11]

> "Philo vir disertissimus Iudaeorum Origenis quoque testimonio conprobatur edidisse librum hebraicorum nominum eorumque etymologias iuxta ordinem litterarum e latere copulasse. Qui cum vulgo habeatur a Graecis et bibliothecas orbis inpleverit, studii mihi fuit in Latinam linguam eum vertere."

An analysis of Philo's etymologies appears to confirm the claim that they are derived from a written onomasticon.

Etymology is invoked in Rabbinic toponomy as a last attempt at an identification. Take the following example from Gen. R. XXXVII 8 (152a.12):

> "ḤAẒARMAWETH (Gen. 10:26): R. Huna said, It refers to a place called Ḥaẓar maweth where people eat leeks, wear garments of papyrus, and hope daily for death."

The first of these interpretations involves taking ḥaẓar as = ḥaẓir = karesh, a leek; the last translates Ḥaẓar maweth as "enclosure of death" i.e., cemetery. The basis of the second interpretation is baffling. It is amusing to see that it eluded Samuel as well for he adds the gloss, "They did not even have garments of papyrus !" We find cases of etymology as a last resort also in the Targumim. Thus at the latest stage of the Targumic treatment of the Table of the Nations, that in Tg.1 Chron.1,

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*See further p. 106.

we find that the strange names at the end of the Table, which are not identified elsewhere, are often etymologized. There are hints of this process beginning in the Ps-J recension (see Ps-J Gen. 10:26).

An interesting case of the etymology of names is found in the treatment of the sons of Dedan in Gen. 25:3 by the Palestinian Targumim. They are not taken as proper names but translated: Asshurim as "merchants"; Letushim as "craftsmen" (root לטש = to polish, sharpen; substantive לטישה = hammering, furbishing) - N and Ps-J have the variant tradition "traders"; Leummim as "heads of nations" (from לאום = a people, nation). Jerome was aware of this interpretation - not the only case, as we shall see, where he appears to be acquainted with the Palestinian Targum, or expositions found in it; see his Quaest. heb. in Gen. to 25:3 (PL XXIII 1026), and cf. Lib. de nom. heb. Gen. sub Latusim (PL XXIII 825):

> "Quod autem ait et filii Dadan Asurim et Letusim et Laomim, Asurim in negotiatores transferri putant; Latusim in aeris ferrique metalla cudentes; Laomim vero φυλάρχους, id est principes multarum tribuum atque populorum."

R. Samuel b. Nahman also knew this interpretation and disapproved of it; see Gen.R. LXI 5 (663,5):

> "R. Samuel b. Nahman said: Although they translate "merchants", "craftsmen" and "heads of nations", yet they are all heads of peoples (i.e. proper names of the ancestors of tribes)."

Besides the use of etymology as a last resort, the Rabbis also employed it on occasion to effect a link between two names. For example, Gen.R. XXXVII 6 (151b.6):*

> "ZEMARITE: Emesa. But why are thy called Zemarite ? Judah bar Rabbi said: Because they work in wool (zemer) there."

From the Targumim note the following:**

(a) Mount Hor (Num.34:7) is identified with Tauris 'Umanis through taking הור as = the equivalent of טוורא

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*See further p. 180 ; **See further pp. 204, 189.

= mountain

(b) Ẓin (Num. 34:4) was connected with the word צִינָה = a thorn-palm, and located in the region of the Mountain of Iron where this species of palm grew in abundance.

Greek writers display a similar interest in the etymology of geographical names. Take, for example, Steph. Byz. 130,2: "ASIA . . . . so named from the fact that there is much mud (asis) there". Or the etymology of Gadeira in Etym.M. 219,32, or of Adiabene as the land which it is difficult to cross in Ammianus Marc. XXIII 6.15-24; Strabo XVI 1.1 and the Suda (ed. Adler I 49 no. 470). Sometimes it was an aid to identification for Greek geographers as well, as in the odd view quoted by Strabo that the Eremboi were the same as the Troglodytes on the ground that their name means, "those who go into the ground" - εἰς τὴν ἔρᾶν ἐμβαίνειν (Strabo XVI 4.27 p.784).

It should not surprise us that the Rabbis seek for Hebrew meanings for names in Greek and other languages. This follows logically from their belief in the primacy of "the holy tongue". Greek writers in their turn were happy to derive foreign names from Greek roots.[12] There is no evidence, however, that the Rabbis had a written etymological onomasticon such as Philo drew on, nor an onomasticon, like that of Eusebius, giving the identifications of Biblical peoples and places. There is too much variation in their equations for this to have been the case. Thus Hadyeb (Adiabene) identifies no less than five different Biblical places: (i) Aškenaz, Tg.Jer. 51:27; (ii) Eden, Tg.Ez. 27:23; (iii) Habor (2 Kgs 18:11), b.Yeb. 16b-17a; (iv) Riphat (Gen. 10:3), Gen.R. XXXVII 1; (v) Calah, Ps-J Gen. 10:11.

3. Contextual determination

It would be entirely in keeping with the fundamental principles of Rabbinic exegesis of Scripture for them to have used to the full the context in identifying Biblical geographical names. "Context" here may be considered under two aspects:

(a) IMMEDIATE CONTEXT. In the Table of the Nations a certain amount may be learned about a name simply from the context;

one can look at the brothers and sons of any of the sons of Noah. Similarly in the boundaries of the Land in Num. 34 one can take into account the point before and the point after the place one is trying to locate. The Rabbis may be credited with exploiting these factors to the full. This principle is also of help with problematic names. To take, once again, the troublesome Targumic 'Aphriki for Gomer (Gen. 10:2). This looks as if it ought to be Africa, but the fact that Gomer's nearest relatives are all put by the Targumim in the north of the world suggests that,despite the appearances, 'Aphriki too, in this text must denote some northern region. We shall argue that it is, in fact, Phrygia.*

(b) GENERAL CONTEXT: Context as far as Rabbinic exegesis is concerned should not be limited to the adjacent verses of Scripture, but extends to the Scripture as a whole, which was regarded as a unified revelation from God. A simple illustration of this is the equation of "Shinar" in Gen. 10:10 with "Babel" by the Palestinian Targumim on the basis of texts like Dan. 1:1-2.

There is a tendency throughout Rabbinic exegesis to "harmonize", to read all Scriptural passages touching on a subject in the light of each other and produce an integrated interpretation. It is fundamental to an understanding of the Targumic exegesis of the boundaries of the Land in Num. 34 to realize that the meturgemanim have attempted to reconcile this account of the borders with the short boundary descriptions embedded in the Patriarchal narratives, which depict the Land of Israel as extending from the Nile to the Euphrates.

When a number of passages are being thus harmonized, it is noticeable that the starting point is usually the text which is deemed to constitute the latest state of the tradition within the confines of Scripture.[13] Both texts in which we are interested, Gen. 10 and Num. 34, were subjected to reinterpretation within Scripture. Thus Gen. 10 lies behind much of the ethnological speculation of Ezekiel, while in Ez. 47 we find a reworking of the boundaries of the Land in Num. 34. The assimilation of Num. 34 and Ez. 47 by the meturgemanim is clear: Ps-J's "the middle of the great courtyard that is midway . . ." in Num. 34:9 is derived by double exegesis from Hazer hattikhon = the middle court, in Ez. 47:16. So too Ẓin in Num. 34:4

*See further p. 106.

was connected with the word zinnah, a thorn-palm, under the influence of the corresponding name Tamar in Ez. 47:19, which also denotes a type of palm tree.

This principle, too, provides a valuable check on doubtful names. Thus Togarmah in Gen. 10:3 is identified by the Palestinian Targumim with Barbaria. In Greek texts "Barbaria" can mean Africa to the south of Ethiopia, and some have suggested that this is its sense in the Targumim here. Ez. 38:6, however, speaks of "the house of Togarmah in the uttermost parts of the north". The meturgemanim must have known this text, and so they cannot mean by Barbaria a region on the southernmost edge of the known world. We shall demonstrate that they use the term for northern Europe.*

Earlier we noted the importance of the similarity of names in both Jewish and Greek archaeology. For Greek archaeologists similarity of language, of custom and of dress also came into the reckoning. Note, for example, the grounds on which two of Alexander's entourage identified the Armenians with the Thessalians, as reported by Strabo XI 14.12 p.530:

> "Armenius of Armenium, a Thessalian city . . . accompanied Jason into Armenia; and Cyrsilus the Pharsalian and Medius the Larisaean who accompanied Alexander, say that Armenia was named after him . . They also say that the clothing of the Armenians is Thessalian, for example the long tunics, which in tragedies are called Thessalian and are girded round the breast . . . And they say that their style of horsemanship is Thessalian, both theirs and that of the Medes."

So long as Jewish exegetes had only the bare names in Gen. 10 to manipulate, their identifications had to be made on the basis of similarity of sound, but when they were able to take into account other passages of Scripture, they could clothe the bones with some flesh, and have a greater number of factors of resemblance to play with. Thus Josephus AJ I 123 may have equated Gomer with the Galatians, and y.Meg. 71b.56 with the Goths because of an impression derived from Ez. 38-39, and greatly developed in later haggada, that Gomer and Magog are wild tribes on the northern fringes of the civilized world.

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*See further p. 113.

This principle will also help us to explain why in Rabbinic expositions of the Table of the Nations, so few names at the end of the Table are identified. It proved difficult to find equivalents for them, because these are their only occurrences in the whole corpus of Scripture.

4. Diaspora traditions

It was very common for Jews in the Diaspora to develop traditions linking their area with the Bible. In this way they found their bearings in a strange world; links were forged where they did not exist, and strengthened where they did. Many of these traditions, such as the stories of Jonah at Nineveh, of Abraham at Haran, and of Moses in Egypt, were taken up into Christian and Moslem legend. Benjamin of Tudela's Itinerary is full of them. The following is typical:

> "In the Church of St John Lateran there are two bronze columns taken from the Temple, the handiwork of King Solomon, each column being engraved, 'Solomon the son of David'. The Jews of Rome told me that every year upon the 9th of Ab they found the columns exuding moisture like water" (ed. Asher p. 10).

In this process of story-making aetiology played a significant part.

From an earlier period there is the story of the Flood at Apamea in Phrygia. In the third century AD Apamea struck coins showing a chest or ark with NOE inscribed on its side. Inside the ark are two figures - Noah and his wife. Standing beside the ark is the same pair, with their right arms raised. On top of the ark are two birds, one with a branch in its beak - the raven and the dove of the Biblical story.[14] See figure 16. The precise point in the tale which is illustrated is when Noah and his wife step out thankfully unto dry land, after the waters have subsided. This indicates a tradition locating Ararat, the mountain where the ark came to rest, at Apamea.

The coins with this legend are from the third century, but there is evidence of the tradition earlier. Julius Africanus (d. c.AD 240) had heard of it (see Syncellus, CHSByz XLI 38):

> "When the waters abated, the ark grounded on the mountains of Ararat which we know to be in Parthia, but which some say are at Celaenae (=Apamea) in Phrygia."

Julius is probably alluding,with regard to the latter tradition,to Orac. Sib. I 261-267 (a section of Jewish origin as old as the mid second century AD).

The identification of Ararat with the hill Celaenae behind Apamea was influenced by two things: Firstly, Apamea had the by-name Cibotus as early as the time of Strabo, and this is the word used in the LXX for Noah's ark. Secondly, there was probably a local Phrygian flood-story with which the Biblical legend was connected and which had something to do with Apamea.[15]

This tradition evidently originated with the Jewish community of Phrygia, which, as we saw earlier, was old, influential and extensive. It was not, however, accepted in Palestine, for the universal Palestinian notion of the position of Ararat was that it was somewhere in Gordyene or Armenia; see Tg.Jer. 51:27 and Ps-J Gen. 8:4. The mysterious Mt Lubar of 4QPs-Dan ms.b (Milik RB 63 (1956) p. 412, sect. 21) where the ark rested is also meant to be in Armenia; cf. 1QGen.Ap. X 12; Jub. 5:28; 7:1, 14-17; 10:15.

There were, however, Diaspora traditions which did gain currency in the Land of Israel. A case in point, as I shall argue,* is the series of identifications of the cities of Nimrod in Gen. 10: 10-12 found in the Palestinian Targumim. These imply a detailed knowledge of northern Mesopotamia and Adiabene, and originated with Jewish communities in that area. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that a similar set of identifications with a north Mesopotamian bias is found in Syriac sources, while, by way of contrast, an entirely different set with a tendency to locate the cities more to the south in Babylonia proper was produced by Babylonian Jews.

There is another case which may be mentionned here, namely the equation in Rabbinic texts of Kadesh-barnea with Petra. It is hard to account for this universal Rabbinic identification on any of the principles which we have isolated so far: it is not correct; nor is it based on similarity of sound; nor is it a case of contextual determination, for Kadesh-barnea = Petra is a datum of Rabbinic toponomy which determines the location of other Biblical places, but does not seem to be itself determined. Aetiology was probably involved: the

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*See further p. 168ff.

extraordinary cleft in the earth's crust at Petra known as the Sik was taken by Jews as the rift which swallowed up Korah and his comrades when they rebelled against Moses.* There is no evidence of a Jewish community at Petra, but the city with its strange topography must have been known to Jews in neighbouring Palestine. We find Rabbis on visits to Arabia Petraea, and we know of Jews living on the trade-route to the south of Petra at Hegra.[16]

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These principles will account for most, if not all of the identifications which we shall meet. It should not be supposed that only one of them would have been at work in any given case, for they are not mutually exclusive. Many of the equations probably arose from the convergence of several factors. The Rabbis clearly had at their disposal a wide range of techniques for exegetically justifying any given identification. The pressure to do so would vary from passage to passage. In the abstract at least, it would have been greater in the case of Num. 34 where important halakhoth were involved, than in Gen. 10.

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*See further p. 198.

III THE TARGUMIM OF THE TABLE OF THE NATIONS

III.1 Introduction

The Table of the Nations is extant in the following Palestinian Targumim:

1. N = Codex Neofiti 1
2. Ps-J = Pseudo-Jonathan
3. FT = Fragmentary Targum

There are no Geniza fragments and no Targumic Toseftas of any note. Gen. 10 is heavily drawn on by the author of Chronicles for the names in the genealogy which opens his work. Tg.1Chron. 1:4-24, consequently, amounts to a fourth recension of the Table of the Nations; these texts will be found edited in Appendix IA.

Following the scheme outlined in the discussion of method in section I, we shall subject these Targumim, firstly, to literary and haggadic analysis (section III.2); then we shall investigate their geographical identifications (section III.3); finally, we shall see where they stand in the history of the interpretation of the Table of the Nations (section III.4).

III.2 Literary and haggadic analysis

A. Literary aspects

There are three approaches which may be followed in a literary analysis of the texts: (1) We can compare the Targumim with the Hebrew original; (2) we can compare them synoptically with each other; and (3) we can examine them internally for coherence and consistency.

(1) When we set the Targumim against the original it is obvious that they are not straightforward word-for-word translations, but expansive paraphrases. Further investigation, however, reveals the interesting fact that even in the most expansive and paraphrastic passages, it is possible to extract from the mass of material an independently viable, non-expansive version of the original. Formally, therefore, the Palestinian Targumim are made up of two elements: (a) a base-translation of the Hebrew, on the whole non-expansive; and (b) detachable explanatory additions. We are not yet in a position to offer an explanation of this fact, but one obvious hypothesis may be mentioned, namely that our present Palestinian Targumim are evolved from originally non-expansive Aramaic versions into which explanatory pluses were later introduced.

(2) A synoptic comparison of the Targumim shows that there is a high level of agreement between their base-translations. This is true, even if we allow for the fact that all are renderings into the same language of the same original text. The base translations are not identical: thus "flood" in verses 1 and 32 is rendered in N by one word and in Ps-J by another. So too, in verse 10 "the Land of Shinar" is given as "the Land of Babel" by N and FT, but as "the Land of Pontus" by Ps-J. In verse 11 the Hebrew מן הארץ ההוא יצא אשור is construed by FT and N as "Asshur went out", but by Ps-J as "Nimrod went out and ruled in Asshur". These examples warn us not to posit anything like a rigidly fixed archetype as the ancestor of our extant Palestinian Targumim. They are not descended from a common manuscript, but from something more fluid - a common exegetical tradition.

As for the plus material, synoptic comparison shows that some of it is common to all three Targumim, while some is found in

only one or two. It would seem reasonable to suppose that plus-material common to all the recensions has the best claim to belong to the earliest stages of the tradition. Other material may also be early, but its antiquity cannot be readily assumed.

(3) Analysis of consistency and coherence may begin on the elementary level of grammar. In certain cases there is awkwardness in the linking of the plus-material to the base-translation. This betrays the plus as an intrusive gloss. This conclusion can sometimes be corroborated by other lines of evidence, for example, by the fact that the plus material occurs in only one of the recensions. Syntax, however, is not the only element which will repay study for coherence and consistency. Other sorts of contradiction can also be revealing.

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Let us now apply these techniques in detail in an attempt to lay bare the earliest layers of material:

A. In verses 3-4 the Targumim have plus-material in the form of a series of identifications of the sons of Japhet which are introduced by the formula, "and the names of their provinces". All the Targumim have the pluses and so, at least on this score, they may be reckoned as belonging to the earliest strata. The formula is missing a number of times in Ps-J, but, as Ginsburger realized long ago, this has come about simply through transcriptional error. Ps-J has the formula in verses 6-7 where the other Targumim do not, which may point to a later insertion modelled on the previous verses. This conclusion is strengthened, as we shall see, by an internal inconsistency in Ps-J verse 7 (a double rendering of the name Raamah), and also by the fact that in these two verses it conflates two different methods of introducing the equivalents.

B. In verses 8-12 there are fairly extensive pluses containing haggadah about Nimrod:

Verses 8-9: There is some confusion over the rendering of "mighty man" (gibbor) and "mighty hunter" (gibbor gayid) (twice)

Gibbor: N "mighty man"

Ps-J "mighty in sin and rebellion before the Lord"

Gibbor zayid: N "mighty in sin" (both times)

Ps-J (i) "mighty in rebellion"
(ii) "mighty in hunting and rebellion"

FT (i) "mighty in hunting in sin"
(ii) "mighty, mighty in hunting, mighty"

The pleonasm and grammatical incoherence of FT's rendering of "mighty hunter" (ii) points unmistakably to intrusion and conflation. I suspect that originally the Palestinian Targum had for gibbor in verse 8, "mighty in sin",and for gibbor zayid on both occasions in verse 9, "mighty in hunting". Ps-J's unique element "and in rebellion before the Lord" in verse 8, and "rebellion" twice in verse 9 may also be an old strand of tradition, for, as we shall see, the haggadic content of it is very ancient.

Verse 9: Ps-J + "from the day the world was created there has not been one . . . "

This is absent from FT and N. It looks like "padding". Such amplifications are, as a rule, late.

FT + "he was ensnaring the sons of men in their speech"

Absent from Ps-J and N. The abruptness of the construction should be noted. Besides, as we shall see later, the idea expressed here developed late in the Nimrod haggadah. This plus is to be accounted for as a gloss on the preceding צַיָּדָה .

FT + "and he said to them, Depart from the ordinances of Shem and cling to the ordinances of Nimrod."

This material is not found in Ps-J and N. Haggadic analysis will once more show that the idea expressed does not belong to the early stages of the Nimrod cycle. From a literary point of view, this material could be explained as a gloss on the previous, "he was ensnaring men in their speech." Haggadic analysis will further reveal that the glossator has misunderstood these words. He took them to mean that Nimrod tried to trap men into apostasy, when their original sense was quite different.

> Verse 11: Ps-J + "because he did not desire to be in the counsel of the generation of the division, and he gave up these four cities, and therefore the Holy One gave him a place . . . four other cities."

This material is almost certainly intrusive. It is absent from FT and N. Moreover it represents Nimrod as good, which contradicts the picture of him given by Ps-J itself in the preceding verses. Certain haggadic sources do, indeed, represent Nimrod as good, but in the Jewish tradition this is a very late development. A statement, as we shall demonstrate presently, which originally described Asshur, has here been transferred to Nimrod.

C. The remaining verses have plus-material only in Ps-J. In verse 20 Ps-J offers two etymologies of names on the model of the Biblical etymology of Peleg in verse 25:

> (i) "Elmodad,who measured (root mdd) the earth with ropes" = measuring lines, i.e., who was the world's first land-surveyor.
>
> (ii)"Sheleph , who drew off (root shlph) the waters of the rivers" i.e., who was the world's first irrigation engineer.

Both of these are probably late insertions. We have already observed that etymologizing is a last attempt to come to terms with a difficult geographical name. The same two etymologies are found in Targum Chronicles and TC adds three others. TC is a further development of the Ps-J tradition and constitutes the latest stage of development of the Palestinian Targumic treatment of the Table of the Nations.

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In this clearing away of secondary material the identifications themselves have so far been left behind. Before, however, we are entitled to conclude that they belong to the earliest strata there are two other tests to be carried out.

Firstly, we must consider the distribution and the content of the identifications found in the various recensions. In other words we must examine two questions: (1) Which names are identified ? And (2) What identifications are offered for them ? This is a further piece of analysis in the area of synoptic comparison. But first, a word about the FT recension. FT is not extant for a number of verses in Gen.10.

When we investigate which verses are missing, we discover that they are always those which in at least one other recension are straightforward translation,without any geographical equivalents or haggadic additions. Conversely, in the verses for which FT is extant, its version is never completely simple or non-expansive. This suggests that FT is the remains of an originally complete Palestinian Targum from which sections of largely literal material have been omitted. If this is so, then we may assume that for those verses of Gen. 10 for which FT is not found, its parent Targum (proto-FT) was on the whole literal and without identifications.

All the Palestinian Targumim offer equivalents for (i) the sons of Japhet (verses 2-4); (ii) the cities of Nimrod (verses 10-12); and (iii) the last four of the sons of Canaan (verses 17-18). The actual identifications which they give are nearly all the same, and where they occasionally differ, they can be shown to be in the same tradition. This proves the common ancestry of the different recensions.

Besides these areas where they coincide, some of the Targumim offer identifications where the others do not. So Ps-J has equivalents for the sons of Ham and of Cush (verses 6-7) where N and proto-FT simply transliterated. I believe this is a later development. Besides being attested by only one recension, we shall find that Ps-J has certain internal inconsistencies in these verses.

Again, Ps-J and FT identify the sons of Mizraim (verses 13-14), while N does not (except for the final one, Caphtorim). Ps-J and FT mark a later stage of development. Comparison of these two recensions' equivalents shows that, while they have largely the same group of names, these are given in a different order in each, and are in considerable confusion. Ps-J has also some internal contradiction.

TC agrees very closely with Ps-J both in substance and in distribution of identifications. There are only two minor differences: (i) For Kittim in verse 4 Ps-J has <u>Aqhaia</u>, but TC <u>Italia</u>; and (ii) TC identifies Aram in verse 22, while Ps-J has no equivalent. TC is both the most developed and the latest of the recensions.

The final test has to do with internal coherency. There

are two quite different methods used by the Targumim to introduce identifications of the sons of Noah. In method 1, the Biblical names are transliterated, then follows the formula, "and the names of their provinces" which introduces identifications in the form of regional geographical names. For example, "The sons of Japhet: Gomer and Magog . . . and the names of their provinces, 'Aphriḳi (=Phrygia) and Germania" (verse 2). For the word "province" the Greek term eparchia is employed, which stresses the personal identity of the sons of Japhet, each being regarded as the "governor" (eparchos) of his allotment.[1] In method 2 the Biblical names are not transliterated, but the identification is introduced directly in the form of a gentilic plural. For example, "And Canaan begat the Ẓemarite" (verse 18) is rendered by FT as "And Canaan begat the inhabitants of Emesa".

At first sight this may seem inconsistent, but it reflects a variation in the underlying Hebrew. In the Biblical text the names of the sons of Noah are introduced in three forms: Firstly, as singular, personal names such as Gomer, Magog and Madai (verse 2); secondly, names in the masculine plural; for example, Ludim and Anamim (verse 13); and finally, names with the gentilic ending, such as the Arkite and the Sinite (verse 17). The Targumim use method 1 for the first group, and method 2 for the two others. (One minor exception is the use of method 1 for Kittim and Dodanim in verse 4. This was done because of the surrounding personal names.)

Given that this is the scheme, then an inconsistency in Ps-J becomes evident. In verses 6-7 there is a series of personal names belonging to the first category. Ps-J duly introduces identifications of these with the formula, "and the names of their provinces". This is according to pattern. But, instead of following it up with equivalents in the form of territorial names (like 'Aphriḳi and Germania), it illogically has gentilic plurals ("the inhabitants of Libya" and so on). Thus it conflates methods 1 and 2.

There are other inconsistencies. In verse 7 Ps-J has two identifications of Raamah: firstly, "Libyans" and secondly, "Mauriṭinus". Besides, it seems to use "Libyans" (though in two different forms) to identify two different Biblical names: (1) Raamah in verse 7;

and (2) Lehabim in verse 13. All this confirms our conclusions that the identifications of the sons of Ham and Cush in Ps-J verses 6-7 and of the sons of Mizraim in Ps-J and FT in verses 13-14 are secondary.

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Two important general results emerge from this literary analysis: Firstly, it seems possible to give a relative dating of the various extant recensions of the Palestinian Targum of this passage. N represents the earliest state of the material; then FT, or perhaps one should say, proto-FT, followed by Ps-J. The latest state of all is that in TC. Secondly, on all counts the identifications of the sons of Japhet (verses 2-4), the cities of Nimrod (verses 10-12), and the last four of the sons of Canaan (verses 17-18) belong to the primary strata.

These conclusions must be rather hypothetical at this point of the inquiry, until we have examined the haggadah in the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10 and looked closely at the geographical names themselves.

B. Haggadah (1) The Nimrod Stories

The evolution of the haggadah of Nimrod, which provides the only extensive haggadic material in the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10, began with a determination of Nimrod's character. As he stands on the pages of Scripture he is a mysterious figure and ripe for story-telling. Inevitably the first question raised was whether he was "good" or "bad". Gen. 10:8-12, the only informative Biblical text, is strictly neutral on this point.[2] This may be seen from the fact that two mutually contradictory haggadic traditions about Nimrod, one representing him as "good" the other as "bad", were,with about equal warrant,derived from the text. Moreover, it is interesting to observe that when Nahmanides took up the defence of the "orthodox" Rabbinic interpretation against the deviant view of Ibn Ezra that Nimrod was good, he was unable to demonstrate his wickedness from the text itself, but was forced to argue lamely that the Rabbis knew of his badness from extra-Biblical tradition:- "He (i.e., Ibn Ezra) justifies a wicked man, for our Rabbis knew of his wickedness from tradition".

Despite this initial neutrality of the Biblical text, standard Jewish exegesis regarded Nimrod as one of history's great sinners. How did this come about ? The first step was his association with the construction of the Tower of Babel - as, in fact, the prime mover in that evil scheme. This idea is widespread in Jewish texts. Thus the Tower of Babel is known as the House of Nimrod (see b.Hull. 89a; b.AZ. 53b). It is alluded to as early as Philo Quaest. in Gen. II 82 and Josephus AJ I 114. The exegetical basis is obvious: Gen. 10:10 states that "the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel", and so, it was concluded, he must have initiated the move to build the Tower of Babel referred to in the next chapter of the Bible.

Confirmation that Nimrod was implicated in that supreme act of rebellion against God which was the Tower of Babel was found in an etymology of his name as meaning, "Let us rebel" (root mrd). So R. Simon (PA 3) said: "The Holy One struck Nimrod on the head and said, This is the one who caused men to rebel" (Gen.R. XXIII 7 (227,7)). R. Yohanan ben Zakkai had much earlier described Nebuchadnezzar as, "The son of the son of wicked Nimrod who caused the whole world to rebel" (b.Pes. 94a-b). Cf. Philo De gig. 66 and Josephus AJ I 113. Hence Ps-J's designation of Nimrod as "mighty in rebellion against the Lord" (verse 8), and as "a rebel against the Lord" (verse 9). This element, found only in

Ps-J of the Palestinian Targumim, belongs to the primary stages of the development of the Nimrod haggadah, and so may equally belong to the original stratum of the Targum.

At first the rebellion to which Nimrod incited men was taken to be the building of the Tower of Babel - an act of hubris, as Josephus calls it. (Philo Quaest. in Gen. II 82 compares it to the Greek myth of the attack of the Giants on Zeus.) Later, however, it was represented as having taken a more subtle form - the invention and propagation of a false religion. In FT verse 9 there is material related to this idea:

> "Nimrod said to them, Abandon the ordinances of Shem, and adhere to the ordinances of Nimrod."

The word translated "ordinance" is דין , which has here a sense akin to the Arabic دِين = "religion in the widest sense of the term, practical and doctrinal . . . a system of usages or rites or ceremonies etc., inherited from a series of ancestors" (Lane Arab-Eng. Lex. I 3 p.944b). This meaning of din is not attested elsewhere in Jewish Aramaic and may be an Arabism.

There are indications that sometimes "the ordinances of Nimrod", i.e., his false religion, were rather precisely defined. Gen.R. XXXVIII 13 (363,4) hints at a connection between Nimrod and fire-worship. Christian texts are more precise: Nimrod is identified with Zoroaster, and so is regarded as the founder of Persian fire religion. See Ps-Clem. Recog. I 30 (PG I 1224-5):

> "Nimrod ruled first in Babylonia. Then he went off to the Persians and taught them to worship fire."[3]

For the explicit equation of Nimrod and Zoroaster see Ps-Clem. Homil. IX 4-6 (PG II 244-5). This identification is found first in the third century Clementine literature and is probably related to the fact that at the beginning of that century the Sassanian dynasty adopted Zoroastrianism as the official religion of Iran. By equating Nimrod and Zoroaster, the latter was put in the Biblical picture.

The phrase "the ordinances of Shem" alludes to "the Academy of Shem", a Beth ha-Midrash established by Shem and attended by

all the patriarchs. It was the main channel whereby the ordinances of true religion were passed on in pre-Mosaic times.[4]

Once Nimrod had been determined as a bad character, the way was open for systematically giving a pejorative twist to three initially neutral expressions in the Biblical text:

(1) verse 8, gibbor. Nimrod was a "mighty man", but mighty in what way ? FT and N, as we have seen, say "mighty in sin", Ps-J "mighty in sin and rebellion against the Lord". There are other cases of this sort of slant being given to the word. Thus LXX's rendering "giant" (cf. Philo De gig. 66) links Nimrod with the wicked offspring of the Nephilim in Gen. 6:4, where gibborim is again translated "giants". So too, Ps-Philo's "superbus" has distinctly sinister overtones (Ps-Philo LAB IV 7).[5]

(2) verse 9, gibbor zayid. In one strand of haggadah this phrase was taken literally to mean that Nimrod was a successful hunter. Reasons were elaborated to account both for his indulging in this pursuit and his success at it. His prowess, it was maintained, was due to the fact that he wore the coat of skin made by God for Adam. The animals, when they saw him thus clad, came and prostrated themselves before him and so were easily caught. His addiction to the chase had the simple practical purpose of supplying the builders of the Tower with meat (see PRE XXIV).

In another strand of haggadah, however, the "hunting" was taken in a metaphorical sense.[6] This metaphorical interpretation is found in the secondary stratum of verse 9 in FT:

"He was ensnaring the sons of men in their speech"

A statement very similar to this is made about Esau in Gen.R. LXIII 10 (693,3):

> "He ensnared men with their own lips, saying: You did not steal, but who stole with you ? You did not kill, but who killed with you ?"

In this case the meaning is clear. Esau stands for Rome, and what we have

here is a criticism of the procedure of the Roman courts in which, it is alleged, attempts are made by clever cross-questioning to get the accused to incriminate himself.

If we may be allowed to press the precise wording of this statement, then the complaint makes sense only when viewed against the legal procedure of the later Roman Empire. In classical Roman law theft (furtum = genebah here) was tried by civil procedure and murder by criminal. Here, however, both are lumped together under the same procedure, and this involves (a) public prosecution, and (b) cross-questioning of the accused by the magistrate himself. That the cross-questioning was carried out by an agent of the state is a fair deduction from the fact that blame for its abuse is laid directly at the state's door.

Now all this presupposes the use of the cognitio extra ordinem. This procedure, which gave the Emperor and his agents control over all aspects of a case - prosecution, investigation, decision and enforcement - was applied to non-Roman citizens from the end of the first century AD, and later extended to Roman citizens as well, and employed in both civil and criminal cases. By the late third century it was universal. In that the Rabbinic criticism reflects the use of the cognitio extra ordinem and its application to offences treated classically under different procedures, it represents the state of Roman law during the later Empire. It probably comes from the end of the third century or later, when standards in the courts began drastically to decline. This date is corroborated by the fact that the statement is found in an unattributed stratum of the fifth century Palestinian Gen. R.[7]

The metaphorical interpretation of "hunting" is proper to Esau, and was applied to Nimrod only by transference. This must be the order of development, for it is in the case of Esau that it is possible to see the real setting of the haggadah in a criticism of the Roman courts. Moreover the line of transference is obvious: Esau and Nimrod are the two great hunters of the Bible; the latter is called "mighty in hunting", and the former "a man skilled in hunting" (Gen. 25:27). Haggadah certainly took note of this fact, for against all chronology it invented stories of encounters between the two men (see PRE XXIV end; Gen.R. LXIII 13; LXV 16). The process of transference may be illustrated from Gen.R. XXXVIII 2 (345,4):[8]

> "Just as the one (i.e., Nimrod) ensnared men by their own lips, so the other (i.e., Esau) ensnared men by their own lips, saying, You did not steal, but who stole with you ? You did not kill, but who killed with you ?"

If we are correct in saying that the metaphorical interpretation of Esau's hunting dates from the third century or later, then the transference of this idea to Nimrod must have taken place still later. So it is possible, through analysis of the haggadah, to confirm the suspicion which we formed on literary grounds that FT's plus, "he was ensnaring men by their own speech" (verse 9) is a later insertion into the Targum.

(3) verse 9 לפני ה׳. This is rendered by the Targumim as קדם ה׳, which in the context of the unfavourable exposition presumably means "against the Lord". It is significant, however, that this particular interpretation is not put explicitly into words until the time of Rashi: "לפני ה׳, intending to provoke him to his very face". The haggadic development which we have been considering focused little attention on this element in the Biblical text. This is an important point, for it appears to have been precisely this phrase, to which "orthodox" haggadah was, on the whole, blind, that provided the exegetical starting point for the tradition favourable to Nimrod.

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Besides the connection of Nimrod with the construction of the Tower of Babel, there was another important, though not entirely independent, growing point of the tradition. This was the ambiguous construction in Gen. 10:11 מן יצא אשור . Two questions arise here: (1) Who is the subject of "went out" ? (2) What was his motive ?

The most common view in antiquity was that Asshur is the subject of the verb. This is how the LXX, Vulgate and Peshitta read the text. It is the construction adopted by all the Targumim with the exception of Ps-J, and it is implied by Josephus AJ I 143, "Assouras founded the city of Ninos (=Nineveh)".

In some texts a motive is advanced to explain his departure, namely, that Asshur was unwilling to become involved in the wicked scheme to build the Tower of Babel. So Gen.R. XXXVII 4 (347,1):

> "From that land went out Asshur: From that counsel Asshur went out; when he saw them coming to oppose the Holy One he turned away from his land. The Holy One said to him: You have gone out of your own accord from four (cities); by your life, I am giving you four other cities. And so Asshur built Nineveh, and Rehoboth ᶜIr, and Calah and Resen."

The precise wording of this passage should be carefully noted, for it presupposes a haggadic tradition which, to my knowledge, is no longer extant, but the basis of which it is not hard to see. Asshur is said to have "gone away from his own land", which must be the land of Shinar in Gen. 10:10. Thus Shinar and its four cities belonged to him. A quick reading of Gen. 10:10, however, suggests that Nimrod possessed them. These two positions can be reconciled by supposing that there was a haggadah which said that Asshur was the original owner of this territory, and that Nimrod came and occupied it later as an invader. This view might be supported from Gen. 11:2 which states that the builders of the Tower of Babel "journeyed from the east, and found a plain in the land of Shinar and settled there." That there was just such a haggadah is suggested by the fact that the book of Jubilees IX 3 assigns Shinar to the patrimony of Asshur, and not to Nimrod.[9]

Asshur's departure is reckoned as a righteous act: hence the reward of four other cities for the cities which he gave up. It was only counted as righteous because it involved dissociation from the builders of the Tower - evil men. The building of the Tower had been introduced into Gen. 10 originally through associating Nimrod with the enterprise. This view of Asshur's departure, consequently, could not have arisen until the Nimrod haggadah had already developed some way.

Asshur's "good act" provided the impetus for haggadah concerning him. As a result of this interpretation of Gen. 10:11 he was reckoned as one of those who were righteous at the time of the confusion of tongues (see Midrash Hallel (Jellinek BHM V 107,11) and // Mid. Teh. to Ps. 118:11 (484,9)).

Asshur's righteousness was put to use by the haggadists to account for certain difficulties in the Bible. It was reckoned as merit to his descendants. Thus Seder E.R. (XX) 13-16 (114,15) gives the following answer to the question, Why did God tolerate the wicked Assyrian king Sennacherib ?

> "The Holy One would not have tolerated it when he brought Sennacherib into the world, but for the sake of Asshur, because Asshur was a worthy man ('ish kasher), and the son of the counsel of Abraham our father."

The designation of Asshur as 'ish kasher is probably more than a pun on his name; it is an etymology. Just as the connection between Nimrod and the Tower of Babel led to an etymology of his name as "Let us rebel", so the predetermination of Asshur as righteous gave rise to the desire to confirm this judgment with a suitable etymology of his name.

Again, it is rather puzzling that Jonah was sent on a mission of mercy to the gentile Ninevites and that God spared that very wicked city. An explanation is found in a Yelammedenu fragment:[10]

> "From that land went out Asshur: Do not read, 'from that land' but 'from that counsel'. He went and built Nineveh. Therefore God had mercy on it in the days of Jonah and did not destroy it."

This good estimate of Asshur conflicts sharply with prophetic denunciations of Assyria. Haggadists took note of this fact. They resolved the conflict, not by taking sides, but typically by accepting both positions and constructing a story which would allow both to be true: Asshur was good at first, but later he turned to evil ways (see Gen.R. XXXVII 4 (347,3)).

Besides taking Asshur as the subject of the verb "went out", there is another construction possible. Nimrod could be the subject and Asshur an accusative of direction: "From that land Nimrod went out to Assyria". This would provide an antithesis to ראשית in verse 10.[11] Most modern commentators construe in this way, but there is only one ancient text to do so, at least explicitly, namely Ps-J: "From that land Nimrod went out and ruled in Athur". The construction, however, is implied in certain cases. Ephraem Syrus, for example, says of Nimrod:

> "He ruled in Erech, that is Edessa, and in Accad, that is Nisibis, and Calneh - Ctesiphon, Rehoboth - Adiabene, Calah - Hatra, Resen - Resh ᶜAina" (I 58A).

Three cities from the two groups of four are assigned here to Nimrod; the only two omitted are Babel and Nineveh, probably because they were

regarded as self-evident. But this is only possible if one makes Nimrod the subject of the verb "went out" in verse 11. So too the identification of Nimrod with Ninos the founder of the city of Nineveh, which is put forward in Ps-Clem.Recog. IV 29 (PG I 1327) and elsewhere, implies that Nimrod is the subject of the verb. Again, consider Isidore Etym. XV 1.13:

> "Nembroth the son of Chus founded the city of Edessa in Mesopotamia after he migrated from Babylon, and he reigned there. The city was formerly called Arach".

This text speaks indeed of a migration of Nimrod from Babylon, but it involves a confusion. It identifies the Biblical Erech (called here Arach) with Edessa, as do the Syrian commentators, but then says that it was built by Nimrod after he departed from Babylon. The Bible, however, classes Erech with the Babylonian group of cities. With this text compare Ps-Clem. Recog. I 30 (PG I 1224-5) quoted above: "Nemrod ruled first of all in Babylonia . . . and then went off to Persia". Persia here possibly means Assyria - a confusion found in Syriac writers, e.g., Ephraem Carm. Nisibena ed Bickell p.13,1 (= ed. Assemani-Benedictus III 208D). It is as old as Ezra 6:22 where the king of Persia is called "the king of Asshur".[12]

All these texts, however, are very allusive and the extreme rarity of this reading must be stressed. In some texts which follow this line the influence of Mic. 5:5, where the "land of Asshur" is in parallelism to the "land of Nimrod", may be detected. This is certainly clear in Ephraem's sermon on Jon. 3:2-3 (II 366C).

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Ps-J suggests a motive for Nimrod's departure from the land of Babylon. But before we consider it we must look at a divergent haggadic tradition on Nimrod which makes him out to have been good. The texts which contain this tradition fall into two groups (a) a Syriac group, and (b) a mediaeval Jewish group.

Representative of the Syriac group is Ephraem I 58A-C (cf. 153F-154C):

> "Concerning Nimrod it says that he was a mighty hero before the Lord, since according to the will of God he made war with each of the nations and pursued them, so that they

> should go and settle in the areas that were assigned to them by God. On account of this it is said, As Nimrod, a mighty hero before the Lord. When anyone used to bless a potentate or ruler, he would say, May you be like Nimrod, a mighty hero and victorious in the wars of the Lord !"

Ephraem is the main source of the following note in the short Syriac commentary on Genesis edited by Levene (The early Syrian Fathers on Genesis (1951)) f.9a-9b:

> "Concerning Nimrod it says that he was a mighty hero before the Lord, since it was according to the will of God that he should be victorious. And he fought with those that built the Tower, and he seized first Babylon. Therefore it is said, May you be as Nimrod ! as a sort of blessing with which one blesses another."

In the mediaeval Jewish texts we may begin with the twelfth century Sefer ha-Yashar 17b.1-3:

> "He was a mighty hunter in the earth: He was a mighty hunter in the field, and he hunted the beasts and he built altars and offered the beasts as sacrifices upon them before the Lord."

Sefer ha-Yashar used two different sources for its Nimrod material, for a little later an unfavourable opinion of Nimrod suddenly emerges. The two sources are reconciled in the usual fashion by taking the good account as referring to his youth and the bad account to his later life. The bad account is strictly "orthodox" (see 18a:7-10):

> "But Nimrod did not walk in the ways of the Lord, but did evil more than any man which was before him, from the days of the Flood to those days. And he made gods of wood and stone and bowed down to them, and he rebelled against the Lord, and taught all his servants and the whole world all his wicked ways."

About the same time we find Ibn Ezra giving a favourable treatment of Nimrod in language strikingly similar to that of Sefer ha-Yashar:

> "Nimrod: Do not seek for a meaning for every name unless it is actually written. And he began: he began to show the might of men over the beasts because he was a mighty hunter. And what is the meaning of before the Lord ? It means that

> he was building altars and offering up on them as burnt offerings to the Lord the beasts which he had caught. This is the literal interpretation; the midrashic interpretation is different."

Note well the final sentence. It shows that Ibn Ezra had knowledge of the "orthodox" haggadah.

Later we find Kimhi giving basically the same exposition of the text:

> "He was a mighty hunter before the Lord means that he prevailed to such a degree over the beasts in hunting them by his strength and strategems that men marvelled at his power over them. So a saying arose in the mouths of men: when they saw at that time or in times to come a man prevailing over the beasts, they used to say, He is like Nimrod. And the explanation of before the Lord is that his strength grew, for this is the usage of the language that when one wishes to make a thing great one connects it with the word 'God'. For example, 'a city great to God' (Jonah 3:3); 'as the mountains of God' (Ps. 36:7); 'its branches were as the cedars of God' (Ps 80:11); 'fire of God' (Cant. 8:6); 'the darkness of God' (Jer. 2:31). There is one commentator who interprets that he was hunting the beasts and offering them as sacrifices before the Lord, but the opinion of Onkelos inclines to our interpretation for he translates, 'a strong man'."

The commentator to whom Kimhi alludes in the concluding sentence is probably Ibn Ezra. He has followed Ibn Ezra in general, but disagreed with him in detail.

Can there be some sort of connection between these Syriac and Jewish texts ? It might be possible to trace a link via Arabic stories of Nimrod, which are very extensive.[13] The Syriac could have influenced the Arabic, and the Arabic, in turn, the mediaeval Jewish tradition. This is rather unlikely. It is easier to suppose that two separate groups of exegetes have arrived independently at broadly the same explanation of a difficult element in the Biblical text. That element is the expression, "before the Lord" (verse 9). We have already noted that this was a "blind spot" in the standard interpretation. The writers whom we are now considering all agree on one point, namely that this phrase indicates that Nimrod was good. They differ, however, as to its precise meaning: (a) Ephraem takes it in the sense of "by the will of

God"; (b) Sefer ha-Yashar and Ibn Ezra, in almost the same words, construe it pregnantly as meaning that Nimrod offered the game which he caught as a sacrifice to the Lord. (c) Finally, Kimhi takes it as expressing a sort of superlative. It was this phrase which formed the starting point of the favourable tradition about Nimrod.

It is possible that another factor was involved in the case of Ephraem. Ephraem resided at Nisibis and Edessa. Through the identification of Nimrod and Ninos it is possible that he was regarded in this area as something of a local hero - one of the figures linking the region with the Scriptures. Thus Ephraem may have been predisposed to look on Nimrod with kindlier eyes than the Jewish exegetes.[14]

We are now ready to consider the material in Ps-J verse 9 which gives the motive of Nimrod's departure from Babylon to Assyria:

> "Because he did not desire to be in the counsel of the generation of the division, and he left these four cities and the Lord gave to him therefore a place and he built four other cities."

On literary grounds we became suspicious that this material is intrusive, and our analysis of the haggadic content abundantly confirms those suspicions. This statement implies that Nimrod was good and worthy of God's reward, but when we compare it with the haggadah favourable to Nimrod it is clear that it bears no relation to it; it is a totally isolated development. The favourable tradition on Nimrod arose through exegesis of the phrase "before the Lord"; Ps-J makes its favourable estimate by assuming a priori that the "going out" of verse 11 is in itself a good act. This gives the game away. The "going out" of verse 11 was preconditioned as a good act only by the fact that it entailed separation from the builders of the Tower of Babel, and they had been brought into the context of Gen. 10 only by supposing that Nimrod was their leader. Before we can reach the state of the tradition in Ps-J verse 11 the following three stages have to be passed:

(1) Nimrod must be connected with the building of the Tower and thus determined as "bad".

(2) This must then condition the "going out" of verse 11 as a good act, as separation from the wicked builders of the Tower.

At this point of the development the natural subject of the verb "went out" is Asshur. So long as the separation is from the builders of the Tower, Nimrod as subject makes little sense.

(3) Through usage the "going out" came to be regarded in its own right as commendable and the factor which conditioned it as such fell into the background. It then became possible for someone, finding Nimrod taken as the subject of "went out" to turn the tradition on its head by attributing to him the goodness of an act which originally had been considered good only because it meant dissociation from his badness.

Thus it becomes clear that Ps-J represents at this point a very late and confused state of the tradition.

It is evident from the development which we have sketched that these words can belong only to Asshur, and we have seen how in Gen.R. XXXVII 4 (347,1) they are, in fact, applied to him. When we discussed that text we noted that, at first sight, it is odd in that it implies that the four cities of Gen. 10:10 belonged to Asshur as well as the four in Gen. 10: 11-12. Closer analysis, however, indicated a satisfactory explanation of this contradiction. It is possible that the glossator of Ps-J verse 11 noticed this oddness if these words are spoken of Asshur, and was thus encouraged to transfer them to Nimrod.

At all important points, then, analysis of the haggadah of Nimrod corroborates the conclusions which we reached tentatively on literary grounds as to the structure of the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10:8-12. What we had suspected in these verses to be later insertion has been confirmed as such.

B. Haggadah (2) "Joshua the brigand"

Running through early Jewish literature is a rich vein of haggadic speculation about the early history of the Canaanites. Gen. 10:15-19 is a fundamental text on this subject and we might well have expected some reference to this tradition in the Palestinian Targumim of these verses, but there is none. In this chapter we shall consider the implications of this fact. The haggadah is of interest to us for other reasons as well. It is quasi-ethnographical and illuminates further the Rabbis' geographical ideas. Besides, an examination of it will help us to deal more comprehensively with two small elements in the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10:15-19, namely, (1) the unsolved mystery of the name Kothniag (v.l. TC Bothniag) which replaces Sidon in Ps-J verse 19; and (2) FT's rendering of verse 18, "From Babel afterwards were scattered abroad the islands of the nations".

We begin our study by turning back once again to Jubilees' account of the Table of the Nations. Concerning Canaan we read (X 29-34):

> "(29) And Canaan saw the Land of Lebanon to the River of Egypt, that it was very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea, and he dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of the sea. (30) And Ham his father, and Cush and Mizraim his brothers, said unto him: Thou hast settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot: do not do so; for if thou dost so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition; for by sedition ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever. (31) Dwell not in the dwelling of Shem; for to Shem and his sons did it come by their lot. (32) Cursed art thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse by which we bound ourselves in the presence of the Holy Judge, and in the presence of Noah our father. (33) But he did not hearken unto them, but dwelt in the land of Lebanon, from Hamath to the entering of Egypt, he and his sons to this day. (34) And for this reason that land is named Canaan."

Two things are asserted in this passage about the Canaanites: (1) Firstly, the so-called "land of Canaan" was not originally alloted to Canaan the son of Ham, but rather to Shem; and (2) secondly, the land which was assigned to Canaan lay in the west, towards the sea. From these two premisses a consequence follows: Canaan's occupation of the "land of Canaan" was an act of robbery.

Both the assertions depend on Jubilees' schematic tripartition of the world which we considered earlier. We saw that, in correlating the three Ionian continents with the territories of the three sons of Noah, the author of Jubilees faced the problem that Canaan, the son of Ham, was, in historical fact, living in the lot of Shem. To solve this problem he fabricated the story about Canaan's usurpation of the land of Canaan. His assigned territory was north Africa in the region of Carthage, while the "land of Canaan" which he stole was allocated to Arpachshad, the son of Shem and ancestor of Abraham. The author of Jubilees implies that when the Bible itself calls "the land of Lebanon to the River of Egypt", the "land of Canaan" it is describing a de facto and not a de jure situation. The polemical interest of the author of Jubilees is only thinly disguised. He is trying to frame a justification of the Israelite occupation of the land of Canaan; the abstract, transcendental nature of his argument should be observed. Note, too, that the choice of north Africa as the real patrimony of the Canaanites has been influenced by knowledge of an historical fact, namely, the connection between the Punic settlements of that area and the Canaanite Phoenicians.

The Jubilees strand of this haggadah is distinguished from the related Rabbinic strand by the way in which it bases its apologetic on an abstract, schematic division of the world. This is not found in the Rabbinic texts, and, indeed, is rather foreign to the Rabbinic way of thinking. It has, however, come across in early Christian works dependent on Jubilees.[15]

The Rabbinic strand of the tradition may be represented by Mekhilta Pisha XVIII (ed. Lauterbach I 157-158) (// Num.R. XVII 3 (143b.9)):

> "And it shall be when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanite (Ex. 13:11). Canaan merited that the land should be called by his name, for when Canaan heard that Israel was entering the land, he got up and moved away from before them. The Lord said to Canaan: You have moved away from before the face of my sons, so I will call this land by your name, and I will give you another land as good as your present land. What land is that ? It is Africa. Likewise it says, And Canaan begat Zidon his first-born, and Heth (Gen. 10:15); and it is written, And the children of Heth answered Abraham saying, Hear us, my Lord (Gen. 23:5-6). God then said to them: You have honoured my friend. I in turn will call this land by your name, and give to you another land as good as your present land. What land is that ? It is Africa."

Three things are stated here: (1) The Canaanites voluntarily quited their land when they heard that Israel was coming. (2) They did not loȝse by so doing, for God gave them a land as good as the one they had left. This land was Africa, i.e., the area around Carthage.* (3) The "land of Canaan" was so called, not because it belonged to Canaan as of right, but (a) as a reward for hiȝs being so good as to give it up ! and (b) as an honour to pay back the honour which the Canaanite Heth bestowed on Abraham the friend of God.

Granted for the moment that Canaan got a fair deal by giving up the land of Canaan for Africa, are there any grounds advanced as to why the land of Canaan should then have been handed over to the Israelites ? Lauterbach's text reads:

ואתן לך ארץ יפה בארצך
ואתן לכם ארץ יפה בארצכם

which he translates, "and I will give you a goodly land in your own country". Africa, on this reading, lies in Canaan's "own country", which might be taken as an allusion to a schematic division of the world on the pattern of Jubilees. The reference,however, would be very tenuous. Besides,the correct text is undoubtedly כארצך . . . . כארצכם as in the editions of Constantinople and Venice; note also the parallels t.Shabb. VII 25 and Lev.R. XVII 6.

The fact is that when faced with the problem of justifying Israel's occupation of the land of Canaan, the Rabbis would never have appealed to such abstract modes of argument as used in Jubilees, but would have employed more direct exegetical means. One possible argument of this sort lies on the surface of the Mekhilta passage. Characteristically it involves linking two texts together and making a deduction. Gen. 23:5–6 records that Heth acknowledged Abraham as "lord". Gen. 10:15 shows that Heth is a son of Canaan, an elder son, to be precise. Heth, therefore, as the representative of the Canaanites,recognized the suzerainty of Abraham, and, by implication,of Abraham's descendants the Israelites. (Compare the argument in Hebrews 7:9).

Though this would be an obvious and completely typical use of these two texts, it is not, in fact, how they are used. They are cited simply to show that Canaanites honoured Abraham and therefore God honoured the Canaanites. However, it is fairly obvious that the Mekhilta

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* See further p. 106.

in the passage which we quoted is summarizing two separate traditions (the second source begins at the words, "likewise it says . . ") for the purpose of answering the very specific question, What did Canaan do to merit having the land which Israel now occupies called by his name ? In the second of these traditions, Gen. 10:15 and 23:5-6 may have been originally used in the manner which we suggested. This analysis indicates that the haggadah of the Canaanite withdrawal to Africa is older than the Mekhilta.

The evolution of the Rabbinic strand of the haggadah may be illustrated by the following texts:

(1) t.Shabb. VII (VIII) 25 (119,15)

> "Rabban Shim^{c}on ben Gamliel said: You will not find among the nations a nation more obliging than the Amorites, for thus we have found that they put their trust in the Holy One, and went into exile to Africa, and the Lord gave to them a land as good as their own land, and the land of Israel was called by their name."

The favourable estimate of the Canaanites in Mekhilta Pisha XVIII was surprising; this judgment about the Amorites is nothing short of astounding, when one recalls that the phrase, "the ways of the Amorites" sums up for the Rabbis all that is reprehensible in human conduct (see m.Shabb. VI 10; m.Hull. IV 7). It seems, however, that Rabban Shim^{c}on ben Gamliel was scoring a debating point against his contemporary R. Yose ben Yasian, who a little earlier is recorded as declaring (t.Shabb. VII (VIII) 23 (119,10)):

> "You will not find among the nations a nation more hard and disobliging than the Amorites, for whenever a man is hard and disobliging he is called an Amorite."

Rabban Shim^{c}on ben Gamliel clearly knew the tradition of the departure of the Canaanites in roughly the form in which it is found in the Mekhilta, and simply applied to it the hermeneutical rule of the "general and particular" in order to frame a reply to R. Yose. Thus he reasoned:

> The Canaanites obligingly left Canaan when the Israelites invaded;
> The Amorites are Canaanites;
> Therefore etc.

This little debate shows that the tradition about the emigration of the Canaanites was current in Rabbinic circles before AD 140.

(2) y.Sheb. 36c.55 (// Lev.R. XVII 6 (47b.1)
Deut.R. V 14 (222a.2))

"R. Samuel bar Nahman said: Joshua sent three proclamations to the land of Israel before Israel entered the land: Whoever wishes to leave, let him leave; whoever wishes to make peace, let him make peace; whoever wishes to make war, let him make war ! The Girgashites left, and putting their trust in the Holy One went off of their own accord to Africa . . . The Gibeonites made peace, as it is written, The dwellers in Gibeon made peace with Israel. Thirty-one kings made war and perished."

In this legion, which is attributed in all our sources to the famous Palestinian haggadist R. Samuel bar Nahman (PA 3), the Girgashites replace the Canaanites and Amorites of the earlier texts. This has been done in an attempt to improve on the earlier forms of the tradition. It is obviously difficult to maintain that the Amorites or the Canaanites simply got up and left when they heard that Israel was coming. The Rabbis were only too well aware that they did not (see, e.g., Mekh. Beshallah I (I 172)). So Rabbi Samuel offers a more precise analysis (and, note in passing, weakens the apologetic thrust of the exegesis): some made peace; some made war; some emigrated.

The choice of the Girgashites as the group that emigrated was dictated by precise exegetical considerations: (a) The Girgashites are included regularly in the lists of peoples displaced by the Israelites (Gen. 15:21; Deut. 7:1; Josh. 3:10; 24:11; Neh. 9:8), but unlike the other nations named, there is no hint anywhere in the Bible as to their place of abode. (b) Deut. 7:1 and Josh. 3:10 mention seven nations who were given into the power of the invading Israelites; Ex. 3:8,17; Josh. 9:1 and 12:8, by way of contrast, name only six; missing are "the Girgashites".[16]

(3) Rashi on Gen. 12:6:

"And the Canaanite was then in the land: He was advancing and conquering the land of Israel from the seed of Shem, for it fell to the lot of Shem when Noah divided the earth among his sons, as it is written, And Melchizedek king of Salem. Hence it says, And the Lord said to Abraham: To thy seed I will give this land - I am going to return it to thy sons, for they are of the seed of Shem."

At first reading this appears to be a justification of the Israelite occupation of the land of Canaan very much on the lines of Jubilees' schematic division of the world, but, in fact, it is not. Rashi appeals to the standard Rabbinical identification of Melchizedek with Shem (cf. b.Ned. 32b); he then quotes Gen. 14:18 which states that Melchizedek (= Shem) was king in Salem (= Jerusalem). (Cf. Ps-J, "And the Righteous King, who is Shem the son of Noah, was king of Jerusalem".) He implies that since Shem ruled in the land of Canaan, it must have fallen to his lot, and consequently the Canaanites, the sons of Ham, must have seized it by force. Hence God's promise to give it back to Shem's descendants the Israelites.

We have now "pinned down" some of the significant stages in the development of this tradition from Maccabean times to the Middle Ages. We shall pause at this point to consider the tradition as a whole, and note some elements that run all the way through it.

(1) Firstly, there is a strong apologetic tone throughout. These texts appear to be answering an accusation that the Jews stole the land of Israel from its rightful owners, the Canaanites. This accusation is backed by an appeal to the Jews' own Scriptures, to the simple fact that these speak of "the land of Canaan". It is true that "the Devil himself can quote Scripture", but in a matter as potentially serious as this, one might well wonder if the Rabbis are needlessly playing his advocate.

(2) Secondly, we find commonly an attempt to justify from Scripture the right of the Jews to live in Israel. Various arguments are deployed, but they fall formally into two groups which distinguish two strands of the tradition: on the one hand we have the abstract reasoning of the book of Jubilees; and on the other the direct exegetical logic of the Rabbis.

(3) Finally, widespread in the tradition is a recognition of a link between the Canaanites and the inhabitants of north Africa. It is hardly too much to suppose that the Rabbis would have known that great cities like Carthage and Utica were Phoenician colonies in origin. The Targumim render Tarshish where it is linked with Tyre and Sidon in the Bible by Africa.* Moreover, "the Canaanites which are outside the

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* See further p. 117.

Land" in b.Sot. 35b is probably a reference to the Phoenician diaspora, particularly in north Africa. The Rabbis had their own story of the origin of the Punic settlements there in an emigration of Canaanites from the land of Canaan at the time of the Israelite invasion under Joshua.

The polemical element in this tradition made us wonder whether it has grown up from purely internal Jewish debate, or to meet simply exegetical problems. That it reflects a genuine controversy with non-Jewish opponents is proved by another group of texts which we shall now examine. The most significant of these is Procopius De bello Vandalico II (= De bellis IV) 10, 13-22:

> "When the Hebrews had departed from Egypt and were on the borders of Palestine, Moses, a wise man who had been their leader on the way, died. He was succeded by Joshua the son of Nun, who led the people into Palestine and, by displaying superhuman courage in war, captured the country. After overthrowing all the nations he won the cities with ease, and seemed to be altogether invincible. Now at that time the whole country along the sea from Sidon to the borders of Egypt was called Phoenicia, and in ancient times one king ruled over it, as is agreed by all those who have written about the antiquities of the Phoenicians. In that country there dwelt very populous tribes, Gergesites and Jebusites and others with other names which are given in the history of the Hebrews. These peoples, when they saw that the invading general was an irresistible prodigy, emigrated from their ancestral homes and made their way to nearby Egypt. Having found there no place sufficient for them to dwell in, since from ancient times Egypt was densely populated, they moved on to Libya. They founded many cities and occupied Libya up to the Pillars of Hercules, and there they have lived, speaking the Phoenician language, right up to my time. They built a fortress in Numidia, where now is the city called Tigisis. In that place are two columns made of white stone near the great spring, having Phoenician letters cut in them, which say in the Phoenician tongue:
>
> WE ARE THEY WHO FLED FROM BEFORE THE FACE
> OF JOSHUA THE BRIGAND, THE SON OF NUN."

A tale similar to this is found in a number of Byzantine authors.[17] None of these adds anything really new, and they are all probably dependent ultimately on Procopius. Two of them, in fact, expressly state their indebtedness.[18] The same two authors remark with some surprise that they can find this story of the inscription in no other ancient text. This is equally true for the Greek corpus as we have it today. Consequently, Procopius seems to be the sole authority for the tale. Whence did he get it ?

An analysis of the passage shows that it displays two contradictory attitudes to the Hebrew conquest. While it is generally laudatory, the description of Joshua as a "brigand" (lēstēs) is distinctly hostile. There are two sources behind the passage to match this twofold attitude. Procopius mentions "the history of the Hebrews" from which he took at least the names "Gergesites and Jebusites". This must be the Old Testament in Greek.[19] He also speaks of "all those who have written about the antiquities of the Phoenicians", to whom he is indebted for the information that in ancient times one king ruled over the whole of Phoenicia. It was one of these writers, I would suggest, that provided him with the story of a Phoenician inscription complaining about Joshua the "brigand" at Tigisis in north Africa.

This source was probably a "nationalistic" work written by some Phoenician and marked by a rather anti-Jewish bias. Philo of Byblos would fit the description, for he wrote not only an "Antiquities of the Phoenicians", but also a treatise entitled "On the Jews", which seems to have been marked by a rather anti-Jewish tone (see FGH 790F 1-5, 10). However, he may be ruled out in this case, for a simple reason. Eusebius of Caesarea is the main trader of Philo's works. He was very familiar with them, and had he found a story as colourful as this one about "Joshua the brigand" I think that he could not have resisted quoting it. It certainly caught the eye of the later annalists. It is very likely, in fact, that Procopius' source was rather obscure and unknown; hence all forms of the story can be traced back to him. I shall suggest later the circumstances in which he came by it.[20]

I have assumed that Procopius himself did not make it up, though it is an embellishment fully worthy of the author of the Secret History. My reason for this is that when we put his story beside certain Rabbinic texts, it becomes clear that it reflects a standard charge emanating from a Palestinian milieu that the Jews were "brigands" and stole the land which they now occupy. First of all note Gen.R. I 2 (4,11):

> "R. Joshua commenced his exposition thus in the name of R. Levi: The might of his deeds God revealed to his people, to give them the inheritance of the nations (Ps. 111:6). Why did the Holy One reveal to Israel what was created on the seven days of creation ? It was so that the gentiles might not taunt Israel and say, You are nothing but a nation of robbers ! Israel can answer them, What of yourselves, is

> there no robbery in your hands ? Did not the Caphtorim come from Caphtor and destroy the Avvim (Deut. 2:23) ? The world and its fulness belong to the Holy One. According to his good pleasure he gave it to you, and according to his good pleasure he took it from you and gave it to us. This is that which is written, To give them the inheritance of the nations."

There is a parallel transmission of this material preserved in Rashi, where the exposition is attributed to R. Levi's contemporary R. Isaac.[21] Both men lived in the late third century AD. In this passage the gentiles are said to throw at Jews the taunt, You are nothing but a nation of robbers ![22]

Another text reflecting the same charge is b.Sanh. 106b:

> "A certain heretic said to R. Hanina: Do you have any tradition as to how old Balaam was when he died ? R. Hanina said to him: It is not actually written, but from the verse, Bloody and deceitful men shall not live out half their days (Ps. 55:24), I deduce that he must have been thirty-three or thirty-four. The heretic said: It is true what you say. I myself saw the Tablets of Balaam, and it was written there that Balaam the lame was thirty-three when Phineas the brigand slew him."

There is no reason to suppose the name Balaam is a cryptogram for Jesus (see R.T. Herford Christianity in Talmud and Midrash (1903) p. 72); the text will bear a perfectly straightforward interpretation. Phineas led the Jews in the war against Midian in which Balaam was slain (Num. 31:6-8). The final conflict between Phineas and Balaam was much celebrated in haggadah.[23] "Phineas the brigand" stands in exact parallelism to "Joshua the brigand" in the Phoenician inscription. The phrase is quoted by the heretic from a work which he calls the "Tablets of Balaam" - possibly a collection of magical texts attributed to Balaam who was regarded in certain circles as a great magician. To judge by the derogatory way in which it refers to one of the Israelite generals, it was presumably rather anti-Jewish in tone. The R. Hanina who conversed with the heretic was Hanina b. Pappai (PA 3) - a contemporary of Abbahu. He lived in Caesarea, and it was probably in that town that the conversation took place.

The conflict which we have been considering is graphically sketched in typical haggadic fashion in our final text. It is a commentary in b.Sanh. 91a on one of the entries in Megillath Ta^{c}anith:[24]

> "Our Rabbis taught: <u>On the twenty-fourth of Nisan the revenue-farmers were removed from Judah and from Jerusalem</u> (= Megillath Ta^{c}anith). For when the sons of Africa came to plead against the Jews before Alexander of Macedon, they said: Canaan belongs to us, as it is written, The land of Canaan with the coasts thereof (Num. 34:2), and Canaan is our ancestor. Thereupon, Gebiha ben Pesisa said to the Sages, Authorize me to go and plead against them before Alexander of Macedon. Should they defeat me, then say, Ye have defeated but an ignorant man of us; whilst if I defeat them, then say to them thus, The Law of Moses has defeated you. So they authorized him, and he went and pleaded against them. Whence do ye adduce your proof ? he asked. From the Torah, they replied. I too, said he, will bring you proof only from the Torah, for it is written: And he said, Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren (Gen. 9:25). Now if a slave acquires property, to whom does he belong, and whose is his property ? Moreover it is now many years since you have served us. Then Alexander said: Answer him ! Give us three days, they pleaded. So he gave them respite. They sought, but they found no answer."

The legendary nature of this tale, and the fact that it is irrelevant to the entry in Megillath Ta^{c}anith to which it has been attached, should not be allowed to obscure the fact that it embodies a real controversy. The "sons of Africa" are evidently the Canaanites: note the text which they quote in support of their claim, and their explicit statement, "Canaan was our ancestor". From what we have seen earlier, this odd title makes ready sense, for it is an allusion to the notion that at the time of the Conquest the Canaanites were given another land, namely, Africa.Its use here is polemical: Africa was given to them, and Africa is where they should be !

These texts arrange themselves in an interesting pattern which shows that the haggadah of "Joshua the brigand" was not merely exegetical in origin, but was set in motion by a real controversy between the Jews and some other Palestinian group over the question of who had the right to dwell in the land. It was in the context of this controversy that the innocent Biblical phrase "the land of Canaan" first became problematical and an embarassment, and the haggadic development germinated.

Can we identify the opponents of the Jews ? They probably belonged to the natives of Syria-Palestine who were neither Jew nor Greek. This rather indeterminate group of people seems to have oriented itself culturally towards Phoenicia, whether it was of Phoenician descent or not, in an attempt to achieve some kind of ethnic identity over against both the Jews and the Greeks. These Phoenician leanings were particularly strong among Palestinians living on the coastal plain. Many of the settle-

ments in that area were, in fact, of Phoenician origin, such as Strato's Tower (which preceded Caesarea Maritima); see Pompeius Trogus (Justin's Epitome) XVIII 3. 9-15. Evidence of Phoenician cultural influence is found in the religious sphere: thus the Phoenician god Reshef was worshipped as far south as Gaza.[25]

The use of the adjective "Sidonian" in Palestine should also be taken into account. On the tombs at Marissa, a town on the coastal plain inland from Ascalon,we meet the phrase "the Sidonians at Marissa". Tcherikover correctly remarks on this: "The large number of Edomite names confronts the scholar with the question whether the 'Sidonians' at Marissa were really from the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon, or whether they were 'Canaanites' in the broad sense of the term."[26] A similar use of the adjective is found in Josephus AJ XII 257. In this document, apparently dating from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, some Samaritans refer to themselves under the designation of "the Sidonians at Shechem". By this phrase they surely cannot be claiming to belong to the original inhabitants of the land, for they could hardly ignore the large immigrant element in their population. Their purpose is clear from the context. The Jews had roused the wrath of Antiochus, and the Samaritans feared that in his fury he would mete out punishment indiscriminately on them as well. They wrote to point out that they were quite different. To mark the difference, they allied themselves with the only other non-Greek cultural group in the region, the natives of Palestine who called themselves "Sidonians".[27]

The coastal plain, and Caesarea in particular, formed the real theatre of strife between Jews and "Sidonians". The dispute which set in motion our haggadah is strongly reminiscent of the conflict between "Jews" and "Syrians" in Caesarea over the Jews' claim to isopoliteia, which flared up just before the outbreak of the First Jewish War. Josephus gives us two accounts of it: one in BJ II 266-270, and the other in AJ XX 173-178. The Jews claimed that they ought to be granted equal rights in Caesarea on the ground that the city's founder was the Jewish king, Herod. The Syrians argued back that Herod may have enlarged the city, but he was not its absolute founder. Before his time it had been called Strato's Tower and no Jew had resided there. These "Syrians" of whom Josephus speaks are the native element in the population of Caesarea distinct from both Jews and Greeks; they must be roughly the same as the "Sidonians" whom we encountered earlier.[28]

Once we realise that Caesarea was the nub of this dispute, a number of small points begin to fall into place. We wondered earlier where Procopius got his story about "Joshua the brigand" from. Procopius was,for a time, resident at Caesarea, and probably picked it up there. We also suggested that the meeting between R. Hanina b. Pappai and the heretic who quoted from the Tablets of Balaam the phrase, "Phineas the brigand", took place in the same town. A setting for the controversy primarily in Caesarea will also help us to explain the Jewish tradition of it, as we shall see presently.[29]

This controversy belongs to the sphere of nationalistic propaganda: this is hinted at by the use of the propaganda word "brigand" by the opponents of the Jews,[30] and their claim to be "autochthonous" - a proud propaganda boast in the ancient world. "With rare exceptions", writes Bickerman, "all the peoples, the Babylonians as well as the Britanni claimed to be autochthonous, the noblest origin in the eyes of the Greeks."[31] All this self-glorification, however, was probably aimed at political ends, for both parties were often involved in dispute over rights before the Roman tribunals. This is evident from the case of the Syrians against the Jews in Caesarea which Josephus mentions, and in Rabbinic literature is expressed haggadically in the story of Gebiha ben Pesisa defeating the "sons of Africa" before Alexander of Macedon.

When we survey the Rabbinic tradition on the controversy it is possible to see certain stages in it. The earliest text where we find it reflected is Jubilees, which dates from c. 130 BC. This date coincides rather closely with the expansion of the Hasmonean state from the uplands of Judea into the coastal plain. Jubilees may, indeed, be offering a theoretical justification of this expansion. The sharpness of its tone should be carefully noted.

In the Mekhilta and in the statement of R. Shim^{c}on ben Gamliel recorded in the Tosefta we were surprised by the favourable estimate of the Canaanites and the Amorites. This is material from the early second century AD, and at this point of time the controversy appears to be a distant rumble.

In Rabbinic texts from the third century and after, a bitterness and a fury once more creeps into the debate. Why ? The explanation is probably fairly simple. As a result of the two Jewish wars

against Rome, the Jewish population of Palestine must have been greatly depleted. The survivors were under all manner of disabilities and in no mood or position to assert themselves. The Jewish community only begins to show signs of real recovery in the early third century AD. A natural increase in the population, together with the effects of the ban on living in the old heartland of Judea, must have thrust the Jews more and more into the cities and territories of the coastal plain in search of living-space. Once again Caesarea played an important role. From AD 70 to AD 200 Caesarea was under ban to Rabbinical Jews and they could not enter it without incurring impurity. About AD 200, however, Rabbi and his Beth Din lifted the ban, and there was a rapid movement of Jews into the town; and so the argument became a live issue once more.*

Our final task is to consider the Palestinian Targumim in relation to the tradition. Two small points call for attention first of all: (1) The mysterious name Kothnias which stands in place of "Sidon" in Ps-J Gen. 10:19. This name occurs in only one other place in Rabbinic literature, namely Tg.1 Chron. 1:13, "Canaan begat Kothnias, he who built Sidon". The word, from this reference, appears to be a personal name and designates the founder of Sidon. It has a Greek ring, but there is no Greek name which fits it easily. Several suggestions have been made, but none of them is remotely satisfactory.[32] I would conjecture that כותניס or בותניאס, as TC has in a variant reading, is a corruption of סידוניוס = Sidonius. Josephus AJ I 138 states that Sidonius was the founder of Sidon. The meturgemanim may have been acquainted with the name through its use by their Palestinian neighbours. There seems, however, to be no allusion to the controversy between Jews and Canaanites.

(2) The second element is FT (ms. S)'s rendering of Gen. 10:18, "From Babel afterwards were scattered abroad the islands of the nations".[33] This stands against the Hebrew: "And afterwards were scattered abroad the families of the Canaanite". The rendering of the Targum, with its addition of "from Babel", is an attempt to clear up the ambiguity of the word "afterwards" in the original. The translation of "the families of the Canaanite" by "the islands of the nations" has come about through assimilation to Gen. 10:5 and 11:8-9. It does not contain any allusion to the scattering abroad of the Canaanites to areas outside the land of Canaan.

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* See further p. 244.

The controversy between "Jews" and "Canaanites" is registered through a wide range of Jewish texts, but is not found in the Palestinian Targumim. Some allusion to it might have been expected in the rendering of Gen. 10:15-19, which is a fundamental text on the origin of the Canaanites and the areas where they settled, but it fails to show up. The meturgemanim were not embarassed by the fact that the Bible itself refers to the Land of Israel as "the land of Canaan", so one must suppose that they were unaware of the accusation based on this fact. Since this is the case, it seems likely that, at this point, the Palestinian Targumim go back to a period when the controversy was as yet not felt by the Rabbis to pose any exegetical problems. The controversy itself had, of course, been going on from Maccabean times, as the book of Jubilees shows, but it had not reached the form in which it is found in texts dating from the second century AD, such as the Mekhilta.

A somewhat similar state of affairs is found in Josephus. Though, as we have seen, this author has much to say about the actual conflict that produced the Jewish apologetic tradition, he does not mention any elements of the tradition itself. He makes no general equation between Phoenician and Canaanite; nor does he link the founding of the Punic settlements in north Africa with the Israelite invasion of Canaan (see CA I 108); nor attempt to rebut a charge of territorial brigandage levelled at the Jews (see AJ I 139; IV 300; V 68); nor show any uneasiness over the name "land of Canaan". The Palestinian Targumim stand close to him in this respect. I do not wish to press unduly an argument from silence, but I would read these facts as indicating that some, at least, of the material in the Palestinian Targumim goes back to the first century AD.

III.3 The Geographical Equivalents

We have so far subjected the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10 to two tests, in an attempt to uncover their basic material: we have (1) analysed them from a literary point of view, and (2) with regard to their haggadic content. These tests have thrown up some hypotheses. The literary analysis indicated that the identifications of at least the sons of Japhet and the cities of Nimrod belong to the earliest layers of material. The analysis of the haggadic content suggested nothing to contradict this, while positively it offered some "straws in the wind" that some of the material in the Targumim was from the first century of the current era.

However, neither of these tests is suitable for dealing with the question of the substance and date of the geographical terms themselves. So these must now be considered on their own, to see whether they will confirm or deny our tentative conclusions.

A. The sons of Japhet

Identifications of the sons of Japhet are found in all the Palestinian Targumim, and they are generally the same; where they differ, they can be shown to belong to the same tradition, and to be cases of redefinition. The meturgemanim locate Japhet's sons in the northern regions of the world.

1. GOMER AND HIS SONS (TABLE 1)

(i) Gomer

The name אפריקי in Rabbinic texts normally means north Africa. It is derived from Ἀφρική, which first appears in Greek well into the Roman period (and rarely at that)[1], and is, in its turn, a borrowing from the Latin Africa. Africa in Latin had two main senses: (1) it was used in a narrow sense to denote an area around Carthage, which fluctuated in size with administrative changes; this was known as "Africa properly so called" (Pliny NH V 23). (2) In a broad sense Africa was used for the whole continent (Pliny NH III 3). In Greek Aphrikē tends to be restricted to the narrow usage (see Ptolemy IV 3.1,21) for the simple reason that Greek geographers already had a term for the continent as a whole, namely, Libuē; cf., Pliny NH III 3 with Herodotus II 16. A looser use of Aphrikē, however, is occasionally found: so

Josephus AJ I 132-3; 239-241 uses Libuē and Aphrikē interchangeably.[2]

As to the narrow use of 'Aphriki in Rabbinic texts, we have already seen that the בני אפריקיא of b.Sanh. 91a were in some sense related to the Punic settlers of north Africa. Again, in the haggadah concerning the visit of Alexander to the Amazons there is a recognition of a relationship between the terms "Carthage" and "Africa". In the form of the story found in Lev.R. XXVII 1 (77a.25) (//'s Tanḥ. 'Emor IX (ed. Buber 88,1); PRK IX 1 (148,9)) the Amazon's state is called "Carthage" (קרטיגנא), which is there distinguished from 'Aphriḳi; but in b.Tam. 32a-b the Amazon state itself is called 'Aphriḳi.An interesting passage is Lam.R. I 5.31 (28a.8) which lists four "governors" who helped Vespasian during the siege of Jerusalem: "The governor of Arabia, the governor of 'Aphriḳa (אפריקא), the governor of Alexandria, and the governor of Palestine." The word for "governor" is דוכס = Latin dux used in its late Roman sense of a provincial administrator (see Seeck PW V 1869; Thes. Ling. Lat. V 1, 2323[46]), and so 'Aphriḳa here must be "provincia Africa". Note the form אפריקא = Latin Africa, rather than Greek Aphrikē.

A rather broader and looser use of "Africa" is hinted at in certain Rabbinic texts. Tg.2 Chron. 21:16 renders "Cushites" as "Africans" probably with reference to the dark-skinned peoples of inner Africa. So too when Hillel is asked (b.Shabb. 31a // ARN I 15 ed. Schechter p.60), "Why are the Africans (אפריקיים) broad-footed ?", his questioner is probably thinking of the Sciapodes - one of the strange races with which early geographic fancy peopled the unknown regions of Africa.[3]

There are, however, strong objections to identifying the Targumic אפריקי with "Africa" in any of its usages. Gomer ought to be somewhere in the north; his sons and brothers are all located there in the Targumim. Besides, other representatives of the exegetical tradition put him in the north: Josephus AJ I 123 in Galatia, and b.Yom. 10a in Germania. The suggestion that in Gen. 10 the Palestinian Targumim intend by 'Aphriḳi, Phrygia is, in my opinion correct. The 'Aphriḳi visited by R. Akiba was probably not Africa but Phrygia, for in b.RH 26a it is linked with גליא = Galatia. In b.Sanh. 4b and parallels we are told that in 'Aphriḳi the word for "two" is פוס. The language here used has,

unfortunately, not been identified, but it could easily be one of the native tongues of Asia Minor which survived well into the Christian era. It might be argued that 'Aphriki is rather far in form from Phrygia, but we suggested earlier* that it is an independent attempt to represent the native, non-Greek name. That same name was represented sometimes in Greek as Brigia (see Steph. Byz. 186,12; Strabo XII 3.20; Photius Bib. III 186 (130b)). The initial aleph has been introduced into the Rabbinic form (a) to avoid the doubled consonant and (b) to soften the initial p.

If a conjecture is in order, I would suggest, in view of the late arrival and rarity of Aphrikē in Greek, that 'Aphriki in Hebrew and Aramaic originally meant Phrygia; the same word was later used perforce for the Greek Aphrikē. The Rabbinic 'Aphrika = Latin Africa is probably still later, while the form אפריקיא (b.Sanh. 91a) is a hybrid of the two forms.

The basis of this identification is not clear.

(ii) Ashkenaz

The name אסיא/עסיה is one of the most difficult in the whole Rabbinic corpus. It is obvious to connect it in some way with the Asia of the Greek and Roman geographers. This had three principal meanings: (a) the continent of Asia (Ptolemy VII 5.8), sometimes called "greater Asia" (Ptolemy V Arg. 1); (b) Anatolia, called more precisely "Asia within the Taurus" (Strabo XII 1.3 p.534) or "upper Asia" (Herodotus I 95; Appian Syr. 12). The expression "Asia Minor" first occurs in Orosius I 2.26 (CSEL V 5,10). (c) The Roman province of Asia, sometimes referred to as "Asia properly so called" (Ptolemy V 1.8; Pliny NH V 102).

The problem about the Rabbinic אסיא/עסיה is that sometimes it seems to denote a town rather than an area. Neubauer GT p.309 has suggested that there is a distinction between עסיה and אסיא: the latter is the Graeco-Latin Asia, while the former is the town of Esna mentioned by Josephus in AJ XIII 393. There are two objections to this idea: firstly, עסיה and אסיא are used indiscriminately; so in t.Hull. III 10 (504,30) we find אסיא but in the parallel b.Hull. 48a עסיא. Secondly, the Esna of AJ XIII 393 is called Gerasa in the parallel BJ I 104, and this is almost certainly the correct reading.

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* See p. 31.

The occurrences of אסיא / עסיה may be divided into three groups:

(1) אסיא / עסיה = Greek and Latin Asia in its narrowest sense of Roman Asia. So in Sifre Num. 131 Rome is said to have only four cities which are worthy of government, namely, Asia (reading אסיא for אביא) Alexandria, Carthage and Antioch. It is rather odd to find "Asia" linked with three cities, but note the ambiguity of the Hebrew medinah which can mean either an administrative region, a province; or an administrative centre, a large town. Asia is probably used here with Ephesus principally in mind. In b.AZ 30a (cf. y.AZ 41a.41) the question of the meaning of the word קרינא is raised. R. Abbahu is reported as saying that it denotes a sweet wine from ᶜAsya. Kerina is the Greek karoinon, Latin carenum - a sweet wine, boiled down one third. The brand from Maeonia in Roman Asia was particularly well known, hence ᶜAsya here is presumably Roman Asia.[4] In b.BM.84a (cf., b.Sanh. 14a) there is an implied connection between אסיא and לודקיא; the former is Roman Asia, and the latter Laodicea, either "by the Lycus" or Laodicea Combusta.

(2) אסיא /עסיה = a town in or near the Land of Israel. So b.Shabb. 109a speaks of bathing in "the waters of ᶜAsya, and in the waters of Tiberias, and in the waters of Hammathan". This list suggests that ᶜAsya here is a town on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, as are the other two places named. Circumstantial evidence might also appear to determine that ᶜAsya in b.Sanh. 26a is within the borders of the Land. According to this text, Resh Lakish once met two Rabbis on their way to intercalate the year in ᶜAsya, and he followed them to find out how it was done. The phrase "to intercalate the year" is ambiguous, for it could mean either (a) "to declare that the year has been intercalated", or (b) "to make observations and calculations to find out if it needed to be intercalated". The decision of Resh Lakish to accompany the Rabbis hints that it has the latter sense: he wanted to discover the "secret of intercalation" (sod ha-ᶜibbur). The calculations had to be made within the borders of Israel, so ᶜAsya here must be within the Land. However, I am suspicious that the words "in ᶜAsya" have been added from the similar text in t.Meg. II 5 (223,16) (//'s y.Meg. 74d.53; b.Meg. 18b) which speaks of R. Meir going to 'Asya to intercalate the year. The words are genuine in this passage, and the reference is to a visit of R. Meir to Roman Asia as a shaliah to announce that the year had been intercalated. R. Meir, as we saw earlier (p.29; cf., p.28), may have been of Anatolian origin. It appears that he died in Asia (y.Kil. 32c.49).

(3) Finally there are those cases where the context really gives no clue to the meaning of אסיא/עסיה. 'Asya comes into the identification of the Kenite, Kenizzite and Kadmonite of Gen. 15:19. In Gen.R. XLIV 23 it is equated with the Kenite, but in y.Kidd. 61d.12 and y.Sheb. 36b.54 with the Kenizzite. It is possible that the latter is the original equation, and that it is dependent on the Targumic identification of Ashkenaz with 'Asya: אשכנז may have been interpreted as meaning איש כנז = "man of Kenaz", and thus equivalent to קנזי. In the texts referring to the בני אסיא who asked for responsa at Yavneh (b.Hull. 48a; t.Hull. III 10 (504,30); t.Para VII 4 (630,30); t.Mik. IV 6 (656,23)) 'Asya should probably be taken as Roman Asia. In two passages ᶜAsya/'Asya is located beside a lake or sea: m.Yeb. XVI 4; Gen.R. VI 5 (45,1) (// Koh.R. III 2.2 (17b.15)). This is probably the town on the shores of the Sea of Galilee mentioned in b.Shabb. 109a. Finally, when R. Shimᶜon ben Gamliel refers to his cousin living in ᶜAsya (b.Sot. 49b) I think the context is slightly in favour of thinking of Roman Asia.

The most securely attested meaning for ᶜAsya/'Asya in Rabbinic texts is Roman Asia, and this sense fits in the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10. The identification is probably based on the knowledge, mediated through the Diaspora, of the frequent occurrence of the names Ascanius and Ascania for geographical features in the region of Roman Asia (see p.62)[5]. One final point: in mediaeval Jewish texts Ashkenaz is, of course, equated with Germany (see e.g., Benjamin of Tudela's Itinerary ed. Asher p. 109, "Alammania otherwise called Ashkenaz"). It should be noted that the Palestinian Targumim do not reflect this late identification.

(iii) Riphat

N's ברבוי should be emended to ברכוי or even to פרכוי. Parkevi is strictly the area to the south-east of the Caspian Sea called in Old Persian Varkāna; Pahlavi and New Persian Gurgān;[6] Greek Hurkania and Latin Hyrcania. Besides the Hurkanoi/Hurkanioi, Greek writers speak of the Barkanioi (Ctesias in Photius Bib. 72 p.36f = FGH 688F 9; Diod. Sic. II 2.3; Steph. Byz. 159, 10) and the Pέrikanioi (Herodotus III 92, 94; VII 68, 86) as living in the same area. These are not, as they supposed, different peoples, but different ways of representing the one non-Greek name for the same people. The independence of the Rabbinic form of the name should be observed: it points to direct contact with the native form (see p. 31).[7]

The name Parkevi is found in only one other text, namely Tg.Lam. 4:21. The targum of Lam. 4:21-22 is in considerable confusion, and at least three forms of the text are extant: (1) the longest is in Bomberg II. (2) Next comes the London Polyglot. This has basically the same text as Bomberg II, but it appears to have been revised with reference to the Hebrew, and all offensive remarks about Rome and Constantinople removed. The London Polyglot took its Targum of Lam. from the Antwerp Polyglot (the Biblia Regia). In view of the Catholic origins of the latter work and its patronage, I think that its text has no independent value, but is simply a "doctored" Bomberg, intended to avoid censorship and controversy. (3) The shortest text is in BM Ms Or. 2375 (which has been edited by Sperber); this does have the names "Constantinople" and "Rome".

Bomberg II reads as follows:

Hebrew text	Bomberg II
"(21) Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the land of Uz:	"(21) Rejoice and be glad, Constantinople, city of wicked Edom, that buildest thyself up in the land of Armenia with large forces from the people of Edom. On thee also retribution is about to come, and the people of Parkevi shall devastate thee. And the
The cup shall pass through unto thee also; thou shalt be drunken and shalt make thyself naked. (22) The punishment of thine iniquity is accomplished, O daughter of Zion; he will no more carry thee away into captivity: he will visit thine iniquity, O daughter of Edom;	cup of the curse shall pass to thee. Thou shalt be drunk and shamefully exposed. (22) And then thine iniquity shall be complete, Assembly of Zion, and thou shalt be redeemed at the hands of the king Messiah and Eliyahu the High Priest; and the Lord shall not again send thee into exile. And at that time I shall visit thy sins, wicked Rome, that buildest up thyself in Italy, and art full of the forces of the sons of Edom, and the Persians shall come and distress thee and devastate thee, because thy
he will discover thy sins."	sins are manifest before the Lord."

There is evident confusion here: Firstly, verse 21 speaks of "Constantinople" (קושטנטינא) while verse 22 of "Rome" (רומי). It is not possible to reconcile this contradiction by supposing that Constantinople is being referred to as "(east) Rome", because the Rome of verse 22 is specified as being in Italy. Secondly, verse 21 has "the people of Parkevi" (פרכואי), while verse 22 has "Persians" (פרסאי). There are two possible solutions to this difficulty. We could emend פרכואי to פרסאי; this is too easy, and to be avoided if another way out can be found. On the other hand, we could take "Persians" as equivalent to "people of Parkevi", both terms designating the Parthians. For "Persian" = "Parthian"

see b.Yom. 10a: "R. Joshua b. Levi said in the name of Rabbi, Rome will fall into the hands of Persia"; Lam.R. I 13.41 end: "R. Shim^{c}on b. Yohai taught, If you see a Persian horse tethered in the Land of Israel, look for the feet of the Messiah" (// Cant.R. VIII 9.3). The dates of these rabbis show that by "Persia" they must mean "Parthia". However, even if we may take "Persians" and "people of Parkevi" as the same in Tg.Lam. 4:21-22, we have still not resolved the other confusion.

The contradictions in the Targum have arisen through redefinition. There are elements which relate to the conflict between Byzantium and Sassanian Persia over Armenia (פרסאי/ארמיניאה/קושטנטינא); there are other elements, however, which allude to the conflict between Rome and Parthia over Armenia (פרכואי/ארמיניאה/רומי). A reference to the earlier struggle has been redefined to apply to the later.

The earlier stage of the Targum, reflecting the Roman-Parthian conflict, may be dated rather precisely. It appears to indicate an occupation of Armenia by Rome. This happened only once - under Trajan. A date for the Targum in the reign of this emperor who was involved in such bitter strife with the Jews, would account for its sharp tone, and eager expectation of the Messianic age, which was to be ushered in by a Parthian invasion. Compare the words of R. Shim^{c}on b. Yohai quoted above (Lam.R. I 13.41 end; // Cant.R. VIII 9.3).[8]

I have taken the "people of Parkevi" in Tg.Lam. 4:21, according to context, not as designating the Hyrcanians, but the Parthians. There are good historical reasons for such a usage. The homeland of the Parthians was Dahae just north of Hyrcania. From there they invaded the Persian satrapy of Parthava, just east of Hyrcania, in 247 BC and from it derived their usual name. Soon afterwards they annexed Hyrcania, and it was probably in that region that Jews first came in contact with them; for the possibility of a Jewish Diaspora in that area see p. 26.

<u>Parkevi</u> in the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10 should be taken as Parthia. Since Parthia disappeared from the stage of history with the rise of Sassanian Persia in the early third century AD, we may, in view of the "contemporizing" tendency of the meturgemanim, conclude that this identification originated before then.

(iv) Togarmah

Targumic ברבריא/ברבריאה = Greek and Latin Barbaria. This and the related terms Barbarikon/Barbaricum, were used generally for "the lands of the barbarians" as opposed to Greece (Steph. Byz. 158,9); to Greece and Italy (Cicero De fin. II 15.49); or even to the Roman Empire as a whole (Cassius Dio LVI 33.6). Barbaria/Barbaricum could also be used for a number of specific "barbarian lands". For our purpose, the following should be noted: (1) From the first century AD (see Tomaschek PW II 2855) for the east coast of Africa, modern Somaliland (Ptolemy I 17.6; Cosmas Indic. 85A, 97C).* (2) For the "barbarian lands" of northern Europe, such as Germany, which lay beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire (Isidore Etym. XIV 4.3; Eutropius VII 8; IX 4). This meaning corresponds to the use of "barbari" from Augustan times onward for the Germans par excellence (Tacitus Hist. IV 29). (3) Finally, we must consider a possible use of Barbaria/Barbaricum for north Africa to the west of Egypt. The English Barbary and the Old French Barbarie are derived from the Arabic berber - a general name to designate the tribes of this region.[9] It is not clear, however, if a Latin or Greek Barbaria underlies the Arabic. The evidence for it is very slender: Du Cange quotes Concilia Afric. Can. 19, "De provincia Mauretania propterea quod in finibus Africae sit, nihil statuimus, siquidem vicinae sunt Barbarico."[10] He notes also Jerome Epist. LVII ad Damasum, where Barbaria appears to be used vaguely of Africa as a whole.[11] If there ever was such a usage, it must have been fairly local, and comparatively late.

Most, if not all of these senses are attested for ברבריא in Rabbinic texts. The general meaning is found in Ex.R. XVIII 6, where Barbarya signifies a foreign, distant land. See also Koh.R. II 7.1. It is rather strange, however, that ברבריא and ברבר are used most frequently in Rabbinic texts for the Barbary coast and the Berbers. So a baraitha in b.Yeb. 63b interprets "the vile nation" of Deut. 32:1 as "the people of Barbarya and the people of Mauretania who go naked in the streets". The parallel in Sifre Deut. 320 has "Barbarya, Tunis and Mauretania". Such an early attestation of this use of "Barbaria" is puzzling. There are two possible explanations: (1) "Barbarya" may be a later intrusion into the baraitha. The Biblical text speaks only of one nation, yet y.Yeb. 63b has two, while Sifre Deut. 320 has three. "Mauretania" may be the original and "Tunis" later glosses upon it. (2) A second possibility

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* See further p. 135.

is that "Barbaria" may have been used locally in north Africa for the tribes in the interior, and that this use came into Rabbinical texts through contact with Jews living in this area.[12] It may never have been widespread in Greek or Latin.

Another clear case of Barbarya meaning north Africa is in y.Shek. 50a.27 (// Gen.R. XXIII 7). On the ground that the phrase "God calleth for the waters of the sea and poureth them upon the face of the earth" is repeated twice in Scripture (Amos 5:8 and 9:6), midrash posited two major inundations of the world, one at the time of Enoch, the other during the Generation of the Division. R. Hanina stated that on the first occasion the Great Sea overflowed its limits and the waters reached Barbarya; on the second they reached Acco and Jaffa. The sense is that the encircling Ocean (here called "etymologically" "the Great Sea") poured into the earth-disc twice, on the first occasion coming as far as Tunis, and on the second right up to the Land of Israel and thus forming the present-day Mediterranean.[13]

A good example of Barbarya meaning northern Europe is in Gen.R. LXXV 9, "These are the sons of Barbarya and Germania of whom the Edomites (= Romans) are afraid." Another case may be Cant.R. II 8.2 (32b.22) (// PR XV 7), where reference is made to going into exile in "Barbarya or סמטריה ". If the latter word is Sarmatia (roughly = modern Ukraine), then Barbarya here is probably northern Europe.[14]

There is no clear-cut case of Barbarya = Somaliland. A possible instance is Gen.R. LX 2, "A Cushite (= Ethiopian) or a Barbar". But the context is of slavery, and the Barbary coast would suit just as well. Besides there is some doubt as to the form of the phrase: in Cant.R. II 8.2 we find "Cuthean (= Samaritan cf., b.Yom. 69a) or Barbar", while the parallel to this latter passage in PR XV 7 has only "Cuthean".[15]

Barbarya in the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10 is to be equated with northern Europe. It cannot be the east coast of Africa, or the Barbary coast for the same reasons that 'Aphriki cannot be Africa. We require a northern location. This is emphasized by Ez. 38:6 - a verse which has played a decisive role in the identification: "Gomer and all his hosts; Beth-Togarmah from the uttermost parts of the north with all his hordes". Note too, how other representatives of the Jewish exegetical tradition place Togarmah in the north: Tg.Ez. 38:6 and Gen.R. XXXVII 1 in Germany; Josephus AJ I 126 in Phrygia. Once again, it should be observed,

the Targumim do not use a term in its late (and also prevalent) Rabbinic sense, in this instance Barbarya = the Barbary coast of Africa.

2. YAVAN AND HIS SONS (TABLE 2)

The name Yavan has preserved its meaning in the Hebrew-Aramaic onomasticon more or less unchanged down to the present; thus the Babli exposition of the Table of the Nations (b.Yom. 10a) regards its meaning as self-evident: "Yavan, according to its usual sense." Yavan originally denoted the land of the Ionians (Ἰωνες from Ἰάονες from *Ἰαϝονες).[16] This is recognized by Josephus AJ I 124, "Iauanos gave birth to Ionia and all the Greeks", and by the author of the Rabbinic equation of Yavan with Ephesus, the capital of Ionia (TCgl אובירסוס and y.Meg. 71b.57 אורסוס). The term, however, soon widened in scope to cover all the Greeks. So in Gen.R. XLIV 15,17 Yavan = Greece (or, more precisely, Macedonia); Yevanith = the Greek language in b.BK. 83a; b.Meg. 9a; Yevanim = the Greeks (or, more precisely, the Seleucids) in b.Meg. 11a. It was a datum, then, for the meturgemanim that the family of Yavan was linked with the Greeks. Naturally they identify Yavan himself, the patriarch of the group, with Macedonia. The rest are equated with other Greek areas, often on the basis of similarity of sound.

(1) Yavan

מוקדוניא / מקדונייא = Greek and Latin Macedonia. For the boundaries of this region see Ptolemy III 13. These varied with the fortunes of the Macedonian state, and the administrative reorganizations of the Romans. The names מוקדון/מוקדוניא are not frequent in Rabbinic texts. The phrase "Alexander the Macedonian" accounts for most of the occurrences (see. e.g., y.BM. 8c.46; b.Yom. 69a; Gen.R. LXI 7). The "mildew" with which God threatened to smite rebellious Israel according to Deut. 28:22 is rendered by Ps-J as "the jaundice of Macedonia". I have not been able to find any other reference to a type of jaundice (Greek ikteros) called "Macedonian", and so I suspect that what we have here is a haggadic interpretation of the Biblical "mildew" as oppression by the Greeks. 1 Tg.Est. 8:15 gives an exuberant description of the dress of Mordecai after his elevation by the king. It includes "Parthian stockings" and "מוקדונין of gold, studded with emeralds". The immediate context suggests that the reference must be to "Macedonian shoes", but I have discovered no trace of such a distinctive article of dress. Perhaps one should translate more generally, "Macedonian garments", for Quintus Curtius does speak of a

particularly Macedonian garb (V 2.18; VII 2.19). Mordecai's "great crown of gold" of the Bible becomes a great crown of "Macedonian gold". The same expression is found in 2 Tg.Esth. 6:10. Gold was indeed mined in Macedonia.[17]

Underlying the Rabbinic references are two uses of the terms Mukdonya/Mukdon: (1) For the geographical region of Macedonia; and (2) for the Macedonian Empire. Mukdonya in the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10 should be given the first sense.

The equation of Yavan with Macedonia goes back to the Bible, for Daniel calls Alexander "King" and "Prince" of Yavan (8:21), and his Empire "the Greek Empire" (11:2). To the Rabbis also the Macedonian Empire was malkhuth Yavan.[18]

(11) Elishah

N's אלם is to be emended to אלס , and Ngl and FT's אלסטרוס separated into אלס and טרוס.

The identification of אלס is problematic: (1) Josephus AJ I 127 equates Elishah with the Aeolians i.e., the inhabitants of Aeolis, a district in the north-west of Asia Minor, running from the Hellespont to the river Hemus (Strabo XIII 1.2 p.582; XIII 1.8 p.586; Pliny NH V 121). But אלס and Aeolis are rather distant in form. (2) Another possibility is that אלס = Elis, a city and region of the western Peloponnese (Ptolemy III 16.18; Strabo VIII 3.2 p.336). Neither of these identifications is as good as (3) אלס = Hellas. The dropping of the aspiration need cause no surprise; compare Syriac الص = Hellas (Bar Bahlul ed. Duval col. 327), and الصي = Hellenes (PSSupp. 21a).

"Hellas" is used in a variety of ways in Greek and Latin texts. When employed as a geographical term, it has three main senses: firstly, all the lands inhabited by the Greeks. Thus, by implication, it could embrace Ionia as well as the mainland. The expression hē megalē Hellas (Herodotus I 92) = Latin Magna Graecia (Pliny NH III 10.95) denotes the Greek settlements of southern Italy (Polybius II 39.1; Ptolemy III 1.75), and even Sicily as well (Strabo VI 1.2 p.253). Secondly, "Hellas" could mean Greece including the Peloponnese; Strabo VIII 1.3 p.334: "the Peloponnese is the acropolis of Hellas as a whole". Finally, it could be used for Greece excluding the Peloponnese - a very common meaning, for which see Demosthenes XIX 303; Pomp. Mela II 3.37; II 3.48; Ptolemy III 15.1;

Pliny NH IV 9.

אלש should be taken in this last sense. To give it the meaning of "Greece as a whole" would result in an overlap with Ps-J's identification of the Kittim with Achaia (=southern Greece), while "Hellas" = "all lands occupied by Greeks" is much too wide. 'Ellas is not found in Rabbinic texts outside of those expounding the Table of the Nations. Its equation with the Biblical Elishah was evidently on the basis of similarity of sound.

(iii) Tarshish

For N's תרסם read תרסס . תרסס/תרסוס is not Taras (Strabo VI 1.2 p.253) = Tarentum in southern Italy, as Jastrow Lexicon 555b supposes, but Tarsus, the chief city of Cilicia (Josephus BJ VII 238; Pliny NH V 92; Ptolemy V 8.7). Note Josephus AJ I 127: "Tharsos gave his name to the Tharsians; the latter was the ancient name of Cilicia, as is proved by the fact that its principal and capital city is called Tarsus, the th having been converted into a t."

Mentions of Tarsus are not at all frequent in Rabbinic texts. Tg.Ps. 48:8, "ships of תרסיס " for the Biblical "ships of Tarshish" must be a reference to Tarsus, though the identification is odd since Tarsus was far inland. Tarshish again = Tarsus in Tg.Ps. 72:10 (תורסוס). PR XV 24 cites an exposition of Ex. 12:3 delivered in Tarsus (בטרסיס) by R. Nahum b. Simai. The gentilic תרסי = Tarsian, occurs. Bigthan and Teresh, the chamberlains of Ahasuerus, are said to have been Tarsians (תרסיים), and to have conversed in the Tarsian language (לשון תרסי). (b.Meg. 13b; cf. b.Meg. 7a; 1 Tg.Esth. 2:21). Their nationality may have been deduced from some imagined connection between Teresh and Tarsus or Tarshish. By the "Tarsian language" either the native Cilician speech may be meant, or else the distinctive "bad" Greek of the area. Strabo XIV 2.28 p.663 states that "soloecism" was derived from the name "Soli" which designated a town to the south-west of Tarsus (see L. Rydbeck Fachprosa, vermeintliche Volkssprache und Neues Testament (1967) p.202).

There are various references to synagogues of the תרסיים; e.g., b.Naz. 52a and y.Shek. 47a.52 (but the parallel to the latter in b.Yeb. 96b has "synagogue of Tiberias"). There was once such synagogue in

Jerusalem according to b.Meg. 26a (but the parallels in y.Meg. 73d.36 and t.Meg. III (II) 6 (224,26) have "synagogue of the Alexandrians") and in Lydda, according to Lev.R. XXXV 11. It is not clear whether טרסיים means Tarsians, or is from טרסי = either a weaver or a metalworker.[19]

This identification was clearly made on the basis of sound. It might seem strange that Tarsus should be placed among the sons of the Greeks, but the city probably appeared to be very Greek to the extensive Jewish Diaspora in the region. Besides, the city itself claimed to be an Argive colony (Strabo XIV 5.12 p.673; BMC Cat, Lycaonia p.195 no.185; p. 196 no. 186).

(iv) Kittim

Unusually the Targumim have two identifications of this term:

(1) Ps-J's אכדיא should be emended to אכייא = Achaia; so too y.Meg. 71b.57 אביא should be אכיא. Achaia has two principal meanings: Firstly, it is used in a strict sense for a region in the north of the Peloponnese along the shores of the Corinthian Gulf; Ptolemy III 16.5, "Achaia properly so called".[20] Secondly, Provincia Achaia embraced the Peloponnese and most of Greece north of the Isthmus; the administrative capital was Corinth (Strabo XVII 3.25 p.840; Tacitus Ann. I 76). אכייא is found in Rabbinic texts only in expositions of the Table of the Nations. It should be taken in the stricter sense, or perhaps a little more widely for the Peloponnese as a whole, cf. Pliny NH IV 12, to avoid an overlap with 'Ellas = northern Greece, with which the Targumim equate Elishah.

(2) N's איטליאה = Italia; for the limits, see Ptolemy III 1. In Rabbinic texts both "Italy" and "Greek Italy" ('Itali'ah shel Yavan) are found. The latter corresponds to Magna Graecia employed by classical geographers for southern Italy (see p. 116). Both "Italy" and "Greek Italy" were closely connected in the minds of the Rabbis with Rome, in much the same way as "Asia" for them effectively meant "Ephesus" (see p. 109). So Tg.Lam. 4:22 (ed. Bomberg II) paraphrases "Edom" as "wicked Rome that buildest thyself up in Italy".[21] Similarly, in b.Meg. 6b "Greek Italy" is glossed as "the great city of Rome, which covers an area of three hundred parasangs by three hundred". In b.Shabb. 56b an anonymous baraitha is reported that "on the day that Jeroboam brought the two golden calves, one into Bethel and the other into Dan, a hut was built and this developed

into Greek Italy". This is one of a series of Rabbinic legends about the founding of Rome, which link its origins with some great sin in the people's past. For "Greek Italy" the parallels have "Rome" (Cant.R. I 6.4; b.Sanh. 21b; y.AZ 39c.39). The "hut" is probably an allusion to the cabin of Faustulus, the protector of Romulus and Remus, a copy of which, according to Conon (in Photius Bib. 141b ed. Henry Coll. Byz. III p.38), was preserved in the Temple of Jupiter in Rome.[22] Some Jewish writers were certainly aware of this legend, since they used the name Romulus ('Armilus) for an eschatological wicked figure, a sort of Antichrist (Tg.Is. 11:4). See also the story of the founding of Rome in y.AZ. 39c.39, and an explicit mention of Romulus and Remus in Yalk. Ps. 889a.8. In Gen.R. LXVII 6 (761,1), "the fat places of the earth" of Gen. 27:39 are identified as "Italy", or, as a variant reading has "Greek Italy". The reference is probably to the southern part of the peninsula.

In the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10 'Itali'ah should be taken as southern Italy. Note how Tg.Ez. 27:6 identifies the Kittim with אפוליא = Apulia. It is hardly surprising that Italy should be reckoned among the sons of Javan. The Rabbis were clearly aware of the fact that southern Italy was heavily colonized by the Greeks; hence their designation of it as "Greek Italy".[23] Besides, from the time of Augustus onwards, Rome appeared in the east as the upholder of Greek culture, so it is not hard to see why Jews should have regarded the Romans as related to the Greeks.

The relationship between these two Targumic identifications of the Kittim is illuminated by the exegetical history of this term. "Kittim" originally meant the inhabitants of Cyprus, and is derived from the town-name Citium; Phoenician כתי. It was then extended to cover the coastlands of the Mediterranean in general (Jer. 2:10; Ez. 27:6). So Josephus AJ I 128:

> "Chethimos held the island of Cyprus - whence the name Chethim given by the Hebrews to all islands and most maritime countries. Here I call to witness one of the cities of Cyprus which has succeeded in preserving the old appelation, for even in its Hellenized form Cition it is not far removed from Chethimos."[24]

In the later history of the identification the prophecy of Balaam in Num. 24 played a critical part: "Ships shall come from the coast of Kittim, and they shall afflict Asshur and Eber" (Num. 24:24) was

regarded as a prophecy foretelling the rise of a power in the west which would come across the sea and conquer Syria (= Eber) and Mesopotamia (= Asshur).* The identification of this power was redefined to match the march of historical events. First it was equated with Macedon: so 1 Macc. 1:1, "Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, came out of the land of the Kittim, and smote Darius king of the Persians and Medes". Cf., 1 Macc. 8:5 and Jubilees XXIV 28. Then it was identified as Rome. This equation is found as early as Dan. 11:30, which alludes to the embassy of C. Popillius Laenas in 168 BC which chased Antiochus Epiphanes out of Egypt. See the LXX and Vulgate of this verse. The "Kittim" of the Dead Sea Scrolls are the Romans. The clearest text is 4QpNah. 1, "(But God did not permit the city (i.e., Jerusalem) to be delivered) into the hands of the kings of Greece, from the time of Antiochus until the coming of the rulers of the Kittim. But then shall it be trampled under their feet."

The identification of the Kittim with the Romans is widespread also in Rabbinic texts; so all the Targumim of Num. 24:24 including Onkelos. Ps-J and FT in expansive paraphrases of this verse mention both "legions", and specify the Biblical "ships" as the fast Roman warships known as liburnae.[25] See also Tephillath R. Shim^{c}on b. Yohai (Jellinek BHM IV 122, 20), and the seventh century Aramaic magical bowls.[26] In b.Sanh. 106a we find the puzzling remark: "And ships from the coast of Kittim: Rab said, ליבון אספיר ." These words have not been successfully explained as yet.[27] I suspect that for ליבון we should read ליגיון, and that אספיר then conceals the cognomen of some legion. If so, the reference is once again to Rome.

At the latest stage of the tradition the Kittim are identified with the Byzantine Empire. Note the doublet in Ps-J Num. 24:24, "from Rome and Constantinople". This is also in keeping with the redefinition of Rome as Constantinople in Tg.Lam. 4:21-22 (see p. 112).

Seen in the light of this historical development the two identifications of the Kittim in the Targumim appear as two stages of the same exegetical tradition: Kittim = Achaia arose at a time when the Kittim of Num. 24:24 were equated with the Greeks; Kittim = Italy was a redefinition effected at a time when the Kittim were taken as the Romans. The identification with Achaia precisely, probably came about through an attempt to systematically allocate the Greek areas of the world to Yavan and his sons.

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* See further p. 161.

(v) Dodanim

דרדניא = Greek and Latin Dardania. This term denoted two quite distinct areas: (1) A region between Moesia and Macedonia (Ptolemy III 9.6), which was originally a part of Moesia Superior, but by the time of Hierocles (655,7) had become an eparchia in its own right. (2) Dardania in north-west Asia Minor: the use of the term in the Troad is complex. (i) Strabo XII 4.6 p.565 employs it for a region in the hill country south of Troy inhabited by the Dardanians of Homer. (ii) He also uses it for a city in that region mentioned in Homer Il. XX 216. No trace of this city, he says, survived in his day (Strabo XIII 1.24 p.592).[28] (iii) There was a city called "Dardania" on the shores of the Hellespont, between Abydos and Ilium. The correct name was Dardanos or Dardanon (see Strabo XIII 1.11 p.587; XIII 1.28 p.595[5] for the former; and Ptolemy V 2.3 for the latter; cf., Dardanium in Pliny NH V 127), but it was often referred to as Dardania through assimilation to the Homeric Dardania (Pomp. Mela I 18 (96); Ovid Tristia I 10.25; Steph. Byz. 218,10). (iv) Finally, through the frequent mention of Dardanians and Trojans in alliance in Homer, the two terms are interchanged in poetic texts. So Dardania in Vergil Aen. II 281 = the Troad, and in III 156 = Troy itself.

Dardanya occurs only in Rabbinic texts on the Table of the Nations. It should be identified with Dardania in north-west Asia Minor as that area had much more to do with the Greeks than Moesian Dardania. The basis of the identification was sound. A further factor may, however, have played a part. In 1 Chron. 1:7 we find דדנים instead of רדנים . LXX has Rhodioi even in Gen. 10:4. This variation was duly noted by Rabbinic exegetes and attempts made to explain it (Gen.R. XXXVII 1). Now it is a curious fact that the city of Dardanus stands at the mouth of the River Rhodius; the scholiast to Iliad XII 20 states that the river was called both Rhodius and Dardanus. It is possible that the meturgeman responsible for this identification was acquainted with this fact and saw in it an ingenious way of accounting for the Biblical variation and establishing the correctness of his identification. A personification of the River Rhodius figured on the coins of Dardanus.[29]

3. THE REST OF JAPHET'S SONS (TABLE 3)

(i) Magog

There has been a curious reluctance on the part of scholars to take גרמניא / גממיא at its face value as the Greek and Latin

Germania. Some, such as Jastrow and the Arukh ed. Kohut, have wrongly posited for it a special meaning as "the land of the Cimmerii", under the influence of a theory as to the correct identification of the Biblical Gomer, with which גרמניא is sometimes equated (b.Yom. 10a). It is far from clear what "the land of the Cimmerii" would mean; if anything, the Crimea. This people was settled in Herodotus' time on the north coast of the Pontus (Herodotus I 6-7,20), and the name "Cimmerian Bosphorus" was long afterwards used of that area (Strabo I 6.11 p.494). McNamara (Targum and Testament (1972) p.194) asserts that גרמניא is "best located in Asia Minor, probably Germanicia of the Commogene (sic !)". R. Berechiah (PA 5) identified Togarmah with גרמניקיה (Gen.R. XXXVII 1; y.Meg. 71b.60) which may be Germanicia (modern Marash) in Commagene (Ptolemy V 15.10), but could equally be Γερμανική(sc. χώρα) = Germania. This is certainly no evidence for McNamara's assertion, as he seems to suppose. It is also a mistake to draw a distinction between the forms גרמניא and גרמיא found in b.Yom. 10a and elsewhere, and to equate the latter with Caramaea - a region in southern Assyria (Ptolemy I 12.5; VI 1.2) called ܟܪܡܝ or ܓܪܡܝ in Syriac; so Neubauer GT p.421; Krauss GLL p.185. Finally, it is an error ever to identify Rabbinic גרמניא/גרמיא with Carmania, a region to the east of Persis along the shores of the Persian Gulf and the Erythrean Sea (Ptolemy VI 4.1); so P. Rieger "אשכנז = Deutschland" MGWJ 80 (1936) p. 455.[30] In short, there is no good reason for not taking Girmanya/Girmanya as Germany throughout the Talmud.

Germania has two principal senses in Greek and Latin texts: (1) Germany proper to the east of the Rhine, Germania barbara lying outside the Roman Empire. For its borders see Tacitus Germ. 1, "Undivided Germany is separated from the Gauls, Rhaetians and Pannonians by the Rivers Rhine and Danube; from the Sarmatians and Dacians by mutual misgivings or mountains; the rest of it is surrounded by Ocean". (2) Germany to the west of the Rhine, Germania Romana divided into the provinces of Germania inferior (or secunda) and Germania superior (or prima); see Ptolemy II 9.14,17; II 11.1; Amm. Marc. XV 11. 4-8.

Girmanya is not common in Rabbinic texts outside of those dealing with the Table of the Nations. Both Girmanya and Girmanya shel 'Edom (or shel Romi) ="Roman Germany" occur. It is natural to suppose that, at least in origin, the first expression designated Germania barbara, and the second Germania Romana, but the two terms were, at times, confused.

In b.Meg. 6b (//'s Gen.R. LXXV 9; Yalk. Ps. 967b.36) it is reported that R. Isaac interpreted Ps. 140:9, "Grant not, O Lord, the desires of the wicked; and draw not out his bit (zemamo; RV, "further not his evil device")", as a prayer of Jacob that God would frustrate the wicked devices of Esau: "Make a bit (zemam) for wicked Esau, so that he may not enjoy complete tranquility"; so Gen.R. The Esau-Jacob interpretation was then applied to Rome and Israel and the question raised, "What 'bit' did the Holy One, blessed be He, make for Esau ?" Gen.R. states the view of R. Hama b. Hanina (PA 2): "The sons of Barbaria and Germania of whom the Edomites (= Romans) are afraid." In b.Meg. 6b basically the same interpretation is offered but anonymously and in a slightly different form: "This refers to Germania of Edom,[31] for should they but go forth, they would destroy the whole world". The language here used suggests an assimilation of Germania to Magog, who was represented in Jewish eschatology as one of the wild tribes destined to burst forth from the north at the end time, and bring destruction on the civilized world. B.Meg. 6b then gives a gloss on "Germania of Edom" in the name of R. Hama b. Hanina:

> "There are three hundred crowned heads in Germania of Edom and three hundred and sixty five chieftains (in Rome), and every day one set go forth to meet the other and one of them is killed, and they have all the trouble of appointing a king again."[32]

This is a vivid and delightfully naive description of the perpetual feuding of the German tribes. Gen.R. clearly means by Girmanya, Germania barbara; b.Meg. 6b seems to use Girmanya shel 'Edom in the same sense, but this is a confusion and Gen.R.'s Girmanya is original.

The gentilic Girmani is also found, but normally in contrast to Kushi; compare the pair"Kushi . . . . Barbari" discussed above on Togarmah (p.114). In this context "German" simply means "a fair-skinned person" and "Cushite" a "negro". So m.Neg. II 1 (// Sifra Neg. I 4 (60a)) describes the different appearance of a leprosy spot in a "German" and a "Cushite"; see also Gen.R. LXXVI 3. It is not clear whether גרמני the slave of R. Yudan was "a German slave" or "a slave called Germanus" (y.Yom. 45b.16; y.Shabb. 8c.63; y.AZ. 42a.62).

Girmanya in the Targumim is to be taken as Germania barbara. Ez. 38:1-6 lies behind the identification: this text represents Gog and Magog as the eschatological threat from the north - a picture greatly elaborated in haggadah.[33] The same passage, together with a certain

similarity of sound, dictated the use in Rabbinic texts of Germania to identify two other sons of Japhet, Gomer (y.Meg. 71b. 57; b.Yom. 10a) and Togarmah (Gen.R. XXXVII 1; Tg.Ez. 37:14; 38:6).

(ii) Madai

N. simply transliterates the name, probably regarding it as self-evident; so y.Meg. 71b. 60, "Madai, according to its usual sense." Note also Josephus AJ I 124, "Mados gave birth . . . to the Madaeans, the race called by the Greeks Medes." Media in Greek and Latin writers is a mountainous area east of the Tigris, bounded by Armenia in the north-west; Assyria in the west; Susiana, Persis and Parthia in the south and east; and Hyrcania in the north (Strabo XI 13.1 p.522; Pliny NH VI 43; Ptolemy VI 2.1).

Media is, of course, frequently mentioned in the Bible. The Rabbis' knowledge of the area, however, was not drawn exclusively from that source. The comment of the PA 3 R. Abba b. Kahana on the cities of exile in 2 Kings 18:11 shows considerable knowledge of the region (b.Kidd. 72a; //b.Yeb. 17a):

> "R. Abba b. Kahana said: What is meant by, 'And the king of Assyria carried Israel away into Assyria, and put them in Halah, and in Habor, on the River of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes' (2 Kings 18:11) ? Halah is חלזון; Habor is Adiabene; the River of Gozan is גיזנק ; the cities of the Medes are חמדן and its environs."

(1) חלזון is to be emended to חלוון with Ms. Bod. Opp. XCIV 248. חלוון is Ḥulwan of the Arab geographers, a town occupying a strategic position on the road between Babylonia and the heart of Media. Yaḳut records that outside the walls of the town was an ancient synagogue much revered by the Jews (EI II 333; Le Strange Lands p.191). Syriac writers refer to the town not only as ܚܠܘܢ but also as ܒܠܣ (see Bar Hebraeus Scholion to 4 Kngs 17:6; PSm. 1277; PSSupp. 127a). Isidore of Charax Mans. Parth. 3 (GGM I 250) calls the town Chala and the district Chalonitis; cf. Strabo XVI 1.1 p.736. This form of the name is the basis of the identification.

(2) גיזנק = Gazaca of Amm. Marc. XXIII 6.39; Gazaka of Strabo XI 13.3 p.523 (codd. Gaza kai), and of Ptolemy VI 2.10 (codd. Zazaka); Gazae of Pliny NH VI 42. Byzantine historians also frequently

speak of the town (PW VII 886). In Syriac it is called ܓܙܟ (Guidi ZDMG 43 (1889) p.398,14; PSSupp. 77a; cf., ܓܙܟ in Hymn of the Soul ed. A.A. Bevan (Texts and Studies V 3 (1897)), line 6). Ginzak is the Shiz of Arab geographers. Yaḳut informs us (III 353) that Shiz is an Arabic corruption of Djazn or Gazn. Shiz is located at the ruins called "Takht-i-Sulaiman" (Solomon's Throne) to the south-east of Lake Urmia, which were investigated by Rawlinson in 1838.[34] Gen.R. XXXIII 5 records a visit of R. Akiba to the town (which is called"Ginzak of Media"), where, appropriately for the area, he preached on the subject of the Flood. For further details of Akiba at Ginzak see p. 28, and for the Diaspora in Media p. 26.

(3) חמדן = modern Hamadan, a town often mentioned by the Arab geographers (EI^2 III 105; Schwarz V 34 ff; Le Strange Lands pp. 194 ff). Syriac texts refer to it as ܗܓܡ̈ (PSm. 1019; PSSupp. 101a) or ܐܗܓܡ̈ (Guidi ZDMG 43 (1889) p.403, 9-10). In Greek and Latin the form is Ecbatana (Ptolemy VIII 21.9).[35] Hamadan was the ancient capital of Media. The implicit equation of Media and Hamadan in this text explains the variants in the Targumic tradition: Ps-J המדיי; Ngl המדאי; TC חמדאי. These are not corruptions, but mean "the inhabitants of Hamadan"; note TCgl המדן. This is yet another case of redefinition.

(iii) Tubal

Ps-J's תיניא and related forms are to be emended to ותיניא, etc. ביתיניא/ותיניא= Bithynia, a region in northern Asia Minor, bounded on the north by the Pontus, on the east by Paphlagonia, on the south by Galatia and Phrygia, and on the south-west by Mysia (Strabo XII 4.1 p.563; Pliny NH V 148; Ptolemy V 1.1).

The form ביתיניא is not found elsewhere in Rabbinic texts. In b.Yom. 10a, however, Tubal is identified as בית אונייקי, a corruption of ביתאונייקי= Βιθυνιακή (sc. χώρα). This form is found in m.AZ. II 4: "Muries and Bithynian cheese[36] of the gentiles are forbidden". Muries or muria was a piquant, briny preparation used as a condiment, a preservative or a medicine (Cato De agr. VII 4; Horace Sat. II 4.65; II 8.53; Thes. Ling. Lat. VIII col. 1672 s.v. muria). It is fairly often mentioned in the Talmud (see Krauss GLL 329a). "Bithynian cheese" was a salty cheese from Bithynia, rather highly regarded in the ancient world (Pliny NH XI 241). There are records of its export to Syria (Tenney Frank Econ. Survey IV 619, 726; IV 202). Muries and Bithynian cheese are again paired in

t.Sheb. V 9 (68,10), while Bithynian cheese on its own is referred to in t.AZ. IV 13 (476,27); y.AZ. 42a.35.

In b.BM. 46b there is a complex halakhic passage which refers to two coin issues, דינר אנקא ואניגרא, one of which was cancelled by the state (malkhuth) and the other by the local authorities (medinah). Jastrow (Lexicon s.v. אנגרא p.80b) suggests the translation, "The Bithynean and Ancyrean denars" (i.e., denarii). The interpretation, however, is highly conjectural and the reference obscure.

The basis of the identification of Tubal with Bithynia is not obvious. The association of Tubal with Yavan and Meshech in the Bible (Is. 66:19; Ez. 27:13; 32:26; 38:2; 39:1) may have been an influence.

(iv) Meshech

N's מוסיא and TCgl's מוסייה are correct; Ngl אוסיא and similar forms are to be corrected accordingly. מוסיא is obviously the Greek Μυσία ; however, this term was used for two quite distinct regions: (1) Mysia in north-west Asia Minor, bounded on the west and north by the Aegean and Propontis, on the east by Phrygia and on the south by Lydia (Strabo VII 3.2 p.295; Pliny NH V 121; Ptolemy V 2.2). (2) Moesia (Musia hē en Europē), lying northwards of Thrace and Macedonia, along the lower course of the Danube (Strabo VII 3.2 p.295; Pliny NH III 149; Josephus BJ VII 117; Ptolemy III 9.1; III 10.1). The exact limits of the region fluctuated with the provincial reorganizations of the Romans (PW XV 2352 ff).

Musya does not occur in Rabbinic texts except for those expounding the Table of the Nations, and I can see no way of determining to which of these regions it refers. The balance is slightly in favour of Moesia for the reason that if Dardania (= Dodanim) is put in the Troad, Mysia would seriously overlap with it. Identification was clearly on the basis of similarity of sound.

FT (Vat. 440) has the unique reading מוסקי. This is a puzzle. It may simply be a corruption; or else מוסקי = Μυσιακή (sc. χώρα) = Μυσία. Cf., ביתיניא, Bithynia = ביתאוניקי, Bithyniakē; and הינדיא, India = הינדיקי, Indikē; גרמניא, Germania = (?)גרמניקיה; Germanikē. For the adjective Μυσιακός see Strabo XII 564. It may, on the other hand, be a new identification introduced at a late stage by a copyist. Perhaps מוסקי is the same as מושכי in b.Kidd. 72a (// b.Yeb. 17a).

The latter name, however, has nothing whatever to do with the Moschi (as Neubauer GT p.377 supposes), a people who in the time of Strabo were settled in north-west Armenia (Strabo XI 498-99), for it is clear from the context that משכי is a town near Nehavend in Media, or, as the text could also be interpreted, near Hamadan.[37]

(v) Tiras

Ps-J תרקי = Greek Θρᾴκη ; TC תרקיא = Latin Thracia. Thrace was an area in south-west Europe bounded on the north by Moesia, on the west by Macedonia, and on the south and east by the Aegean, Propontis and Pontus (Strabo VII frag. 47 (48); LCL ed. vol. 3 p.367; Pliny NH IV 11 (40); Ptolemy III 11.1).

תרקי is rare in Rabbinic texts. R. Eliezer b. Jacob (T3) identified the Kadmonite of Gen. 15:19 with Thrace (תורקי);[38] see y.Kidd. 61d.13; y.Sheb. 36b.56; according to the parallel, however, (Gen.R. XLIV 23 (446,3)) it was the Kenizzite that he identified thus.

The identification was probably made on the basis of similarity of sound. Note Josephus AJ I 125: "Theires called his subjects Theirians, whom the Greeks converted to Thracians."

B. The Sons of Ham

Apart from the cities of Nimrod, the territories of the sons of Ham are located by the meturgemanim in the southern regions of the world.

1. CUSH, MIZRAIM, PUT AND CANAAN (TABLE 4)

None of these sons of Ham is identified in N, probably because they were regarded as self-evident. This is obviously true in the cases of Canaan and Mizraim; on the latter note Josephus AJ I 131-2: "In the case of the Mersaeans also, a record of their name has been preserved, for we in these parts (i.e., Palestine) all call Egypt Merse and the Egyptians Mersaeans." Cush, too, remained a "live" member of the Hebrew-Aramaic onomasticon till Talmudic times. Again note Josephus AJ I 131: "The Ethiopians . . . are to this day called by themselves and by all in Asia Chusaeans."

"Cush" in the Rabbis is very much like Aethiopia in Greek and Latin texts, and the two terms were frequently equated (e.g., LXX Is. 11:11). Aethiopia in its narrow sense denoted a rather indefinite area to the south of Egypt in the upper valley of the Nile ("Aethiopia under Egypt"); in its broad sense it covered all inner Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean ("Inner Aethiopia"); see Ptolemy IV Arg. 4; IV 6-8, and compare Strabo XVII 1.54 p.820; Pliny NH V 43).

"Cush" too, had a stricter and a looser sense, though at best its usage is vague. The stricter sense underlies b.Meg. 11a, where Cush is said to lie at the opposite end of the world to India. Another view recorded in the same place held that it was adjacent to India.* Its size in relation to Egypt was commented on: "Egypt is one sixtieth of Cush" (b.Pes. 94a // b.Ta'an. 10a); a similar ratio is expressed rather differently in y.Ber. 2c.61. A looser sense of Cush underlies the frequent use of "Cushite", not strictly for an Ethiopian, but simply for a negro. This is its meaning in the pair, "Kushi . . . Girmani", "negro . . . white man" (m.Neg. II 1; Gen.R. LXXVI 3); so also in b.Ber. 58b; t.Ber. VII (VI) 3. The "Africans" (אפריקאי) with whom Tg.2 Chron. 21:16 identifies the Cushites, are presumably the dark-skinned peoples of inner Africa. The term "Cushite" widened still further to denote anyone of dark complexion, whether or not of negroid stock (m.Bekh. VII 6). Αἰθιοψ in Greek (from αἴθω +ὄψ = "burnt-faced", Etym. M. 33,5 s.v. Αἰθιοψ ; cf., Isidore Etym. XIV 5. 14) evolved in a similar fashion (see e.g., Lucian Adv. ind. 28; Juvenal II 23). At its widest Kushi could even be applied to things; thus 'ethrog kushi is not an Ethiopian, but a "dark-coloured" citron (m.Sukk. III 6; b.Sukk. 36a; y.Sukk. 53d.37).

Jewish exegesis was much concerned with the Cushite woman whom Moses married, according to Num. 12:1. The Alexandrians took her as Cushite by race, and made her an Ethiopian princess (Josephus AJ II 252-3; cf., Ps-J ad loc.). This view was unacceptable to the Rabbis; they argued that she was called "Cushite" because she was beautiful. Just as a Cushite is distinguished from other men by his colour, so was Moses' wife by her beauty (Sifre Num. 99; cf., FT and O Num. 12:1).

From this survey it is clear that "Cush" never fell out of the Hebrew-Aramaic onomasticon. There is no evidence, however, that "Put" stayed similarly "alive". The frequent association of the name with Cush in the Bible and with Mizraim may have created the illusion of its being known.

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* See further p.132.

A secondary development of the Palestinian Targumim found in Ps-J and related recensions of the Table of the Nations, Ngl and TC, offers equivalents for two of the names:

(1) Cush

Ps-J and Ngl ערביא = Arabia; TC has the old Hebrew form ערב (Is. 21:13). In the Bible ᶜArab designates the steppe-lands inhabited by the Bedouin across the Jordan, to the east and south-east of Israel. From Is. 21:13, which includes under the term both Dedan (modern Al ᶜUla, south of Meda'in Salih, the ancient Hegra) and Tema (modern Tayma, north-east of Meda'in Salih), it is clear that the ᶜArab of the Biblical writers extended into the northern Hedjaz. They knew of regions further to the south (e.g., Hazamaweth of Gen. 10:26 = modern Ḥaḍramaut), but would not have regarded these as belonging to ᶜArab.

Post-Biblical Jewish usage follows hard on the heels of the Biblical. From the fact that the Nabataeans at one period controlled most of the area covered by the Biblical ᶜArab, "Nabataean" and "Arab" were frequently interchanged (e.g., 2 Macc. 5:8; 12:10; Josephus BJ I 574-77; III 68).

Arabia in Greek and Latin writers is employed in a wide variety of ways. By the time of Ptolemy, however, a generally accepted nomenclature has emerged. Arabia covered the peninsula as a whole; the northern boundary was drawn at the Euphrates and the settled lands of Syria-Palestine. This area was then subdivided into three regions: (1) Arabia Petraea in the north-west (Ptolemy V Arg. 4; V 17.1); Arabia Felix in the south, the modern Yemen (Ptolemy VI Arg. 1; VI 7.1; cf., Pliny NH V 65; Josephus BJ II 385; AJ I 239); (3) Arabia Deserta covering the rest (Ptolemy V Arg. 4; V 15. 7-8; cf., Strabo XVI 4.1 p.767 ff).

The administrative use of Arabia tended to emphasize its application to the north-west of the peninsula. Trajan annexed Nabataea as Provincia Arabia with its capital at Bostra. Under Diocletian this province was divided into Arabia with its capital at Petra, and Arabia Augusta Libanensis with its capital at Bostra. The former, however, was soon attached to Palestine as Palestina Salutaris.[39]

In keeping with Biblical and post-Biblical Jewish usage, ערביא in the Rabbinic texts covers the northern Hedjaz and the Transjordanian steppes as far north as Damascus. According to y.Sheb. 36b.53 R. Judah

identified the Kenite, Kenizzite and Kadmonite of Gen. 15:19 with Arabia Shalmaya (שלמייא) and Nabṭaya (נבטייא); the same series of identifications is attributed to Rabbi in Gen.R. XLIV 23 (446,2), while the same names, though in a different order (נפתוחא, ערבאה, שלמאה), figure in R. Meir's exposition of this verse which is given in b.BB. 56a.[40] "Nabṭaya" = Nabataea, which is strictly the area around Petra. The Nabataean kingdom at its height, however, stretched from Damascus in the north to Hegra (Meda'in Salih) in the south, and embraced areas even to the west of the ʿArabah. "Shalmaya" is the name of a Bedouin tribe with whom the Nabataeans were in alliance; they are called Salmani by Pliny NH VI 118, Salamioi by Steph. Byz. 550,12, and שלמו on the Nabataean inscriptions.[41] In this company it is natural to locate "Arabia" somewhere in the northern Hedjaz. The differentiation of "Arabia" and "Nabataea" implied here is interesting. Some other Rabbinic texts suggest a rough equation of the two terms. Thus we suggested earlier that the חכם דערביא mentioned in Lam. R. I 5.31 (28a.8) as assisting Vespasian in the seige of Jerusalem may have been the "governor" (dux) of the province of Arabia (see, p. 107); however, it is just possible that it alludes to the Nabataean king Malichus II who contributed a detachment of cavalry and bowmen to the Roman force (Josephus BJ III 68).

Further, on those occasions when Arabia is alluded to as an Aramaic speaking area, or at least as having Aramaic speaking inhabitants, it is natural to suppose that Nabataea is meant. Thus when R. Akiba states that in Arabia a ram, יובל , is called יובלא he seems to be quoting an Aramaic form (see b.RH. 26a). So too when R. Hiyya, R. Simeon b. Rabbi and R. Simeon b. Halaphtha (T5) learned the meaning of some forgotten words in the Targum at Hegra of Arabia[42] it is easiest to suppose that they heard them used in Nabataean Aramaic. Besides Hegra, the town of Beth Gerem in Arabia is mentioned in b.Erub. 19a: "Resh Lakish said: If Paradise is in Arabia, then its gate is Beth Gerem". It has not been located.[43]

In Rabbinic texts ערבי means "nomad". So the tents of the Arabians are spoken of in m.Ohol. XVIII 10. The articles of dress, the utensils, beliefs and customs of the Arabs referred to in the Talmud are all typical of the Bedouin.[44] Away to the east on the borders of Babylonia the Bedouin were equally known to the Jews as "Arabs". So b.BB. 168b mentions Arabs who came to Pumbeditha and seized land by force - a typical intrusion of the nomads into the settled lands on the edges of the deserts.

It is a moot point how far to the south the Rabbis'knowledge of Arabia extended. There is a rather curious comment on Gen. 37:25, "And they lifted up their eyes and looked, and behold, a caravan of Ishmaelites bearing spices", recorded in Gen.R. LXXXIV 17:

> "R. Abba b. Kahana said: Now surely it is not customary for the Ishmaelites to carry anything but skins and naphtha (both evil-smelling things). But see how on this occasion the Holy One, blessed be He, prepared sacks filled with spices, that the wind might waft their fragrance to him (i.e., Joseph) to counteract the odour of the Arabs."

Jastrow and Ginzberg argue from this passage (see JE II 44) that the Rabbis cannot have known of the spice trade coming through southern Arabia, but this is hardly accurate for y.Ket. 33d.51 mentions an Arabian dowry consisting of camels and spices (cf., b.Ket. 67a). I think the truth is that the Rabbis did know of lands further south than the Hedjaz, but, like the Biblical writers before them, would not have reckoned these as belonging to Arabia.

The equation of Cush with Arabia in the Targum is odd. It is possible that the author of it had in mind southern Arabia in the region of the Yemen, and that he may have been aware of the close links between this area and Ethiopia, but this would give to ערביא a sense unattested for the Hebrew-Aramaic onomasticon. I suspect that he based the identification on 2 Chron. 21:16, "The Arabians who dwell beside the Cushites". We noted earlier (p.128) that <u>Kush</u> and <u>Kushi</u> were "living" members of the Jewish onomasticon well into the Talmudic era; whoever was responsible for this identification no longer recognized them as self-evident, which suggests that he lived in late, or post-Talmudic times.

(ii) <u>Put</u>

Ps-J's אליחרק , and Ngl's אלייהרק have not been deciphered. I would suggest juggling the letters to read either הרקליא or הרקלאי. The result is a place named after Heracles. There were several such in and near Egypt, but the one most likely to be referred to here is the "City of Heracles", <u>Heracleopolis magna</u> in Middle Egypt, south of the Faiyum, lying a few kilometres east of the Baḥr Yusef; see Ptolemy IV 5.57. It was the chief city of the <u>Hērakleopolitēs nomos</u> (Ptolemy IV 5.56; Pliny NH V 50), which was also called <u>Hērakleōtikos nomos</u> (Strabo XVII 1.39 p.812), and <u>Hērakleōtēs nomos</u> (Strabo XVII 1.35 p.809). Perhaps, then,

we should read the Targumim as הרקלאי= "inhabitants of the Heracleotic nome". The name may have been piously deformed because it contained a reference to a pagan demi-god. Neither אליחרק nor הרקלאי is found elsewhere in the Talmud. There is no obvious basis for the identification.

2. THE SONS OF CUSH I: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, Sabtechah (TABLE 5)

Identifications of this group are found only in the later Targumic recensions of the Table of the Nations, Ps-J, Ngl and TC. It is significant that a number of the names ~~is~~ are hopelessly uncertain, and some of them look very late.

(i) Seba

Ps-J סינירא has not been deciphered. Krauss MGWJ 39 (1895) p. 56 suggested "inhabitants of Syene" - a town in upper Egypt, modern Aswan; see Strabo XVII 1.48 p. 817; Ptolemy IV 5.73. Much closer to the form in the Targumim would be, "inhabitants of Sinaru" - a village of the Oxyrhynchite nome mentioned in the papyri, e.g., P.Oxy. 1281 = CPJud. 414,15.[45] Neither solution is convincing. The name is not found elsewhere in the Talmud, and the basis of identification is unclear.

(ii) Havilah

Ps-J הינדיקאי = Indians. The name "India" has two separate forms in Rabbinic sources: (1) הינדיא (1 Tg.Esth. 1:1) = Greek and Latin India (Plutarch Alex. 55.9; Pliny NH VI 19 (52); Josephus AJ I 143); and (2) הינדיקי (2 Tg.Esth. 1:14) = the more common Greek ἰνδική (sc. χώρα) (Herodotus III 98; Josephus BJ II 238). There are also two corresponding forms of the nomen gentilicum: (1) הינדיקאי, as here, related to הינדיקי; and (2) הינדואי (b.Yom. 81b) or הירואה (Tg.Jer. 13:23) related to הינדיא. Both forms, however, betray the influence of the old Hebrew-Aramaic name for India, namely, הדו (Esth. 1:1; 8:9); cf., the Syriac ܗܘܕܘ (Hymn of the Soul ed. A. A. Bevan (Texts and Studies V 3 (1897)), line 7). The aspiration at least is from this source.

"India" in ancient geography was divided into two regions: (1) India intra Gangem, corresponding roughly to modern India. It was bounded on the north by the Himalayas (the Imaus and Emodus of ancient geography), on the west by the Indus, and on the east by the Ganges; it included also Ceylon (the ancient Taprobane). (2) India extra Gangem,

covering Burma, south-east Asia and the Malay Peninsula. Ptolemy is the first western writer to describe this region with any accuracy; see Ptolemy VII Arg. 1-2; cf., Strabo XV 1.13 p.690; Pliny NH VI 56.

"India" and "Indians" are referred to surprisingly often in the Talmud. The garments worn by the High Priest on the afternoon of the Day of Atonement were of Indian cloth (הינדוין), those in the morning of Pelusiac linen (m.Yom. III 7; y.Yom. 40d.20).* There are references to two Indian spices, preserved ginger (hamalta) (b.Yom. 81b; // b.Ber. 36b) and pepper (pilpal) (Koh.R. II 5.1, Hindiki, but the parallel Yalk. Koh. 967 (1081b.42) has 'Aphriki). Mention is also made of Indian veteh (b.Bekh. 37b, but cf., 2 Tg.Esth. 1:14); Indian bread (b.Ber. 37b); and Indian iron (b.AZ 16a). The "Indian sword" spoken of in Midrash Teh. VI 3, may be a sword of Indian iron, or of Indian design, or perhaps simply a fabulous, oriental sword. This last interpretation would fit the language of Tanh. 'Ethhanan 6 (ed. Buber Debarim 10,26), "An Indian sword, the like of which was nowhere to be found."

It is unlikely that the Rabbis derived their knowledge of India from direct contact. B.Kidd. 22b, indeed, mentions a certain R. Judah, an Indian proselyte who was a contemporary of Mar Zutra, while in Midrash Teh. XCII 8, we learn that R. Jehezekiah in the name of R.Jeremiah told a story of a disciple of R. Simeon ben Yohai who went to India (cf. Yalk. Pg. 843) and came back laden with wealth. (The parallel in Ex. R. LII 3, however, makes no mention of India.). But such references are slender evidence for a living connection with India. The later Jewish communities in that region can be traced back no earlier than the tenth century of the current era.[46] India was known to the Rabbis and the west in general through its exports. Significantly a high proportion of Talmudic references to it are in the Babli. Babylonia lay across one of the major trade-routes between India and the Mediterranean, and almost certainly Babylonian Jews were involved in handling Indian goods in transit.

"India" is used in Rabbinic texts as the equivalent of a number of different Biblical names. First, it is taken correctly as the identification of Hodu, the old Hebrew name for India, derived from the Persian; so Esth. 1:1, "Ahasuerus reigned from Hodu to Cush" is rendered by 1 Tg.Esth, "He ruled from Greater India (הינדיא רבא) to Cush, that is from the east of Greater India to the west of Cush." "Greater India" here means the whole of India, both inside and outside the Ganges. The

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* See p. 157.

meturgeman took the prepositions "from" and "to" inclusively rather than exclusively, and interpreted the text to mean that Ahasuerus ruled from the far east of the world to the far west. The meaning of these prepositions in this same passage was the subject of a discussion between Rab and Samuel (see b.Meg. 11a): one maintained that they imply that Hodu and Cush were at opposite ends of the world; the other that the two lands were adjacent. The geographical thinking behind the latter view is noteworthy. Neubauer GT p.386 suggests that Cush in this instance is identified with Khuzistan (to the east of Babylonia, the Biblical Elam), "which perhaps at the epoch of these two doctors (beginning of the third century), extended as far as India." This is nonsense. One might argue that "India" was used here, as in mediaeval geography, in a much enlarged sense to cover Persia,[47] which would bring it into proximity to Khuzistan, but there is a more satisfactory explanation. It was a common view in ancient geography, shared by Ptolemy and probably also the author of the book of Jubilees (see p. 42), that Ethiopia was joined to India in the east. It is this idea that lies behind the statement that Cush and Hodu are adjacent.

Secondly, India identifies Havilah in the Bible; see Ps-J Gen.2:11 and Ps-J and FT Gen. 25:18. This equation probably arose through the identification of the Pishon, the first River of Paradise, which encircles the whole land of Havilah (Gen. 2:11), with the Indus or the Ganges. Finally, Cush is sometimes equated with India; so Tg.Is. 11:11 renders it by Hodu, while the famous passage in Jer. 13:23, "Can the Cushite change his skin . . ." becomes in the Targum, "Can the Indian change his skin." "Cushite", as we saw, could mean "blackman"; to observers from the west, the dark complexion of the Indians was a matter for comment (see, e.g., Arrian Ind. I 2; VI 9); hence the equation here of "Indian" and "Cushite".

At first sight it is odd that the Palestinian Targumim of the Table of the Nations should put India among the sons of Cush, but behind this notion is one of the most prevalent mistakes of ancient geography, namely the belief that there was some sort of close connection between India and Ethiopia. At its mildest, this error took the form of a comparison between India and Ethiopia in which the similarities between the two lands was/were emphasized; see, e.g., Strabo XV 1.13 p.690; Arrian Ind. VI 7-9. But some went much further, and argued that Ethiopia was

connected to eastern India by land running across the south of the Indian Ocean (see p. 42). Philostratus Vita III 20 records the view that the Ethiopians were, in fact, an Indian tribe in origin. The similarity of the colour of the inhabitants of both countries was at the root of the confusion. In Byzantine times the misconception had reached such proportions that southern Arabia and Ethiopia were referred to as "inner" or "farthermost India" and their inhabitants as "Indians" (Socr. HE I 19; Theod. I 23; Theophil. I 35; Cosmas Ind. 88B; Sozomen. II 23).[48] From the statement that Hodu and Cush are adjacent (b.Meg. 11a), and the equation of "Cushite" and "Indian" (Tg.Jer. 13:23), it is clear that Jews shared some at least of these ideas. In this connection Rashi's comment on the reference to R. Judah the Indian in b.Kidd. 22b is worth quoting: "He was from the land of Cush, for we translate 'Cushite' as 'Indian'".

(iii) Sabtah

Ps-J's סמרא׳ is another name which has not been deciphered. One might connect it with the Sembritai (v.l. Sabritai etc.,) - a people living on the "island of Meroe" in Ethiopia, between the Blue Nile, the Nile proper and the Atbara; see Strabo XVI 4.8 p.770; XVII 1.2 p.786; Pliny NH VI 193; = Sebridai of Ptolemy IV 7.33.[49] Closer to the tradition would be "inhabitants of Samareia", a village of the Arsinoite nome of Egypt, called also Kerkesēphis.[50] The name is not found elsewhere in Rabbinic literature, and the basis of the identification is uncertain.

(iv) Sabtechah

Ps-J's סבתכא׳ denotes the inhabitants of the east African coast, and is equivalent to the name Zandj or Zindj (الزَنج or الزِنج) given by the Arabic geographers to the negro tribes in the regions to the south of the Aromatic Cape (C. Guardafui).[51] The Greeks knew this area usually as Azania. Ptolemy IV 7.28 calls the coast south of the Aromatic Cape, Barbaria and the interior Azania, but the Per. Mar. Er. (GGM I 257) distinguishes these two terms rather differently: Barbaria extends from Berenice (2) to the Aromatic Cape (12) and Azania from the emporium of Opōnē (modern Handa, to the south of C. Guardafui) southwards (15). Ptolemy has a similar northern limit for Azania. He states in I 17.9 that it begins at the promontory of Zingis which in IV 7.11 is located just south of Opōnē; it is probably modern Ras Ḥafun, just south of Handa. Echoes of the name Zang- or Zing-for this region, are, however, found in Greek and Latin texts. We have just mentioned Ptolemy's Zingis. Pliny,

summarizing Juba, locates a tribe called the Zangerae in the area (NH VI 176), while for Cosmas Ind. 88B Zingion is the name of the whole of the east coast of Africa, south of the Aromatic Cape.[52]

The name זינגאי is not found elsewhere in the Talmud, and the basis of the identification is unclear. It is almost certainly a very late arrival to the Hebrew-Aramaic onomasticon, and may date from Islamic times.

3. THE SONS OF CUSH II: Raamah and his sons (TABLE 6)

Again, identifications are found only in Ps-J and the related recensions of Ngl and TC.

(1) Raamah

This name occurs twice in the verse. On the first occasion Ps-J, Ngl and TC have לובאי ; on the second מוריטינוס .

(1) לובאי = Libyans. The uses of "Libya", Greek Libuē, Latin loan-word Libya/Libye, in ancient geography are very complex. Following Ptolemy we may distinguish three main senses: (a) Libya for the whole of the third continent which we, following the Latins, call Africa; see Ptolemy IV Arg. (b) Libya for a vast area of inner Africa, bounded on the west by the Atlantic, on the east by "Ethiopia under Egypt" and Egypt, on the south by "inner Ethiopia", and on the north by the provinces of the Mediterranean sea-board - Mauretania, Africa proper and Cyrenaica. Libya in this sense is sometimes called Libya interior; see Ptolemy IV Arg. 4; IV 6.1. (c) Libya for an area on the shores of the Mediterranean between Egypt and Africa proper. This was the original sense of the term in Greek (Homer Od. IV 85-89); so Ptolemy IV Arg. 3 refers to it as "Libya properly so called". It was sometimes designated Libya exterior; see Schol. to Ap.Rhod. IV 1396. More precise areas within this region were sometimes delimited, e.g., "Libya about Cyrene" (Acts 2:10); Libya Pentapolis (Josephus BJ VII 439); and the Libyan nome of Egypt, between Mareotis and Marmarice; see Ptolemy IV 5.4; cf., Pliny NH V 49. Theoretically, the name "Libyan" could be applied to the inhabitants of any of these regions. It tended, however, to be used of the uncivilized tribes of the interior; see Herodotus IV 181, 192; Sallust Iug. 18.[53]

"Libya" like "India" is found in two forms in Rabbinic texts: (a) the native Hebrew-Aramaic form לוב with the related gentilics

לובי , לובים, לובאי . The Lubim are associated with the Egyptians in the Bible (e.g., Dan. 11:43). (b) The loan-word ליבוי = Greek Libuē with the related gentilic ליוקאי from the Greek Libukoi.

Libya is referred to in the Talmud mainly in the discussions of the meaning of the word לוברקים (v.l. ליברקיס) in the Mishnah. This word occurs in two places. Firstly, in connection with the "law of diverse kinds" it is laid down that one may not yoke together לוברקים and camels (m.Kil. VIII 4; // t.Kil. V 4). Secondly,in answer to the question, What burdens may beasts bear on the Sabbath? it is ruled that a ליברקיס may go out wearing its bridle (m.Shabb. V 1). That the ליברקיס is some sort of ass is clear from the exposition of Gen. 49:11 given by R. Judah (Gen.R. XCVIII 9 (1259,8)). This verse speaks of binding an ass's colt to a vine. The Rabbi saw here a reference to the folk-practice of tying a ליברקיס to an unproductive vine. By the Amoraic period, however, the precise meaning of the word had been forgotten. The Gemara of the Yerushalmi (y.Kil. 31c.38; y.Shabb. 7b.8) even quotes variant forms of the word as transmitted by different Tannas. One explanation offered in the Gemara links the name with Libya (ליבוי), i.e., ליברקיס is taken as = Λιβυκός. This became the standard view, and was evidently the tradition known to the Babylonian scholars, for the Babli without any discussion takes as a "Libyan ass" (b.Shabb. 51b). Alexander the Great, according to b.Tam. 32a, used these Libyan asses to find his way through the Mountains of Darkness.[54]

The mention of Libya in the Yerushalmi (locc. cit.) is followed by a digression on the status of Libyan proselytes. The question is posed whether they are to be made wait the customary three generations, before being allowed to enjoy the privileges of full Israelites ? R. Jonah of Bozrah (PA 5) ruled that they are. He argued that Libyans and Egyptians are to be treated on the same footing on the ground that there is a type of bean which when fresh was called "Egyptian" and when dried "Libyan". For these "Libyan" or "Egyptian" beans see y.Sheb. 34a.63.

None of these references is very helpful in determining the sense of "Libya" and "Libyans" in the Talmud. The Libyan proselytes could have been from Cyrenaica or could equally have been Berbers from the interior; the latter were increasingly proselytized from the second century AD onwards. The Lehabim, who are placed among the sons of Mizraim, are equated by Ps-J with the ליוקאי = Λιβυκοί. I shall argue that the

לוּוקאי are the inhabitants of the Libyan nome of Egypt,* in which case the לובאי here are probably the Berber tribes of the interior. This, as we shall see, matches well the second identification of Raamah with the Mauretanians.

(2) מוריטינוס denotes either the personified land of Mauretania, or the supposed eponymous progenitor of the people of that region. Mauretania lay in the north-west of Africa along the Mediterranean, between Africa proper and the Atlantic; see Pliny NH V 17; Ptolemy IV 1-2. The natives were normally called Mauri, but the form Mauretani (Solinus XXV 8) is found, as well as the proper name Mauretanus (CIL III 6195). It is to this latter form that the Targumic מוריטינוס is related.[55]

There is no record in Greek and Latin texts of an eponymous hero by the name of Mauretanus, nor is the name found again in the Talmud. In fact references to Mauretania are extremely rare in Rabbinic literature. The "vile nation" of Deut. 32:11 is identified in an anonymous baraitha (b.Yeb. 63b) with "the people of Barbaria and the people of Mauretania (מרטניא) who go naked in the streets". The parallel in Sifre Deut. 320 has, "Barbaria, Tunis and Mauretania (מורטניא)". Yalk. Deut. 945 quotes the Sifre as reading, "Barbaria, Tunis and Britannia (בירטניא)".** This corruption of Mauretania to Britannia inspired Buber to an emendation of PRK 48a. There the Holy One is reported as saying to Israel: "If one of you is exiled to Barbaria and another one of you to Sarmatia (סרמטיא), I will reckon it as though all of you had been banished". So the parallels in PR XV 7; Cant.R. II 8.3 (32b.22). Yalk. Cant. 986, however, has Britannia (בריטניא) for Sarmatia. This Buber takes as a corruption of Mauretania (מרטניא) which he regards as the original text. The line of reasoning is tortuous, and, in addition, Buber has been misled by the notion that Barbarya in the Talmud can mean only the Barbary coast of north Africa. Similarly misguided is Krauss's introduction of Mauretania into Ex.R. III 4 by emending מטרונית to מורטנית = "Mauretanian (slave girl)". The text should stand and be translated: "A king promised to give his daughter a maid of gentle birth (שפחה מטרונית), but gave his daughter instead a negress slave (שפחה כושית)." From b.Yeb. 63b it is fairly obvious that "Mauretanian" to the Rabbis denoted the Berber tribesmen, the Mauri of the Greek and Latin texts. מוורליטינוס is probably a redefinition of לובאי. It is possible to equate the two terms, for Libya interior lay to the south of Mauretania and the Mauri are sometimes referred to in Greek texts as "Libyans"; see Appian Il. 4; Arrian An. III 30.9.

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* See p. 156.

** See p.113

(11) Sheba

Ps-J has זמרגד. זמרגד in the Rabbinic corpus is a loan-word from the Greek and represents σμάραγδος = an emerald (see, e.g., Tg.Prov. 25:12). Here, however, a proper name is required. The reference is probably to the region known as Mons Smaragdus (Ptolemy IV 5.8), a mountain not far from the Red Sea coast of Egypt, just north of Berenice, where emeralds were mined; cf., Strabo XVII 1.45 p.815. The forms Zmaragdos (Arch.f.Pap. 5 (1913) 422,7) and Zmaraktos (OGIS 660,2) are also found.[56] Sheba is again renedered by זמרגד in Tg.Job 1:15, "And Lilith, the queen of Zemargad, fell upon them unawares, and seized them and killed the young men." It is not obvious what was the basis of the identification, but there may have been contextual determination from Ez. 27:22, "The merchants of Sheba and Raamah . . . traded in all manner of precious stones".

(111) Dedan

Ps-J's מזיא is the equivalent of the Mazikes (Ptolemy IV 2.19), Mazaces (Suetonius Nero XXX 3) of Greek and Latin writers. The ancient geographers located the Mazaces in various precise areas of Mauretania, but, in fact, the name is a general designation for the Berbers, which survives to the present day. Ch. Pellat writes:[57]

> "The term amazigh . . . may be considered as designating the Berbers in general, though they themselves, lacking as they do all sense of community, usually employ their tribal names when referring to themselves or have otherwise more or less willingly accepted foreign designations (Kabyles, Chaouia, etc). The term amazigh has the meaning of 'free man' . . . and is still employed over a fairly extensive area."

Ibn Khaldun in his History of the Berbers makes Mazigh the grandsire of the Berbers, and traces their origins back to the land of Canaan:[58]

> "The Berbers are the children of Canaan, the son of Ham, the son of Noah, as we have already declared when dealing with the great divisions of the human race. Their grandfather was called Mazigh; their brothers were the Gergeseans (Agrikech); the Philistines, the children of Casluhim, the son of Mizraim, the son of Ham, were their parents. The king among them bears the title of Goliath (Djalout)."

There are motifs in this account which seem to reflect the haggadah of "Joshua the Brigand" which we discussed at length earlier (see pp. 92ff). The Aramaic form מזיא appears to be independent of the Greek and Latin. The name is found nowhere else in the Talmud and the basis of the identifi-

ation is uncertain. Gen. 25:3 makes Sheba and Dedan the sons of Jokshan the son of Abraham by Keturah. For the Targumic treatment of this text see p. 65.

4. THE SONS OF CUSH III: Nimrod's territories and cities (TABLES 7-8)

An almost identical set of equivalents for the cities of Nimrod is found in all the recensions of the Palestinian Targumim, so prima facie we would seem to be dealing with very early material. The cities fall into two groups of four, the first being located in the land of Shinar, the second in the land of Asshur.

a. The cities of the land of Shinar

Two identifications of the Biblical "land of Shinar" are offered by the Targumim:

(1) N and FT ארעא דבבל. Dan. 1:1-2 provides an exegetical basis for this equation. One might also reckon with the influence of Is. 11:11 and Zech. 5:11, where "Shinar" seems to be used as an archaic equivalent of "Babel". For Shinar identified as Babel see N.Gen. 14:9 and Ngl.Gen. 14:1.

In Rabbinic texts Babel as a territorial designation, denotes the area of Babylonia proper, adjacent to the old city of Babylon where the Euphrates and Tigris approach most closely together. In the Babylonian academies the exact limits of this area were discussed with almost the same precision as the borders of the Land of Israel in the Palestinian schools; see b.Kidd. 71b-72a. At the end of this passage the question is raised, whether a Jew of Samosata (סמיסוט) in northern Mesopotamia should be allowed to marry a Jewess from Babylonia (called here "the Exile", as often; see b.Sanh. 32b). Samosata is said to be "Between the Rivers" (בין הנהרות) and "Between the Rivers" is reckoned as being on the same footing as Babylonia with respect to genealogy. Then follows a discussion of the border-line between Babel and "Between the Rivers". R. Yohanan rules that "Between the Rivers" runs from Ihi Dakira (איהי דקירא) and upwards. Ihi Dakira is probably the same as the Idikara of Ptolemy V 20.6, and was in the region of the modern Hit on the Euphrates. It was then pointed out that R. Yohanan had earlier said (see b.Kidd. 71b) that Babel extended to the Bridge of Gizma, which would

imply that "Between the Rivers" begins at the Bridge of Gizma. Gizma has not been located with certainty but the context indicates that it lay on the Euphrates some distance lower down than Ihi Dakira. Abaye attempted a sophistical reconciliation of these contradictory pronouncements by supposing that a narrow strip of land ran out from the Bridge of Gizma and joined Ihi Dakira to Babel.[59] For another reference to "Between the Rivers" see 1QGenAp. XXI 24.

This Rabbinic distinction between Babel and "Between the Rivers" corresponds precisely to the common differentiation by Greek and Latin geographers of Mesopotamia and Babylonia, the former being the broad northern part of the plain between the Tigris and Euphrates, and the latter the narrow southern part; see Strabo II 1.29 p.82; II 1.26 p.80; XVI 1.13 p.742; XVI 1.18-19 p.745; Arrian An. III 7.3; VII 7.3; Ind. XLII 3.

Such a restricted use of Babel, however, would not fit the Palestinian Targumim here, for they include in that region the Mesopotamian cities of Edessa and Nisibis. Babel in the Targumim must be taken as covering the whole of the plain between the Tigris and the Euphrates, from the Persian Gulf right up to the Armenian mountains. This usage is sometimes found in ancient geographers; so Pliny NH VI 121, "Babylon, the capital of the Chaldaic nations, for a long time was the most renowned city in the whole world, and as a result the rest of Mesopotamia and Assyria is called Babylonia." Cf., Strabo XVI 1.8 p.739. This broad sense of Babel seems typical of Palestinian Rabbinic texts, particularly when it is contrasted rather loosely with the Land of Israel (see, e.g., m.Yad. IV 3; y.Shek. 47c.51).

(2) Ps-J's פונטוס = Greek Pontos, which denotes strictly an area of northern Asia Minor, bounded on the east by Armenia, on the south by Cappadocia, on the south-west by Galatia, on the west by Paphlagonia and on the north by the Pontus Euxinus; see Strabo III 163; XII 545; Pliny NH VI 15; Ptolemy V 6.3. Pontus is again mentioned in Sifra Behar I 1 (106c.10) to Lev. 25:7. This rather obscure text deals with the prohibition to export produce from the Land of Israel during a sabbatical year. It lays down the rule that all produce must be reserved for consumption at home, except for "what ʿAḳilas exports for his servants to Pontus" (פונטוס but read פונטוס, cf., Yalḳ. Lev. 659 פנחוס). In other words, it is permitted to send produce abroad if it is for the consumption of one's servants and household. The reference may be to someone

specific, perhaps even to Aquila the proselyte who did the version of the Bible that bears his name; Epiphanius De mens. et pond. XIV says that he was from Sinope in Pontus. However, this precise case is quoted simply to establish a general principle.[60]

The equation of Shinar with Pontus here does not make geographical sense. None of the cities of Nimrod according to the identifications of Ps-J is anywhere near Pontus. There are two possible solutions to this difficulty. Firstly, פונטוס may be a corruption of מסופוטמיה = Mesopotamia, which is found several times in Rabbinic texts, usually in the set phrase, "Mesopotamia and surrounding areas"; see Gen.R. XXX 10 (277,2); cf., XLIV 3 (426,3); LX 1 (640,2). It appears to have a very wide sense of the whole plain between the Tigris and the Euphrates right down to the Persian Gulf. This use of Mesopotamia is found sometimes in Greek and Latin texts, for example Pliny NH VI 117, and corresponds to the wide use of Babylonia which we discussed earlier. Rather more satisfactory is the explanation that Pontus has crept into the Targum here through assimilation to Ps-J Gen. 14:1 where, "And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel, king of Shinar" is rendered, "And it came to pass in the days of Amraphel (that is Nimrod, who ordered Abram to be thrown into the fire) the king of Pontus (פונטוס)."[61] The equation of Shinar and Babel found in the recensions of FT and N represents the original state of the tradition.

(1) Erech

N's הדרם is to be emended to הדס . הדס = Edessa (modern Urfa), in northern Mesopotamia. The Syriac is normally ܐܘܪܗܝ (PSm. 40), but ܐܘܪܗܝ also occurs, as e.g., in Bod. Cod. Hunt. 52, 1r (PSm. 976). The reason for this variation is that Edessa is not an Aramaic nor even a Semitic name, but is derived from the old Macedonian royal city of Edessa or Aigai; see Steph. Byz. 260,20. According to Eusebius-Hieron. Chron. (GCS 127,10) the city was so named by Seleucus I in 303 BC. Though Syriac writers often enough speak of ܐܘܪܗܝ, they most often call the city ܒܬ ܥܘܢܐ (PSm. 93; BB I 40), its inhabitants ܒܢܝ ܥܘܢܐ and the district ܒܝܬ ܥܘܢܐ (Cureton Spicil. Syr. p.20). This was the native designation. It lies behind the Greek name Orrhoene or Osrhoene (Steph. Byz. 161,3; Etym. Mag. 249,18) applied to the district. The Suda mentions not only a region Osrhoene but a town as well, which must be Edessa (III 570,707). Pliny NH VI 129 calls the natives "Arabes Orroei", an inscription

calls them ORRHENI (CIL VI 1797).

It is reasonable to suppose that the identification of Erech with Edessa was based on the similarity between it and the native name for Edessa, namely Orhay. So Syriac exegetes reasoned, e.g., BB I 40, "Edessa, that is Erech (or) Orhay". Indeed, it is possible that an early form of the name Orhay may have been closer to Erech, as J.B. Segal (Edessa p.3) points out. He draws attention to the fact "that in the inscription of Shahpur I the name Orhay in mid-Persian is (')WLḤY and in Parthian 'WRḤY." The name הרס is not found elsewhere in the Rabbinic corpus.

(ii) Accad

Ps-J, FT and N have נציבין = Nisibis in northern Mesopotamia, a city of great strategic and economic importance; modern Nusaybin; Arabic Nasibin; Syriac ܢܨܝܒܝܢ. The normal Greek and Latin form of the name is Nisibis; see Strabo XI 14.2 p.527; Ptolemy V 18.11; Amm. Marc. XXV 7.11.[62] The city was also called Antiochia (Pliny NH VI 42), or more precisely"Antiochia in Mygdonia" (Polybius V 51.1; Strabo XVI 1.23 p.747). Since this designation first appears on the coins of Antiochus Epiphanes (Head HN^2 p.815) the change of name is to be attributed to him.

Josephus seems to have known of the existence of another Nisibis. In AJ XVIII 312 (cf., 379) he says that the Jews of Babylonia deposited their Temple Tax for safe-keeping in Nehardea and Nisibis. This cannot be the Nisibis of northern Mesopotamia, for it is clear from the context that this Nisibis was close to Nehardea. Josephus expressly states that it was located in the same bend of the river (AJ XVIII 312). This river must be the Euphrates which was mentioned just previously. This Nisibis,then, lies near the Euphrates. The north Mesopotamian Nisibis is very far from the Euphrates; it is close to the Tigris (see Steph. Byz. 476,17; Petr. Patr. frag. 14, FHG IV 189b). Josephus calls the northern Nisibis, "Epimygdonian Antioch" (AJ XX 68); it is the area in which this Antioch lies that he refers to as Nisibis. This is curious. To both Greek and Syriac writers this area was known as Mygdonia (see PSm. 2002). Josephus' peculiar nomenclature may go back to his "Adiabenian source". The context records that in c.37 AD this region was given by the Parthian king Artabanes to Izates II of Adiabene. Just as the Assyrians had a province named Nagibina after the city,[63] so the Adiabenian administration may have called the new territories Nisibis.

There were, then, two towns by the name of Nisibis which could have been known to Palestinian Jews.[64] The נציבין of the Targumim must be the more famous northern city, for two reasons: firstly, נציבין elsewhere in Rabbinic texts is the northern Nisibis. So the Biblical Canneh of Ez. 27:23 is identified by the Targum with Nisibis in a series, "Haran . . . Nisibis . . . Adiabene", all northern places. Again the נציבין where R. Yehudah ben Bathyra had his academy (b.Sanh. 32b) was the northern Nisibis.* This is confirmed by later Jewish tradition, for when Petaḥiah of Regensberg visited this city in the twelfth century he found there a synagogue commemorating the famous Rabbi. Secondly, the Targumic identification of Accad with Nisibis forms a continuum with early Christian exegesis which made the same equation; so Jerome and Michael the Syrian, among others.** In the Christian tradition it is undoubtedly the northern Nisibis that is meant.

The meturgemanim employ the native name Nisibis as against the official name Antioch; note Plutarch Luc. XXXII 3, "A city which the barbarians call Nisibis, but the Greeks Mygdonian Antioch"; and Theodoret HE I 7.4, "Mygdonian Antioch, which the Syrians and Assyrians call Nisibis." The also have the name in its exact native form ending in n and not s as in the Greek and Latin transliterations. This suggests some sort of direct contact with the area. The basis of the identification is not clear. It is a curious fact that the name נציבין could be"translated" in Aramaic. Steph. Byz. 476,17 gives two meanings assigned to it in Phoenician writers: Philo of Byblos took it as signifying "Standing Stones"; Uranius as, "Cairn of Stones". The former sense would hold good for Jewish Aramaic. Thus the "pillar of salt" (נציב מלח) in Gen. 19:26 is translated by Ps-J as עמוד דמילח. It is hard to see, however, how this could have influenced the identification.

(iii) Calneh

N's קטיספי is to be read as קטיספון = Ctesiphon, a city on the east bank of the Tigris opposite "Seleucia on Tigris"; Greek Ktesiphon (Ptolemy VI 1.3; VIII 21.4); Latin Ctesiphon (Amm. Marc. XVII 14.1); Syriac ܩܛܣܦܘܢ (PSm. 3575). It is disputed whether the name is Greek in origin or not. Streck (PWSupp. IV 1104,3; EI III 73) regards it as Iranian; Honigmann, on the other hand, (PWSupp. IV 1109,35) takes it as pure Greek; cf., Amm. Marc. XXIII 6.23; Josephus AJ XVIII 377. The Syriac

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* See further p. 171.

** See further p. 169.

and Rabbinic forms are certainly derived from the Greek. Besides קטיספון we find also in the Talmud אקטיספון; see b.Gitt. 6a-b; b.Erub. 57b (אקיסטפון). In b.Sukk. 32a תוספאה probably means "inhabitant of Ctesiphon"; compare the late Latin Tesifon (Apoll. Siden. Carm. II 451) and Arabic Taisafum (Yakut III 537). Both these divergent Rabbinic forms arose through the desire to avoid the doubled initial consonants; in one case a syllable was added (אקט-); in the other the first consonant was simply dropped.

Ctesiphon was employed as a military camp by the Parthians to watch the Greek city of Seleucia across the river. It became a winter residence of the Parthian kings. Strabo XVI 743 says that it was a large village which grew into a city through Parthian interest. Seleucia, however, was probably the larger, and commercially more important place, until it was destroyed by the Roman legate Avidius Cassius in AD 165. Ctesiphon filled the gap left by its disappearance. Ctesiphon was captured by Ardashir I c.AD 224 and made the capital of the Sassanian Empire. It fell to the Arabs in AD 636 and thereafter declined, its final eclipse coming with the founding of Baghdad in AD 762.[65]

Jewish connections with the city were long-standing and intense. When, c. 41 BC, the Greeks and Syrians of Seleucia turned on the Jews, the remnant of the Jewish community fled across the river to Ctesiphon (Josephus AJ XVIII 374). The name of Ctesiphon must have been widely canvassed in Palestinian Jewish circles at that time, if it were not already known by then. The topography of Ctesiphon and surrounding districts is complex and detailed in Babli Talmud texts. The following should be noted here:

סליק, סליקא, סליקוס(a) = Seleucia.

The "Asshur" past which the third river of Paradise, the Hiddekel, flowed according to Gen. 2:14, is identified in b.Ket. 10b as "Seleucia". The parallel in b.Yom. 10a carelessly attaches this gloss to the personal name "Asshur" in Gen. 10:11. Seleucia was destroyed in AD 165, as we have already noted; significantly this identification is cited as a Tannaitic tradition. The name "Seleucia" did, however, continue in the district long after AD 165, for in b.Makk. 10a R. Ashi (BA d. c. AD 427) speaks of "Seleucia and the fortress of Seleucia"; note also the Syriac ܣܠܝܩ (PSm. 2642). See further p. 7.

(b) בי ארדשיר, ארדשיר.

Be Ardashir = "the house (i.e., the foundation) of Ardashir" was across the river from Ctesiphon. The Ardashir is the Sassanid Ardashir I who captured Ctesiphon c. AD 224. Be Ardashir was probably founded shortly afterwards, presumably on the ruins of Seleucia. The Persians called it Weh-Ardashir; the Arabs corrupted this to Bahurasir, and the Greeks to Gouedesēr (Theophanes ed. de Boor 323,17).[66] In b.Gitt.6a R. Ḥisda (BA d. c.AD 309) rules that the bearer of a get from Ctesiphon to Be Ardashir must declare that it was written and signed in his presence. A messenger going in the opposite direction, however, does not have to make this declaration. The reason suggested in the Gemara is that the people of Be Ardashir go to Ctesiphon to market, and consequently their signatures would have been well known there (presumably on promissory notes). This indicates that in the fourth century Ctesiphon was a more important commercial centre than Be Ardashir. From b.Erub. 57b we learn that Ardashir and Ctesiphon were considered as one town with regard to Sabbath limits, despite the fact that they were separated by the Tigris. Raba (BA 4, AD 299-352) when quizzed on this point took his questioner and showed him a wall projecting into the Tigris which brought the two towns within the prescribed distance of each other. This incident must have taken place in Maḥoza across the river from Ctesiphon, where Raba had an academy.

(c) מחוזא = Maḥoza.

A very important Jewish centre on the opposite bank of the Tigris to Ctesiphon; it is called مَحْوَزَا, "the cities" in Syriac (PSm. 2068). Its influential academy reached its height under Raba (see Igg. Sherira Gaon ed. Lewin p.88). Maḥoza at this time was also the seat of the Exilarch, having been chosen as such because of its proximity to the court at Ctesiphon.[67] In b.Yom.11a Abaye is reported as asking why "our Rabbis have not attached a mezuzah to the gates of Maḥoza. " The answer is, "Behold, it is attached to the citadel of Kobe (כובי)." For כובי here read כוכי = Syriac كَفْل (PSm. 1693); Greek Kōchē (Greg. Naz. Orat. V 10; cf., Amm. Marc. XXIV 5.3) or Chōchē (Arrian Parth. quoted in Steph. Byz. 700,12). From the Rabbinic texts it would appear that Kokhe was a suburb of Maḥoza. The exact relationship between the three adjacent localities of Be Ardashir, Kokhe and Maḥoza has not been satisfactorily worked out. Syriac and Arabic writers refer to the complex, including Ctesiphon, as "The Cities". Arabic texts reckon seven separate towns in the conurbation.

As to Ctesiphon itself, we read of a certain Rabbah b. Hiyya from this town (b.Yeb. 104a; b.BB. 93b, קטוספאה ; his name is to be read by emendation in b.Bez. 38b). It is possible, moreover, that Raba Tospha'ah (תוספאה b.Sukk. 32a; BA 7, see JE X 294) was from Ctesiphon and not Thespia in Armenia (Ptolemy V 13.19), as is often stated.

The equation of Calneh with Ctesiphon is found also in Num.R. X 3 (70d.14) and Lev.R. V 5 (16b.12), both passages commenting on the occurrence of the name in Amos 6:2. The basis of the identification is not clear.

(iv) Babel

All the Targumim simply transliterate, presumably because the identification is regarded as self-evident. Ps-J in fact says as much, by calling the city "Babel the great". The site of old Babylon probably had some sort of settlement right down till AD 116, and its precise location would certainly have been known to the nearby Jews of Babylonia. Whether this would have been the case for Palestinian Jews as well, is doubtful. The city would have appeared to be well known to them because of its frequent mention in the Bible.[68]

b. The cities of the land of Asshur

In our analysis of the haggadah of Nimrod we discovered that there were two ways of construing Gen. 10:11: either "Asshur" could be taken as the subject of the verb "went out"; or "Nimrod" could be made the subject and "Asshur" regarded as the designation of his destination. Ps-J, we noted, followed the latter line, while the other Targumim took the former (see p. 84). None of the Targumim, however, simply transliterates the name "Asshur": Ps-J has אתור, while FT, N and O have gentilics derived from this: אתוריא, אתוראה, אתורייא.[69] The change of shin to tau here, is more than a standard Hebrew-to-Aramaic sound-shift, for Athur in ancient texts is a term with precise geographical meaning.

It is the equivalent of the Syriac ܐܬܘܪ, which had two principal meanings: firstly, it denoted the city of Mosul on the Tigris opposite to the ancient Nineveh; see BB I 322,11: "Athur, Mosul which Saper king of the Persians built." "Mosul which is Athur" became a formula in Syriac texts; see e.g., the letter sent by the Nestorians to the Pope

in 1552, "Mozal hoc est Attur in vicina Nineves" (Assemani BO I 526). Badger, The Nestorians and their rituals I (1852) p. 78, attests its persistence down to the nineteenth century. Athur could even be used without qualification for Mosul; see Ms. Bod. Marsh LXXVIII 32v: Bar Hebraeus preached in Athur, Babel (=Baghdad) and Guba. Secondly, Athur denoted the area around Mosul: see Bar Ali Lexicon (PSm. 420), "Athur: Mosul, the city itself and the area round it." In ecclesiastical usage, the province of Athur embraced the episcopal sees of Arbela and Mosul.[70]

In Greek texts Atouria and Aturia are used very much in this way; see, for example, Cassius Dio LXVIII 26.3-4:

> "Adiabene is the part of Assyria around Ninos (= Niniveh, opposite Mosul). It includes also Arbela and Gaugemela, where Alexander defeated Darius. And indeed, for this reason (i.e., because it is part of Assyria) it is also called Aturia in barbarian speech, the sigmas having been corrupted into tau."

Here Adiabene is equated with Aturia.[71] In old Persian Athura denotes the same area (Brandenstein-Mayrhofer Handbuch des Altpersischen (1964) p.108). Athur in Arabic has approximately the same range of meaning as the Syriac term (Streck EI II 638 s.v. Kal^{c}at Sherkat). Athur, then, in the Targumim should be given the strict meaning of the region between the two Zabs, and the environs of Niniveh; this, as we shall see, makes excellent sense of the Targumic geographical data.

Athur is in origin a transformation in Aramaic of an earlier Aššur - a term which strictly applied to the land along the Tigris, from the Lesser Zab to Niniveh, north of the Greater Zab. These were the heartlands of the old Assyrian Empire. Some Greek and Latin writers still recognise this; see e.g., Pliny NH V 66,"Adiabene, formerly called Assyria".[72] As so often happened, however, in the case of large empires, confusion arose as to what were the central areas, and what were the provinces, and so Assyria came to be used very imprecisely: Herodotus I 178 understands by it the whole area, south of the Iranian Plateau and the Armenian Mountains right down to the desert in the south; Strabo XVI 1.1 p.736 extends it even further to cover parts of Syria to the west of the Euphrates. Even Ptolemy VI 1.2 makes its boundaries too wide, by applying it to the area between the Tigris, the Iranian Plateau, Armenia and Susiana. It was frequently confused with Babylonia; see Steph. Byz. 137,3, "Assyria: the country round Babylon"; cf., Orac. Sib. III 97 ff. The Roman province of Assyria established by Trajan (= Sassanid Asōrestān) did not include the old Assyrian heartlands, but was closer to Babylonia.[73]

There are hints of a similar confusion in Rabbinic texts; so, in answer to the question, Why is Hebrew script called "Assyrian" ?, R. Levi replied, "Because they brought it with them when they returned from Asshur" (y.Meg. 71b.63). Here Asshur would appear to mean Babel. Even in Syriac the term is sometimes wrongly used; so BB I 306,17 gives as one of the meanings of Asshur, "the Parthians". Though in origin identical, in usage Aturia and Assyria had different meanings. They are sometimes expressly contrasted, the former being made a part of the latter; see e.g., Strabo XVI 1.1 p.736.

Athur is found in Rabbinic texts only as a Targumic equivalent of Asshur; see e.g., Tg.Ez. 27:23; Tg. 1 Chron. 1:17; Ps-J Gen. 10:22. It use here in an exact sense should be noted as significant.[74]

(i) Calah

It is tempting to take Ps-J's חדיות and FT's הדיית as the town called by the Arab geographers Hadithat al-Mawsil, on the east bank of the Tigris, not far from its junction with the greater Zab; modern Tell al-Shaᶜir.[75] A number of considerations, however, rule this out. Firstly, if the town was not actually an Arab foundation, as Bar Bahlul says, it was very insignificant in pre-Islamic times. Secondly, N's reading הדיף has to be accounted for. A comparison of Rabbinic texts shows that both הדיף and הדיית are corruptions of חדייב ; so Gen.R. XXVII 1 (344,1) חדיב v.l. הדייף ; the parallel in y.Meg. 71b.59 has הדיית . Again in y.Shabb. 14b.5 bot., we find הדיית but the parallel in b.Shabb. 121b has הדייב .

The correct reading, then, is חדייב which corresponds to the Syriac بيث حدايب, and the Greek and Latin Adiabene. This term denoted strictly the land between the two Zabs. This region was unified politically under a native dynasty in the first century of the current era, and established as a vassal kingdom within the Parthian Empire. The capital was Arbela (modern Irbil). The kingdom expanded considerably towards the north-west, and so too did the area covered by the term Adiabene. By c.AD 36 Adiabene controlled Gordyene (cf., Josephus AJ XX 24, reading Καρδοῦ = Hebrew Kardu, for Καρρῶν; see AJ I 93). About the same time the Parthian king Artabanes gave to Izates II of Adiabene, Nisibis and the surrounding districts, in return for help to regain the Parthian throne (Josephus AJ XX 68). These territories were held down till c.AD 115, for the implication of Cassius Dio LXVIII 22.2 is that atleast as far as Singara (modern Sinjar) was in Adiabenian hands at this time. Adiabene in Greek and Latin texts matches the fortunes of the Adiabenian state.

Sometimes it is restricted to the regions to the east of the Tigris (Pliny NH VI 28; Tacitus Ann. XII 13.1; the Suda ed. Adler I 49,470); at others it is given an extension far to the west (Pliny NH VI 41-42). In most writers the term definitely embraces some territory to the north of the greater Zab, including Nineveh and Gaugemela; see Tacitus Ann. XII 13. 1-2; Amm. Marc. XVIII 7.1; XXIII 6.20-22; Pliny NH VI 41-42.

In Syriac writers ܐܕܝܒ is used in a rather more restricted sense for the land between the two Zabs or the area round Arbela. Chabot writes:

> "Adiabène; les Syriens entendent par ce nom le district compris entre le Grand et le Petit Zab. Il s'emploie tantôt pour la province ecclésiastique qui avait comme métropole Arbèle, tantôt plus strictement pour le diocèse dépendant de cette ville" (Syn. Or. p.673a).

In BB and Bar Ali Lexicon ܐܕܝܒ is explained as "the district of Ḥazzah" (PSm. 1202). Ḥazzah was a town about 12 kms south-west of Arbela; the "district" is probably the upland area in the centre of which the town lies.[76] ܐܕܝܒ fell into disuse in later Syriac and ecclesiastically was increasingly replaced by Athur. It is not found in the Arab geographers.

References to Adiabene are quite frequent in Rabbinic texts. It is popular in identifications of northern places mentioned in the Bible. We find it equated (a) with Ashkenaz ; so Tg.Jer. 51:27 gives for the three nations, Ararat, Minni and Ashkenaz: Ḳardu (= Gordyene)[77] Harmini (= Armenia)[78] and Hadyeb (= Adiabene) - a series which makes very good geographical sense. (b) Eden: In Ez. 27:23, Haran, Canneh, Eden, Sheba, Asshur, and Chilmad are listed as countries which traded with Tyre; the Targum has: Haran, Nisibis, Hadyeb, Sheba, Athur and Media. (c) Habor: This place is listed in 2 Kings 18:11 as one of the areas to which the Assyrian king Shalmaneser exiled the Jews. R. Abba bar Kahana identified it as Hadyeb; it is mentioned alongside Hulwan, Ginzak and Hamadan (b.Kidd. 72a; // b.Yeb. 16b); see further p. 124. (d) Riphat of Gen. 10:3, one of the Japhethite nations, is identified in Gen.R. XXXVII 1 (reading הדייב for הדייף) and y.Meg. 71b.18 from bottom (reading הדייב for הדייפ) with Hadyeb; the Targumim, as we saw (p.111), had "Parthia" for this word. It is noteworthy how in each of these cases Adiabene appears to be used with considerable accuracy.

In b.Kidd. 72a there is a vivid description of Adiabene's position as a buffer between the two power blocs of the ancient world. Commenting on the second world-empire of Daniel, the bear with the three

ribs between its teeth, R. Yoḥanan (PA 2) says that the ribs represent Ḥulwan, Hadyeb and Nisibis, which the bear sometimes swallows up, and at other times spits out. The bear, as is traditional in Jewish interpretation, is Persia (see Lev.R. XIII 5, and further G.D. Cohen The Book of Tradition (1967) pp. 235 ff) which is pictured as sometimes conquering these areas, and at other times being forced to give them up.

Among venomous creatures which one is permitted to kill on the Sabbath, y.Shabb. 14b.5 (from bottom) (// b.Shabb. 121b) lists "the scorpion of Hadyeb".* In b.BB. 26b we hear of a certain Jacob of Adiabene who put a question to Rab Ḥisda (BA 3). There is also the mysterious figure of Zuga (b.MK. 28a; b.Nidd. 21b) who transmitted two anonymous baraitot; he seems to have been a contemporary of Rab Ḥuna, the head of the Sura Academy (BA 2, d. c.AD 297). Finally, on the basis of y.Sot. 19d.1 it has been argued that there was a Jewish academy at Arbela in the third century of the current era. I shall attempt to demonstrate in the next chapter that this interpretation is mistaken. The general impression from this survey of Rabbinic references is that, though the position of Adiabene was well known even in Palestine, Rabbinic connections with the area were very tenuous.

In the Targumim Hadyeb is embraced by Athur. This is geographically feasible if we give to it the narrow sense which it has in Syriac of the area around Arbela. It is possible that it is used with Arbela principally in mind, just as "Asia" effectively meant "Ephesus" to the Rabbis, and "Italy" often meant "Rome". The equation of Calah and Arbela is found in certain Syriac texts.** The basis of the identification is not clear. It is significant that the Targumic form of the name is independent of the Greek and Latin, and corresponds exactly to the Syriac. The name of the old Assyrian city of Kalḫu = Biblical Calah survived in the name Kalachinē (Strabo XI 4.8 p.503; XI 14.12 p.530; XVI 1.1 p.736) or Kalakinē (Ptolemy VI 1.2) which designated a district of Adiabene till at least the end of the second century AD. The author of the identification may have been aware of this fact.

(ii) Nineveh

No identification is offered, probably because the name was regarded as self-evident. The city of Nineveh, opposite the present-day

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* See further p. 174.

** See further p. 169.

Mosul, was destroyed by Medo-Babylonian attack in 612 BC. Xenophon passed the ruins of it c. 400 BC but was unaware what they were; he calls the name of the city Mespila (An. III 4.10-12). Herodotus and Arrian both speak of Ninos (= Nineveh) as something of the past; see Herodotus I 193 and Arrian Ind. XLII 3. Strabo XVI 1.3 p.737 says that it has disappeared; Lucian Charon XXIII that it has perished without trace.

Archaeology has shown, however, that the site of ancient Nineveh was occupied from Hellenistic times onward, though the scale of the settlement was always small. Certain Greek and Latin texts speak of the city as still in existence: Tacitus Ann. XII 13 states that in AD 50 Meherdates captured "Ninos, the most ancient settlement in Assyria"; Cassius Dio implies that it was still standing in AD 117 during Trajan's Parthian campaign (LXVIII 26.4); Ptolemy VI 1.3 lists it among the cites of Assyria, and gives an observation of the sun recorded there (VIII 21.3).[79] Syriac and Arabic writers confirm this: thus we read of bishops of Nineveh (Assemani BO II p.403; Chabot Syn. Or. p.678a); Bar Hebraeus mentions a fifth century converted Jew of Nineveh (Assemani BO III 2 p.lxv; cf., III 1 p. 393).[80] This continuity of settlement and of name was sufficient to preserve the memory of the correct location of the ancient Assyrian city. With the rise of Christianity, many legends concerning the prophet Jonah were attached to the spot, which became something of a centre of pilgrimage. These factors secured the transmission of Nineveh's location to modern times. Benjamin of Tudela recognised the site in the twelfth century as that of the Biblical Nineveh; see ed. Asher p.52.[81]

It is not clear whether the Rabbis really knew where Nineveh was, or whether they derived their knowledge of it solely from the Bible. There are two references which might suggest direct acquaintance with the town. The first is in y.Ta^{c}an. 63d.35 (// y.Ber. 9b.38; b.Ta^{c}an. 14b) which records a question put to Rabbi by the Jews of נינוה about fasting and praying for rain. Klein, however, is correct in identifying נינוה here with נוה = Nawa in Transjordan; cf., Eusebius On. 136,1: "Ninive: a city of the Assyrians which Assour built after he went out from Senaar. There is also today a Jewish city called Ninive in the "Corner" of Arabia."[82] The second text is in y.Shabb. 14b.5 (from bottom) (// b.Shabb. 121b) which lists five harmful animals which may be killed on the Sabbath, among them being the "hornet of Nineveh" and the "scorpion of Hadyeb". The Yerushalmi gives this as an anonymous baraitha, but the Babli attributes

it to Rab Joseph (BA 3 d.AD 333). I think that the Yerushalmi is correct here, and that this text does contain an old Tannaitic tradition which embodies some decisions made with regard to the first century AD Jewish community of Adiabene. Though there is little evidence of any direct Rabbinic contact with this region in later Tannaitic and Amoraic times, Nineveh does appear to be correctly located by the Targumim here, since it is linked with the areas of Athur and Adiabene.

(iii) Resen

The name תילאסר, תלסר, תלאסר is found in several other places in the Targumim: (1) the Ellasar (אלסר) of which Arioch was king, according to Gen. 14:1 is given as תלסר in Ps-J; N Gen. 14:9 and Ngl Gen. 14:1 indentifies as Pontus, while Jubilees XIII 22 has Sêllâsar. (2) For תלשר in Is. 37:12 = תלאשר 2 Kings 19:12, the Targum has תלסר in both places. In the latter references Telassar is said to be a city of the "Sons of Eden", whom the Assyrian Sennacherib boasts to have conquered. In Ez. 27:23 the "House of Eden" is again associated with Assyria. These other occurrences of this name are surprising, for it is difficult to fathom to what city it can possibly refer. The Targumim of the cities of Nimrod provide a number of clues as to its location. Firstly, it must be in the region of Athur. This is supported by the fact that the land of Eden of which the Biblical Telassar was capital is identified in one Targumic tradition with Adiabene; see Tg.Ez. 27:23. Secondly, תלאסר is said to be situated between "Nineveh" and "Calah", i.e., according to the Targumim, between Nineveh and the district of Arbela. Finally, it should be noted that the name תלאסר probably means the "Tell of Assar". The word "tell" points in the direction of a large ruined city.

These clues allow us to dispose of one possibility. It has been claimed that Mar^{c}ash (= the ancient Germanicia in Commagene) was at one time called Telesaura.[83] A reference to Mar^{c}ash by the Targumim here is impossible for it is nowhere near Athur. Besides this assertion rests on very poor evidence. In a Byzantine list of "Cities which in later times changed their names" there is an entry: "Germanicia of Syria, the present day Telesaura."[84] This list is very late, probably 12th or 13th century. Moreover the reading Telesaura is not certain; there are variants, namely, Telesaba and Taleitaba. Honigmann has shown that all these forms are probably corruptions of an original *Telarabana.[85]

There are really only two candidates for the Targumic תלאסר:

(a) The first is the old Assyrian capital city of Aššur, which was destroyed by the Medo-Babylonian invasion of 612 BC. Archaeology has shown that at least from 140 BC an extensive Parthian city occupied the site.[86] When this new settlement began, the name of the Parthian town, its history and its end, are all questions to which, at the present, there is no answer. The town called Kainai which Xenophon passed c. 400 BC was probably on the site (An. II 4.28). The name Kainai may translate the Assyrian Âli ešše = "New Town", a name given in Assyrian documents to the new part of the city of Aššur (RLA I 173b sect. 5). It is possible, too, that the town of Libana close to Hatra mentioned in Arrian's Parthica (quoted in Steph. Byz. 414, 10) is the same place.[87] Libana may be a corruption of *Libala or *Libali = Assyrian Libbi âli = the inner city, i.e., the old part of Aššur as opposed to the new part called Âli ešše (see RLA I 173b sect. 5).

(b) Aššur, however, is unsuitable for תלאסר in that it does not lie "between Niniveh and Adiabene". Moreover, as we have already noted (p. 145), the city of Aššur which is mentioned in the Bible in Gen. 2:14, is incorrectly identified in Tannaitic tradition with Seleucia-on-Tigris; see b.Ket. 10b; b.Yom. 10a. I would suggest that the Targumic תלאסר is the present day Tell Nimrud, to the south of Mosul, near the junction of the greater Zab and the Tigris. Xenophon gives a vivid description of these impressive ruins (which are actually of the Assyrian city of Kalḫu = Biblical Calaḥ) as they appeared when he passed them in c. 400 BC. He says the city's name was Larisa (An. III 4. 6-9). Current local tradition, as the modern name suggests, connects the ruins with Nimrod. Rich relates: "It is curious that the villagers of Deraweish (which stood on the site) still consider Nimrod as their founder. The village story-tellers have a book they call the 'Kisseh Nimrod', or Tales of Nimrod, with which they entertain the peasants on a winter night" (Narrative II p. 131; cf., Streck EI III 923-925). The name Tell Nimrud for the ruins occurs first in Niebuhr Reisebeschr. nach Arabien und anderen umliegend. Ländern II (1778) pp. 355, 368. Much earlier they were known as Athur. Yaḳut (I 119,16),after recording the usual view that Athur is Mosul, mentions another opinion that Athur lay east of Mosul near al-Salamiya. Under al-Salamiya (III 113, 16) he says that nearby was a ruined town called Athur; this can only refer to the ruins at Tell Nimrud. Rich informs us that in his time there was a tradition among educated Turks

in Mosul that the ruins of Tell Nimrud were of the ancient city of Athur; see Narrative of a residence in Koordistan II (1836) p. 131. Layard informs us that a hill in the corner of the ruins was known in his day as Tell Athur; see Niniveh and Babylon (1853) p. 165. The Targumic Tel Assar is probably a still earlier name of the site. Such a location would certainly satisfy all the clues which we deduced from the Targumim as to its position.

(iv) Rehoboth-ʿir

The Targumim do not identify this but simply translate it as "the broad streets of the city".

5. THE SONS OF MIZRAIM (TABLE 9)

Identifications of the sons of Mizraim are found in FT, Ngl and Ps-J (along with its related recension TC). N transliterates throughout, except in the case of Caphtorim which, along with the other Targumim, it equates with "Cappadocians". With this possible exception, the identifications are secondary and a number of the names used are demonstrably late, i.e., they belong to the Byzantine onomasticon. Though the equivalents are roughly the same in the various recensions of the Targumim, they are attached to different Biblical names. Ps-J's text makes the best sense and will be used as the basis of our study. As we noted earlier (p. 127), the identification of Mizraim was self-evident; his sons are here given either as Egyptian regions, or nomes, or else stations on the road from Palestine to Egypt. All, with the exception of Cappadocia, are situated along the coast.

(i) Ludim

Ps-J's לוטאי at once recalls the nome Neout mentioned in Ptolemy IV 5.52. This name, however, is not certain. From the variants Nesog, Neoutis etc., C. Müller conjectured that the original form was Nesut (Ptolemaei Geog. I 2 (1901) p. 711), and this surmise has been confirmed (a) by the papyri (Arch. f. Pap. 4 (1908) pp. 122 ff; Preisigke Wb III 314b); and (b) by the coins of the nome (Langlois Numismatique des Nomes d'Egypte Taf. III 3). Neout is usually taken as a simple transcriptional corruption of Nesut, but in view of the Rabbinic name, it is possible that it represents a variant pronunciation. If not, then we must emend the Targumim to לוסאי. Nesut lay between the Busiritic and Bubastic arms

of the Nile (so Ptolemy), along the coast (so the papyri), i.e., to the east of Damietta in the region of the present day el-Manzala. This is the only occurrence of the name in Rabbinic texts.[88]

(ii) Anamim

Ps-J's מרויטאי = inhabitants of Mareotis, or Mareotes, a nome to the south of Alexandria; see Ptolemy IV 5.8. In it was situated Lake Mareotis (modern Baḥra Maryût) which played an important part in the commercial life of the city, since it was joined by canal to the Nile, and used to convey goods from inner Egypt to Alexandria; see Strabo XVII 1.14 p.799; Pliny NH V 11 (62); Ptolemy IV 5.20. Both lake and town derived their name from the chief town Marea; see Herodotus II 18.30; Thucydides I 104. The area was famous for its wine; Strabo XVII 1.14 p.799; Horace Od. I 37,14. The name is not found elsewhere in Rabbinic texts.[89]

(iii) Lehabim

Ps-J's ליוקאי = Greek Libukoi, Libyans, in this case specifically the inhabitants of the Libyan nome of Egypt, situated between Mareotis and Marmarikē (Ptolemy IV 5.4). That this must be the meaning is reached by a process of elimination. Earlier we argued that the לובאי with whom Ps-J identified Raamah the son of Cush were the Berbers (see p. 136 ff) We shall find presently that the Casluhim are equated with the "inhabitants of Pentapolis" i.e., Cyrenaica. This leaves only the area of the Libyan nome for the Libyans here, which is certainly fitting for a son of Mizraim. ליוקאי occurs nowhere else in the Talmud. There is an obvious basis of identification in this case, namely, the similarity between Lehabim and Lub or Libye.[90]

(iv) Naphtuhim

(a) Ps-J's פנטסכינאי = inhabitants of Pentaschoinon, a station between Casius and Pelusium, on the road from Palestine to Egypt. The earliest reference to this place is in the fourth century AD itinerary of the Egyptian official Theophanes (P.Ryl. 627, 231-32; 628, 6-7; 630/8, 483). It is found also about the same time in It. Ant. 152. The main references are in Byzantine texts: Hierocles 727,3; Georgius Cypr. 693; Steph. Byz. 599,2 and 709,11. It is also marked on the Mad. Map. (ed. Avi-Yonah 75, 125 and pl. 9).[91]

(b) Ngl סכינא at first sight looks like a truncated form of פנטסכינא. It could, however, be interpreted as "inhabitants of Scenae." There were three places of this name in Egypt: (1) Scenae extra Gerasa (Not. dign. or. XXVIII 29) between Pelusium and the western end of the Lacus Sirbonis (modern Sabkhet el-Bardawil); probably the same as the Skenna of Hierocles 727,6. (2) Scenae Mandrae. It. Ant. 169 locates this place 12mp (? 22mp) from Babylon; cf., Not. dign. or. XXVIII 26 and Preisigke Wb. III 328a; WbSupp. I 417a. (3) Scenae Veteranorum near Bubastis; It. Ant. 163,169; Not. dign. or. XXVIII 17,30. Of these, the first is probably intended. It must have been very close to Pentaschoinon.[92]

(c) FT's לוסטא has not been satisfactorily explained. It is not found anywhere in Ps-J's list and I suspect corruption, perhaps of כסיוטא; see next word.

None of these names is found again in the Talmud. It is curious, in connection with their equation with the Biblical Naphtuhim, to note that this name appears to have meant Nabataean at one stage; so b.BB. 56a; R. Meir identifies the Kenite of Gen. 15:19 with נפתוחא; the parallel in y.Sheb. 36b.53 has נבטיא.

(v) Pathrusim

(a) Ps-J's נסיוטאי at once recalls the nome Nesyt, but, as we have seen, that name is needed to explain כיוטאי = Ludim (see p. 155). Hence emend to כסיוטאי = inhabitants of Casiotis, a region running along the coast from the western end of Lacus Sirbonis (modern Sabkhet el-Bardawil) to Rhinocolura (modern el-Arish); see Ptolemy IV 5.12. The region took its name from Mons Casius - a sandy hill between Lacus Sirbonis and the sea; see Herodotus II 158; Strabo XVI 2.33 p.760; Pliny NH V 65; P.Oxy. 1380,74; Hierocles 727,2.[93]

(b) FT's פילוסאי = inhabitants of Pelusium - an important Egyptian border town, situated on the easternmost arm of the Nile Delta, near the coast; modern Tell el-Farama, south-east of Port Said; see Strabo XVII 1.21 p.803; Josephus BJ I 175; Pliny NH V 49; Ptolemy IV 5.11; Hierocles 727,7; Steph. Byz. 521,15.

Pelusium is mentioned several times in Rabbinic texts as פילוסא and פילוסין; for the latter form compare Τὸ Πηλουσιν in Mad. Map (ed. Avi-Yonah 76,132 and pl. 10). The city of Raamses is identified

with Pelusium in Ps-J Gen. 47:11; Ex. 12:37; Num. 33:3,5; cf., Ex. 19:4. The store-cities of Raamses and Pithom (Ex. 1:11) built for Pharaoh by the Israelites are equated with Pelusium (פלוסין) and Tanis (טאנים) - a city to the west of Pelusium. The High Priest on the Day of Atonement wore in the morning פלוסין (m.Yom. III 7; y.Yom. 40d.20). The reference is to Pelusiac linen, one of the four types of linen produced in Egypt, according to Pliny NH XIX 4. In b.AZ 39a we read:

> "R. Abbahu announced in Caesarea that fish-entrails and fish-roe may be purchased from anyone since the presumption is that they come only from Pilusa (Pelusium) and 'Ispamya."

The problem with which Abbahu is here concerned is how to tell whether fish-entrails or fish-roe are kasher when the whole fish is not there to inspect. His ruling makes sense only if two points are allowed: Firstly, it must be assumed that all, or nearly all the fish-entrails and fish-roe sold in Caesarea came from Pilusa and 'Ispamya; secondly, the type, or types of fish caught at both these places were known to be kasher. 'Ispamya is Apamea in Syria. There was a fishing industry in this town based on the lake. Pelusium was also a centre for fish, which were abundant in the Delta. The proximity of large deposits of salt resulted in a fish-salting industry (Herodotus II 15). Aelian XII 29 expressly links Apamea in Syria and the area of Pelusium in Egypt as producing the finest specimens of the silurus or Nile perch; see D.W. Thompson A glossary of Greek Fishes (1947) p. 235.[94]

(vi) Casluhim

Ps-J's פנטפוליטאי = inhabitants of Pentapolis, i.e., Cyrenaica; Pliny NH V 31; Josephus BJ VIII 439; Anon. Geog. Comp. V 15 (GGM II 497). This name, which is first attested in the first century of the current era, denoted strictly the territories of the five cities of Cyrene, Berenice, Arsinoe, Ptolemais and Apollonia. However, it survived well into Byzantine times, even after the establishment of a sixth city, Hadriane. It was officially used when Diocletian renamed Cyrenaica, "Libya Pentapolis." This is the sole occurrence of the word in Rabbinic literature.[95]

(vii) Caphtorim

All the Targumim have for this קפוטקאי / קפורקאי =

Cappadocians, a common equation which is found as early as LXX Deut. 2:23; it is probably based on similarity of sound. We find it again in O and Ps-J Deut. 2:23, and in Tg.Amos 9:7 and Tg.Jer. 47:4. Cappadocia is given as the identification of the Gammadim in Ez. 27:11 by the Targum, while in 1QGenAp XXI 23 it stands against the Biblical Ellasar of Gen. 14:1. There is a curious story, often told in the Talmud, about R. Yose b. Halaphta's etymology of the name Καππαδοκία as κάππα = 20 and δοκοί = beams or floor-boards; see y.MS. 56b.48; //'s Lam.R. I 1.17; Gen.R. LXVIII 12; b.Ber. 56b, where it is found in rather garbled form.

Cappadocia was an area of Asia Minor, bounded on the north by Pontus, on the east by Armenia, on the south by Commagene and Cilicia, and on the west by Galatia and Lycaonia. Its political frontiers varied greatly through the centuries; see Strabo XII 1.1 p.533; Pliny NH VI 8; Ptolemy V 4.1. Cappadocia is frequently mentioned in Rabbinic texts and Jewish connections with the region were strong. The name has two principal forms: (1) קפודקיא with the gentilic קפודקאי ; and (2) קפוטקיא, gentilic קפוטקאי . With the latter form compare the כפתון of 1QGenAp. XXI 23.

The capital Caesarea Mazaca is referred to several times. Rabbi recounted a story of the execution of a brigand there (y.Yeb. 4b.3; // b.Yeb. 25b). R. Akiba (t.Yeb. XIV 5; // Eccl. R. XI 1.1; y.Yeb. 15d.14; cf., b.Yeb. 121a) and R. Nathan (t.Shabb. XV 8;// Cant.R. VII 2.3) visited the city. Jews suffered heavily when Shapur I stormed Caesarea in 260 AD (see b.MK. 26a). It is possible that the Cappadocians at Sepphoris mentioned in y.Sheb. 39a.15 were refugees from this war; on the other hand they may have been students at the academy. We meet several Rabbis from Cappadocia: R. Yudan (y.Pea 16c.12), R. Yannai (y.BB. 16a.20) and R. Samuel (Koh.R. VII 23.3; y.Ber. 5b.26). In m.Ket. XIII 11 mention is made of the coinage of Cappadocia. In t.Shabb. II 3 (// y.Shabb. 4d.44; b.Shabb. 26a) R. Tarfon is reported as ruling: "One may light the Sabbath lamp only with olive oil", to which R. Yohanan b. Nuri objects, "What shall the people of Cappadocia do who have nothing but Naphtha ?" Nearly all the references to Cappadocia in Rabbinic literature are in Palestinian texts. Where the name is found in the Babli it is normally embedded in material of Palestinian origin. This fact suggests that Neubauer can hardly be correct in supposing that the Jews of Cappadocia "entretenaient . . . des relations nombreuses avec leurs frères de la Babylonie" (GT p. 317).

The equation of Caphtor with Cappadocia here breaks the

pattern of identifications, for all the other places mentioned are located in northern Egypt or adjacent areas. This is rather significant, for there was an identification of Caphtor current in the Middle Ages which would fit the pattern very well, namely the equation of Caphtor with Damietta in the Nile Delta; see Benjamin of Tudela's Itinerary ed. Asher pp. 101, 107.[96] This fact may be explained in two ways: either (a) the person who was responsible for introducing this set of identifications of the sons of Mizraim into the Palestinian Targumim did not know of the identification of Caphtor and Damietta; or else (b) he did know of it, but found Caphtor already identified as Cappadocia in the Targum and shrank from replacing it. The latter appears to me to be the more satisfactory solution.

6. CANAAN: HIS SONS AND BORDERS (TABLES 10-11)

Some identifications of the sons of Canaan and of the border-points of his territory are found in the Palestinian Targumim, and they probably embody early traditions. Since, however, these verses are more closely related to the question of the boundaries of the Land of Israel, we shall postpone discussion of this material to IV 2.

C. The Sons of Shem

Very few of the sons of Shem are identified by the Palestinian Targumim (see Tables 12-15). The main reason for this is that a high proportion of the names is not mentioned elsewhere in the Bible and so there was virtually nothing whereon to base an identification. A number of them belonged to obscure tribal groups in Syria and Arabia which passed from the scene quickly, leaving no evidence of their presence. Some identifications were offered at a very late stage of the tradition. The following names may be noted briefly:

(i) Elam

This may have been self-evident. Knowledge of this area, however, in Palestine was derived from the Bible; see p. 27.

(ii) Asshur

Ps-J אתור; TC אתוראי; see pp. 147 ff and below on Eber.

(iii) Aram

Probably self-evident. Aram-Naharaim (Gen. 24:10; Deut. 23:5) is rendered by Ps-J and O as "Aram that is beside the Euphrates". TC's ארמנייאי = "inhabitants of Armenia" is a late and false identification based on similarity of sound. Armenia is elsewhere equated with (a) the Biblical Uz; so Tg.Lam. 4:21 (ארמיניאה); see p. 111. This is close to Josephus AJ I 145, where Hul is taken as Armenia. Uz and Hul stand together in the Table of the Nations (Gen. 10:23). (b) Biblical Minni; so Tg.Jer. 51:27, הרמיני. The odd form of the name here is probably due to an etymology of Armenia as Har Minni, i.e., "Mountain of the Minni". (c) Biblical Harmona; so Tg.Amos 4:3 (הורמיני). There is little of substance about Armenia in Rabbinic texts. The occurrences suggest that it was connected with two ideas in the minds of the Rabbis: Firstly, mountains. This may have been the outcome of their localising Ararat there; see Ps-J Gen. 8:4 where "the mountains of Ararat" are paraphrased as, "the mountains of Ḳardun (reading קרדון for קדרון); the name of one mountain was Kardanya and the name of the other was 'Arminya". Kardun and Kardanya are the Gordyene (Ptolemy V 13.20), Kordyene (Cassius Dio XXXVII 5.3), Gorduaia (Strabo XVI 1.8 p.739) of the Greeks; this region lay between Armenia and Adiabene. For Armenia and mountains see also Tg.Amos 4:3. Secondly, Armenia is connected in the Rabbis' minds with exile; see Lam.R. I 14.42 and Tg.Mic. 7:12. In the latter reference the expression חורמיני רבתא is found; it corresponds to Armenia Maior of the Greek and Latin geographers; see Ptolemy V Arg. 3.

(iv) Eber

Ngl has עבר נהרא, an identification found again in FT and N to Num. 24:24; there O and Ngl have עבר פרת. "Beyond the River" has two quite distinct senses in the Bible: (a) viewed from the standpoint of the Land of Israel, it denotes the lands to the east of the Euphrates, i.e., Mesopotamia; see Josh. 24:14-15; 2 Sam. 10:16; cf., Josephus BJ I prooem. 2; II xvi 4; 1QM II 11. This is its older usage. (b) Viewed from a point to the east of the Euphrates, it denotes the lands to the west of the Euphrates, i.e., Syria-Palestine. This usage is Persian in origin, and derived from the Persian designation of Syria-Palestine as the satrapy "Beyond the River"; see Ezra 4:16; 8:36; Neh. 2:7.
The Targumic עבר נהרא could have either sense: thus in Num. 24:24, "ships shall come from the coast of Kittim, and they shall afflict Asshur, and they shall afflict Eber", it would be possible to take FT and N's עבר נהרא for Eber as equivalent to Syria; Asshur could then be roughly =

to Mesopotamia (see pp. 148-9). On the other hand, if עבר נהרא = Mesopotamia, then Asshur could denote Syria; for Assyrian = Syrian, see Eusebius On. 142,7, and Strabo's use of Assyria to cover areas to the west of the Euphrates (XVI 1.1 p.736). עבר נהרא, however, is more likely to denote the land to the east of the Euphrates. This would be the natural sense of O and Ngl's equivalent "Beyond the Euphrates". Besides the phrase, "the Kittim of Asshur" in the Dead Sea Scrolls is a designation of the Roman (or possibly Seleucid) forces in Syria. This points to an interpretation of Eber in Num. 24:24 as Mesopotamia; see further pp. 118 ff.

(v) Arpachshad

Some of the sons of Arpachshad are "etymologized" in Ps-J and TC in a final attempt to come to terms with them; see further pp. 64-65.

III.4 The Targumim and early exegesis of the Table of the Nations

We have examined the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10 with regard to their literary structure, their haggadic content and their geographical equivalents, and from this threefold test two sets of geographical names have emerged as belonging to the earliest strata of material, namely, (1) the identifications of the sons of Japhet, and (2) the identifications of the cities of Nimrod. Other names may also belong to the earliest stages of the tradition, but that these do, there can be no doubt. We shall now consider what we can deduce from these names as to the date of the strata in which they inhere.

A. The Sons of Japhet (Table 16)

The equivalents of the sons of Japhet create the impression of being early. Elsewhere in the Targumic Table of the Nations we encountered names which belong to the Byzantine or even Islamic onomastica, e.g., Pentaschoinon and Zingae = Arabic Zindji . None of the equivalents of the sons of Japhet was of necessity so late in origin. To fix a date: none of them would compel us to put the stratum in which they are found after AD 100, though all the names were in currency long after this date.

This general conclusion may be reinforced by a number of more specific arguments. Thus (i) we found that 'Aphriki in the Palestinian Targumim meant Phrygia and not Africa, as it normally does in the Rabbinic onomasticon. Rabbinic 'Aphriki normally represents the Greek Aphrikē; Greek Aphrikē was borrowed from the Latin Africa, and first appears with any frequency from the second century AD onwards, so Rabbinic 'Aphriki for Africa cannot have come into use before this period. Seen in this light, it is very significant that the Palestinian Targumim do not use 'Aphriki for Africa; 'Aphriki = Phrygia is probably an older usage which became obsolescent when 'Aphriki was adopted as the equivalent of the Greek Aphrikē.

(ii) We also discovered that Riphat was identified with Parthia. If the"contemporising" intention of the meturgemanim is to be taken seriously, then this equation must have arisen before the early third century AD when the Parthian Empire disappeared for ever from the stage of history and was replaced by Sassanian Persia. Besides, the name for Parthia, Parkewi, appeared to be old, and is found only once more in Rabbinic texts. Parthia was normally referred to loosely as Paras (= Persia)

in the Tannaitic period.

(iii) We also encountered the term Barbarya for the Biblical Togarmah. Barbarya is found elsewhere in Rabbinic texts usually in the sense of Barbary north Africa. This usage was late, possibly even Islamic, being derived from Berber, the Arabic name for the tribes of the area. Once again the Targumim do not reflect a prevailing and late usage.

(iv) Finally, we found that there were two stages of identification in the case of Kittim in the Palestinian Targumim, one of which (Kittim = Achaia) is very old, and goes back ultimately to the Greek period.

Other evidence pointing in the same direction emerges from a comparison of the Targumic Table of the Nations with other expositions of this text. There is a great abundance of comparative material, for, as we indicated earlier, the Table of the Nations was a much-studied document.[1] Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that up until very recent times it was one of the most important documents of western thought, being the means whereby men ordered and interpreted what they knew about the peoples of the world, and related one nation to another. From this rich vein of material, we shall extract the following texts and consider them in relation to the Targumim:

(1) Josephus AJ I 122; this gives an exposition of the Table of the Nations in the course of Josephus' account of the Biblical history. The Antiquitates was written at the very end of the first century AD.

(2) Y.Meg. 71b.56; in connection with m.Meg. I 8, "Scripture may be written in any language" there is a discussion in this text of the languages of the world in the form of a commentary on the Table of the Nations. The final redaction of the Talmud Yerushalmi took place around AD 400.

(3) Gen.R. XXXVII 1, which deals with the Table of the Nations in the course of a complete commentary on Genesis. Gen.R. was compiled about the same time as the Talmud Yerushalmi.

(4) B.Yom. 10a raises the question, "Whence do we know that the Persians are derived from Japhet" and answers it with an exposition of the Table of the Nations. The Talmud Babli was finally redacted

towards the end of the fifth century AD.

(5) Sepher Yosippon I 1 commences with an exposition of the Table of the Nations. There is some doubt as to whether this forms an integral part of the work. However, it does give a late treatment of our text, which originated either in the tenth century when Sepher Yosippon was probably composed (one manuscript dates it AD 953), or even some time after. The author of Sepher Yosippon is unknown, but he is generally regarded as having lived in Italy, and this fits the geogrpahical standpoint of the exposition of the Table of the Nations.[2]

Comparison of the Targumic Table of the Nations with the Rabbinic texts (y.Meg., Gen.R., and b.Yom.) suggests two reflections. In the first place it is clear that broadly speaking the Targumim are in the same exegetical tradition as the Rabbinic texts; a high proportion of their identifications are the same. On the other hand, the Palestinian Targumim have not lifted their equivalents from any extant Rabbinic tradition, for there are small but decisive differences between the two sets of texts.

On examination, these differences may be accounted for as cases of redefinition, and, what is most important for our inquiry, the Targumic name in nearly every instance is arguably the earlier stage of the tradition. So (i) for Gomer, the Palestinian Targumim have Phrygia ('Aphriki), but y.Meg. and b.Yom. Germania. Now while it is easily understood that Phrygia ('Aphriki) should be later replaced by Germania, particularly in view of the subsequent Rabbinic usage of 'Aphriki for Africa, the reverse development is unlikely. Similarly (ii) Targumic Parkewi (=Riphat) which, as we saw, is a very rare word, was later replaced by the common Adiabene in y.Meg. and Gen.R. - a favourite equivalent for northern localities. Gen.R. by this redefinition involved itself in contradiction, for, along with the Targumim, it identifies Nimrod's city of Calah also with Adiabene. This clash significantly does not occur in the Palestinian Targumim.

(iii) Targumic Barbaria is redefined in Gen.R. as Germania, and this, in turn, was later redefined in an identification attributed to R. Berechiah (PA 5) as Germanicia. There are two reasons why Germania was substituted for Barbaria: firstly, Barbaria was a vague term and had several possible meanings; secondly, it was being increasingly used exclusively for Barbary north Africa. Once again Gen.R. involved itself in contradiction by this redefinition, for, in agreement with the Targumim,

it had already identified Magog as Germania. (iv) For Magog the Palestinian Targumim have Germania; y.Meg. has גותיא = Gothia, which is definitely a late term, derived from the Latin, for Γοθία is unattested in Greek. Gothia was used by Latin writers for the Visigoth kingdom of Transdanuvian Dacia; so Augustine CD XVIII 52, "Gothia, regio Daciae a Gothis habitata"; cf., Jordanis Get. II 11. The Goths were not established in this area till c.AD 275, so the term Gothia must have originated after this date. Magog is equated by y.Meg. with the Goths, because of the use of the Biblical term for the eschatological threat from the north. Evidently the Goths made as terrible an impression on the imagination of the Jews, as they did on their Christian contemporaries (e.g., Augustine). For Magog b.Yom. has קנדיא. This name has not been explained, but I would suggest that it is equivalent to Scandia, Scandza, Scandinavia etc., terms used by Greek and Latin writers for southern Sweden (Ptolemy II 11.35; VIII 6.4; Jordanis Get. I 9; III 16-24; IV 25; Geogr. Rav. I 12; V 30; Paulus Diaconus Hist. Langobard. I 2).[3] The Goths originated in southern Sweden (cf., the mediaeval use of Gothia for this region), so this identification may be substantially the same as y.Meg.'s. It may have originated early on in the Gothic migrations. Josephus equated Magog with the traditional Greek "northern peril", namely the Scythians; y.Meg., as we have just seen, and b.Yom. too, thought of the Goths.[4] In this development, it is most natural to place the Targumic "Germans" somewhere between Josephus' "Scythians" and y.Meg.'s "Goths", i.e., at the earliest stage of the Rabbinic tradition.

The Palestinian Targumim, then, give the earliest recension of the four Rabbinic recensions of the Table of the Nations. Though in Gen.R. some of the identifications found in the Palestinian Targumim are attributed to R. Samuel b. Ammi (PA 4), this Rabbi did not necessarily originate them; he may have been quoting the Targum. There are cases where the Targum is cited without being specified as the source.

Comparison of the Targumic Table of the Nations with that in Sepher Yosippon at once emphasizes its antiquity and primitiveness. Even allowing for the fact that Sepher Yosippon was composed in a very different geographical location, and that its author had considerable scholarly interests, it clearly depicts a world completely different and much later in time than that of the meturgemanim:

> "These are the families of the sons of Japhet in the lands from which they spread abroad, according to their tongues, their lands and their nations.

The sons of Gomer are the Frankos (=Franks) who dwell in the land of Franṣa (=France), upon the river of Franṭa, the river Sina (=Seine).

Riphat are the Bretons, who dwell in the land of Britania (=Brittany), on the river Lira (=Loire); the waters of the Sina and the Lira pour into the sea of Ocean, that is the Great Sea.

Togarmah: there are ten families of them, the Kuzar (=Khazars), Paṣinakh (=Pecenegns), 'Aliḳanos (=Alani), Bulgar (=Bulgars), Ranbina, Turḳi (=Turks), Buz, Zabukh, 'Ungari (=Hungarians), Tilmaṣ (=Dalmatians ?); all these are settled in the north, and their lands bear their names, and they are settled by the rivers of Hethel, that is 'Atel'akh. The 'Ungari, however, and the Bulgar and Paṣinakh are settled upon the great river called Dunbe (=Danube).

The sons of Yavan are the Greeks who dwell in the land of Macedonia.

Madai: the 'Ezralos who dwell in the land of Bursan.

Tubal: those who dwell in the land of Tuscana (=Tuscany) on the river of Pisa (i.e., the Arno).

Meshech: Sibsani (=Saxony).

Tiras: the Russis (=Russians), Bosni (=Bosnians) and 'Inglisi (=Angles) who dwell by the Great Sea. The Russi are settled on the river Bira (=Volga ?), which pours its waters into the Sea of Gurgan (=Hyrcania, i.e., the Caspian Sea).

Elishah: the 'Alamania who dwell between the mountains of Yob and Sebtimo (=? Septimo ?); from them the Lombardi (= Lombards), who are to the west of the rivers of Yob and Sebtimo. They conquered the land of Italy and dwell there to this day on the rivers Po'o (=Po) and Tishino (=Ticino). The waters of the Po'o pour into the Sea of Bundakia (=Gulf of Venice). The Burgunia (=Burgundians) who dwell upon the great river Rodni (=Rhone); from them the Birdia, who dwell upon the river Rinos (=Rhine) which flows into the Great Sea.

Tarshish: these come with the Macedonians under one law; from them Tarsus. When the Ishmaelites (=Arabs) seized the land of Tarsus, its inhabitants fled, and settled on the border of the sons of Yavan. They made war with the Ishmaelites who are in Tarsus.

Kittim: these are the Romans who are settled in the plain of Canpania (=Campania), upon the river Tibur'o (=Tibur).

Dodanim: these are the Daniski (=Danes) who dwell among the cities of the tongues of the Sea of Ocean in the land of Denamakhba (=Denmark) and in Ordana (=? Orkney ?) in the midst of the Great Sea, who swore that they would not go over (read: serve) to the Romans; and they hid themselves in the midst of the waves of the Sea of Ocean, and they did not go (read: were not able sc. to withstand them) for the rule of Rome reached to the uttermost end of the islands of the sea.

> Galithṣi'o (Galicians), Ḳraoṭi (=Croatians), Slaḳi (=Slovaks), Liṣpin, Livmia, Krakh'ar, Kisramin, and Bazmin are reckoned as belonging to the sons of the Dodanim. They are settled on the sea-coast, from the border of the Bulgari to Bundiḳia (=Venice), and from there they extend to the border (of Saksani; so Yerahmeel) to the Great Sea. They are called Sḳlabi (=Slavs). Some say they are of the sons of Canaan. They are, however, descended from the sons of the Dodanim."

The world as depicted by the Palestinian Targumim is, in fact, very little removed from that of Josephus' Table of the Nations. Though the equivalents of the sons of Japhet are in many cases not the same, they belong to the same Greek onomasticon, and paint a similar picture of the northern peoples of the inhabited world. All the indications appear to point in the same direction, and suggest that the Targumic equivalents of the sons of Japhet originated before AD 100. The stratum of material, consequently, in which they are found must date from the same period.

B. The cities of Nimrod (Table 17)

Our intensive investigation of the cities of Nimrod in the Palestinian Targumim suggested that the identifications had been systematically worked out. The first group of cities was: Babylon, Edessa, Nisibis, and Ctesiphon - all located in Babylonia, which was taken in its widest sense as covering all the land between the Tigris and Euphrates from the Persian Gulf right up to the mountains of Armenia. The second group of cities was: Niniveh, Tel Assar (=Tell Nimrud), Adiabene (used with the capital Arbela in mind), all in the area of Aturia, i.e., the old heartlands of the Assyrian Empire. Thus the pattern that emerged made excellent geographical sense.

Furthermore, a number of the identifications involved local knowledge. Nisibis was called not only by its "barbarian" name, but given its strict "barbarian" form, ending in n. The equation of Erech with Edessa seemed to be based on a knowledge of the native designation of the town, Orhay. "Adiabene" appeared as Hadyeb, corresponding to the native name and opposed to the form current on the Greek onomasticon. Local knowledge was especially good for the area of Adiabene. Thus in a spirit of archaeology Resen was located at a ruined site called Tel Assar which we argued was the present day Tell Nimrud.

The convergence of these facts suggests an interesting hypothesis, namely that this set of identifications of Nimrod's cities

originated in some Jewish community either in northern Mesopotamia or in Adiabene. In our discussion of the principles of Rabbinic toponomy we noted the tendency of Diaspora communities to link the areas where they were settled with the Bible.* This motive would easily account for the equivalents offered in the Targumim here.

This hypothesis is strengthened when we compare these Targumic equivalents with those offered by Syriac writers, and contrast them with those engendered by the Jewish community of Babylonia. To represent the Syriac tradition we may take the commentary of Ephrem (c.AD 306-73) on Gen. 10 (I 58A). In the first group of cities Babel is not identified, presumably because it is regarded as self-evident; the other three, however, are given the same equivalents as in the Targumim: Erech = Edessa (ܐܘܪܗܝ); Accad = Nisibis (ܢܨܝܒܝܢ); and Calneh = Ctesiphon (ܟܠܢܐ ܕܣܘܦܬܐ). In the second group, (i) Niniveh is again treated as self-evident; (ii) Rehoboth-ʿIr is given as Adiabene (ܐܕܝܒܢܐ); and (iii) Calah as ܟܠܚ. ܐܬܪ ܪܚܒܬ was an important caravan city of Mesopotamia on the route south from Singara (modern Sinjar). It lay to the west of Adiabene, about 60 kms from the Tigris. It is called Hatra (Amm. Marc. XXV 8.5); Atra (Cass. Dio LXXIV 11); or Atrai (Arrian Parthica in Steph. Byz. 143,1; cf., 414,10) in Greek and Latin texts , and al-Hadr in Arabic.[5] (iv) Resen is identified on the basis of sound with ܪܫ ܥܝܢܐ; = Resh ʿAina, a town of inner Mesopotamia, on the river Chaboras (Khabur) between Carrhae and Nisibis; Latin Resaina (Amm. Marc. XXIII 5.17); Greek Resaina (Ptolemy V 17.7) or Resina (Steph. Byz. 544, 7); Arabic Ra's al-ʿAin.[6]

This comparison leads to two observations. Firstly, there is sufficient disagreement in detail between Ephrem and the Palestinian Targumim to rule out the possibility of any direct dependence of the one on the other. Yet, secondly, there is an important element common to them both, namely a tendency to locate the cities of Nimrod in the north, in Mesopotamia and Adiabene. In the case of Ephrem this is understandable, for he was born at Nisibis and lived at Edessa, and so naturally drew the Biblical cities within the circle of his own geogrpahical horizon. What I am suggesting is that the equivalents offered in the Targumim for these cities presupposes a geographical standpoint similar to that of Ephrem.

This conclusion begins to look inevitable when we contrast the equivalents of the Targumim and of Ephrem with those current in Babylonia as found in b.Yom. 10a. In the first group of cities (i) Babel is taken as self-evident ("Babel, according to its usual sense"); (ii)

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* See pp. 69 ff.

Erech = אורכות v.l. ארכת, a city some 120 mls south-east of Babylon, close to the Euphrates, east of the present-day as-Samawah; Arabic al-Warka (Yaḳut IV 922); Greek Orchoē (Ptolemy V 20.7; VIII 20.29; cf., Strabo XVI 1.6 p.739; Pliny NH VI 123, 130). It is the ancient Uruk and, in fact, correctly identifies the Biblical city.[7] (iii) Accad = אכשך v.l. כשכר = Arabic Kaskar (Yaḳut IV 274); Syriac ܟܫܟܪ (PSm. 1843; PSmSupp. 173b), a town on the west bank of the Tigris opposite which the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in AD 702-5 built the city of Wasiṭ.[8] The ruins of Wasiṭ are south-east of the modern al-Kut (Kut al-Imara). Kashkar was thus some 135 mls south-south-east of Babylon. It does not seem to be mentioned in Greek sources.[9] (iv) Calneh = כנפי נופר; נופר here, is the ancient Babylonian cultic centre of Nippur, approximately 55 mls south-east of Babylon. It was inhabited right down till Islamic times when it was known as Niffar or Nuffar (Yaḳut IV 275, 798). The element כנפי in the Rabbinic name has not been satisfactorily explained, but this does not affect the identification. The city is not mentioned in Greek or Latin texts.[10]

In the second group of cities (i) Nineveh is self-evident ("Nineveh, according to its usual sense"). (ii) Rehoboth-ʿIr = פרת מישן; מישן is the same as the Mesēnē of Greek and Latin texts (Strabo II 1.31 p. 84; Pliny NH VI 129, 131, 132); the ܡܝܫܢ of Syriac (PSm. 2099; PSmSupp. 192b; see The Hymn of the Soul ed. A.A. Bevan (= Texts and Studies V 3 (1897)) lines 18, 70); and Maisan of Arabic texts (Yaḳut IV 7) - all denoting a region to the south-east of Babylonia along the lower courses of the Tigris and Euphrates. The limits of the area are difficult to determine. Yaḳut IV 7 and Kazwini p. 310 describe it as "an extensive district with numerous villages and palm-groves between Basra and Wasiṭ, the capital of which is also called Maisan." It is far from clear what precisely the Rabbinic (דמישן) פרת means. The same expression is found in Syriac (ܦܪܬ ; ܡܝܫܢ) and apparently denotes the city of Basra, not far from the Persian Gulf (PSm. 3312).[11] (iii) Calah = פתח דבורסיף; בורסיף is the ancient sister-city of Babylon, lying twelve miles to the south, not far from the Euphrates: Akkadian Barsip(a); Greek Borsippa (Strabo XVI 1.7 p. 739; Josephus CA I 151); Arabic Birs (Burs) or Birs Nimrud.[12]
(iv) Resen = אקטיספון = Ctesiphon; see pp. 144 ff.

A pattern once again emerges: the cities of Nimrod are drawn southwards and located in the area of Babylonia where the identifications originated. They stand in marked contrast to the more northerly equivalents given by Ephrem and the Palestinian Targumim.

If, then, the Targumic identifications reflect a north Mesopotamian or Adiabenian standpoint, where and when did they originate ? As to the time of their origin, the comparative table (Table 17) provides some initial clues. This shows first of all that the same identifications are found in Gen.R. XXXVII 4, so the tradition must have been current by the time this work was redacted. This is confirmed when we examine Jerome Quaest. Heb. in Gen. (PL XXIII 1002), which has basically the same set of equivalents for the cities of Nimrod as the Palestinian Targumim; the only difference is that Jerome does not give equivalents for Calah and Resen, whereas the Palestinian Targumim do. The significance of this fact will become clear when we take into account that elsewhere in his exposition of the Table of the Nations Jerome is patently following Josephus AJ I 122. Josephus, however, does not discuss the cities of Nimrod, so whence did Jerome derive these names ? I would suggest that he took them straight from the Palestinian Targum. Perhaps the reason that he did not borrow Hadyeb (for Calah) and Tel Assar (for Resen) was that he did not recognize the identity of either name. At one point Jerome appears simply to translate the Targum. Thus Rehoboth-ʿIr is given in the Targum as פלטייתא דקרתא = "the broad streets of the city". Jerome comments thus on this name: "Quod autem ait, Ninivem et Rooboth civitatem, non putemus duas esse urbes: sed quia Rooboth plateae interpretantur, ita legendum est: Et aedificavit Ninivem et plateas civitatis." Note the Greek loan-word πλατεῖα (sc. ὁδός) common to both Jerome and the Targumim. Jerome, then, appears to have known and utilized Targumic material.

As to the place of origin of these identifications, we can lay down a number of conditions in advance. Firstly, the community which engendered them must be located in northern Mesopotamia or Adiabene. Secondly, it must have been in close contact with the land of Israel, and in good standing there, for its identifications to have been transmitted to Palestinian circles and accepted there. There were Diaspora traditions, such as the localizing of Mt. Ararat at Apamea Cibotus in Phrygia, which never gained currency in Palestinian Rabbinic circles. There are only two candidates which will satisfy these conditions at all well: the first is the Jewish community of Nisibis at the time of R. Yehuda ben Bathyra; the second is the Jewish community of Adiabene. Let us consider both these possibilities.

In b.Sanh. 32b there is an old list of Rabbinical academies (Yeshivoth) which played an important role in Judaism in the period of the Tannaim. Included is a Yeshiva of R. Yehuda ben Bathyra of Nisibis. When we

try to determine who this R. Yehuda ben Bathyra was we find ourselves in the thick of a problem of which Bacher wrote: "Die genaue Unterscheidung der aus Familie Bathyra (בתירא) stammenden Tannaiten ist eine der schwierigsten Aufgaben der Tannaitengeschichte" (Ag. der Tann. I(^{2}1903) p.374). We can, however, establish enough for our immediate purpose.

The R. Yehuda b. Bathyra mentioned in b.Sanh. 32b is a second generation Tanna. He was Palestinian in origin and passed the earlier part of his life in Israel. Thus we find him in halakhic discussion with R. Eliezer b. Hyrcanus (m.Neg. IX 3; XI 7), and haggadic controversy with R. Akiba (b.Shabb. 96b-97a; cf., Sifre Num. 105). He was evidently active in the Palestinian schools and well regarded, for he is mentioned some seventeen times in the Mishnah and about forty baraithoth are attributed to him, besides numerous haggadic pronouncements (contained mainly in Sifre and the Mekhilta). R. Yehuda's Palestinian origins are futher confirmed by the fact that he was descended from the old Palestinian family of the בני בתירא (b.Pes. 66a, or זקני בתירה y.Pes. 33a.57) who played an important part in the Sanhedrin at the time of Hillel. They came from Herod's military colony of Bathyra in Transjordan.

He left Palestine just before the outbreak of the Bar Kokhba war. Sifre Deut 80 records an "exodus" of five Rabbis from the Land of Israel, including Yehuda b. Bathyra. The text does, indeed, go on to say that they all subsequently turned back, but it has assimilated the ending of this story to the one immediately preceding which tells of the departure and return of R. Eleazar b. Shammua and R. Yoḥanan the Sandlemaker. Lam.R. III 17.6 preserves a story about the arrival of Yehuda at Nisibis.

There he established a Yeshiva which had its brief hour of glory and importance when the Palestinian Rabbis were in confusion and disarray during the Bar Kokhba War. Thus we find that R. Yehuda b. Bathyra was applied to in Nisibis for a ruling when Akiba was in prison (b.Yeb. 108b). In Sifre Deut. 80 it is reported that two of the younger pupils of Akiba, R. Eleazar b. Shammua and R. Yoḥanan the Sandlemaker, set out for Nisibis to study with R. Yehuda, but turned back when they reflected that they were preferring an alien country to the Land of Israel.

There is no firm date for R. Yehuda's death. Bacher (Ag. der Tann. I p.375) believes that at the time of R. Yose ben Halaphta's (v.l. R. Simeon b. Yohai's) visit to Nisibis mentioned in b.Yeb. 102a (// y.Yeb. 12c.13) he cannot have been still alive. This is far from certain.

The parallel in t.Yeb. XII 11 does not say that R. Yose visited Nisibis, only that he met an old man from the town. In all the texts it is unclear whether R. Yehuda is spoken of in the present or the past tense. However, his death probably took place shortly after AD 140. The influence of his school cannot have survived him. The rapid rise of Christianity in this area would have thrown a certain amount of suspicion on it. Besides, the Rabbis of Palestine made a remarkably swift recovery from the war and reasserted their authority. This,then, is the first possibility, and it meets the preconditions which we set out fairly well. If this material in the Palestinian Targumim did arise in the school of Yehuda ben Bathyra at Nisibis, or rather, if it was transmitted from the Jewish community of that area back to Palestine through the school, then it may be safely said to have originated before AD 140.[13]

The second possible place of origin for these identifications is Adiabene. If we see them as arising there, then there is a very definite date for them involved, for a community which would satisfy our conditions existed in Adiabene only within the years c. AD 30-70. At the beginning of this period Queen Helena and her sons Izates and Monobazus of the royal house of Adiabene converted to Judaism (Josephus AJ XX 17 ff). The new converts quickly established strong ties with the Land of Israel, and their piety and generosity were long remembered (m.Yom. III 10; m.Naz. III 6; t.Pea IV 18; t.Meg. IV 30; t.Sukk. I 1). In the first Jewish War kinsmen of Monobazus fought on the Jewish side against the Romans (Josephus AJ II 250),[14] but in the confusion resulting from the destruction of the Temple, the link with Adiabene was severed and apparently never reforged.

This opinion might be contested on the basis of number of Rabbinic texts. Some of these we have already discussed. Thus y.Ta'an. 63d.35 appeared to contain a question put to Rabbi by the Jewish community of Nineveh about praying and fasting for rain. But, as we argued above, this Nineveh is a town in Transjordan and not Adiabenian Nineveh. In y.Shabb. 14b.5 (from bottom) (// b.Shabb. 121b)there is a list of venomous creatures which may be killed on the Sabbath. Included are "the scorpion of Adiabene" and "the hornet of Nineveh". Both these rulings, we suggested, went back to early Tannaitic times. In two texts (b.MK. 28a and b.Nidd. 21b) a certain Zuga (or Zaza or Zuwa) of Adiabene is mentioned. B.MK. 28a describes him as a contemporary of R. Huna the head of the Sura Academy (d. AD 297). It should be noted, however, that Zuga's only claim to inclusion in the Talmud is the fact that he transmitted two anonymous

baraitoth. These may have been old rulings going back to the first century which survived among the Jews of Adiabene. It is unlikely that Zuga learned either baraita in Babylonia or Palestine, for in b.Nidd. 21b at least he is represented as arriving in Babylonia from Adiabene and bringing the baraita with him from there.

The most crucial text, however, is y.Sot. 19d.1 on the basis of which Neubauer (GT p.374), followed by others, argued that there was a Jewish school in Arbela, the capital of Adiabene, in the third century AD. The text reads as follows:

> "Rabbi Mar ʿUkba ruled (הורי) in Arbeli (ארבלי) - twenty-four months, even if the child is dead."

This text, however, is highly problematic. In the first place, it is hardly proper to infer simply from the word הורי the existence of a Yeshiva. It clearly means in the context, "gave a ruling". Secondly, there is the question of the identification of this Rabbi Mar ʿUkba. There are only two possibilities - both of them Exilarchs in Babylonia in the third century, one (Mar ʿUkba I) coming at the beginning, the other (Mar ʿUkba II) at the end of this period.[15] Of these two Mar ʿUkba I is by far the more likely; he was a contemporary of Rab and Samuel (b.MK. 16b), a respected scholar, and head of an important court, which was appealed to even by the court of Tiberias. Mar ʿUkba II, on the other hand, had the reputation of being something of an ignoramus on legal matters.

It is curious that in another place in the Talmud (b.Ket. 60b) we find a Mar ʿUkba accepting a ruling contradictory to the ruling of Mar ʿUkba in y.Sot. 19d.1:

> "Mar ʿUkba stated: 'R. Ḥanina permitted me to marry (a nursing woman) fifteen months after the birth of her child.'"

The point at issue in both these texts is, how soon after the birth of her child was a woman whose husband had died allowed to remarry. In y.Sot. 19d.1 we find a ruling of a Mar ʿUkba that she is permitted only after two full years. This was the standard Rabbinic position. In b.Ket. 60b, however, we find a Mar ʿUkba following a peculiar ruling which allowed the woman to marry after only fifteen months. A contradiction may be avoided by supposing that the Mar ʿUkba in y.Sot. 19d.1 is Mar ʿUkba I while b.Ket. 60b refers to the "ignorant" Mar ʿUkba II.

Given, then, that Mar ʿUkba in y.Sot. 19d.1 is Mar ʿUkba I who lived at the beginning of the third century AD, where is this place

called ארבלי ? ארבל in Rabbinic texts usually means Arbela in Lower Galilee (modern Irbid); see m.Ab. I 6; Josephus BJ I 305. But Mar ʿUkba I was a Babylonian, and there is no evidence that he was ever in Palestine. And so, it is concluded that ארבלי here must be Arbela, the capital of Adiabene. The case is obviously very weak. Babylonian sources state that Mar ʿUkba's court was at Kafri to the south of Babylon (b. Kidd. 44b). They are otherwise unaware of his presence in Adiabene,let alone the existence of a school of his there.

At this point a number of alternatives are open to us: (a) We may suppose that ארבלי conceals the name of a Babylonian locality in the area of Kafri where Mar ʿUkba I lived. Or else (b) ארבלי may be taken as the Galilean town; Rabbi Mar ʿUkba may then be a Palestinian scholar otherwise unknown to us.[16] Neither solution is very satisfactory. The whole statement is suspect: note the curious double title "Rabbi Mar", with its mixture of Palestinian (Rabbi as against Rab) and Babylonian elements (Mar as against Mari). Its evidential value cannot be rated high.

The supposed Talmudic evidence for the presence of Rabbinical Jews in Adiabene after AD 70 disappears under close analysis. There were, of course, Jews in the area (see b.BB. 26b) but their standing cannot have been good, nor were they in communion with the land of Israel. The rapid advances of Christianity in that area would have made their traditions suspect.[17]

Of the two possible places of origin for the Targumic identifications of the cities of Nimrod, namely Nisibis and Adiabene, the latter is rather to be preferred. Our geographical analysis suggested that the local knowledge behind the Targumic equivalents was particularly good for that area. Besides the position of the pre-70 Adiabenian Jewish community was favourable for producing such identifications. The newly won proselytes would have taken special interest in those portions of the Bible which related to their homeland, while Palestinian Jews would have been curious about the place of origin of the newcomers to the Jewish fold, and would have wanted them located on the Biblical "map of the world". Though contacts between Palestine and Adiabene were short, they were intensive and resulted, it appears, in a considerable amount of cultural intercourse. We read of Rabbis frequenting the sukkah of Queen Helena (t.Sukk. I 1). Besides, there appears to have been an account (probably in Aramaic) of the conversion of Adiabene which circulated in Jerusalem before the First

Jewish War; it was utilised by Josephus (AJ XX 17 ff).[18] An Aramaic Targum of the Pentateuch was produced for the use of the Royal House, and this formed the basis of the later Christian Peshitta Pentateuch.[19]

If, then, the identifications of the cities of Nimrod in the Palestinian Targumim originated with the Jews of Adiabene, they must have been introduced into Palestinian exegesis between the years AD 30 and 70. Hence, the Targumic stratum in which they are found must be of the same period. This conclusion converges with that reached with regard to the dating of the equivalents of the sons of Japhet, and agrees with our earlier haggadic analysis of the section on the sons of Canaan to indicate that there is in the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10 a basic stratum of material from before the First Jewish War.

IV. THE TARGUMIM OF THE BOUNDARIES OF THE PROMISED LAND

IV.1 Introduction

Broadly speaking there are two groups of boundary texts in the Bible: (a) those which describe the borders of the Land by the use of such vague data as rivers, seas and geographical areas. These are found in the stories of the Patriarchs and in the narrative of events prior to the conquest of Canaan. They describe the promised land as extending from the Nile up to the Euphrates. (b) There are also longer boundary-texts which define the Land more precisely by listing border-towns. These assign a much smaller area to Israel. The principal passage is Num. 34, but there are detailed descriptions also in Ez. 47:15-20 and in Josh. 15:1-4.

We shall consider the Targumic exegesis of both these sets of texts. The meturgemanim believed in the unity of Scripture, and, as a result, harmonized all the boundary-texts on the grounds that they must all be descriptions of the same thing (see further p.67). The main result of this procedure is that they have read into Num. 34 much wider boundaries than that text really contains. Ez. 47 also played an important part in their interpretation of Num. 34, since it constituted for them the latest state of the tradition within the confines of Scripture (see further p.67). Thus we shall discover in due course that at certain points of difficulty in Num. 34, the meturgemanim have put forward an exegesis which is clearly based on the corresponding element in Ezekiel's boundary document.

IV.2 The short boundary-texts

A. Gen. 10:15-19, Canaan on the Table of the Nations

Canaan's portion is defined in two ways by the Table of the Nations: Firstly, it lists the areas occupied by his sons (verses 15-18); and secondly, it designates border towns in the extreme north and south of his land (verse 19). Some of the names in the Targumim are very corrupt and hard to recognize, so it will be of help to consider them alongside the parallel traditions of Josephus AJ I 138, Gen.R. XXXVII 6, y.Meg. 71b. 61 and Jerome Heb. Quaest. in Gen. (PL XXIII 1003); see Tables 10-11.

1. THE SONS OF CANAAN (TABLE 10).

(i) Sidon

Ps-J's כותניס and TC's בותניאס/כותניאס, as we suggested earlier (see p. 104), are probably corruptions of סירוניוס/סירונאס = Sidonius, an invented eponymous founder of Sidon. Compare with this the fabricated Mauretanus, the eponymous ancestor of the Mauretanians (see p. 138). TC's "Bothnias, he who built Siden" reads almost like a translation of Josephus AJ I 138, "Sidonius . . . founded a city named after him in Phoenicia, which the Greeks call Sidon".

(ii) Hivite

FT's טריפוליטאי = "inhabitants of Tripolis", a Phoenician port between Aradus and Berytus, modern Tripoli; Arabic Ṭarābulus or Aṭrābulus. It is mentioned several times in the Talmud. Thus y.Shabb. 6c.8 gives a ruling made in this town by Resh Lakish (אטרבולים), though the parallel has Sidon (b.Shabb. 45b). The טראפלים of t.Erub. IX (X) 25 (150, 14) may be the same place. The Talmudic forms of the name are close to the Arabic, the Targumic to the Greek.[1] Gen.R.'s חלדון is to be emended to חלבון - a town mentioned in Ez. 27:18, probably modern Ḥalbūn, some twelve miles north-north-west of Damascus. The Chalybon of Ptolemy V 15.17 is almost certainly the same place and not Aleppo; Arabic Haleb; Greek Beroea; Hittite Halap in northern Syria, as is sometimes supposed.[2]

(iii) Arkite

Ps-J treats this name as self-evident, presumably identifying it with "the inhabitants of Area" or Caesarea ad Libanum, a city situated to the north-east of Tripolis; so Josephus, "Arca in the Lebanon"; Jerome Arcas; Gen.R. "Arcas of Lebanon".[3]

(iv) Sinite

N's ארתוסיא, Gen.R.'s ארתוסיקה preserve the correct form of the name, and Ps-J's and TC's אנתוסיא should be emended to agree. It is hard to say what should be done to FT's כפרשאי. As it stands, I cannot satisfactorily identify it. I suspect that it, too, is a corruption of ארתוסיא.

ארתוסיא could designate either (a) Arethusa, a city on the Orontes between Emesa (modern Ḥoms) and Hamath-Epiphania (modern Ḥama); see Strabo XVI 2.10 p.753. The present day town of Rastan marks the site.[4] Or else (b) Orthosia, a Phoenician port a little to the north of Tripolis; see 1 Macc. 15:37; modern Khan Arḍ Arṭusi. The second possibility is preferable since the exact form of ארתוסיא is closer to Orthosia than to Arethusa. Compare the late Greek adjective from Orthosia - Arthosiados, and the Arabic Artusiya.[5]

Jerome appears to have known the true location of the Sinite's home. "Not far from Areas", he writes, "there was another city by the name of Sin which, though later destroyed by the varied chance of war, nevertheless has preserved the original name of the place." Strabo XVI 2.18 p.755 mentions a mountain fortress of the Ituraean brigands by the name of Sinna which was destroyed by Pompey. The name survived in the area till the 13th century, and it may be preserved in the name Shein which in recent times was used for a mountain to the south-south-east of Ḥalba. If Jerome's identification is correct, then the Biblical Sin must have been very close to Orthosia. Since Sin was obviously an insignificant place in Roman times, it is very likely that nearby Orthosia was used to identify the territory of the Biblical Sinite.[6]

(v) Arvadite

Josephus and Jerome correctly identify with Aradus, an ancient mercantile city, sited on an island off the coast of Phoenicia to the north of Tripolis, modern Ruad. Gen.R. treats the name as self-evident. These parallel traditions show that the ורדוס of y.Meg. and the ריודס of TC are to be taken as referring to the same place, and not to Rhodes, as is sometimes supposed. According to y.Yeb. 9b.73 Rabbi sent R. Rominos to look into a problem that had arisen in a family of kohanim in ורדוס. Aradus is again probably meant, though the parallels y.Bikk. 64a.32 and y.Kidd. 66b.17 have דרום.[7]

FT has אנטרידנאי = "inhabitants of Antaradus", a daughter

city of Aradus on the mainland, modern Ṭarṭūs. It is mentioned several times in Rabbinic texts. Thus y.Bez. 62a.19 relates a story about the contrasting behaviour of pupils of R. Simeon b. Pazzi and R. Joshua b. Levi (both PA 3) when in אנטרדס. The parallel in y.Shabb. 4a.47 has the corrupt form אנטיריס, which allows us to identify the אנטרניס of y.Gitt. 46a.37 as Antaradus. According to this text R. Imi (PA 3) ruled that if a slave ran away to אנטרניס he could be returned to his master; cf., 1 Macc. 15:16ff.[8] The identification with Antaradus is a secondary development of the Palestinian Targum. This name first appears in Greek texts in the late second century AD (e.g., Ptolemy V 15.16). The city reached its peak in the middle of the fourth century when it was rebuilt by Constantine and renamed "Constantia". Antaradus probably replaced Aradus in the Palestinian Targumim sometime during the third century, when it was increasing in importance at the expense of its mother-city. This is borne out by the fact that, though Aradus is mentioned in Rabbinic traditions relating to the time of Rabbi (c.AD 200), Antaradus is found only in those from c.AD 300.

Ngl and Ps-J's לוסאי, and TC's לטוסאי are puzzling. One should probably emend to רוסאי which could be taken as either (a) "inhabitants of Arethusa" (modern Rastan), between Emesa (Ḥoms) and Hamath-Epiphania (Ḥama); or else (b) "inhabitants of Aradus", deriving רוסאי from רודסאי . The latter view is preferable in view of the parallels.

(vi) Zemarite

The Targumic חומציי/חמציי = "inhabitants of Emesa (חמץ)"; note Jerome's Emessa. Emesa[9] was an important city of the Lebanon on the upper Orontes, to the east of Arca; it is the modern Ḥoms. In the first century AD Jewish connections with the city were strong. Till the time of Domitian Emesa was the capital of a fairly extensive Arab kingdom whose royal house was linked by marriage to the Herodian family. Aristobulus, brother of Agrippa I, married the daughter of Sampsigeramus, king of Emesa (Josephus AJ XVIII 135) and the king visited Agrippa at Tiberias (AJ XIX 338). Agrippa II gave his sister Drusilla to Azizus, king of Emesa. The king consented to be circumcised (AJ XX 239), a fact which may point to the presence of influential proselytes in his kingdom.[10]

The only significant reference to Emesa in Rabbinic literature is found in a note attached to the Palestinian recensions of the text on the seven seas of the Land of Israel (y.Kil. 32c.52; y.Ket. 35b.45; Midr. Teh. 24,6 (205,9)). It raises the question why the sea of Emesa (ימא דחמץ),

i.e., Lake Ḥoms to the south-west of the city, is not included in the list. The answer is that it is an artificial lake which Diocletian made by daming the Orontes (see p. 14).

N's צמריא is probably not just a mistake for צמריא as the author of Ngl appears to suppose, but corresponds to the Phoenician port called Simura (Ptolemy V 15.4), or Ximura (Strabo XVI 2.12 p.753), or Zimyra (Pliny NH V 78). Dussaud locates this at modern Ḥamam, very close to Manṭar, i.e., a little to the south of Aradus.[11] This is almost certainly the correct position of the home of the Biblical Zemarite, for the city was important enough in early times to be mentioned in the Annals of Thutmosis, the Amarna Tablets, and a text of Tiglathpileser I.[12] It was of little note in the Roman period, and so the identification was transferred to Emesa, probably because of some imagined similarity of sound.

(vii) Hamathite

All the Targumim and one of the opinions cited by Jerome identify the Hamathite as "the inhabitants of Antioch", the famous Syrian metropolis on the lower course of the Orontes; modern Antakya. This is the standard equation in Rabbinic texts, and is found again e.g., in Lev.R. V.3 // Num.R. X.3 and in the Palestinian Targumim of Num. 34:8.[13] Antioch had a large Jewish population which was there from the foundation of the city, and which possessed full citizen rights (Josephus CA II 39; BJ VII 43). It should be noted, however, that the identification of Hamath with Antioch is not universal in Jewish texts, for Josephus, y.Meg. and one tradition cited in Jerome equate it correctly with Hamath or Amathe (modern Ḥama) to the north of Emesa. The Seleucids renamed this town Epiphania, hence the identification פיפניה given by Gen.R.[14]

2. THE BORDERS OF CANAAN (TABLE 11)

Most of the cities mentioned in the description of Canaan's borders are not identified in the tradition. Jerome brushes them aside with the remark that they are"known to everyone". The meturgemanim also probably considered some of them to be self-evident. Others, such as Sodom and Gomorrah, which had been so signally destroyed according to the Biblical story, may have been regarded as having no contemporary equivalent. One town, however, is identified, viz., Lesha. For this Ps-J, N, Gen.R., y.Meg.,

and Jerome have Callirrhoe, which designates the hot springs to the east of the Dead Sea, famous in Jewish and Christian tradition as the place where Herod the Great sought healing during his last fatal illness (Josephus AJ XVII 171; BJ I 657; Eusebius HE I 8, quoting Josephus); modern Hammam ez-Zara. The springs were well known in the ancient world, see Pliny NH V 72; Ptolemy V 16.9; Solinus XXXV 1; Mad. Map 40 no.10. The presence of this identification in Jerome is significant. He cannot have borrowed it from Josephus, for Josephus does not exegete Gen. 10:19; nor from Eusebius(see Onom.120,7). Once again it would appear that Jerome is relying on a Palestinian Targumic tradition.

Y.Meg. attributes the identification to R. Eleazar, probably the T2 of that name (Strack p.113). There follows a note in which R. Yudan (PA 5; Strack p.131) states that this is the source of the Targum at this point. The Targum referred to must have been a recension of the Palestinian Targum, for O does not identify Lesha with Callirrhoe here. One wonders how R. Yudan could have been so sure of the Targum's source. It would have been just as possible for R. Eleazar to have been quoting the Targum as the other way round.

B. Gen. 15:18, The Land promised to the Patriarchs.

In the Patriarchal narratives the promise is frequently made that Abraham's descendants would possess the Land of Canaan, but only in Gen. 15:18 is any indication given of the extent of that Land.

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
To thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt, to the great river, the river Euphrates.	To thy sons I will give this land, from the Nile of Egypt to the river, the river Euphrates.

The Targumic rendering of "river of Egypt" (נהר מצרים) as the Nile may seem obvious. What may not be so evident is its inevitability given the principles of Scriptural interpretation subscribed to by the meturgemanim. First of all, the meturgemanim would have noted that there are certain Biblical texts (some of them constituting later stages of the tradition) which point unequivocally to the Nile as the southern border of the Land. Thus 1 Chron. 13:5 gives the limits of the Davidic Empire as "from the Shihor of Egypt to Lebo-Hamath". From Is. 23:3 and Jer. 2:18 it is clear that the "Shihor" is the Nile, or more precisely, the Pelusiac

branch of the Nile Delta (see Jos. 13:3). Hence Tg.1 Chron. 13:5, "And David assembled all Israel from the Nile of Egypt to the entrance of Antioch". Secondly, the meturgemanim would have felt obliged to observe the minutiae of the text. The text uses the word נהר which means strictly a large, continually flowing river,[15] and is, in fact, used of the Nile in Is. 19:5, and (in the plural) of the arms of the Nile Delta in Is. 19:6 and Ex. 7:19; 8:1. There are Biblical texts which put the southern boundary of the Land at the "Brook of Egypt" (Nahal Misraim), which is, in reality, Wadi el-ʿArish, but through harmonization this, too, became the Nile. So in 2 Chron. 7:8 the Kingdom of Solomon is said to extend from Lebo-Hamath to the Brook of Egypt; Targum: "From the entrance of Antioch to the Nile of Egypt". The Brook of Egypt is again rendered as "Nile of Egypt" in the Palestinian Targumim of Num. 34:5.

C. Ex. 23:31, The borders of the Land as defined on the eve of the Conquest.

This text, and those following, are brief delimitations of the Land embedded in the narrative of events which took place just prior to the Conquest:

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
And I will set thy border from the Reed Sea to the sea of the Philistines, and from the desert to the River.	And I will set thy border from the Reed Sea to the sea of the Philistines, and from the desert to the Euphrates.

"The River" of the Biblical text is correctly taken as the Euphrates by the Targum; see Deut. 1:7 and Gen. 15:18. N has "the Great River", which again means the Euphrates; Nmg, "the river Euphrates".

D. Num. 13:21, The spies traverse of the Land.

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
They went up and spied out the Land, from the desert of Ẓin unto Reḥob, to the entering in of Ḥamath.	They went up and spied out the Land, from the desert of Ẓin to the roads by which you enter into Antioch.

The Targumic rendering here is important because it makes explicit the halakhic significance of the usual Targumic identification of "Lebo-Hamath" as "the entrance of Antioch". Here it becomes clear that, though Antioch lies on the border of the Land, it is regarded by the meturgemanim as itself outside; the Land of Israel extends only up to the

road into Antioch. This would correspond to the ruling of Rabban Gamliel II, that if a slave is sold to an Antiochene in Antioch the slave becomes free (b.Gitt. 44b). Thus, by implication Antioch is "outside the Land" (cf., m.Gitt. IV 6).

E. Deut. 1:7 Moses' command to the Israelites in Moab.

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
Take your journey and go to the hill-country of the Amorites, and unto all the places nigh thereunto, in the Arabah, in the hill-country, in the lowland, in the south and by the sea-shore, the Land of the Canaanites, and Lebanon, as far as the Great River, the River Euphrates.	Take your journey to ʿArad and Ḥorma, and go up to the mountain of the Amorites and unto all the habitations of Ammon and Moab and Gabla, in the plain of the forest, in the mountain, in the lowland, in the south, on the sea-shore, Ashkelon and Caesarea, the Land of the Canaanites as far as Callirrhoe, the place of the Temple Mount, as far as the Great River, the river Euphrates.

Alongside the Targum here we must consider Sifre Deut. 6:

> "Journey: this is the road of ʿArad and Ḥorma. All the places nigh thereunto: Ammon and Moab and Mt Seʿir. In the Arabah: that is the plain of Zoar. In the mountain: the mountain of the king (=Mt Zion). In the lowland: the lowland of Lod (Lydda) and the lowland of Darom. And on the border of the sea: that is Gaza, Ashkelon and Caesarea. The land of Canaan: this is the border of the Canaanite, as it is written: 'And the border of the Canaanite was from Sidon etc., (Gen. 10:19).' And the Lebanon. He said to them: When you enter the land you must appoint yourselves a king and build yourselves a Chosen House (i.e., a Temple). Whence do we learn that Lebanon signifies 'king' ? From the text: The great eagle came unto Lebanon and seized the top of the cedar tree (Ez. 17:3); and also: The thorn of Lebanon said to the cedar of Lebanon, Give your daughter to my son to wife (2 Kgs 14:9). Whence do we learn that Lebanon means 'Temple' ? From the text: You were Gilead to me and the peak of Lebanon (Jer. 22:6). And again, And Lebanon shall fall by the majestic one (Is. 10:34)."

The similarity between the Targum and Sifre is striking:

1. Ps-J + ʿArad and Ḥorma
   Sifre + the road of ʿArad and Ḥorma

These two names are derived from Num. 21:1-3, where they apparently denote a place or places in the Negev.[16]

2. Ps-J + Ammon, Moab and Gabla
   Sifre + Ammon, Moab and Mt Seʿir

Gabla and Mt Seʿir are substantially the same. Seʿir is strictly the whole range of the mountains of Edom, Gabla the northern portion of that range; Roman and Byzantine Gebalene, Gebelitis; modern Jebal.[17] For Gabla = Mt Seʿir

see Ps-J Deut. 1:2 where the Hebrew, "the way of Mt Se^{c}ir" is rendered, "the way of the mountain of Gabla".

3. Arabah = Ps-J: the plain of the forest
Sifre: the plain of Zoar

There is a variant reading in Sifre which has "the plain of the forest" (יער), which would bring the two texts exactly into line.

4. Ps-J + Ashkelon and Caesarea
Sifre + Gaza, Ashkelon and Caesarea

5. Ps-J + "as far as Callirrhoe", evidently introduced from Gen. 10:19. Sifre expressly makes the connection with this text. One reading of Sifre completes the quotation of Gen. 10:19 and substitutes Callirrhoe for Biblical Lesha.

6. Ps-J "the place of the Temple Mount" stands against the Biblical "Lebanon". Sifre offers the same symbolic interpretation, with Scriptural proofs; cf., Ps-J Deut. 11:24.[18]

Close though these two texts are, it should be observed that they sometimes differ in detail. Besides there is material in Sifre which might well have appeared in the Targum, but does not, e.g., the identification of "the mountain" as "the mountain of the king" and the definition of "the lowland" as "the lowland of Lod". In view of this, it would be hasty to suppose that the Targum here is directly dependent on Sifre.

F. Deut. 11:24, Moses' promise to the invading Israelites.

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread shall be yours, from the desert and the Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the hinder sea shall be your border.	Every place whereon the sole of your feet shall tread shall be yours, from the desert and Mt Lebanon, that is the mountains of the Temple, from the great river, the river Euphrates, to the sea of Ocean, that is the waters of creation, the western side, shall be your borders.

There appears to have been a certain amount of secondary working of the Targum of this verse. It betrays itself at two points: Firstly, in the doublet, "Mt Lebanon, that is the mountains of the Temple" which gives both a literal and a symbolic rendering of the Biblical element. Secondly, in the complexity and incoherence of the phrase, "the sea of Ocean, that is the waters of creation, the western side". This is probably

to be analysed into two strata: (a) "the sea of Ocean . . . (on) the western side"; and (b) "that is the waters of creation", a secondary gloss on Ocean. This text discloses for the first time the western border of the Land as envisaged by the meturgemanim. It extends westwards through the Mediterranean to the encircling Ocean.

C. Deut. 34:1-3, Moses' vision of the Promised Land from the top of Mt Nebo.

The Biblical text runs as follows:

> "And the Lord showed Moses all the land of Gilead unto Dan; and all Naphtali, and the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the land of Judah unto the hinder sea; and the south, and the plain of the valley of Jericho the city of palm trees unto Zoar."

In the Palestinian Targumim this passage is exegeted both literally and non-literally. The two types of exegesis, however, do not occur side by side, but are distributed between the recensions of the Palestinian Targum.

The non-literal interpretation is found in Ps-J. The meturgeman was evidently impressed by the solemnity of the occasion, the death of Moses, and responded with an apocalypse in which Moses foresees the future history of the people. The exegetical justification of this interpretation is probably quite simple. Moses is shown the Land which is described, at least in part, in terms of the territories of the Twelve Tribes. But at the time when the vision was given these tribes had not yet crossed the Jordan, and so the description here given is not of things as they actually were at that precise point in time, but as they were going to be. The vision is in terms not of the present, but of the future, and consequently was regarded as disclosing the future history of the Israelites:

> "And the Memra of the Lord showed him all the mighty men of the Land, the heroes who were to be: Jephtha of Gilead; the victories of Shimshon bar Manoah of the tribe of Dan; and the thousand princes of the house of Naphthali who made an alliance with Balak; and the king who tried to kill Joshua the son of Nun of the tribe of Ephraim etc."

The literal interpretation is found in FT:

> "And the Lord showed to him all the Land: Gilead as far as Dan, that is Caesarea (Philippi), and all the land of Naphthali and the land of Ephraim and Menasseh, and all the land of Judah as far as the hinder sea; and the south and the plain of the valley of Jericho, the city of palms, that is Ze^{o}ir."

Speier JBL 65 (1946) pp. 316-318 quite wrongly suggested changing Ze^{c}ir (זעיר) to Zoar (צוער). The emendation is too obvious. Moreover Ze^{c}ir embodies an ancient etymology of Zoar as "the little place". See Josephus AJ I 204: "Lot himself escaped with his daughters, finding refuge in a tiny spot, forming an oasis in the flames: it is still called Zoor, that being the Hebrew word for little."

This survey of the short boundary-texts offers decisive proof, should it still be needed, of the harmonizing tendency of the meturgemanim. Though the different passages in point of fact describe quite different borders, the meturgemanim took them as delimiting the same area because of their adherence to the principle of the unity of Scripture.

From the boundary-data of the short texts one fact emerges as beyond question: the Land extends northwards as far as the Euphrates (Gen. 15:18; Ex. 23:31; Deut. 1:7; 11:24) and southwards to the Nile (Gen. 15:18). Confident of these two fixed points, the meturgemanim have explained the other elements in such a way as to agree with them. In one case this has led them into striking error, for it has forced them to locate the Biblical Hamath much too far to the north at Antioch, on a parallel with the Euphrates (see Ps-J Gen. 10:18 and Num. 13:21). The eastern border is hardly defined in the short texts. The western border is, and it comes as a surprise, for not content with drawing it on the shore of the Mediterranean, the meturgemanim extend the land westwards through that sea to the Atlantic (Ps-J Deut. 11:24).

The borders thus sketched briefly will be found to agree precisely with those in the Palestinian Targumim of the long boundary-texts. The short texts, in fact, have played a decisive role in the Targumic treatment of the longer passages.

IV.3 The Targumim of Numbers 34

There are three long boundary-texts: (1) Num. 34:3-12, which purports to be a revelation to Moses "in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho" (33:50) of the borders of the land of Canaan (34:2), which was to be divided by lot among the nine and a half tribes which were to cross the Jordan (34:13). (2) Josh. 15:2-4, which gives a southern boundary for the tribe of Judah identical (save for one point) with the southern border of the Land according to Num. 34. (3) Ez. 47:15-20, which delimits the new Land of Israel, to be divided among the twelve tribes when the people would be restored from Exile. Num. 34 will be the basis of our study. It had highest standing as belonging to Torah proper, and, in fact, its Targumim contain the most interesting topographical material.

The distribution of the identifications among the Targumim is interesting. In Josh. 15 there are ten geographical names only one of which, viz., Kadesh-barnea = Rekem Ge°a, is identified in the Targum. Ez. 47 has some fifteen or sixteen, of which only three have equivalents in the Targum: v.16 Hazer hattikhon = the Pool of the °Agbeans; v.19 Tamar = Jericho; Kadesh = Rekem. Throughout the Targum stays close to a patently corrupt Hebrew text. In Num. 34:3-12 there are eighteen or nineteen names. O identifies two: v.4 Kadesh-barnea = Rekem Ge°a; and less significantly, v.11 Sea of Kinnereth = Sea of Ginnesar. On the other hand Ps-J exegetes nearly all of them; those which it does not could be regarded as self-evident, e.g., Edom, Salt Sea and Jordan. FT is also very full. N stands somewhere between FT and O. These statistics divide the Targumim into two groups: The first group is O, Tg.Josh., and Tg.Ez - all marked by their reluctance to render the names. The second group, Ps-J, FT and N all treat them fully. Our study will take the form of a commentary on the fullest of these traditions viz., Ps-J. The texts of the Palestinian Targumim of Num. 34 will be found edited in Appendix I.

A. The Southern Boundary (Num. 34:3-5; cf., Josh. 15:2-4; Ez. 47:19; 48:28).

1. PS-J NUMBERS 34:3

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
Your south quarter shall be from the wilderness of Ẓin along by the side of Edom, and your south border shall be from the end of Salt Sea eastwards.	Your southern border shall be from the wilderness of the thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron by the borders of Edom; and your southern border shall be from the ends of the Salt Sea in the east.

For the Hebrew "Wilderness of Zin (צין)" Ps-J has "Widerness of the thorn-palms (צינין) of the Mt of Iron"; FT has "Wilderness of Reḳem"; N transliterates.

The Mt of Iron is a real geographical locality which is mentioned in three other ancient texts: (a) Firstly, Josephus BJ IV 454 locates it in the region of Moab as part of the Transjordanian uplands that extend from the Sea of Galilee to Petra. This agrees with its position on the borders of Edom according to the Targumim. (b) Secondly, in the instructions regarding the lulab in m.Sukk. III 1 it is laid down that "thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron are valid" - exactly the same expression as in the Targumim. The Babli Gemara in a discussion of this mishnah (b.Sukk. 32b) raises the question of the location of this "Mt of Iron", and quotes a baraitha that connects it with the Valley of Hinnom and the Gate of Gehenna:

> "There are two palms in the Valley of Hinnom between which smoke ascends, and it is in this connection that we have learnt, 'The thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron are valid', and it is the Gate of Gehenna."

Most commentators suppose that this implies that the Rabbis believed that the Mt of Iron was in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, but an analysis of the parallel passage in b.Erub. 19a shows that this is not necessarily so, for the Rabbis held that Gehenna had not one, but three "Gates":

> "R. Jeremiah b. Eliezer stated: Gehenna has three gates: one in the wilderness, one in the sea and one in Jerusalem."

After this assertion the baraitha found in b.Sukk. 32b is quoted again in full and the question appended:

> "Is it possible that this gate (i.e., the one mentioned in the baraitha) is the same as the 'Gate in Jerusalem'?"

I think that the answer to this question is, No. The "Gate of Gehenna" of the baraitha with which the Mt of Iron is linked is more probably the "Gate in the wilderness". In fact the Munich codex of the Babli has the text:

> "Is it not possible that this gate is the same as the 'Gate of the wilderness'?"

This is the more difficult reading, for from the baraitha alone one would naturally think of the Valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem.

The location of the "Gate of Gehenna in the wilderness" may be deduced from the proof-text which R. Jeremiah cites for its existence viz., Num. 16:33, "So they (i.e., Korah and his confederates) went down alive to

Sheol". This event took place according to Num. 13:26 while the Israelites were "in the wilderness of Paran at Kadesh". If Kadesh is identified with Petra, as it invariably is in Rabbinic sources, then the wilderness must be in that area; and so we arrive at a position for the "Gate of Gehenna in the wilderness" and its contiguous point the Mt of Iron somewhere east of the Dead Sea towards Petra - in complete agreement with Josephus (see further pp. 70-71).

(c) The final text to mention the Mt of Iron is 1 Enoch 67:4-13, which connects it with the Valley of Gehenna and with Callirrhoe. Noah is shown the place where the angels who were responsible for the wickedness that brought the Flood are punished. It is"the burning valley", which must surely mean the Valley of Gehenna. This "burning valley" is situated among "the mountains of gold and silver and iron and soft metal and tin". A similar statement is found in 52:2: "There mine eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead" (cf., 52:6). There is clearly a "mountain of iron" here; the other metal mountains are probably a fanciful expansion of the original "mountain of iron", drawing out the imaginative possibilities of that originally precise topographical name. The text continues: "And through its (i.e., this land of metal mountains) valleys proceed streams of fire" - hot springs - "and those waters shall in those days serve for kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body" - probably a veiled reference to Herod's visit to Callirrhoe during his last illness (see p. 182). This rather clinches it that the author of 1 Enoch in this fantastic description has in mind the volcanically disturbed region to the south-east of the Dead Sea. Thus all the ancient texts concur with the Targum in placing the Mt of Iron in this region.

Ps-J, consequently, is in substantial agreement with FT which renders "the wilderness of Ṣin" as "the wilderness of Rekem", Rekem being Petra and the standard equivalent of the Biblical Kadesh. The exegetical basis of FT is Num. 33:36, where Ṣin and Kadesh are equated: "And they journeyed from Eṣion-geber, and pitched in the wilderness of Ṣin, the same is Ḳadesh". There Ps-J has "the wilderness of the thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron". Again, in Num. 34:4 N and FT render Ṣin as "the Mt of Iron"; Ps-J has "the thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron". Ps-J's "thorn-palms" comes from connecting Ṣin with the word for "thorn-palm" -צִינָה. This etymology was

probably inspired by the fact that standing against Zin in Num. 34 is Tamar in Ez. 47 - another word for "palm-tree". This etymology was an exegetical device whereby the meturgeman was able to connect Zin with the Mt of Iron, for thorn-palms were plentiful in that area.

It is surely rather significant that the phrase "thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron" occurs both in Ps-J and m.Sukk. III 1. It should not be too hastily assumed that the Targum is dependent on the Mishnah at this point, for the Mishnah gives no hint as to the position of the Mt of Iron, and there was widespread doubt on this point in Amoraic times, so how was the meturgeman able to locate it correctly, if he was drawing his information solely from the Mishnah ? There are two possible relationships between these two texts: either the Mt of Iron was famous for its thorn-palms and so the expression "the thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron" could occur quite independently in both; or the Mishnah may be dependent on the Targum. It may have been the Targum's etymological pun that made these thorn-palms famous. It should be noted that it is perfectly feasible that by the time of the Mishnah the position of the Mt of Iron was no longer known. In declaring its palms valid for use in the lulab the Rabbis may simply have taken into account their species - thorn-palm - rather than their place of growth.

2. PS-J NUMBERS 34:4

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
And your border shall turn about from south of the ascent of ᶜAḳrabbim and cross to Ṣin: and the goings out thereof shall be south of Ḳadesh-barnea; and it shall go forth to Ḥaṣar-addar and cross to Aṣmon.	And your border shall turn about from south of the ascent of ᶜAḳrabith and cross to the palms of the Mt of Iron: and the goings out thereof shall be south of Reḳem Geᶜa; and it shall go forth to Ṭirath 'Addarya and cross to Ḳesam.

(1) Ascent of ᶜAkrabbim

FT and N have "Ascent of ᶜAḳrabbin", a transliteration probably derived from O. The original text of the Palestinian Targum is preserved by Ps-J's"Ascent of ᶜAḳrabith (עקרבית)".[1] This is the more difficult reading and corresponds to ancient tradition as to the location of the Biblical ᶜAkrabbim. ᶜAkrabith was the chief town of the toparchy of Acrabatene, called Acrabeta by Josephus BJ III 55, and עקרבה in Rabbinic texts such as m.MS V 2.[2] It is the modern ᶜAkraba to the south-east of Nablus (= Neapolis, near Biblical Shechem).

The same identification is found in Eusebius On. 14,8:[3]

> "Akrabbein: the eastern boundary of Judaea, belonging to the tribe of Judah. It is a large village 9 miles distant from Neapolis in the east as one goes down to the Jordan in the direction of Jericho through the district called Akrabattine. Akrabeim is also said to be the border of the Amorites, from which the tribe of Nephthaleim did not exterminate the strangers, as is written in the book of Judges."

Reflection on this passage suggests that the Ascent of ᶜAḳrabith is to be taken as the road running up from the Jordan Valley near Jericho to Acrabeta. The same equation for the Biblical ᶜAkrabbim is found in Mad. Map (ed. Avi-Yonah 14), which may at this point be drawing on Eusebius:

> "East(ern bounda)ry of Jud(aea, Akrab)bim which is no(w Akr)abit(te)."

This tradition, however, is much older than Eusebius, as an analysis of Jubilees 29,14 will show:

> "And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee, he (i.e., Jacob) crossed the Jordan and he pastured his sheep from the sea of the heap (?) unto Bethshan, and unto Dothan and unto the forest (?) of Aḳrabbim."

So Charles translates, but the Ethiopic text has Aḳrâbêth for Aḳrabbim. Some manuscripts read simply "unto Akrâbêth", but others, as well as the Latin, have an unintelligible word before Aḳrâbêth, which was probably "the Ascent of Aḳrâbêth", as in the Targum. That Akrâbêth here is the same as Acrabeta is confirmed by an analysis of the context. Jacob moves from "the sea of the heap (?)" = the Sea of Galilee (?) southwards to Bethshan (= Scythopolis); then further south to Dothan, to the north of Samaria; then still further south to Acrabeta, to the south-east of Samaria. Thus it appears that as early as the book of Jubilees, the Biblical ᶜAkrabbim was identified, obviously on the basis of similarity of sound, with the town of Acrabeta.[4]

(11) Kadesh-barnea

The Targumim, including O and the Peshitta, are agreed on this identification: Ps-J Rekem Geᶜa (רקם גיעא); N and FT Rekem de-Geᶜa (רקם דגיעה); O Rekem Ge'a (רקם גיאה); Pesh. Rekem de-Gaya (ܪܩܡ ܕܓܝܐ). This is one of the most widespread and persistent of Rabbinic identifications, and it seems to have been fundamental to Rabbinic toponymy. It is necessary to investigate it thoroughly, especially in view of the controversy about the use of the term Rekem in Rabbinic texts.[5]

According to Eusebius On. 142,7 Rekem is the Aramaic name for Petra:

> "Petra: a city of Arabia in the land of Edom, which is surnamed Jechthoel and also called Rekem by the Assyrians (= Syrians)."

Similar statements are made in Eusebius On. 144,7 (s.v. Rekem), and Eusebius On. 36,13 (s.v. Arkem). The source of Eusebius, at least in part, is Josephus; see AJ IV 161:

> "The fifth Midianite king was Rekemos. The city which bears his name ranks highest in the land of the Arabs and to this day is called by the whole Arabian nation, after the name of its royal founder Rekeme; it is the Petra of the Greeks."

Compare Josephus AJ IV 82, where Ἄρκην should be emended to Ἀρκέμ as in Eusebius On. 36,13. These statements about the native name for Petra have been confirmed by the discovery of a Nabataean funerary inscription from Petra in which the city is designated as RQMW.[6]

From these sources three forms of the name emerge: (1) Arkem (Eusebius On. 36,13), with initial a representing the Hebrew definite article = הָרְקֶם ; for the pointing with shewa compare the Syriac ܪܩܡ ; . Arekeme (v.l. in Josephus AJ IV 161) corresponds to the Hebrew הָרְקֶם , the final e being simply a Greek ending. (2) Rekem (Eusebius On. 142,7) = Hebrew רְקֶם as in m.Gitt. I 1. Rekeme in Josephus AJ IV 161 is the same form of the name with a Greek ending. Finally (3) we have RQMW on the Nabataean inscription. The final w is a standard Nabataean ending.

The element Ge^{c}a (גיעה) in the name, as the meaning of the word itself suggests, must refer to the upper end of Wadi Musa to the east of Petra, which is called el-Ǧi in Arabic and גיאא , גיא, גאיא in the Nabataean inscriptions.[7] There seems to have been a town or city there which bore the name, possibly marked by the present day village of el-Ǧi; see Eusebius On. 62,18:

> "Gai: a stage of the Israelites in the wilderness. There is to this very day a city called Gaia close to Petra."

This entry in the Onomasticon is probably the source of Steph. Byz. 133,7 (s.v. Gea).

Rekem and Rekem Ge^{c}a are both found in the Targumim and the Peshitta and there is a clear pattern in their use: Rekem stands against the simple Kadesh, while Rekem Ge^{c}a corresponds to Kadesh-barnea. Petra is indicated in both cases, but the extra element is introduced in the second instance to achieve a closer approximation to the double Biblical name. The double name Rekem Ge^{c}a is rather problematical, for there is no evidence for its use elsewhere as a designation of Petra, and it may be an

invention of the Jewish exegetical tradition. It is found, indeed, in non-exegetical texts in Syriac,[8] but this has come about through the influence and authority of the Peshitta, in much the same way as Erech was used as a name for Edessa in Syriac in non-exegetical contexts, because of the equation made between these two towns in the exegetical tradition (see pp. 142-143).

On the other hand it is possible that Ge'a was needed to define Rekem because there were other places in the Jewish onomasticon of this name. Thus in the Tannaitic Boundary List separately listed a Rekem Ge'a (TBL Sifre 33) and a Rekem de-Hagra (TBL Sifre 25).[9] If the former is Petra, what is the latter ? It is out of the question that Hagra here is Hegra (= Meda'in Salih) in the Hedjaz to the south of Petra, as Starcky thinks, for the points given before and after Rekem de-Hagra in the Tannaitic Boundary List demand for it a location somewhere to the east of the Land of Israel. This is confirmed when we analyse two other Tannaitic texts which refer to this same Rekem.

The first of these is m.Gitt. I 1-2:

> "If a man brought a bill of divorce from beyond the sea he must say, 'It was written in my presence and it was signed in my presence.' Rabban Gamliel says: Or even if he brought it from Rekem or Ḥagar. R. Eliezer says: Or even if he brought it from Kefar Ludim to Lod (Lydda)."

The juxtaposition of Rekem and Hagar here shows that we are dealing with the same geographical point as the Rekem de-Hagra of the Tannaitic Boundary List. Then follows a brief description of the borders of the Land attributed to R. Judah ben Ilai:

> "R. Judah says: Rekem and the country east of Rekem count as the east; Ashkelon and the country south of Ashkelon count as the south; Acco and the country north of Acco count as the north."

As the Babylonian scholars realized (see b.Gitt. 4a) this dispute over the Bill of Divorce involves three categories of place: Firstly, places completely outside the Land ("from beyond the sea"); secondly, places bordering on the Land ("Rekem and Ḥagar"); and thirdly, places within the Land ("from Kefar Ludim to Lod"). That Rekem and Ḥagar belong to the second group is made clear by the quotation of R. Judah's definition of the borders of the Land of Israel. It is also fair to suppose, as is done in b.Gitt. 7b, that R. Judah's ruling implies that Rekem lies in the extreme east of the Land.

> The second text mentioning Rekem is m.Nidd. VII 3:
>
> "All blood stains that come from Rekem are clean. R. Judah declares them unclean, since they are proselytes and liable to err."

The same Rekem as in the previous text must be intended. It seems to have constituted an important test case for the halakhic status of towns of the category "bordering on the Land of Israel". It need not, consequently, have been either a large or an important place. In b.Nidd. 56b it is pointed out that R. Judah's ruling carries the implication that the majority, or at least a considerable portion, of the inhabitants of Rekem were proselytes. Drawing together the information about Rekem found in these texts we discover (1) that the town was on the borders of the Land, but was itself outside; (2) it was closely connected with a place called Hagar; (3) it lay in the extreme east of the Land; (4) in the time of R. Judah b. Ilai (mid 2nd cent AD) its inhabitants were mainly proselytes. It is clear from this that Rekem in these texts cannot be Petra, nor can it have anything to do with Hegra in northern Arabia.

We shall now consider the history of the identification of Kadesh with Petra. In doing so we must look not only at ancient traditions about the name Kadesh itself, but also about the whole of the Israelites' itinerary through the wilderness, with particular regard to the location of Mt Hor and of the smiting of the rock at Meribah. We shall also take into account Biblical references to the "Rock of Edom (הַסֶּלַע)".

(a) The Targumim: Though the meturgemanim are confident that Kadesh is Petra, they are very vague about the rest of the places mentioned in the Desert Itinerary. Ps-J has טוורוס אומנוס for Mt Hor but this is probably not the original text of the Palestinian Targum. Ps-J has טוורוס אומנוס (= Mt Amanus) for the other Mt Hor on the northern borders of the Land, and this has influenced its treatment of the southern Mt Hor. FT to Deut. 32:50 has a literal rendering of the latter (הור טורא), which preserves the original Palestinian reading. There is no evidence that the meturgemanim regarded the "Rock of Edom" as being Petra. It is rendered as כיפא in Judges 1:36; as טנרא in 2 Chron. 25:11-12; and as כרכא in 2 Kings 14:7. The latter may, indeed, be el-Karak some 70 miles north of Petra, the Charakmoba of Ptolemy V 16.4 (ed. Mueller), and the Biblical Kir Moab (Is. 15:1). The Targum renders the latter name as כרכא דמואב. There is no reason to suppose that the meturgemanim connected the smiting of the rock at Meribah with Petra. The "rock" itself is rendered טינר in Ex. 17:6 by Ps-J, where the Hebrew has צור, and by כיפא in the parallel

in Num. 20:8, where the Hebrew has עבר. The one exception to this general lack of definition is the equation of Ḳadesh with Petra.

(b) The Septuagint: Once again this version makes no attempt to locate the stages of the Desert Itinerary. A possible exception is the ʿIyyim of Num. 33:44, for which the LXX has Gai. Eusebius On. 62,18 took this to be Gaia near Petra (see p. 193), but it is hard to say if this was intended by the translators; ע = Γ is a standard transliteration in the LXX. The "Rock of Edom" is normally rendered as πετρα in the LXX, but it is not always clear whether the word is being used in a general sense or specifically of the city of Petra. In certain cases the city is manifestly not intended; e.g., Obad. 3; Jer. 49:16; 2 Chron. 25:11-12. In other instances there is doubt; see 2 Kings 14:7; Is. 16:1. In two texts, however, there is a fair degree of certainty that Petra is in mind, viz., Judges 1:36:

> "And the border of the Amorite (cod. A, the Idumaean) was from the Ascent of Akrabein, from Petra and upwards";

and Is. 42:11:

> "Rejoice thou wilderness, and the villages thereof, the hamlets, and the dwellers in Kedar: the inhabitants of Petra shall rejoice, they shall shout from the top of the mountains".

The parallelism of Kedar and Petra would have suggested that the latter is also a place-name. In the incident of the smiting of the rock at Meribah and Massah in Ex. 17:6-7 which the parallel in Num. 20:8 and later Biblical tradition (e.g., Ez. 47:19) seems to have located at Ḳadesh, the "rock" is rendered πέτρα by LXX on both occasions, but once again the problem of whether this term is meant specifically or generally arises. Thus, though LXX offers no clear tradition as to the identification of the places on the Desert Itinerary, its use of πέτρα whether so intended or not, is capable of secondary exegesis linking Ḳadesh and the incident of the smiting of the rock with the Nabataean capital.

(c) Josephus: The only point which Josephus identifies in any way precisely is Mt Hor. This he puts in the region of Petra; see AJ IV 82:

Josephus	Num. 33:37-38 (cf., 20:22)
"Moses led his forces away through the desert and came to a place in Arabia which the Arabs have deemed their metropolis, formerly called Arkē (read: Arkem), today named Petra. There Aaron ascended a lofty mountain range that encloses the spot . . . and died with the eyes of the multitude upon him."	"And they set out from Ḳadesh, and encamped at Mt Hor on the edge of the land of Edom. And Aaron the High Priest went up Mt Hor at the command of the Lord and died there."

When Josephus' account is placed against the Biblical text it seems to follow that he located Ḳadesh not at Petra but somewhere to the west. He does not mention Ḳadesh by name, but fixes the stage prior to Petra at a "mountain called Sein" where they buried Mariamme. This corresponds to Num. 20:1:

> "And the people of Israel, the whole congregation, came into the wilderness of Ẓin in the first month, and the people stayed in Ḳadesh; and Miriam died there and was buried there."

The conclusion, however, that Josephus did not regard Petra as Ḳadesh is not necessarily to be drawn, for it presupposes a consistency in the interpretation of the Biblical text which is not found elsewhere in the exegetical tradition. The incident of the smiting of the rock is not mentioned by Josephus. Indeed, his whole treatment of the desert stages between Sinai and the Arnon (see AJ III 29[5]ff, 300; IV 10, 76, 77, 78, 82, 85) has an air of studied vagueness. Josephus refers to the Rock of Edom only once, in connection with the campaign of Aqasias against "the Amalekites, Edomites and Gabalites" (AJ IX 188; cf., 2 Chron. 25:11-12 and // 2 Kings 14:7). Amasias took many of them captive, led them to a "great rock (πέτραν) which is in Arabia, and cast them headlong from it". It is hard to tell whether Josephus is thinking here of Petra or not.

(d) Eusebius

(i) Kadesh-barnea = Petra; see On. 112, 8 (cf., 46, 26):

> "Kades Barne: the desert stretching alongside the city of Petra in Arabia, where Miriam went up and died; and Moses, going apart, smote the rock and provided water for the thirsty people. The memorial of Maria is shown there to this very day. There too, Chodollagomor slew the princes of Amalek."

(ii) The Rock of Edom identified with Petra in On. 142,7:

> "Petra: a city of Arabia in the land of Edom, which is surnamed Jechthoel and also called Rekem by the Assyrians".

This entry in the Onomasticon must refer to 2 Kings 14:7, "And he took Sela by war, and called the name of it Joktheel unto this day"; the LXX renders sela[c] by petra.

(iii) Mt Hor located near Petra in On. 176,7 (cf., 46,14):

> "Hor: the mountain where Aaron died close to the city of Petra, in which to this day the rock that flowed with water at the command of Moses is shown."

Note also the localising of the smiting of the rock at Petra in this text.

From this survey it becomes clear that the ancient texts do not expound systematically the stages of the desert itinerary. For one thing the Biblical text seems to defeat coherent interpretation, but it is also true that there was no early detailed topographical tradition on the wanderings. The one exception to this general statement is the widespread agreement that Petra lay somewhere along the route of the Israelites. Josephus locates the death of Aaron near there; the LXX may have put the smiting of the rock there; Petra itself is identified in the Targumim with the Biblical Kadesh-barnea. Eusebius makes all these equations, and adds that Miriam died at Petra, and that Gai mentioned in the itinerary (LXX Num. 33:44 = ʿIyyim) is the city of Gaia nearby.

A development in the tradition is traceable through these texts. The LXX is vaguest and most primitive; next is Josephus, followed by the Targumim, which may be reckoned as more advanced because of the assurance of the meturgemanim that Kadesh is Petra. This commits them to locating all the Biblical events associated with Kadesh there. Finally, the most developed state of the tradition is found in Eusebius, by whose time it had gained such momentum that Petra had begun to attract to itself almost all the important events of the post-Sinai period of the desert wanderings, even when this led to difficulty on a cursory reading of the Biblical text. Modern Arabic names embody the tradition. Thus the spring to the east of Petra is called ʿAin Musa, because it was there precisely that the smiting of the rock was localised. The waters of this spring flow along Wadi Musa through Petra and down into the Arabah. To the east of Petra is Jebel Harun = "the mountain of Aaron", which identifies the Mt Hor of the Bible.

This survey of the exegetical tradition also helps us to clarify the origin of the identification of Kadesh and Petra. This cannot have come about through systematic exegesis of the Desert Itinerary, for, as we have seen, none of the early texts attempts this. Nor is it based on similarity of sound between the two names, nor can it possibly be the correct identification; so how did it arise ? I think that the answer lies in an aetiology. To the east of Petra Wadi Musa forms a spectacular narrow gorge known as es-Sik. Now we noted earlier that R. Eleazar spoke of a "Gate of Gehenna in the Wilderness" in connection with the descent of Korah and his confederates alive into Sheol (Num. 16:33), and we argued that that Gate was located at Ḳadesh (see b.Erub. 19a, and p. 189). Given that Kadesh is Petra, the "Gate" is almost certainly the entrance to the gorge, the

Bab es-Sik. The striking cleft in the earth's surface that is the Sik was probably linked with the Biblical words, "And as Moses finished speaking these words, the ground under them split asunder, and the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up" (Num. 16:31-32).[10] It is unlikely that there were any or many Jews living at Petra, but Jewish traders and emissaries, and Jews who were Nabataean subjects must have visited the city often enough.[11]

(iii) Hagar-addar

Ps-J and N have Tirath 'Addarya (טירת אדריא/ טירת אדרייה), and FT Dirath 'Addarya (דירת אדרייא). Neither of these is strictly an identification: Hazar (חצר) has been simply translated, and Addar (אדר) transliterated with an Aramaic ending. The double rendering of חצר is found again in ver. 9: (1)טירה is an encampment, especially the circular encampment of the nomads; cf., Syriac ܛܝܪܬܐ. It renders very exactly the Hebrew חצר which denotes an enclosure for cattle or sheep.[12] (2)דירה, from a root דור, probably has a similar sense. Jastrow gives it the meaning of "human dwelling", but the cognate דיר is a stable or store-house.

(iv) Agmon

Ps-J Kesam (קיסם); FT and N קסם, is el-Kuseima, at the eastern end of Wadi el-ʿArish, and almost certainly the correct identification of the Biblical Agmon.[13] N inserts בתחום שוקמסי, an intrusive marginal gloss intended to locate Kesam. שוקמסי is mentioned again in FT verse 15. It is the Sycomazon of Byzantine texts (e.g., Hierocles 719, 3), a town and a district to the south of Gaza, modern Kh. Suḳ Mazen.[14] It is not elsewhere mentioned in Rabbinic texts. The gloss probably dates from Byzantine times when Sycomazon seems to have been of some importance, and to have had a bishop.

3. PS-J NUMBERS 34:5

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
And the border shall turn about from Azmon unto the Brook of Egypt, and the goings out thereof shall be at the sea.	And the border shall turn about from Kesam unto the Nile of Egypt, and the goings out thereof shall be towards the west.

For the rendering of "Brook of Egypt" as "Nile of Egypt" see p. 182.

The southern border of the Land in the Targumim makes good geographical sense: It begins at the southern end of the road leading up from Jericho to Acrabeta, crosses over the Jordan to the Mt of Iron, turns south to Petra, then goes to the unidentified point Ṭirath 'Addarya; it crosses the Arabah to el-Kuseima, turns westward to the Nile and ends at the sea.

B. The Western Boundary (Num. 34:6; cf., Ez. 47:20)

Hebrew Text (Num. 34:6)	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
And for the western border ye shall have the Great Sea, and (the) border (thereof): this shall be your western border.	And for the western border ye shall have the Great Sea, Ocean, and the border thereof, these are the waters of creation, with the primaeval waters that are in the midst of it; its noblemen (?) and its coasts (?); its great cities and its states; its islands and its harbours; its ships and its merchant-men (?): this shall be your western border.

Ps-J may be analysed without difficulty into two strata, the first being a close rendering of the original, and the second a layer of explanatory pluses:

(1) "And for the western border ye shall have the Great Sea . . . and the border thereof . . . this shall be your western border."

(2) " . . . Ocean . . . these are the waters of creation, with the primaeval waters that are in the midst of it; its noblemen (?) and its coasts (?); its great cities and its states; its islands and its harbours; its ships and its merchant-men (?) . . ."

The other recensions of the Palestinian Targum have material very similar to the second stratum here:

FT: "(The Great Sea) that is Ocean, its islands and its ships, with the primaeval waters that are in the midst, these are the waters of creation."

N: "(The Great Sea) Ocean, these are the waters of creation, its islands, its harbours and its ships, with the primaeval waters that are in the midst."

Note also Ps-J Deut. 11:24 where the Hebrew expression "the hinder sea" is rendered as "the sea of Ocean, that is the waters of creation, the western side."

The general idea conveyed by the second stratum material is that the territory belonging to Israel does not stop on the sea-shore of the Land, but extends westwards through the Mediterranean right to the Atlantic Ocean. R. Judah b. Ilai held a similar view, and it is clear from the Talmudic discussion of it that the exegetical basis of this notion was the redundant expression "and (the) border (thereof)" - וגבול - in Num. 34:6. The Rabbis argued that this phrase was inserted to indicate that the islands immediately off the coast of Israel were to be included in the Land, but R. Judah objected that this idea is so self-evident that it hardly needs explicit statement; consequently, the "border" here must mean the border of the Great Sea, which R. Judah took to be the Atlantic; see b.Gitt. 8a.*

In the Palestinian Targum there is an implicit contrast between "Ocean" and "the primaeval waters that are in the midst of it". The former term designates, as in Greek texts, the sea that surrounds the island of the inhabited world; the latter expression denotes the Mediterranean, which is called, as in Ps-Aristotle De mundo III (393a.16), the "inner sea" as opposed to the "outer sea" of Ocean; see further pp. 47-48. We should probably read "in the midst (בגווה)" rather than "in the midst of it (בגויה)". The problem remains why the Mediterranean should be referred to as "the primaeval waters that are in the midst" ? The phrase "primaeval waters" is obviously in some sense synonymous with "Ocean" and "waters of creation": note FT, "the primaeval waters that are in the midst, these are the waters of creation", and see further Gen.R. IV 5, Ps-J Gen. 1:7, Rashi to Gen. 1:9 and Jubilees II 4; consequently, one would expect it to be a designation of the Atlantic rather than the Mediterranean. There are two possible explanations for its use of the latter sea.

Firstly, there may be implied the theory held by the Greek geographers that the Mediterranean is formed by the waters of Ocean pouring into a hollow in the earth's disc through the narrow mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar; see Ps-Aristotle De mundo III (393a.16). This view seems to be reflected in Jubilees VIII 15, y.Shek. 30a.27 and certain other Rabbinic texts; see further pp. 41, 48-49 and 114. Thus the Mediterranean may be regarded as that portion of the primaeval waters of Ocean which have poured into the middle of the earth.

Secondly, there may be an allusion to the notion found in Rabbinic cosmogony, and derived directly from the Bible, that the earth was

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* See further pp. 33, ; and figure 4.

in the beginning covered with a blanket of water (see Ps. 104:6). When God commanded dry land to appear, the mountains reared upward and the water fell back into its predetermined basins to form seas (Gen. 1:9; Ps. 104: 7-8; Ex.R. XV 22; PRE V). Hence both the Mediterranean and the Ocean are remnants of the original primaeval waters. On both these explanations there is an implicit contrast between the Mediterranean as the "primaeval waters in the midst" and the Ocean as the "primaeval waters outside" the island of the world.

The Targum attempts to itemize precisely the elements in the Mediterranean that fall within the territory of Israel. It takes a very generous view, and includes not only the islands lying in the sea, but even the ships that sail upon it, and the lands around its coastline. Several of the words in its list are obscure: (1) אבירוי appears to mean "its noblemen" but this hardly makes sense. A number of alternatives suggest themselves: אביר may = Greek ἀήρ , though this is normally found in the form אויר in Rabbinic texts (see Krauss GLL 17, 596). אויר is used in the Talmud in a technical sense for the airspace above a given tract of territory,* so perhaps the Targum is asserting that the airspace above the Mediterranean also comes within the territory of the Land of Israel. Or perhaps one could link אביר with the word איברא = a wing, which, at least in its Hebrew cognate, can mean the "outskirts" of a city; hence here, "its edges, or coasts". Or again one might emend to עברא from = a border, or side, and reach the same result. (2) "Its coasts" is probably a correct translation of פרכירוי , this being borrowed from the Greek τὰ περίχωρα = "the surrounding regions" (see Krauss GLL 489). (3) "its merchant-men" for אלגוותיה is simply a guess. Klein,"Grenzverzeichnis" p. 55, suggests "coasts" but in the series, "harbours, ships and . . ." I think that we require another word for ship.

A comparison of the various recensions points to the second stratum as an intrusion into the base translation. Thus it is obvious that originally "Ocean" and "these are the waters of creation" must have stood together, the latter being a explanatory gloss on the former, giving the Aramaic equivalent for the Greek loan-word; cf., Ps-J Deut. 11:24, "Ocean, these are the waters of creation". In the process of inserting the gloss into the text, however, the two elements were split up. In each of the recensions "Ocean" exegetes "the Great Sea"; the intention of the glossator, however, was to exegete "and the border thereof". In late Talmudic times, and certainly by the time of Sefer Yosippon, there was a tendency to take

*See further p. 245.

"the Great Sea" etymologically and equate it with Ocean. The copyist who attached the word "Ocean" to "the Great Sea" here probably subscribed to this view.

A comparison of the various recensions of the Palestinian Targum also suggests that Ps-J's second stratum is not a single gloss but a series of glosses. Note among other things, the "floating" position of "these are the waters of creation" in the different recensions. It is possible to see how the Targum evolved at this point: at first there was the base translation, represented here by the first stratum, which rendered the text in a very straightforward fashion. Then a marginal gloss appeared which explained the text in the manner of R. Judah ben Ilai. It was probably originally in the form: "Ocean together with the primaeval waters that are in the midst". The precise relationship between this gloss and the view of R. Judah will be discussed later;* suffice it for the moment to point out that, though broadly in agreement with R. Judah's position on the western border of the Land, it does not concur with it completely. The Targum takes up a much more extreme position that R. Judah, and so there is no reason to suppose that it is directly dependent on his ruling. Next, the marginal gloss received a series of additions which were aimed at further elucidation of it: "Ocean" was glossed with its standard native equivalent, "these are the waters of creation". (When the marginal gloss was intruded into the text these two elements were separated.) The phrase "the primaeval waters that are in the midst"was exegeted by the addition of "its islands and its ships", which was intended to draw out the halakhic significance of the words: everything lying to the west of the Land of Israel between it and the Atlantic, including islands and ships, falls within its territorial jurisdiction. This basic list of two items, which is found in FT, was in the other recensions expanded by the addition of further items of the same order, which carrier this interpretation to its logical conclusion: N adds "harbours"; Ps-J, "shores (?), coasts (?), great cities, states, harbours and merchant-men (?)".

C. The Northern Boundary (Num. 34:7-9; cf., Ez. 47:15-17; 48:1,28)

1. PS-J NUMBERS 34:7

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
And this shall be your north border: from the Great Sea ye shall mark out for you Mt Hor.	And this shall be your north border: from the Great Sea ye shall draw a to Tauris 'Umanis.

*See further p. 249.

The Palestinian Targumim all agree on the rendering of the Hebrew Mt Hor (הור ההר): Ps-J has טווריס אומניס; FT טוורוס מנוס ; and N טוורוס הומינס. There are two quite distinct Mt Hors mentioned in the Bible, one in the south of the Land, where Aaron died (Num. 20:27); the other in the extreme north of the Land, mentioned only here and in the following verse. The Palestinian Targumim have טוורוס אמנוס for both, but, as we suggested earlier (p.195), this rendering belongs properly to the northern Mt Hor and has been equated also with the southern Mt Hor by assimilation. FT's literal הור טורא for the southern mountain in Deut. 33:50 is probably the original Palestinian reading.

The אומנ"ס, מנוס, הומינס element in the Targumic name points undoubtedly to the Amanus range of mountains to the north and north-west of Antioch (the Amanos Dağlari of modern Turkish maps). Underlying the many corruptions of this name in Rabbinic texts are three principal forms: (1)אֲמָנוֹס which corresponds to the normal Latin and the occasional Greek form Amanus (Strabo XIV 5.24 p.678); (2)אֲמָנוֹן (see b.Gitt. 8a, and the variants in t.Ter. II 12), which represents the commonest Greek designation Τὸ Ἀμανόν or Τὸ Ἀμανὸν ὄρος(see Strabo XII 2.2 p.535; XVI 2.8 p.751); (3)אֲמָנָה was used as well because of the identification of Mt Amana of Cant. 4:8 with Amanus on the grounds of similarity of sound; see Ex.R. XXIII 5 = Cant.R. IV 8.2. But Amana was then employed for Amanus in non-exegetical texts such as m.Hall. IV 8 and m.Sheb. VI 1 as a kind of "purism".

The Amanus range begins on the coast to the west of Antioch and runs in a north-north-westerly direction for about 150 kms almost to Germanicia (modern Marash), where it is separated from the Taurus range by a steep gorge, the Gorge of Jihun. There are few passes through it, the most important being the Beilan Pass (Turkish Belen) to the north of Antioch, which connects Syria and Cilicia, the "Syrian Gates" of antiquity (Ptolemy V 14.9). It was of great strategic significance: Issus is on the Cilician side of the pass (see Arrian An. II 7ff).[15] The Amanus range was an important natural barrier (see Lucan III 234), and Josephus makes it the boundary between the sons of Japhet and the sons of Ham (AJ I 129, 130).[2]

Mt Amanus in the north, like Petra in the south, was a fixed point of Rabbinic toponomy. It is very often mentioned as the northernmost limit of the Land of Israel; see b.Gitt. 8a; y.Hall. 60a.38; y.Sheb. 36b.mid.; t.Ter. II 12; t.Hall. II 11; m.Hall. IV 8; m.Sheb. VI 1. So R. Hunia cites an exposition that R. Justa gave of the words, "Look from the top of Amana"

(Cant. 4:8) which referred them to the exiles returning to the Land of Israel in the Messianic age, who would burst into song when they reach the top of Taurus Amanus (Cant.R. IV 8.2); the idea is that then, at last, they will be entering the Land (cf., Ex.R. XXIII 5). R. Justa's interpretation almost certainly implies a knowledge of the Palestinian Targumim's rendering of Mt Hor, the northern boundary-point of Israel, as Taurus Amanus.

The element טורוס in the Targumic name must represent the Greek Tauros. This term had two main senses in Greek and Latin texts: Firstly, it was used for a range of mountains which were supposed to extend right from the coast of Asia Minor across the whole continent of Asia to the eastern Ocean; and secondly, for the portion of that range between Cilicia, Cappadocia and southern Armenia.[16] It is something of a puzzle why the meturgemanim added Taurus to Amanus. The compound name Taurus Amanus is nowhere to be found in Greek and Latin texts. The word Taurus appears to be redundant, for the Amanus range is, of itself, well enough known and in need of no further definition; in some texts טורוס is changed to טורי = "mountains of . . . ". Moreover, though in abstract the Amanus Range may be regarded as an arm of the Taurus, it was quite distinct from it.

In view of all this we must consider seriously the suggestion of Honigman that Tauros in certain Greek texts denotes a part of the Amanus range, the part, to be exact, adjacent to the Pass of Beilan.[17] The modern Amanus range is divided into three portions: (1) Gebel Arsuz in the south-west; (2) Alma-Dagh (or: Elma-Dagh) round the Beilan Pass; (3) Gjaur-Dagh in the north-east.[18] Gebel Arsuz, "the Red Mountain", is the Ῥώσιά ὄρη of antiquity; Gjaur-Dagh is probably the Σαρβαδικὸν ὄρος of the Byzantines (see Ramsay AM p.385). The only part of the range for which we do not have an ancient equivalent is the Alma-Dagh. This, Honigman suggests, was called Tauros. This conjecture makes sense of a number of otherwise puzzling references in ancient texts; for example Ps-Aristotle De ventis 973a:[19]

> "Borras . . . is called Syriander in the Issic Gulf and about Rhosus; it blows from the Syrian Gates, which the Taurus and Rhosian mountains divide."

The "Syrian Gates" here are the Beilan Pass, so the Rhosian mountains and Mt Taurus must be the mountains on the south and north of the pass.

This suggestion helps us to make sense of the Targumic Taurus Amanus. It enables us to offer an explanation of the strange compound

name. The identification of the Biblical Mt Hor was probably originally with Mt Taurus at the Beilan Pass; Amanus was later added to specify the Taurus as the Taurus of the Amanus range and not the more famous and extensive Taurus range to the north. Two other references must be considered here: (1) Josephus AJ I 122, 130 makes "the mountains of Taurus and Amanus" the boundary between the sons of Japhet and the sons of Ham. The "Taurus" here is probably the mountain at the Pass of Beilan, the "and Amanus" having been added to make this clear. (2) 1QGenAp. XXI 16 places "the mountain of the Bull (טור תורא)" on the northern border of the Land of Israel; once again the Taurus at Beilan is probably intended. Behind 1QGenAp's טור תורא is an Aramaic equivalent for Mt Hor, viz., טור טוורוס; this was translated by 1QGenAp. with reference to the Greek ταῦρος as "Mt of the Bull".* This underlying טור טוורוס represents an early stage of the same exegetical tradition as the Palestinian Targum, before the addition of the explanatory Amanus.

Honigman also makes a suggestion which may provide the key to the exegetical reasoning behind the identification of Mt Hor with Mt Taurus. He points out that Tauros as a name of a mountain is probably simply a Greek form of the Aramaic טורא; Syriac ܛܘܪܐ = mountain. Alma-Dagh was probably known in nearby Antioch as "the mountain" par excellence. Now the name of the Biblical mountain Hor (הור) is simply an Aramaic word meaning "mountain", cognate with the Hebrew הר . This is recognized by LXX which renders הור ההר as τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὄρος, and by the Vulgate which takes the phrase as an expression of the superlative, "mountain of the mountain", hence "mons altissimus" (cf., Num.R. XIX 6). Because of their harmonization of the long and the short boundary descriptions of the Land the meturgemanim were compelled to seek Mt Hor somewhere in the north near the Euphrates. They etymologized it as meaning "the mountain", and identified it with "the mountain" to the north of Antioch, a knowledge of which may have been mediated to them through contact with the extensive Jewish Diaspora in that city.

2. PS-J NUMBERS 34:8

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
From Mt Hor ye shall mark out Lebo-Hamath; and the goings out of the border shall be at Zedad.	From Taurus 'Umanis ye shall draw a line (to) the entrance of Tiberias; and the goings out of the border shall be // from the two sides of it (ye are) drawing a line to the fortresses of Bar Zoᶜema and to the fortresses of Bar Senigora, and the image (?) and the cock unto Caesarea // the entrance of 'Ablas (?) of the Cilicians.

*See p. 249.

Ps-J is in obvious disarray, and we must distinguish in it two strata of material:

(1) "From Taurus 'Umanis ye shall draw a line (to) the entrance of Tiberias; and the goings out of the border shall be . . . the entrance to 'Ablas of the Cilicians."

(2) " . . . from the two sides of it (ye are) drawing a line to the fortresses of Bar Zoᶜema and to the fortresses of Bar Senigora, and the image (?) and the cook unto Caesarea . . . "

The first stratum gives a simple rendering of the Hebrew; the second is a later intrusion into it: note its lack of coherence with the material of stratum 1, and also the fact that material similar to this is found in FT and N, but attached to verse 15. We shall discuss it fully in the notes to that verse.* For the present, however, it should be observed that the second stratum gives a rendering of the Biblical "at Ẓedad" alternative to the first stratum's "to 'Ablas (?) of the Cilicians". In the first stratum there are two equivalents to be considered:

(i) Lebo-Hamath

Ps-J has:"the entrance of Tiberias" (מעלך לטבריא), but FT: "the entrance of Antioch" (ממעלא לאנטוכיא), and N: "the entrances of Antioch" (למעלני אנטוכייה). Antioch is the original reading. In Ps-J it was replaced by Tiberias by a redactor who was attempting to harmonize this verse and Deut. 3:17; for proof of this see the notes to verse 15. The identification of Hamath with Antioch is standard in early Jewish texts; see p. 181.

(ii) Zedad

Ps-J has: "the entrance to 'Ablas of the Cilicians" (מעלך לאבלס דקילקאי); so also FT: אוולס דקילקאי, and N: אוולס דקיליקי. Ps-J's + "the entrance to . . . " is derived from Ez. 47:15 which speaks of "Lebo-Ẓedad" instead of "Ẓedad" - yet another small indication of the harmonizing tendency of the meturgemanim. The second element in this Targumic name must mean "Cilicians"; the first element אבלס or אוולס is not found elsewhere in Rabbinic texts and poses a problem. There are two Greek words from which it might be derived: (a) αὐλών, which in geographical contexts means "a narrow or hemmed-in place".[20] It is used more

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*See further p. 218.

precisely of (1) a cleft between mountains, whether large or small. Thus Eusebius, commenting on the occurence of the word in LXX Deut. 1:1 writes (On. 14,22):

> "Aulon: an extensive and elongated plain which even to the present is called the Aulon. It is hemmed in on both sides by mountains that extend from the Lebanon and beyond to the desert of Pharan."

The reference is, of course, to the Jordan rift-valley. The "Cilician Aulon" would in this case most obviously mean the Pass of Beilan, the Syrian Gates. (2) αὐλών may also be used of a broader, but still enclosed plain. The "Cilician Plain" could refer to the coastal plain of Cilicia that opens out beyond the Syrian Gates. If one stressed Ps-J's "the entrance to" as original, then we would be brought back once again to the Pass of Beilan. (3) Finally, αὐλών can also mean "a narrow stretch of water" or "straits". So several ancient authors refer to the stretch of water between Cyprus and Cilicia as the "Cilician Aulon" (Κιλίκιος αὐλών); see Ptolemy VI 4.4; Pliny NH V 130.[21] This could hardly be the reference here, for it would bring the border bending back to the sea once more. (b) אבלם / אוולם could also represent the Greek αὐλας, accusative plural from αὐλή. Steph. Byz. 145,19 mentions a place by the name of Aulai in Cilicia; it was a sea-port between Tarsus and Anchiale. However, a reference to this town would hardly be suitable here for it would result in a very irrational border-line. Besides Aulai by all accounts was a very small place indeed. So then, a reference to the Pass of Beilan appears to suit the Targumim best. We should emend אוולם/אבלם to אוולם/אבלם; for Greek nu being represented by Hebrew-Aramaic mem, compare Ἰσπανία = אספמיא, and Παναὰς = פמיאס.

The Greek underlying אוולס דקילקאי would appear to have been αὐλὼν Κιλίκων. Now it is a curious fact that a place called Κιλίκων αὐλών is mentioned by Josephus AJ XIII 397 in a list of places held by the Jews under Alexander Jannaeus. This cannot have been the "Cilician Aulon" in any of its possible senses, and so Schalit is probably correct in emending to Ἁλυκὸς αὐλών = Valley of Salt.[22] It is interesting, however, to speculate on the origin of this corruption. The copyist who corrupted an original Ἁλυκὸς αὐλών to Κιλικων αὐλών was probably familiar with the latter name. It is also curious to note that Jerome, in his translation of Eusebius Onomasticon under Aulon (PL XXIII 912), adds the comment that Aulon "is not Greek, as some think, but Hebrew". This idea probably arose in his mind because he knew αὐλών as a loan-word in Hebrew or Aramaic, and supposed that it was originally Semitic.

The exegetical basis of this identification is not too far to seek. The Hebrew צדדה has been etymologized as "towards the side" or "sideways". The border at this point, according to the Targum, is proceeding eastwards from the sea, to Mt Amanus and to Antioch, so the meturgeman took "towards the side" in this context as meaning "in the direction of Cilicia", and so he identified the next border-point with the Pass of Beilan that leads from Syria to Cilicia. The second stratum is based on a similar etymology: note its beginning, "from the two sides of it . . .".

3. PS-J NUMBERS 34:9

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
And the border shall go forth to Ziphron, and the goings out thereof shall be at Ḥaẓar-ᶜenan: this shall be your north border.	And the border shall go forth to Ḳeren Zakhutha and to the hill of Ḥaṭmana, and the goings out thereof shall be to the well of Beth Sekhel and to the middle of the great coutyard that is midway between Ṭirath ᶜEnwatha and Damascus: this shall be your north border.

Once again Ps-J is in confusion. Two strata of material may be distinguished:

(1) "And the border shall go forth to . . . and the goings out thereof shall be to . . . : this shall be your north border."

(2) ". . . Ḳeren Zakhutha and to the hill of Ḥaṭmana . . . the well of Beth Sekhel and the middle of the great courtyard that is midway between Ṭirath ᶜEnwatha and Damascus . . . "

Stratum 2 is intrusive, as is proved once again by the fact that FT and N have the corresponding material not here but in verse 15. It will be fully discussed in the notes to that verse.* For the present it is sufficient to observe that the material which makes up the second stratum has been drawn from Ez. 47:16-17 and from the Tannaitic Boundary List.

The intrusion of stratum 2 into stratum 1 displaced two names from the latter. One of these names may be recovered from Ps-J's rendering of the following verse: "and ye shall draw your border from Ṭirath ᶜEnwatha". Hence Ps-J must have originally read here: "and the goings out thereof shall be to Ṭirath ᶜEnwatha (טירת עינוותא)". This is further confirmed by the reading of FT: "and the goings out thereof shall be Dirath ᶜEnwatha (דירת עינוותא)". The other lost name in Ps-J was almost certainly Zephirin (זפירין) - "and the border shall go out to Zephirin", which is the text of both FT and N. The first stratum, then, has two equivalents to be considered:

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*See further p. 218.

(i) Ziphron

FT and N have Zephirin (זפירין). It is hard to say for certain whether this is intended as an identification or simply as a transliteration. If the former, then the place referred to may be the Ziphirin (זיפירין) or Zuphrin (זופרין), which was visited by R. Akiba, according to many Rabbinic texts; see Num.R. VIII 7; b.BK 113a (end); y.BK. 7a.44; y.AZ. 41b.59; Yalk. Num. 701; Sifre Num. 4; Sifre zuta Num. V 10; t.BK. X 17 (232,8); further p. 28. This Ziphirin or Zuphrin has been plausibly connected with the Greek Zephurion; but with which place of this name are we to identify it ? Pape-Benseler lists some twelve localities so called, most of them promontories, for the name Zephyrium is derived from Zephyrus the west wind. Josephus BJ I 456 speaks of a Zephyrium in Cilicia. This could be one of two places, as we learn from Strabo XIV 5.4-9 pp.670-671:

> "Near the Calycadnus is also Zephyrium, likewise a promontory . . . After Lamus one comes to Soli, a noteworthy city . . . then to Zephyrium, which bears the same name as the place near the Calycadnus. Then Anchiale . . ."

The latter Zephyrium is probably the one in Josephus' mind, and it is also a likely identification of the place which Akiba visited.[23] We saw earlier that he was active in south-eastern Asia Minor (see p.28). At least one copyist supposed that this Ziphirin or Zuphrin to which Akiba went was the same as the Biblical Ziphron. This is clear from the form of the name found in Sifre Num. 4:

> "R. Akiba taught so and so before he went to Ziphronah (לזפרונה), but when he came from Zuphrin (זופרין) he said that etc."

The unusual form of the name זפרונה reflects evidently the זִפְרוֹנָה of Num. 34:9, and was probably introduced by a copyist who supposed that the Biblical place and the place visited by Akiba were one and the same.

Despite this equation of the copyist I think that this Zephyrium cannot be the place intended by the Targumic Zephirin, because it would impossibly distort the border which we have drawn so far. In this case we must treat Zephirin as a transliteration or as concealing some name which, at the moment, we are unable to decipher.

(ii) Hazar-ᶜenan

FT's Dirath ᶜEnwatha (דירת עינוותא) and Ps-J's Tirath ᶜEnwatha (טירת עינוותא) are simply translations of a name which the

meturgemanim could not identify: they read עין as a plural, and translated חצר ; see further p.199.

N reads Tirath ᶜAgbatha (טירת עגבתא). This cannot have been its original text, for it has "from Tirath ᶜEnwatha" in the following verse. Where, then, did this name come from ? Probably from Ez. 47:16: there the name Hazer hattikhon, which seems to stand against Hazar-ᶜenan here, is rendered in the Targum as "the pool of the ᶜAgebeans (עגיבאי)". The word עגיבאי looks like a gentilic of the place עגבתא. Jastrow Lex. p.1040b connects the עגיבאי with the Transjordanian region called 'Argob in the Bible, which the Targumim on occasions (e.g., O Deut. 3:4,13, 14) identify, probably correctly, with Trachonitis. This is too long a shot. I would conjecture a link with the town of Agaba (Lat. Gabatha) where Aristobulus II received shelter after his flight from Jerusalem (Josephus AJ XIII 424). The location of this place has not been established, but a position for it in Iturаea or Trachonitis would fit well, for Aristobulus drew support from these regions; see AJ XIII 427.

D. The Eastern Boundary (Num. 34:10–12; cf., Ez. 47:18)

1. PS-J NUMBERS 34:10

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
And for your eastern border ye shall mark out from Ḥaẓar-ᶜenan to Shepham.	And for your eastern border ye shall draw a line from Ṭirath ᶜEnwatha to 'Apamia.

For the Hebrew Shepham (שפם) Ps-J has אפמיאה ; FT אפמיים and N אפמיה - all evidently intending the same identification. The form of the name in Ps-J and N would lead us to think of the Greek Apameia. There were a number of cities of this name in the former Seleucid Empire, two or perhaps three of which make an appearance in Rabbinic literature:[24] (1) Apamea on the Orontes, more precisely referred to as "Syrian Apamea". This is the "Apamea in Syria" mentioned in m.Hall. IV 11. (2) Apamea in Phrygia, surnamed Cibotus. Krauss (GLL 90 and JE I 661b) finds reference to this in a number of texts (e.g., b.Yeb. 115b), but none of them is at all certain. (3) Apamea in Mesene (Ptolemy V 18.9). Rabbinic sources mention this town, and inform us that it was divided into two - upper and lower Apamea, which were separated by a parasang. Lower Apamea spoke the Mesenian dialect (b.Kidd. 71b).[25]

Syrian Apamea would suit the Palestinian Targumim here. Josephus in BJ II 479 states that the city had a Jewish population at the time of the first Jewish War, and this is borne out by m.Hall. IV 10-11, which must refer to the period before the destruction of the Temple in AD 70. This passage lists a number of places from which First Fruits were not accepted (Babylonia, Alexandria etc.,) because they were outside the Land. However, when a certain Ariston brought up First Fruits from Apamea they were received on the ground that "he who owns land in Syria is as one who owns land on the outskirts of Jerusalem". R. Simeon b. Yohai appears to have identified the Kadmonite of Gen. 15:19 with the inhabitants of the same city. This would imply that it belonged at least ideally to the Land of Israel and would be restored to her in the days of the Messiah (Gen.R. XLIV 23). Syrian Apamea, then, was known and in some sense regarded as being within the Land.

Despite the suitability of Syrian Apamea, I am of the opinion that the Palestinian Targumim are not in this case referring to it but to Paneas (Caesarea Philippi) at the foot of Mt Hermon.[26] (1) Firstly, it should be noted that the next border-point mentioned in the Targumim is Daphne, which is to be located a little to the west of Paneas. (2) Secondly, the form of the name in FT אפמיים needs to be explained. I consider that it is most likely to be a corruption of אפמייס = פמייס = Paneas; the prosthetic aleph is characteristic of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic. (3) Finally, no stress can be placed on the spelling of the name in the manuscripts, for the transliterations of three different Greek words were confused from early on in Rabbinic texts; viz., (a) Ἰσπανία = אספניא or אספמיא ; cf., Tg.Obad. 20 which has אספמיא for the Hebrew ספרד ; (b) Ἀπαμεία = אפמייא ; and (c) Πανεάς = פניאס or פמיאס .

Paneas with its famous cave is spoken of frequently in Rabbinic texts. There is a widespread Jewish tradition that it marked the site of the Biblical Dan (= Laish or Leshem); see b.Meg. 6a; PRE XXVII beg.; Tg.1 Chron. 21:2; FT Deut. 34:1-3; Tg.Cant. 5:4; Gen.R. XCIV 9. The identification is wrong, for Dan is almost certainly Tell el-Kadi to the west of Paneas. The equation, however, has been influenced by the Biblical formula, "Dan to Beersheba" - which denotes the northern and the southern limits of the Land. Paneas, as the northernmost Jewish city, was equated with Dan. In Gen.R. LXVIII 8 we meet the phrase, "so and so has gone to Caesarea", (i.e., Caesarea Philippi), and the context implies that it was viewed as being some distance off.

The name of the town was changed several times. It was first called Paneas - a name derived from the Paneion, the temenos of Pan in the grotto above the town. Philip the Tetrarch rebuilt the town and called it Caesarea Philippi to distinguish it from his father's Caesarea on the coast (Josephus BJ II 168). Agrippa II further aggrandized it and renamed it Neronias (AJ XX 211). Coins show that from the time of Marcus Aurelius it was known as Caesarea Paneas (Head HN (^{2}1911) pp. 785-6), which is the name employed by Ptolemy V 15:21; VIII 20:12. Early Christian writers speak mostly of Paneas (Thompsen LS s.v. Kaisareia 2; Dict. Hist. and Géog. Ecc. XII 210). This survives (in various corrupt forms) in Mediaeval texts and underlies the modern designation Baniyas. Caesarea Philippi makes an appearance in Christian writings of the XIVth century, but only in ecclesiastical texts (Dict. Hist. and Géog. Ecc. XII 210). From this survey two points emerge: Firstly, the name which appears to have been in use throughout all vicissitudes of the town's history was Paneas. This was the local name, used constantly without regard to official changes of designation. Secondly, Caesarea (without the addition of Philippi (?)) was also probably current during the period when the city was officially known as Neronias, and re-emerges in the official title of the second century, Caesarea Paneas. It is precisely these two names - Paneas and Caesarea - which the Rabbis use for the town: Paneas is represented as פניאס and פמיאס, and Caesarea as קיסריון ; this latter form with the diminutive ending is a convention to distinguish Caesarea Philippi from Caesarea Maritima, which was called קיסרין . The two forms, however, are frequently confused in the manuscripts.

The exegetical basis of the identification of the Biblical שפם with Paneas was probably the transposition of letters: שפם to פמש to פמס to פמיאס.

2. PS-J NUMBERS 34:11

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targum (Ps-J)
And the border shall go down from Shepham to Riblah to the east of ʿAin (or: the spring), and the border shall go down and strike the side of the sea of Kinnereth eastward.	And the border shall go down from ʾApamia to Daphne to the east of the springs; and the border shall go down to the cave of Paneas, and from the cave of Paneas the border shall go down to the Mt of Snow, and from the Mt of Snow the border shall go down to ʿEnan, and from ʿEnan the border shall go down and go round the plain, the plain of the torrents of the Arnon, and it shall come to the desert of the thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron, the waters

> of contention, mourning and sleep, close to Ginnesar the city of the kingdom of the Amorites; the inheritance of the tribe of Reuben, Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh; and the border shall go down and strike the sea of Ginnesar in the east.

Ps-J is once again in patent confusion. By means of synoptic comparison of it with the other two recensions of the Palestinian Targum we can separate two strata:

> (1) "And the border shall go down from 'Apamia to Daphne to the east of the springs . . . and the border shall go down and shall strike the sea of Ginnesar in the east."

This more or less straightforward rendering of the Hebrew corresponds (with certain minor exceptions) to the other Palestinian Targumim:

> FT: "And the border shall go down from 'Apamyam to Daphne to the east of the springs, and the border shall go down and arrive close to the sea of Ginnesar in the west (sic !)."
>
> N: "And the border goes down from 'Apamia to Daphne to the east of the spring; and the border goes down and strikes upon the edge of the sea of Ginnesar in the east."

The second stratum in Ps-J consists of a layer of glosses:

> (2) " . . . and the border shall go down to the cave of Paneas, and from the cave of Paneas the border shall go down to the Mt of Snow, and from the Mt of Snow the border shall go down to ᶜEnan, and from ᶜEnan the border shall go down and go round the plain, the plain of the torrents of the Arnon, and it shall come to the desert of the thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron, the waters of contention, mourning and sleep, close to Ginnesar the city of the kingdom of the Amorites; the inheritance of the tribe of Reuben, Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh . . . "

The second stratum is, geographically speaking, a nonsensical jumble. It is evidently intrusive: Firstly, note the reference to the"inheritance of the tribe of Reuben, Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh", which shows that if this material belongs anywhere in the Targum of this chapter, it is in verse 15. Verse 15, in fact, is where FT and N have their corresponding material. Secondly, note the inconsistency in the treatment of the Biblical ᶜEnan. In verse 9 this was taken as a plural ᶜEnwatha; here it is simply transliterated. For a commentary on the stratum 2 material see on verse 15.

Two identifications in stratum 1 have to be considered:

(i) Riblah

The Palestinian Targumim all have דפנא = Greek Daphne,

which is to be identified with the place mentioned in Josephus BJ IV 3:

> "The marshes of lake Semechonitis extend as far as Daphne, a delightful spot, with springs which feed the little Jordan, beneath the temple of the golden cow, and speed it on its way to the greater river."

Daphne here is evidently in the opinion of Josephus the same as the Biblical Dan, as the reference to the Golden Calf of Jeroboam shows (see 1 Kgs 12:29). Josephus elsewhere says that "Dan is one of the two sources of the Jordan" (AJ I 177; AJ VIII 226); the other was at Paneas (BJ I 404-6) or rather, at Lake Phiala (modern Birket er-Ram) to the east of Paneas, whence water flowed by an underground passage to emerge from the grotto at Paneas (BJ III 509-515). Thus, contrary to Rabbinic exegesis, Josephus does not identify Dan with Paneas. Eusebius appears to follow him in this; see On. 122,17:

> "Laisa (=Dan, see Judges 18:7,29): The sons of Dan captured this town and settled there . . . It lies further up near Paneas, from which also the Jordan flows."

Josephus must have located Dan at modern Tell el-Ḳaḍi lying a short distance to the west of Paneas (modern Baniyas), where powerful springs which give rise to the Nahr el-Leddan contribute not a little to the Jordan's bulk.[27] It follows, then, that Josephus' Daphne must also be the modern Tell el-Ḳaḍi. The Semitic name of the site was Dan; the Greek Daphne. In y.Dem. 22c.64 we read of a R. Yosi of Kefar Dan, which may be the same place. The site was wooded and had springs: hence its Greek name Daphne.

A short distance to the south of Tell el-Ḳaḍi is a locality known in modern times as Tell Defna or Dafne,[28] and most scholars suppose that this must mark Josephus' Daphne.[29] However, the analysis of Josephus' remarks which we have given above shows that this cannot be the case, and this conclusion will be confirmed by a consideration of the following point in the Targumic boundary. It is possible that the name Dafne was attached to the Tell to the south of Tell el-Ḳaḍi by transference - a well attested process in toponymy.[30]

Daphne is mentioned on other occasions in the Talmud. However, it is not the Daphne near Paneas, but the famous park near Antioch of the same name.[31] So when Nebuchadnezzar came to subjugate Jehoiakim he camped at"Daphne of Antioch" and there the Sanhedrin met him; Gen.R. XCIV 9; Lev.R. XIX 6; Lam.R. II 10.14; y.Shek. 50a.52. The identical expression, "Daphne of

Antioch" is to be found in Josephus AJ XIV 451. The story of the Sanhedrin's encounter with Nebuchadnezzar there probably echoes the meeting between Antony and a Jewish deputation on the same spot, as recorded in Josephus BJ I 243, 328.

A reading of the Biblical text suggests that Nebuchadnezzar's headquarters during his campaign against Judah were at "Riblah in the land of Hamath"; see 2 Kgs 25:20-21; Jer. 52: 26-27. This name probably lies behind the Rabbinic "Daphne of Antioch", the Biblical Hamath, as so often, being equated with Antioch. Another Talmudic reference supports this view; y.Sanh. 29c.63 reads:

> "R. Berechiah and R. Helbo said in the name of R. Nahman: Israel went into exile three times: on the first occasion, within the river Sanbation; on the second to Daphne of Antioch; on the third the cloud came down (upon them) and hid them from sight."

For"Daphne of Antioch" here the parallel in PR 31 (ed. Friedmann p.146b) has "Daphne of Riblathah (רבלתה)". The form with he-locale has been lifted straight out of such texts as 2 Kgs 25:20; Jer. 52:26. This confirms that the Rabbis identified the Biblical "Riblah of the land of Hamath" as "Daphne of Antioch". It was a knowledge of this equation which enabled the meturgemanim to identify the other Biblical Riblah with Daphne as well, though in this case with another Daphne near Paneas.

Jerome appears to have known of these Rabbinic traditions. The Vulgate translates Num. 34:11, "Rebla opposite the spring of Daphnis". With this we should compare his comment on Ez. 47:18 (PL XXV 478):

> "The borders (of Israel) extend, according to the book of Numbers as far as Sephama which the Hebrews call Apamia; and from Apamia the limits go down to Rebla which now is called Antioch of Syria. And so that you may know that Rebla is indeed that city which is the most noble in Coele Syria, the words are added 'opposite the spring' which clearly means Daphne from which the aforesaid city enjoys abundant water. Cnaeus Pompeius, who first brought Judaea under Roman rule, planted this place with the help of a band of soldiers, and, according to the story of the poets, it received from him the name of Daphne, on account of the laurels and cypresses that are very common on that spot."

Jerome here makes three identifications: (1) Shepham = Apamia; (2) Riblah = Antioch; (3) ʿAin = Daphne. The first of these he appears to attribute to a Jewish source. We saw that it is, in fact, the identification found in the Palestinian Targumim, but nowhere else in our extant Rabbinic texts. This suggests that Jerome was acquainted with the Targum at this point:

he supposed that the reference was to Apamea in Syria, whereas it is really to Paneas, as we argued above. Jerome is thus interesting evidence for the existence of the mis-reading אפמיאה in the Targum as early as the fourth century AD. The other two identifications are also probably dependent on the Palestinian Targum; Jerome found Daphne in the Targum and at once mistook it for the famous Daphne near Antioch; the result is that he makes the border progress in the wrong direction, i.e., south to north, instead of north to south.

(ii) ʿAin (or: the spring)

Ps-J and FT have "the springs"; N "the spring". The plural is interesting, for there are, in fact, two notable springs at Tell el-Ḳadi. On this see G.A. Smith HG p. 304:

> "On the west side (of the Tell), through huge boulders whose lower half its rush has worn bare, a stream about twelve feet broad by three deep, breaks from the bowels of the earth; while another, more shallow and quiet, appears higher in a jungle of reeds and bushes."

Daphne is said by the Targumim to lie to the east of these springs. This confirms that it cannot be at Tell Defna, for that is emphatically to the south of Tell el-Ḳadi. The springs at Tell el-Ḳadi are on the west side of the Tell, so presumably the town occupied the east side.

3. PS-J NUMBERS 34:12

Hebrew Text	Palestinian Targumim (Ps-J)
And the border shall go down to Jordan, and the goings out thereof shall be the Sea of Salt: this shall be your land according to the borders thereof round about.	And the border shall go down to Jordan, and the goings out thereof shall be to the Sea of Salt; Rekem Geʿa in the south; Taurus 'Umanis in the north; the Great Sea in the west; the Salt Sea in the east: this shall be for you the Land of Israel according to the boundaries of its borders round about.

There are two strata here:

(1) "And the border shall go down to Jordan, and the goings out thereof shall be to the Sea of Salt . . .: this shall be for you the Land of Israel according to the boundaries of its borders round about."

(2) " . . . Rekem Geʿa in the south, Taurus 'Umanis in the north; the Great Sea in the west; the Sea of Salt in the east . . . "

The second stratum has nothing corresponding to it in either FT or N. It simply gives a summary of the borders in a fashion that recalls the short

boundary descriptions. It is difficult to say if it is secondary. It should be noted that it appears to agree with the primary stratum of verse 6 in giving the Great Sea simply as the western border. This suggests that it, too, is primary, or at least that it was introduced into the Targum before the glosses were added to verse 6.

E. The additions to Num. 34:15

In FT and N Num. 34:15 we find an extensive series of glosses. Ps-J distributes a similar set of glosses between verses 8,9 and 11, but it is clear from the words, "the inheritance of the tribe of Reuben, Gad and half Manasseh" found in verse 11 that most, if not all, of this matter stood originally in verse 15 in the Ps-J tradition as well. So then, the following material has to be considered here:

(1) Ps-J ver. 15: "Two tribes and the half tribe have received their inheritance beyond the Jordan in the east."

ver. 8: " . . . from its two sides (ye are) drawing a line to the fortresses of Bar Zoʿema and to the fortresses of Bar Senigora and the image (?) and the cock unto Caesarea, the entrance . . ."

ver. 9: "Ḳeren Zakhutha (?) . . the hill of Ḥatmana . . . the wells of Beth Sekhel and to the middle of the great courtyard that is midway between Ṭirath ʿEnwatha and Damascus . . ."

ver. 11: "And the border shall go down to the cave of Paneas, and from the cave of Paneas the border shall go down to the Mt of Snow, and from the Mt of Snow the border shall go down to ʿEnan, and from ʿEnan the border shall go down and go round the plain, the plain of the torrents of the Arnon, and it shall come to the desert of the thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron, and the waters of contention, mourning and sleep, close to Ginnesar, the city of the kingdom of the Amorites; the inheritance of the tribe of Reuben, Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh."

(2) FT ver. 15: "Two tribes and half the tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance from the Jordan at Jericho eastwards, towards the sunrising.

From the plain of the Sea of Salt their border went out to Kinnereth the city of the kingdom of the Amorites, and from Kinnereth, the city of the kingdom of the Amorites, their border went out to the Mt of Snow, and to the wall (fortification (?)) of Lebanon, and from the Mt of Snow and the wall (fortification (?)) of Lebanon their border went out to Ḥoba that is north of the springs of Damascus, and from Ḥoba that is north of the springs of Damascus their border

went out to the image of the cock of Caesarea that is to the east beyond (?) Dan, and from the image of the cock that is to the east beyond (?) Dan their border went out to the Great River, the River Euphrates, beside which the order (?) of the victories of the wars of the Lord were won, and from the Great River, the River Euphrates, their border went out to Ḳurin Zewatha (?) to Bathra (?) the city of the whole Trachon of Zimra, the house of the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the house of the kingdom of Og the king of Mathnan (?); it went out to Raphiah and to Shukmazai, until it reached the shore of the Sea of Salt.

This was the portion of the two tribes and the half tribe."

(3) N ver. 15: "Two tribes and half the tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance beyond the Jordan at Jericho eastwards, towards the sunrising.

Their border went out to Kinnereth, the city of the kings of the Amorites; their border went out to the fortress of ᶜIyyon that is to the east of the sea of Beth Yerah; their border went out to the image (?), and from the image (?) of the cock of Caesarea that is to the east beyond (?) Dan their border went out to the Mt of Snow to the border (?) of Lebanon that is to the north of the springs of Damascus; and from north of the springs of Damascus their border went out to the Great River, the River Euphrates, beside which the order (?) of the victories of the wars of the Lord were won; and from the Great River, the River Euphrates, their border went out to Ḳeren Zawe (?) of Bathreh and all the Trachon of the house of Zimra, the house of the kingdom of Sihon, the kingdom of the Amorites, and the house of the kingdom of Og, the king of Bothneyin, he whom Moses the prophet of the Lord slew; it went out to Raphion and to Shukmazai, to the cave of ᶜEn-gedi, until it reached the shore of the Sea of Salt.

This is the border of the two tribes and the half tribe."

Order begins to emerge from this chaos when we concentrate on the question, From where was all this extra material derived ? Five sources for it may be distinguished:

(1) <u>Num. 32:33-42 and Deut. 3:1-17</u>

Num. 34:3-12 gives the boundaries of only nine and a half tribes; excluded from this account are the Transjordanian tribes of Reuben, Gad

and half Manasseh. The territory assigned to these tribes is described in Num. 32:33-42 and Deut. 3:1-17, and from these passages material has been introduced to Num. 34:15 and attached to the words, "The two tribes and the half tribe have received their portion beyond the Jordan at Jericho eastwards towards the sunrise." The intention was obviously to complete the description of the borders of the Land of Israel.

(a) The area given to Reuben, Gad and half Manasseh is described as co-extensive with the territory of Og king of Bashan and Sihon king of the Amorites:

Num. 32:33 (Hebrew Text)	Pseudo-Jonathan
And Moses gave unto them, even unto the sons of Gad and to the sons of Reuben, and to the half tribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og king of Bashan, the land according to the cities thereof, with the borders of the cities of the land round about.	And Moses gave unto them, even unto the sons of Gad and to the sons of Reuben and to the half tribe of Manasseh the son of Joseph, the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the kingdom of Og, king of Mathnan, the land according to the cities thereof with the borders of the cities of the land round about.

Hence:

FT: "the house of the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the house of the kingdom of Og, king of Mathnan."

N: "the house of the kingdom of Sihon, the kingdom of the Amorites, and the house of the kingdom of Og, king of Bothneyin."

FT's Mathnan and N's Bothneyin for the Hebrew Bashan both signify the region to the east of the Sea of Galilee called Batanaia in Greek; see Josephus BJ I 398; Eusebius On. 44.9.[32]

(b) The territory of Reuben, Gad and half Manasseh is further defined as extending from the Brook Arnon in the south to Mt Hermon in the north:

Deut. 3:8-9 (Hebrew Text)	Pseudo-Jonathan
And we took the land at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond Jordan, from the torrent of Arnon to Mt Hermon. The Sidonians call Hermon Sirion, and the Amorites call it Senir.	And we took the land at that time from the power of the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond the Jordan, from the torrents of the Arnon to Mt Hermon. The Sidonians call Mt Hermon, the mountain that corrupts its fruit; and the Amorites call it the Mt of Snow because snow never fails from it either in summer or winter.

From this come the following:

1. Ps-J (ver. 11), FT and N, "the Mt of Snow". The Hebrew form of this name occurs in Sifre Num. 131 (170,21). Hermon has been called "the Mt of Snow" in modern times in Arabic.[33]

2. Ps-J (ver. 11): "the torrents of the Arnon". FT and N do not have this phrase, but do mention "the Great River, the River Euphrates" which is not in Ps-J. Both FT and N, however, add to "the Euphrates" a gloss which shows that originally they too must have read"the Arnon" instead of "the Euphrates"; for evidence of this, see below on (iv). The "Euphrates" was introduced in an attempt to harmonize the Targum with the short Biblical boundary texts which frequently mention that river as the northernmost limit of the Land; see Gen. 15:18; Ex. 23:31; Deut. 1:7.

(c) Deut. 3:17 describes the western border of the two and a half tribes thus:

Hebrew text	Pseudo-Jonathan
The ʿArabah and the Jordan and (the) border from Kinnereth even unto the Sea of the ʿArabah, the Salt Sea, under the slopes of Pisgah eastward.	The plain and the Jordan and (the) border from Ginnesar to the sea of the plain, and the city of Tiberias that is close to the Sea of Salt beneath (text: the border of) the water-channels from the height eastward.

This text is the source of the following elements:

1. Ps-J (ver. 11): "the plain, the plain of . . . "
   FT: "the plain of the Sea of Salt".

2. FT and N: "Kinnereth"
   Ps-J (ver. 11): "Ginnesar"; see no. 4 below.

3. FT and N: "until it reaches the shore of the Sea of Salt".

4. Ps-J (ver. 8) has "the entrance of Tiberias" where the other Palestinian Targumim have the obvious reading, "the entrance(s) of Antioch" (Hebrew Lebo-Hamath). The intrusive Tiberias in Ps-J Deut. 3:17 points to the origin of this. Ps-J Deut. 3:17 contains a double interpretation of the Hebrew Kinnereth, firstly, as the Sea of Kinnereth, hence Ginnesar; this was the original reading. Secondly, as the town of Kinnereth in Naphthali after which the sea was named; see Deut. 3:17; Jos. 19:35 etc. This town has been identified as Tiberias; cf. Gen.R. XCVIII 17. Ps-J Deut. 3:17 reads: "the city of Tiberias that is close to

the Sea of Salt". This is, of course, geographical nonsense. What has happened is that there was originally a marginal gloss, giving an alternative interpretation of the Hebrew Kinnereth, which read, "the city of Tiberias that is close to G(innesar)"; the final word was probably written as an abbreviation, because the word already appeared in its full form in the Targumic text. In the process of being inserted into the text, the gloss lost "Ginnesar", and the result was the present absurd statement.[34] We can recover the wording of the gloss from Ps-J Num. 34 if we couple the intrusive "Tiberias" of verse 8, with the intrusive "close to Ginnesar" of verse 11. These words originally stood together, but the redactor who broke up the large gloss which was attached to verse 15, and scattered it through the rest of the text, severed them. So then, all the recensions of the Palestinian Targumim drew on Kinnereth in Deut. 3:17: FT and N took this as the Sea of Kinnereth, whereas Ps-J took it as the town, which it equated with Tiberias.

(d) Deut. 3:13 reads as follows:

Hebrew Text	Pseudo-Jonathan
And the rest of Gilead and all Bashan, the kingdom of Og, I give unto the half tribe of Manasseh; all the region of 'Argob, even all Bashan.	And the rest of Gilead and all Mathnan, the kingdom of Og, I give unto half the tribe of Manasseh; all the border of the house of the district of Trachon (text: Tragon) and all Mathnan.

From this is derived FT and N's Trachon, a standard equation for the Biblical 'Argob. Trachon is the Greek Trachonitis, a region of rough, broken country to the south and south-east of Damascus.[35]

(11) Ezekiel 47

Another source for the glosses in the Palestinian Targumim of Num. 34:15 is the account of the borders of the Land in Ez. 47. A number of names have been introduced from there which are not paralleled in Num. 34. This has happened particularly with regard to Ez. 47:15-17 which gives a confused and heavily interpolated description of the northern boundary of the Land, which, contrary to the general pattern, contains more border-points than the corresponding section of Num. 34. The purpose of these insertions was evidently to harmonize the two Biblical accounts of the borders of the Land.

(a) Ez. 47:16 Ḥager hattikhon is the source of Ps-J (ver. 9): "the middle of the great courtyard that is midway . ." The Biblical name has been taken as meaning "the middle court", and has been doubly interpreted, firstly, as "the middle of the court", and secondly, as "the court in the middle". The Massoretic pointing obviously intends the phrase to be read as "the middle court"; so the Peshitta and Symmachus (according to Jerome).

(b) Ez. 47:18-19 mentions Ḥamath twice. This is the source of FT: "the wall (?) of Lebanon", and N: "the border (?) of Lebanon". For "wall" (= חומתא) and "border" (= תחומה) we should probably read חמתא, a common element in place-names. Thus Rabbinic texts mention a חמתא דגדר (y.Erub. 23c.63); a חמתא דפרחל (y.Sheb. 36c.bot.); and a חמתא near Tiberias (b.Meg. 6a). This explains the addition "of Lebanon", to distinguish this town from the others of the same name. The identity of the place cannot be established with certainty. It may be Ḥamath-Epiphania (modern Ḥama), but that is rather too far to the north to be designated as "of Lebanon"; for this city in Rabbinic texts see p. 181, and of., y.Meg. 71b.62 and the parallel Gen.R. XXXVII 6.

(c) The garbled opening of Ez. 47:17, "Ḥazar-ᶜenon, the border of Damascus and north northwards" is the probable source of N's, "that is to the north of the springs of Damascus", and FT's "Ḥoba, that is to the north of the springs of Damascus". At first sight it would appear that the additional Ḥoba of FT has simply fallen out of N. However, it should be observed that (1) N's repeat of the phrase does not have Ḥoba either; nor (2) is there anything corresponding to Ḥoba in Ez. 47. It has been added in FT and its source is not far to seek: Gen. 14:15 mentions a place called Ḥoba "to the left of Damascus", which FT and Ps-J correctly take as meaning "to the north of Damascus". Ps-J (ver. 9): "between Ṭirath ᶜEnwatha and Damascus" may derive from the same bit of Ez. 47. It has also been influenced by the frequent use in that passage of the formula, "between x and y", e.g., "between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath" (ver. 16); and, "from between Ḥauran and Damascus" (ver. 18).

(d) Ez. 47:19, "the waters of Meriboth-Ḳadesh" (which corresponds to Ḳadesh-barnea in Num. 34) lies behind Ps-J (ver. 11), "the waters of contention"; meriboth = "quarrels". The repetition of "the desert of the thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron" in Ps-J (ver. 11) was probably provoked by the fact that in Ez. 47:19 Tamar is mentioned just before "the waters of

Meriboth-Kadesh". So Ps-J (ver. 11): "the desert of the thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron, the waters of contention". This would confirm the view which we put forward earlier that the meturgemanim made a connection between Zin and Tamar, both words being taken as denoting types of palm-tree.

(e) Ps-J (ver. 11), ᶜEnan may go back to Ez. 47:17, (Hazar-) ᶜenon, but the precise form of the name points rather to (Hazar-) ᶜenan in Num. 34:10.

(f) Ps-J (ver. 8): "the entrance (to 'Ablas (?) of the Cilicians)" is derived from Ez. 47:15, "Lebo-(Ẓedadah)". Num. 34:8 has only Ẓedadah.

(iii) Material related to the Tannaitic Boundary List

A stratum of the material is related to the document known as the Tannaitic Boundary List - a statement of the borders of the Land found in several recensions in Rabbinic literature. It would not be strictly correct to say that the TBL, at least in any of the forms in which we have it now, was the immediate source of the data; nevertheless the connection is beyond doubt. The purpose of inserting this material is again not difficult to see: it was aimed at bringing the Targumic account of the boundaries into closer conformity to those held by the Tannaim. The significance of this fact for the dating of the Targumic treatment of the boundaries will be shown in the next chapter, where the TBL will be discussed more comprehensively; here I shall deal with the TBL points only sufficiently to establish and illuminate the connection between them and the Targumim. The TBL may be found in Appendix IB. I shall cite it according to recension and number. There is some overlap between material of this stratum and that belonging to stratum (i). This has come about because the TBL is also based on exegesis of the Biblical text and hence has utilized points found in the sources of stratum (i) viz., Num. 32:33-42; Deut. 3:1-17. An example of this is the use of the Biblical 'Argob = Trachon.

(a) Ps-J (ver. 8) offered two renderings of the Biblical Zedad, both of which derived the name from צדד = a side. The primary stratum took לצדד to mean "towards the side" and since this stratum (originally) identified the preceding Biblical point, Lebo-Hamath, with Antioch in Syria, "towards the side" was taken to mean "towards Cilicia". In the second stratum לצדד is translated, "the two sides", thus:

"From its two sides (ye are) drawing a line to the fortresses of Bar Zo^{c}ema and to the fortresses of Bar Senigora."

By this exegetical device the glossator was able to introduce into the account two sets of fortresses: (1) "the fortresses of Bar Zo^{c}ema"; and (2) "the fortresses of Bar Senigora". The second of these corresponds to TBL Sifre 18, "the fortress of Bar Senigora". The name "Senigora" (סניגורא / סנגרא) is a corruption of the Greek Zenodoros. The Zenodorus in question is the person who in c.23 BC leased from Cleopatra the territory that had belonged to the Iturasean Lysanias (Josephus AJ XV 344; cf., BJ I 398-9). He became tetrarch of the region on the death of Cleopatra (Cass. Dio LIV 9.3). Complaints were made that he was supporting brigandage in Trachonitis, and so that area was taken from him and given to Herod the Great (Josephus AJ XV 342-3; BJ I 398-9). On the death of Zenodorus in 20 BC Augustus conferred his remaining territory on Herod (AJ XV 359-60). Two portions of this bequest, viz., the area^s around Ulatha and Paneas, remained in Jewish hands down to the time of Agrippa II.

Zo^{c}ema (צעמה) is the Soaemus to whom Caligula in AD 38 granted territory in Iturasa (Cass. Dio LIV 12.2). It can be deduced where this lay. Around AD 40 the old Iturasean domains of Ptolemy son of Mennaeus were divided into four parts: (1) the southern region which had belonged to Zenodorus was in the hands of Agrippa I. (2) The eastern region round Abila, "the tetrarchy of Lysanias" was also in the hands of Agrippa I (Josephus AJ XVIII 237). (3) The central region, lying around Chalcis, was given by Claudius in AD 41 to Herod the grandson of Herod the Great (Josephus AJ XIX 274-5; BJ II 215). Consequently, (4) the region assigned to Soaemus in AD 38 must have been the northern part of the old kingdom of Ituraea, lying between the territories of Heliopolis and Laodicea ad Libanum. The capital of this territory was probably Arca, Caesarea ad Libanum. On the death of Soaemus in AD 49 his territory was incorporated in the province of Syria (Tacitus Ann. XII 23). A portion, however, was reserved as a tetrarchy for Varus his son (Josephus Vita 52), but in AD 53 Claudius bestowed this on Agrippa II (BJ II 247). It should be noted how much of the region of Ituraea was under the rule of the descendants of Herod between the years c.AD 37 and c.AD 100.[36]

The phrase "the fortresses of Bar Zo^{c}ema" does not occur in the TBL. However in TBL Y.Talmud 22 we encounter the word תוקרת standing just before the phrase "the fortress of Bar Senigora"; cf. TBL Tosefta

(Codex V) 26 תיקרת and TBL Tosefta (Codex E) 21 תיקרת . Klein has ingeniously suggested that this should be read as חֻקַּת = "and the fortress of . . . "(חקרת from חקרה = כרכא), and since we now have a construct without a genitive, we must suppose that "Bar Zo^{c}ema" has fallen out; see "Grenzverzeichnis" p. 25.

Where these forts lay cannot be determined with any certainty. The Ituraeans were renowned in antiquity as an unruly and warlike people (Cicero Phil. II 8/19; Vergil Georg. II 448). The fortresses were probably strongholds of Zenodorus and Soaemus to which they could retire with their retainers in time of trouble, rather than their capital cities. Just such an Ituraean fort is mentioned in an inscription of one Q. Aemilius Secundus, a praefectus of Quirinius: "missu Quirini adversos Ituraeos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepi" (CIL III 6687 = ILS 2683). The Targumim read "fortresses"; the TBL "fortress". The singular is probably the correct text.

(b) FT "the whole Trachon of Zimra" and N "all the Trachon of the house of Zimra" correspond to TBL Sifre 26. The mss of Sifre differ slightly, but the text is easily recovered: "the Trachon of Zimra that is on the border of Bozrah". For Zimra the editions have Nimra, which could be the present-day Nimra (? ancient Namara)[37] to the south-east of Shohba (ancient Philipopolis)[38], but Zimra must be retained as the reading of all the mss. Zimra is, in fact, a personal name, and corresponds to Zamaris, the name of the Babylonian Jew whom Herod appointed as a leader of a colony of Babylonian Jews in Batanaea on the borders of Trachonitis. They were settled there to discourage the incursions of Trachonite Arabs into the settled land (Josephus AJ XVII 23-29; cf., Vita 54). The chief town of the settlement was Bathyra (Josephus AJ XVII 26), the בתירה/בתירא of Rabbinic texts (Press EEI I 131); it is probably modern Bagir a little to the east of Ṣanamein.[39] This town is mentioned in our Targumim:

FT: "Bathra (בתרא) the city of the whole Trachon of Zimra"

N: "Bathreh (בתריה) and all the Trachon of the house of Zimra".

In both cases we should read Bathira (בתירא and בתירה). It is likely that in addition we should emend FT to "Bathira the city of Zimra, and the whole Trachon of Zimra".

(c) FT. Kurin Zewatha = קרין זוותא

N. Keren Zawe = קרן זווי

Ps-J. (ver. 9): Keren Zakhutha = קרן זכותא.

The second element in Ps-J's form of this name, viz., Zakhutha suggests some connection with TBL Sifre 30 Sakhutha (סכותא). There are two possible identifications of this word: (1) modern Zakiye to the SSW of Damascus;[40] or (2) modern Shagga to the ENE of Shohba, the Sakkaia of Ptolemy V 14.20.[41] The first element in the Targumic name should be derived from קרייא/קורייא = village; hence read קריי זכותא = "the villages of Zakhutha; cf., Ps-J Num. 32:26, קוריי גלעד = villages of Gilead. This addition suggests that the meturgemanim used Zakhutha as the name of a region. In the case of our first possible identification, this would be the lava-plateau named after the town, W^{c}ar ez-Zakiye; in the case of the second it would be the region round Sakkaia which took its name from the town.[42] The Targumic Zakhutha and the TBL Sakhutha are probably the same as the Sakhutha mentioned in connection with two rulings of R. Jeremiah (PA 4th century); see b.AZ 58b; b.MK 4b = y.MK 80b.55. These rulings, however, appear to envisage the town rather than the region named after it.

(d) Ps-J (ver. 9): "the wells of Beth Sekhel" (בית סכל). We find the name Beth Sekhel as a variant in TBL Tosefta (Codex E) 24; cf., TBL Y.Talmud 28. The Targumim are evidence that Sekhel is not simply a mis-writing. The location of this place has not been satisfactorily solved.

(e) Ps-J (ver. 9): "the hills of Hatmana" is probably the same as the "stone-heaps" or "hills of Hatam" which is named as one of the border-points of the Jewish city of Naveh in Transjordan; see y.Dem. 22d.19.[43] Hatam/Hatmana may be the same as the modern ^{c}Ataman to the north of Der^{c}a.[44] This point is not mentioned in any of the extant recensions of the TBL. Klein "Grenzverzeichniss" p.224 makes an elaborate attempt to read it in. For our purpose this is unnecessary, for there can hardly be any doubt that we are dealing with a Tannaitic boundary datum. The Targumic material may be related to a recension of the TBL that is no longer extant.

(f) N. Raphion
FT. Raphiah

These two names are related to TBL Y.Talmud 30 רפיח דחגרא and TBL Tosefta (Cod. V) 38 רפיח וחוגרא; read for the latter רפיח דחוגרא. TBL Sifre 25 has corresponding to this רקם דחגרא. There is no need to suspect that this divergence points to textual corruption. Both רפיח and רקם may stand if we can find a meaning for חגרא/חוגרא which would make it a geographical region, or some other extensive geographical feature. There are

two possibilities (1) Wetzstein (Reisebericht p. 34) records the use in his day of the name el-Ḥuǵr for the lava regions of Trachonitis; חגרא may denote the same area. (2) Mazar has argued, however, that the word חגרא meant a "fort", and was then employed collectively for "a line of forts", and so the limes. Mazar thought of the limes in southern Palestine, but here it would have to be the Arabian limes across the Jordan, for there can be no doubt that Raphiah in the TBL must be located in that area, and not confused with the better-known Raphiah on the border of Egypt, as a glossator has done; see below on (iv).[45] Klein suggested it is the same as Arpha, the easternmost point of the territory of Agrippa II in Transjordan (Josephus BJ III 57; cf., Press EEI I 39; IV 883; Klein "Grenzverzeichnis" pp. 10-11; 23-24). This he identified with modern Rafe, which lies a little to the west of Ezra^{c}, and just east of the Great Pilgrim Road, which is mentioned immediately afterwards in TBL Y.Talmud 31. This town lies on the edge of one of the lava plateaus, and so, if חגרא is the same as the Arabic el-Ḥuǵr, it could easily be designated Raphiah of the Hagra. For Rafe, see Dussaud Topographie map II (opposite p.40) 2A.

(g) N: "the fortress of ^{c}Iyyon that is to the east of the sea of Beth Yerah" is related to TBL Sifre 21 נקיבתא דעיון . This should be corrected to נקיפתא דעיון = "the depression of ^{c}Iyyon", and is to be equated with the present-day Merdj ^{c}Ayun - a plain lying about the town of Merdj ^{c}Ayun, to which it gave its name, to the north-west of Baniyas; see Dussaud Topographie map I (Opposite p.21) IC. The "fortress of ^{c}Iyyon" is probably Tell Dibbin at the northern end of the plain, the Biblical ^{c}Iyyon (1 Kgs 15:20; 2 Chron. 16:4). A glossator has added in the Targum, "that is to the east of the sea of Beth Yerah". Beth Yerah is the modern el-Kerak[46] at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee. The "Sea of Beth Yerah", then, is the same as "the Sea of Galilee". This designation is not found elsewhere, but it is easily explained. Gen.R. XCVIII 17 contains a discussion of the name Kinnereth in Deut. 3:17, "from Kinnereth even unto the Sea of the Arabah". Among the several identifications offered is one by R. Samuel b. Naḥman, equating Kinnereth with Beth Yerah. Following this tradition, the glossator has changed the common "Sea of Kinnereth" into "Sea of Beth Yerah". If the "depression of ^{c}Iyyon" in the TBL is indeed Merdj ^{c}Ayun, and this TBL point is to be connected with the Targumic name, then the glossator is very wrong. He probably found ^{c}Iyyon in the Targum, and supposed that it referred to ^{c}Ayun due east of Beth Yerah, on the other side of the Sea of Galilee; see Dussaud Topographie map I (opposite p.21) 3C.

(h) The final item to be considered under this heading is very strange:

FT: "the image of the cock that is to the east beyond (?) Dan";

N: "the image (?) of the cock of Caesarea that is to the east beyond (?) Dan";

Ps-J (ver. 8): "and the image (?) and the cock unto Caesarea . . . (ver. 11) the cave of Paneas".

The word translated "image" here is written in an odd variety of ways - דיוקינוס, דיוקישא, יוקינוס - but it seems beyond reasonable doubt that all the forms are derived from the Greek eikōn, a word denoting a likeness of any kind, whether a picture, a carving or a free-standing statue. The corruption of the form is found too frequently to be accidental; the word was probably intentionally mutilated because it denotes an "abomination" (Krauss GLL 202, 604).

There are some obvious emendations to be made on the basis of the comparison of the texts. Ps-J: "the image of the cock unto Caesarea" (דיווקינוס ותרנגולא עד קיסרין) should be altered to "the image of the cock of Caesarea" (דיוקינוס דתרנגולא דקיסרין). FT's "beyond (מערב) Dan" is to be changed to "the cave of Dan" (מערת דן); similarly N should read מערתה דדן; cf., Ps-J (ver. 11), "the cave of Paneas" (מערת פניאס). The reference is to the famous grotto at Paneas from which the Jordan emerges. As we saw earlier Dan and Paneas are frequently equated in Rabbinic texts. So then, the Targumim speak of "the image of the cock to the east of the cave of Paneas". This image may have been a cultic object, for the cock was employed in various religious roles in the ancient world.[47]

The TBL mentions the same boundary-point: "the cock that is above Caesarea"; see TBL Sifre 22; TBL Tosefta (Cod. E) 23; TBL Tosefta (Cod. V) 28; TBL Y.Talmud 24. Some have attempted to take the "cock" (תרנגולא) in the TBL as the name of a town somewhere in the neighbourhood of Caesarea Philippi. Thus Hildesheimer Beiträge p. 42f argues that since the Aramaic תרנגולא is simply the equivalent of the Hebrew גבר (see Deut. 2:8 ʿEzion-geber = Ps-J Kerakh-tarnegola), Tarnegola here must conceal the name Geber. This putative Geber he then identifies with the town in Galilee called Gabara or Garaba (Josephus BJ III 132). This ingenious explanation has two weaknesses: Firstly, Garaba was nowhere near Caesarea Philippi, but lay to the NE of Sepphoris;[48] secondly, Hildesheimer fails to take into account the convincing detail recorded by the Targumim that the "cock" was an "image".

(iv) Haggadic additions

A fourth stratum of material is made up of a series of glosses, some of a haggadic nature, which have been introduced at a late stage to clarify certain words:

(a) "The river Euphrates" is glossed in FT and N thus: "beside which the order (?) of the victories of the wars of the Lord were won". This addition shows that these texts originally had, like Ps-J (ver. 11), "the torrents of the Arnon", and not "the river Euphrates", for it alludes to the haggada of the crossing of the Arnon by the Israelites at the end of the desert wanderings. In Num. 21:14 reference is made, in the context of the Israelites' crossing of the Arnon, to a "book of the wars of the Lord". A quotation from this "book" in the Biblical text gave rise to an extensive haggadic tradition which recounted the way in which God miraculously defeated the Moabites who lay in ambush for the children of Israel at the Arnon; see Ps-J and FT Num. 21:14; b.Ber. 54a/b; cf., Rashi to Num. 21:14-15. The text of the gloss, however, appears to be corrupt: סדר must be the subject, but the predicate מתעבדין is plural; besides סדר does not give a very good meaning. FT translates Num. 21:14, "the book of the wars of the Lord" as, "the book of the wars, wonders and mighty acts which the Lord did". This suggests the emendation ספר for סדר, which should then be transferred to stand before the following קרבו דייי. Hence FT and N probably originally read: "the torrents of the Arnon beside which the victories of the book of the wars of the Lord were won".

(b) The rich haggada that grew up around the colourful Biblical character, Og king of Bashan, is alluded to in a gloss on his name found in N: "he whom Moses the prophet of the Lord slew". For the story see b.Ber. 54b; further Ginzberg Legends III 343-4; JE IX 388.

(c) Ps-J (ver. 11), "(the waters of contention), mourning and sleep". This contains an allusion to haggada concerning the Biblical story of events at the"Waters of Meribah" (which later Biblical tradition located at Kadesh-barnea). The "sleep" is the death of Aaron; the "mourning" is the mourning for his death. Aaron's decease is recorded in Num. 20:28-29, just after the story of the "Waters of Meribah" (verse 13). For the haggada see Ginzberg Legends III 52.

There are a number of other explanatory glosses which may be considered under this head:

(d) FT: "Kinnereth, the city of the kingdom of the Amorites"; N: "Kinnereth, the city of the kings of the Amorites". Kinnereth, lying on the west side of the Sea of Galilee, was a city of Naphthali (Deut. 3:17; Jos. 19:35), and so cannot accurately be described as "a city of the kingdom of the Amorites". There are no good grounds for suspecting the word Kinnereth, for it may be easily accounted for as having been introduced by harmonization from Deut. 3:17; see p.221. So we must suppose that a name has fallen out. There are two towns which would fit the description, "the city of the kingdom of the Amorites": the first is the fortress of Machaerus (מכוור),[49] with which Ps-J identifies the Amorite town of Jazer in Num. 32:35; this is attractive palaeographically. The second is Ḥeshbon (חשבון) the capital of Sihon (Num. 21:26,34; Deut. 1:4) and the Amorite city par excellence.[50] It is also mentioned in the parallel in Num. 32:33-42.

(e) FT and N both gloss Raphiah with Shukmazai, because the glossator mistakenly took Raphiah as the town of that name in southern Palestine.[51] Shukmazai is the Greek Sycomazon to the north of this Raphiah.[52]

(f) N adds after Shukmazai "to the cave of ʿEn-gedi". There are many caves at ʿEngedi, but presumably the one in the glossator's mind is that in which David cut off the skirt of Saul's robe (1 Sam. 24:1-7). The point of this addition escapes me.

(g) N glosses "the fortress of ʿIyyon" with the words "that is to the east of the Sea of Beth Yerah". This is a false identification like that considered in (e); see further p.226.

(v) Redactional stratum

The final stratum is a series of redactional elements designed to string together these different units into a connected account modelled on the style of the boundary list in verses 3-12. This stratum has two distinct parts: (1) a formula for linking the elements together; and (2) a conclusion. If we add to this the rendering of verse 15 we arrive at the following basic framework for each Targumic gloss:

1. Ps-J: "The two tribes and the half tribe have received their inheritance beyond the Jordan in the east.

   From . . . the border shall go down to . . .

   (This is) the inheritance of the tribe of Reuben, Gad and half the tribe of Manasseh."

2. FT: "The two tribes and half the tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance from the Jordan at Jericho eastwards, towards the sunrising

(From) . . . their border went out to . . .

This was the portion of the two tribes and the half tribe."

3. N: "The two tribes and half the tribe of Manasseh received their inheritance beyond the Jordan at Jericho eastwards, towards the sunrising.

(From) . . . their border went out to . . .

This was the border of the two tribes and the half tribe."

Note how the formulae and the conclusions of the three recensions all differ slightly.

This analysis enables us to account for all the additional material in the Palestinian Targumim of Num. 34:15. It also indicates how complex may be the process by which the Targum has evolved to its present state. It is possible to give a relative dating for the strata: stratum (v), the redactional stratum, must be the latest; stratum (iv), the glosses, must be later than the material which they gloss, and since this comes from both stratum (i) and stratum (ii), they must be later than both of these. A relative date for the other strata is not possible. The basic material, at least for FT and N, was probably as follows:

"The two tribes and half the tribe of Manasseh have received their inheritance from the Jordan at Jericho eastwards, towards the sunrising - the house of the kingdom of Sihon king of the Amorites, and the house of the kingdom of Og, king of Mathnan."

This was introduced from the very beginning with a view to completing the description of the total area of the Land of Israel.

Thus on a close examination of the Palestinian Targumim of Num. 34 we are able to uncover a basic stratum of material and with it a description of the borders of the Land. This proves to be basically the same as in the short boundary texts which we discussed earlier: the southern border is placed at the Nile; the western at the Mediterranean; the northern at Mt Taurus; the eastern boundary of the nine and a half tribes is the Jordan, but this is filled out to cover the two and a half Transjordanian tribes by means of a gloss to verse 15, which vaguely indicates that their territory is equivalent to the former kingdoms of Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og king of Bashan.

IV.4 The Targumim and the Tannaitic Boundary List

In the course of our discussion of the Palestinian Targumim of Num. 34 we unearthed a number of clues as to the date of the material which we were handling. Thus (1) we found that Jerome in his commentary on Ez. 47:18 (PL XXV 478) seemed to show a knowledge of the Palestinian Targumim of Num. 34:11, even to the extent of reproducing a misreading (*Aramia* for *Pamias*)which is found in some of our Targumic texts; see p.216. We had already discovered other cases where Jerome appeared to be dependent on the Palestinian Targum, viz., the identifications of the cities of Nimrod given in his *Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* (PL XXIII 1003), see p.171; and the identifications of the sons of Dedan in Gen. 25:3 (PL XXIII 1026) see p. 65. (2) Close analysis suggested that the reference to the "thorn-palms of the Mt of Iron" in m.Sukk. III 1 was probably derived from the Palestinian Targum on Num. 34:3, and not vice versa; see p. 191. (3) We considered the relationship between the Palestinian and a number of parallel Rabbinic texts: Tg. Gen. 10:15-18 against Gen.R. XXXVII 6 and y.Meg. 71b.61 (see p.178 ff); and Tg.Deut. 1:7 against Sifre *Deut.* 6 (p.184). On a formal comparison it was clear that though the Targumim and the Rabbinic texts agreed closely in substance, there were small differences which made it difficult to accept the possibility that the Palestinian Targumim had drawn directly on the Rabbinic texts. This suggested that the Targumim must have originated before the form of the tradition found in the Rabbinic texts had gained general currency. (4) Finally, we sketched the exegetical history of the Desert Wanderings of the Israelites and found that in the stream of development the Palestinian Targumim marked a stage somewhere between Josephus and Eusebius' *Onomasticon*; see p.198. The cumulative effect of these indications is to suggest that our extant Palestinian Targumim are basically Tannaitic works, i.e., were produced some time before c.AD 200. This conclusion will be confirmed and made more precise when we consider the Targumic treatment of the Boundaries of the Land in relation to Rabbinic discussions of the same subject.

A. *The Rabbinic Boundaries of the Land.*

Certain Biblical laws, such as the Law of Tithes and of the Sabbatical Year, are designated as "commandments pertaining to the Land" because they had force only within the borders of Israel; see m.Kidd. I 9.[1] For the proper operation of these laws it was necessary to define the borders of the Land, and this topic, consequently, was often discussed in the academies. These discussions are found widely scattered through the Talmud,

y.Sheb. VI being a particularly important collection of rulings. Unfortunately the texts are in a corrupt state, partly because later in the Academies there was a tendency to confuse the various stages of the discussion, and to treat all the definitions as equivalent and compatible, and partly because geographical names are peculiarly prone to corruption in the process of transmission. The subject is complex, but it is possible by means of literary analysis to trace a clear and convincing evolution of the debate on the borders of Israel which moves, broadly speaking, from simple to complex as halakha became increasingly developed and refined:

1. THE "TAURUS AMANUS" FORMULA

The earliest statement of the borders of the Land which has been preserved in Rabbinic literature is found in y.Hall. 60a.37; parallels: y.Sheb. 36d.26; t.Ter. II 12 (27,31); t.Hall. II 11 (99,23):

> "It was taught: All that runs from Taurus Amanus and inwards is the Land of Israel; from Taurus Amanus and outward is outside the Land."

This formula is given as an anonymous baraitha. We may place it as the earliest stage of the development in Rabbinic sources because it is the simplest of the formulae, because of its literary relationship to the (datable) formula which we shall look at next, and because it coincides with the account of the borders in indubitably early texts such as 1QGenAp.*
Why should Taurus Amanus be chosen as the one boundary point named ? We have already seen that the Palestinian Targumim of Num. 34:7 equate the Biblical Mt Hor on the northern edge of the Land with this mountain. Evidently this formula rests on similar exegesis.

2. THE "THREE REGIONS" FORMULA

(i) m.Hall. IV 8

> "Rabban Gamliel says: There are three regions with regard to Dough-offering. From the Land of Israel as far as Kezib one Dough-offering; from Kezib as far as the River and Amanah two Dough-offerings - one for the fire and one for the priest; that for the fire has the prescribed measure, but that for the priest has no prescribed measure. From the River and from Amanah inwards, two Dough-offerings - one for the fire and one for the priest; that for the fire has no prescribed measure, but that for the priest has the prescribed measure."

(ii) m.Sheb. VI 1

> "There are three regions with regard to Seventh Year Produce: All that they occupied who came up from Babylon, from the Land of Israel as far as Kezib, Seventh Year Produce may not

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*See further p. 247.

be eaten nor may the soil be cultivated; all that they occupied who came up from Egypt, from Kezib as far as the River and Amanah, Seventh Year Produce may be eaten, but the soil may not be cultivated; from the River and from Amanah inwards, Seventh Year Produce may be eaten and the soil cultivated."

From these two texts[2] a boundary formula may be abstracted:

"There are three regions with regard to . . .:
From the Land of Israel as far as Kezib . . .;
from Kezib as far as the River and Amanah . . . ;
from the River and from Amanah inwards . . .

This formula existed prior to the halakhic decisions which have been cast in it, as may be deduced from the fact that rulings regarding both <u>hallah</u> and <u>shebi°ith</u> could be expressed by means of it. It distinguished three regions which were to be considered in regard to "commandments pertaining to the Land": firstly, from the Land of Israel (in its strictest and narrowest sense) to Kezib; secondly, from Kezib to"the River and Amanah" i.e., to the Euphrates and Mt Amanus = Taurus Amanus of the foregoing formula; and thirdly, beyond Mt Amanus and the Euphrates. The text in fact says, "from the River and Amanah <u>inwards</u> (לפנים)",[3] but this does not make sense, for it means that the third region overlaps with the second. Corruption has arisen through assimilation to the Taurus Amanus Formula which has the words "from Taurus Amanus and <u>inwards</u>". We should simply emend "inwards" in the Three Regions Formula to "outwards" (לחוץ).[4]

This formula is a development of the previous one. It introduces a major refinement: the Land south of the Amanus and the Euphrates is divided into two at Kezib; south of Kezib is Israel in the fullest possible sense; north of Kezib, however, is only Israel in a weaker sense. Thus the status of Syria as within the Land which is presupposed by the Taurus Amanus Formula has begun to deteriorate.

The absolute northern limit of the Land is once again set at Mt Amanus. The Euphrates is now joined with it. Mt Amanus comes, as we saw, from exegesis of the long boundary text in Num. 34 (ver.7); the Euphrates is from one of the short boundary texts, such as Gen. 15:18. Thus, by implication, the long and short boundary descriptions of the Bible have been equated as in the Palestinian Targumim. The choice of <u>Kezib</u> as the internal dividing line is also exegetically based. Kezib is a town of the tribe of Asher (Jud. 1:31; Jos. 19:29), and so may be taken as marking, on the line of the coast at any

rate, the northernmost point occupied by the Israelites after the Conquest. An intrusion into the text of m.Sheb. VI 1 (which we shall discuss presently) wrongly supposes it is the northern boundary of the territory occupied by "those who came up from Babylon".

The Three Regions Formula must have been current at the end of the first century AD for it was utilized by Rabban Gamliel II. Thus the first formula, the Taurus Amanus Formula, from which it evolved, must have originated sometime earlier.

3. DISCUSSION OF THE BOUNDARIES AT THE TIME OF R. AKIBA

Scattered throughout the Rabbinic corpus are various statements relating to the borders of the Land dating from Hadrianic and pre-Hadrianic times. When we consider them together it becomes clear that the principal subject of debate then was the status of Syria, and that there was further deterioration of the position of this region as fully within the Land. In m.Sheb. VI 2 we find the following general ruling of R. Akiba:

> "R. Akiba laid down a general rule: The like of whatsoever is permitted to be done in the Land of Israel may be done also in Syria."

All "general rules" imply exceptions (see R. Yohanan on this point in b.Erub. 27a), so that Syria, though broadly speaking on the same footing as Israel proper, is in some respects not fully within the Land. This hesitation contrasts with a ruling given in m.Hall. IV 11:

> "Ben Antigonus brought up Firstfruits from Babylon and they would not accept them. Joseph the priest brought up his Firstfruits of wine and oil and they would not accept them. He also brought up his sons and the men of his household to keep the Lesser Passover in Jerusalem , but they turned him back, lest it should be established as an obligation. Ariston brought his Firstfruits from Apamia, and they accepted them from him, for they said: He who owns land in Syria is as one who owns land on the outskirts of Jerusalem."

Syria could scarcely be more emphatically included within the Land. This decision, however, must relate to the period when the Temple was still standing, for it concerns the bringing up of <u>bikkurim</u>, a practice discontinued after AD 70. Note also the reference in the context to keeping the Lesser Passover in Jerusalem.

The discussion of the boundaries at the time of R. Akiba was, as earlier, involved with the exegesis of the Biblical data. This is made

clear by the following passage from t.MS II 15 (90,9-10); parallels t.BK VIII 19 (363, 11-12):

> "R. Yose (T2) says: The borders of the Land of Israel which are written in Scripture are judged as being outside the Land; R. Eleazar (T2) says: They are judged as belonging to the Land of Israel."

For other discussions of the status of Syria dating from the same period see: m.Hall. IV 7; t.Ter. II 9-11 (27,23); t.AZ II 8 (462,31); t.Pea IV 6 (23,11).

4. THE BOUNDARY FORMULA OF R. JUDAH BEN ILAI

The period immediately after the War of Bar Kokhba produced a new definition of the borders of the Land, contained in a formula attributed to R. Judah b. Ilai. This is given in m.Gitt. I 2:

> "R. Judah says: Reḳem and the country east of Reḳem count as the east; Ashkelon and the country south of Ashkelon count as the south; Acco and the country north of Acco count as the north."

This view was accepted by the majority; the only case of dissent recorded is a minor one: R. Meir wished to include Acco within the Land, at least as regards Bills of Divorce (m.Gitt. I 2). This formula differs both in form and substance from the previous two. It attains much more definition, in that it gives rulings for the eastern, southern and (as we shall see presently) the western borders, as well as the northern. Syria has now been quite emphatically excluded from the Land of Israel. In the Three Regions Formula the division between Israel proper and Syria was marked on the coast at Kezib; now the absolute northern border of the Land is set still further south at Acco - a striking change.

The western border is not included in the formula. It was, however, discussed, and a disagreement arose over it between R. Judah and the majority; for this see y.Hall. 60a.39 (parallels, y.Sheb. 36d.28; t.Ter. II 12 (27,32); t.Hall. II 11 (99,24); b.Gitt. 8a):

> "As for the islands that are in the sea, you are to imagine a line drawn from Taurus Amanus to Naḥal Miṣraim. From the line and inwards is the Land of Israel; from the line and outwards is outside the Land. R. Judah says: All that is opposite the Land of Israel belongs to the Land of Israel, as it is written, And for the western border, ye shall have the Great Sea, and (the) border (thereof): this shall be your western border (Num. 34:6). As for the status of the islands that are on the sides, you are to imagine a line from Kaphluria to Ocean, and from Naḥal Miṣraim to Ocean. From the line and inwards is the Land of Israel; from the line and outwards is outside the Land."

We have already noted (p.201) that R. Judah's strange account of the western border, which is shared by the secondary stratum of the Palestinian Targum, is exegetically based on the apparently redundant word "border" in Num. 34:6. this is clear from the comment in b.Gitt. 8a:

> "How do our Rabbis expound the superfluous words 'and a border'? The majority say that they are necessary so as to bring in the islands; but R. Judah says that for the inclusion of the islands no special indication is required."

For the general idea behind R. Judah's western border see p.33 and pp. 201 ff; also figure 4. There is a confusion in the text to be put right. The majority draw their line in the north from Taurus Amanus; R. Judah draws his from Kaphluria. Since the majority opinion with regard to the northern border was the same as Judah's, Taurus Amanus here cannot be correct. What is needed is some place in the vicinity of Acco. We must suppose, therefore, that the majority also drew their line in the north from Kaphluria, and that this place was somewhere in the region of Acco. It has not been successfully identified, but I suspect that it denotes the Ladder of Tyre (Ras en-Nakura, Rosh ha-Nikra).[5] Kaphluria was replaced by Taurus Amanus through assimilation to the Taurus Amanus Formula which was quoted just before the beginning of the above extract from y.Hall. 60a.39.

This text once more underscores the point which I have been at pains to make, namely that the debate on the boundaries of the Land was basically exegetical. In this case the western border turns on the interpretation of a minute point in Num. 34:6. The new boundary formula of R. Judah raised other exegetical issues. Syria was originally included within the Land because the short and long boundary-descriptions given in the Bible were equated: this is implicit in both the Taurus Amanus Formula and the Three Regions Formula. The harmonization of two Biblical texts, or two sets of texts, is a fundamental principle of Rabbinic exegesis. In R. Judah's formula Syria is quite definitely excluded from the Land, and this exclusion ought to be exegetically justified and the arguments supporting its inclusion countered. It is interesting to note that from the time of R. Judah onwards we find what appear to be attempts to divorce the two sets of Biblical boundary texts. Three arguments were used:

(a) Firstly, an appeal was made to Gen. 15:18-19 which states that the Land promised to Abraham's descendants extends from the River of Egypt to the Euphrates. In verse 19 this territory is summed by itemizing the nations who occupied it, ten in all. Three of them, the Kenite, Kenizzite

and Kadmonite, are not mentioned again in Scripture. Thus Deut. 1:7 speaks only of "seven nations greater and mightier than thou".[6] From this it was deduced that God had changed his mind; see Gen.R. XLIV 23 (cf., y.Sheb. 36b. 50; y.Kidd. 61d.9; b.BB 56a):

> "R. Helbo said in R. Abba's name in R. Yoḥanan's name (PA 2): The Holy One, blessed be he, did at first contemplate giving Israel possession of ten peoples, but he gave them only seven."

Thus the way was open for equating the Promised Land of the short boundary texts with the land of the ten nations, and the land of the conquest with the land of the seven nations. The land of the ten nations, however, was still regarded as a sort of ideal Israel which would be given to the Jews in the days of the Messiah; so Gen.R. XLIV 23:

> "But in the days of the Messiah they (i.e., the Kadmonite, Kenite and Kenizzite) shall once again belong to Israel, in order to fulfil God's promise."

The Taurus Amanus-Euphrates line of the old boundary formulae was regarded in later days as marking the northern limit of that ideal Messianic Land. This is the meaning of the comment of R. Hunia in the name of R. Justa that the exiles returning to the Land in the Messianic Age will burst into joyous song when they reach the top of Mt Amanus (Cant.R. IV 8.2), for then, at last, they will be on the borders of the Land and their exile ended (cf., Ex.R. XXIII 5).

There were many identifications suggested for the Kenite, Kenizzite and Kadmonite, some of them very bizzare.[7] Of interest are the following:

1. Gen.R. XLIV 23: "R. Simeon b.Yoḥai said: Damascus, Asia and 'Aspamia."
2. y.Shab. 36b.53: "R. Judah said: Arabia, Salamia, Nabataea."
3. b.BB 56a: "R. Meir says: The Naphtuḥans (? Nabataeans), Arabs and Salamaeans. R. Judah says: Mt. Seᶜir, Amon and Moab. R. Simeon said: ᶜArdiskis (? Damascus), Asia and 'Aspamia."

R. Meir, R. Judah b. Ilai and R. Simeon b. Yoḥai are the oldest rabbis to whom this exegesis is attributed, which tends to confirm our suspicion that, as far as Rabbinic circles are concerned, it was developed in the mid second century precisely to account for the narrower boundaries of Israel postulated by R. Judah's formula. The halakhic orientation of this line of exegesis was well understood by the Babylonian scholar Samuel; see b.BB 56a:

> "Rab Judah (BA 2) said that Samuel said: All that the Holy One, blessed be he, showed to Moses is liable to tithe. With what exceptions ? With the exception of the Kenite, Kenizzite and Kadmonite."

Unfortunately the forms of some of the geographical equivalents given above are uncertain. Note, however, that at least two regions of Syria were excluded from the Land on the basis of this exegesis: Damascus and Apamea ('Aspamia). The specific exclusion of the latter town is very significant in view of the emphatic way it was included in the pre-70 AD ruling given in m.Hall. IV 11 which we discussed earlier (p.236).

(b) Another text to which appeal was made was Deut. 11:24:

> "Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread shall be yours: from the desert and the Lebanon, from the River, the River Euphrates, even unto the Hinder Sea shall be your border."

Sifre Deut. 51 (117,8) makes the following comment on this:

> "If you wish to learn about the borders of the Land of Israel, behold Scripture has just said: From the desert and the Lebanon. What is the meaning of the words: Every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread ? He said to them: Every place which you shall conquer, except for these places themselves, shall be yours . . . What then is the meaning of: From the desert and the Lebanon ? From the desert shall be your border: the desert shall only be your border, if you conquer up to it; then it shall be your border: and the desert . . . your border. From the River shall be your border: the River shall only be your border if you conquer up to it; then it shall be your border: and the River your border."

In this passage two devices are used to restrict the limits of the Land. Firstly, the border points mentioned in Scripture are taken exclusively, i.e., as themselves lying outside the Land. This is presumably the meaning of the words, "Every place which you shall conquer, except for these places themselves (i.e., the desert, the River etc.) shall be yours." See the discussion of this point by R. Yose and R. Eleazar in t.MS II 15 (90, 9-10) quoted above on p.237. Secondly, a doctrine is enunciated that though all the Land between the Nile and the Euphrates was given to Israel it only becomes Land of Israel if the Israelites actually conquered it. This is obviously an idea of great halakhic use for it means that effectively the boundaries can be moved from an exegetical basis unto a pragmatic, and Israel defined as the area actually occupied by Jews at any given time, with the proviso that this area be within the limits of the Biblical promised Land.

(c) A development of this argument lies behind a series of intrusions into the Three Regions Formula in m.Sheb. VI 1: "All that they

occupied who came up from Babylon . . . all that they occupied who came up from Egypt." This has been used to gloss the Three Regions Formula, so that the region as far as Kezib is equated with the post-Exilic borders of the Land, and the Land as far as the Amanus and the Euphrates with the borders of the Land at the Conquest. This material is not original to the Three Regions Formula. It is missing in the parallel m.Hall. IV 8. Moreover it is odd to say that Kezib marks the northern limits of post-Exilic Israel, for, as we saw (p.235), the point of naming this town was that it marked the northern-most Jewish town at the time of the Conquest. In making the Amanus and the Euphrates the northern border of "those that came up from Egypt" the glossator may be thinking of the Davidic borders (2 Sam. 8:3; 1 Kgs 4:21), though in themselves, the words most naturally refer to the time of the Conquest. This "all that they occupied" formula has been used to gloss also the TBL. Thus both TBL Sifre and TBL Y.Talmud have the superscription: "The borders of the Land of Israel, with regard to the territory which they occupied who came up from Babylon." But the title in TBL Tosefta is original: "The border of the Land of Israel".

In its original form the "all that they occupied" formula attempted to solve the problem of the borders of the Land by introducing an historical element. It distinguished three senses of the term "Land of Israel": Firstly, the Land as promised to the Patriarchs. This sense is not explicitly stated but I feel that it is implied. Secondly, the Land of Israel as the territory occupied by the Tribes at the time of the Conquest. Thirdly, the Land of Israel as the territory occupied by those who returned from Exile.

Two texts will illustrate the halakhic application of the related doctrines of "all that they occupied" and "if you have conquered, it shall be your border".

(i) t.Chol. XVIII 16 (617,16): "R. Judah b.Jacob from Beth Gubrin and Jacob b.Rabbi Isaac from Beth Guphnin testified concerning Caesarea (Maritima) that 'they occupied it' from of old; and so it was released from ban without a <u>minyan</u>."

(ii) y.Sheb. 36c.40: "And now I must say that although Ashkelon was conquered according to the word of Torah, I am supposed to release it from the word of Torah."

The second quotation is from a protest lodged by R. Ishmael b. Yose in Rabbi's Beth Din when it was proposed to exempt Ashkelon from the duty of paying tithes. Note in both passages the use of the characteristic verbs "occupy" (חזק) and "conquer" (כבש).

5. THE TANNAITIC BOUNDARY LIST

The Tannaitic Boundary List is the most complex and complete statement of the Boundaries of the Land in Rabbinic Literature. It is found in four main recensions:

(1) Sifre Deut. 51 (117,8) = TBL Sifre
(2) t.Sheb. IV 11 (66,6), Vienna Codex = TBL Tosefta (Cod.V)
(3) t.Sheb. IV 11 (66,6), Erfurt Codex = TBL Tosefta (Cod.E)
(4) y.Sheb. 36c.23 = TBL Y.Talmud.

There is also a recension in Yalk. Deut. 874, but it is only of minor importance; see Appendix IB for these texts.

The TBL is an expansion of the shorter formula of R. Judah:

R. Judah's Formula	TBL Sifre
Acco and the country north of Acco count as the north	4. The wall of Acco
Rekem and the country east of Rekem count as the east	25. Rekem of the Hagra
Ashkelon and the country south of Ashkelon count as the south.	1. The crossroads of Ashkelon 34. The gardens of Ashkelon.

In the case of both Acco and Ashkelon R. Judah and the TBL agree precisely in excluding the two towns themselves from the Land of Israel: the Land of Israel, according to the TBL, extends only to the wall of Acco, and the crossroads of Ashkelon. The phrase, "the gardens of Ashkelon" implies the same thing; see y.Sheb. 36c.23: "Ashkelon itself is excluded . . . on the ground of that which was taught, 'the gardens of Ashkelon'. This means that Ashkelon is outside." If then, the TBL is an expansion of the Formula of R. Judah b. Ilai, where did the additional points come from ?

For some time prior to the compilation of the TBL there had been growing up a body of isolated decisions, made, as the need arose, with regard to the halakhic status of various towns and areas. Examples of such decisions are to be found in m.Hall. IV 10. The TBL represents an attempt to systematize and revise these rulings. It cannot, however, be regarded simply as an attempt to co-ordinate case law. The debate on the boundaries of the Land up to this point was conducted with explicit reference to Scripture, so it would be rather surprising if it were suddenly to become purely pragmatic. Besides the TBL, if taken as a purely pragmatic statement, hardly makes sense. This mistaken notion is found in Klein's "Grenzverzeichnis"

Consider the fact that the TBL excludes only four towns on the coastal plain - Ashkelon, Caesarea (Maritima), Dor and Acco - from the Land of Israel. This only makes sense if these towns are exceptions to a general rule, if, in other words, there was a "blanket" declaration of the coast as Land of Israel, but for one reason or another, it was deemed expedient to discourage Jews from settling in these towns, or not to apply to those already living there "the commandments pertaining to the Land". It is clear from the whole Rabbinic discussion of the status of these towns that they were not absolutely outside the Land, but were only portions of the Land "under ban" i.e., temporarily declared as outside. (Temporary exclusion seems to have been effected most often on the ground of discovery of uncleanness in the town or area in question, no very difficult matter !)

Now, on what grounds would such a "blanket" declaration of the coast as Land of Israel have been made ? Klein states: "Die Sache verhält sich aber so: Wir haben oben auf die Tatsache hingewiesen, dass seit dem Hasmonäer Simon der Küstenstrich als jüdisch galt" ("Grenzverzeichnis" p.235). This suggestion follows from Klein's idea that "die Grenzpunkte des Landes hängen mit der Ausdehnung der Machtsphäre des Staates auf engste zusammen" (p.235). But surely it is simpler and more in keeping with the tenor of Tannaitic Judaism to regard the "blanket" declaration, and indeed the whole framework of the TBL, as being derived ultimately by exegesis from the Biblical text. What Jewish "Machtsphäre" ever extended to Petra ? Yet Petra is included in the TBL; see TBL Sifre 33; TBL Tosefta (Cod.E) 33; TBL Tosefta (Cod.V) 40; TEL Y.Talmud 36.

Though it is no longer possible to establish exactly which points of the TBL are exegetically based, we can identify some with the help of the Targumim:

TBL Sifre 33:	Rekem Ge'a	- Ḳadesh-barnea, Num.34:4
	28: Ḥeshbon	- Ḥeshbon, Deut.3:2,6; Num. 32:37
	26: Ṭrachon	- 'Argob, Deut. 3:13
	22: Caesarea (Philippi)	- Shepham, Num. 34:10
	21: The Depression of ᶜIyyon	- Ḥaṣar-ᶜenan, Num.34:9
	18: The Fortress of Bar Senigora	- Ẓedadah, Num. 34:8.

There are, then, two sources for the TBL: (a) Num.34 and related boundary-texts provided a framework boundary for the Land of Israel; (b) additional points were introduced into this framework on the basis of case law.

Not all the recensions of the TBL are of the same date. TBL Sifre appears to be the oldest as well as the shortest; TBL Tosefta (Cod.V) is the longest and youngest, while TBL Tosefta (Cod.E) and TBL Y.Talmud are somewhere in between. None of the recensions, however, differs greatly from the others and so they are probably not far separated in time.

That the TBL is as old as R. Ḥiyya the Elder and may have been edited in his school may be deduced from a curious passage in y.Sheb. 36c. bottom line:

> "Resh Laḳish asked R. Ḥanina: What of the man who acquires land in Amon and Moab ? He said to him: I have not heard from R. Ḥiyya the Elder anything on this but from the crossroads of Ashkelon and to the outside - אלא מפרשת אשקלון ולחוץ ".

The Gemara proceeds to comment on the apparent irrelevance of this reply:

> "It is strange that, having asked one thing, Resh Laḳish should receive a reply about something different. However, R. Ḥanina, not wishing either to speak a word which he had never received, nor yet to send him out empty-handed, when asked about one thing replied about some other matter."

R. Ḥanina's answer, however, was more to the point than the author of this comment realised. "The crossroads of Ashkelon" are, in fact, the opening words of the TBL, here called, as documents often were in antiquity, by its opening words. So when Resh Laḳish asks whether Amon and Moab are part of the Land, R. Ḥanina answers that the only tradition he has received is the TBL, and on the basis of this he tersely pronounces them as "outside"[8] Hence we should translate the concluding sentence of the passage:

> "I have not heard from R. Ḥiyya the Elder anything on this apart from the 'Crossroads of Ashkelon', and (on the basis of this they are) outside."

The important point for us is that R. Ḥanina attributes the TBL to R. Ḥiyya b. Abba, the younger contemporary of Rabbi. That the TBL was redacted in his school is eminently likely, in view of his activity in collecting halakhoth excluded by Rabbi from his Mishnah - the so-called baraitoth of R. Ḥiyya (cf., b.Hull. 141a).[9]

Though R. Ḥiyya may have redacted the TBL, the material which this document embodies is older than his time. This is proved by the fact that it disagrees with a number of rulings of Rabbi's Beth Din. Two examples will suffice:

(1) Caesarea Maritima was excluded from the Land by the TBL; see TBL Sifre 2: "The wall of Straton's Tower". This conflicts with the decision of Rabbi recorded in y.Dem. 22c.55: "Rabbi annulled the prohibition

pronounced against Caesarea". More precise is m.Chol. XVIII 9: "Rabbi and his Beth Din took a vote on Caesarea and they declared it clean." This same vote is referred to in t.Chol. XVIII 17 where it is stated that twenty-four Rabbis took a decision to permit anyone to enter Caesarea. That this took place sometime towards the beginning of the third century AD could be inferred independently from the fact that from the time of Rabbi onwards Caesarea became an important rabbinical centre.(R. Hoshaiah, for example, had his academy there.) Now the state of affairs reversed by Rabbi and his Beth Din is reflected in the TBL, and so it follows that the TBL must antedate that decision.

(ii) Ashkelon was also excluded from the Land of Israel in the TBL; see TBL Sifre 1, "The crossroads of Ashkelon"; 34, "The gardens of Ashkelon". Its release from ban apparently took place in two stages: firstly, its environs were declared "clean" according to an undated tradition found in t.Chol. XVIII 15, "At first they said: The borders of Ashkelon from the large grave to its heaps (? rubbish tips; reading יגורין for יגודין); to the south, and to the gates are unclean. But the sages took a vote concerning them and declared them clean." Secondly, the city itself was cleared by a Beth Din of three, including Rabbi; see y.Sheb. 36c.34: "R. Simon said in the name of Hilphai (PA 2), Rabbi, Rabbi Ishmael the son of R. Yose, and Bar Kappara took a vote concerning the air of Ashkelon and they declared it clean." Once again the TBL is found in disagreement with a ruling of the period of Rabbi, and consequently must be earlier.[10]

This latter decision shows halakha taking on a complexity which makes the TBL as an embodiment of law too simple. The TBL in Rabbi's time was becoming obsolete and could no longer register the subtle nuances of the new rulings, for Rabbi, while declaring Caesarea levitically clean, exempted it from tithes and <u>shebiith</u> - a contradiction which drew the rebuke of R. Ishmael b.Yose; see y.Sheb. 36c.40; cf., t.Chol. XVIII 18. This inconsistent position is well summarized in the general statement of t.Chol. XVIII 4:

> "Towns that are swallowed up in the Land of Israel, such as Susitha and its environs, and Ashkelon and its environs, though they are released from the laws of tithes and <u>shebiith</u>, do not, in consequence, have the impurity of gentile land."

Such a refinement, or complication, whereby a city can be in certain respects within the Land, but in others outside it, cannot be registered easily within a form of boundary-statement such as the TBL. The TBL comes from an earlier stage of legal history.

Granted, then, that the TBL is prior to the time of Rabbi, when did it arise ? Klein reaches the conclusion: "Auf Grund obiger Darlegungen stehe ich nicht an, die Anlegung des grossen Grenzverzeichnisses in der Regierungszeit Herodes, und zwar um das Jahr 20 v.Chr. anzusetzen" ("Grenzverzeichnis" p.240). Klein comes to this conclusion by raising the question: When did Jews first occupy the areas assigned to them in the TBL ? The nearest they ever approached to this was in Herodian times. Klein lays particular emphasis on the fact that places in Trachonitis are included. This he links with the grant of this region to Herod in c.23 BC.

Klein's date is much too early. It is based on the erroneous principle that the TBL is related to the "Machtsphäre" of the state, and is not ultimately exegetical. It fails to take into account the history of the boundary formulae which we have sketched above. Moreover, even if we grant Klein's contention about the relationship between the TBL and the "Machtsphäre" of the state, this principle can provide only a <u>terminus ante quem non</u>. Earlier we established that the TBL was a development of the boundary formula of R. Judah b.Ilai. It would seem, therefore, most satisfactory to date it somewhere between c.AD 150 and c.AD 200, when the decisions about Ashkelon and Caesarea were taken by Rabbi and his Beth Din.

Thus we arrive at four main stages in the Rabbinic debate about the boundaries of the Land of Israel: c.AD 70 we have the Taurus Amanus Formula; c.AD 100 this was replaced by the Three Regions Formula; c.AD 150 we have the Formula of R. Judah b.Ilai; and finally, c.AD 180 we have the TBL. This in the end was largely abandoned as halakha concerning the borders took on a complexity that defeated statement in the form of a list. The TBL, however, was rescued from oblivion by the assiduous collector of discarded Tannaitic traditions Ḥiyya bar Abba.

B. <u>The Targumic Borders and the Borders according to the Rabbis</u>

Having thus outlined the development of Rabbinic ideas on the borders of the Land of Israel, we can now consider the Targumic treatment of the same subject in relation to it. There are three strata in the Palestinian Targumim to be discussed: (1) The primary stratum, which, as we demonstrated in the previous chapter, gives a coherent account of the borders; (2) the secondary material in verse 6; (3) the material related to the TBL in verse 15.

1. THE PRIMARY STRATUM

The primary stratum in the Targum clearly stands closest to to the earliest stage of the Rabbinic development - the Taurus Amanus Formula. Both texts give very wide boundaries for the Land which appear to be the outcome of equating the Biblical long and short boundary texts; both put Mt Amanus at the northern limit of the Land. This suggests that, like the Taurus Amanus Formula, the Targumic account of the boundaries originated before AD 70 when, as was confirmed by other texts relating to that period, Syria was reckoned as being within the Land. The Targumic borders are in conflict with the TBL and the Formula of R. Judah b.Ilai, and so are most likely to antedate these. As we saw, the borders of the Land were not a question of simply archaeological or academic interest, but had an immediate bearing on a whole range of halakhoth. It is hardly credible, therefore, that the meturgemanin would have produced an exegesis of the Biblical data so glaringly at variance with current halakhah.

That the Targumic boundaries are pre-AD 70 is confirmed when we compare them with those in a text which is undoubtedly from the period of the Second Temple, viz., 1QGenAp.[11] There are two passages to be considered: the first is 1QGenAp. XXI 10-12, which is based on Abram's vision of the promised Land in Gen. 13:14-15:

> "(10) The next day I climbed up to Ramath-Ḥaṣor, and I saw the Land from (11) this height, from the River of Egypt to Lebanon and Senir, and from the Great Sea to Ḥauran, and all the land of Gebal as far as Ḳadesh, and all the Great Desert (12) which is east of Ḥauran and Senir as far as the Euphrates."

The second passage is based on Gen. 13:17, "Arise, walk through the Land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for unto thee will I give it"; thus 1QGenAp. XXI 15-19:

> "(15) So I Abram set out to go round and see the Land. I set off to go round it from the River Giḥon and I went along the side of the sea until (16) I reached the Mount of the Bull. I journeyed from the coast of this Great Salt Sea and travelled along the Mount of the Bull towards the east through the breadth of the land (17) until I reached the River Euphrates. I journeyed along the Euphrates until I reached the Red Sea in the east. I went along (18) the Red Sea, until I reached the tongue of the Reed Sea, that goes forth from the Red Sea. I journeyed to the south, until I reached the River (19) Giḥon."

Neither Gen. 13:14-15, nor Gen. 13:17 mentions any specific boundaries of the Land, so what were the sources of the points brought in here ? Analysis shows

that they are drawn from both the long and the short Biblical boundary texts:

(1) The River of Egypt (XXI 10) must be derived from Gen. 15:18 - the only occurence of this precise phrase in the Bible; elsewhere we find Naḥal Miẓraim. The Nile is meant as the parallel Giḥon (XXI 15) shows; cf., Josephus AJ I 39, "Geon flowing through the land of Egypt . . . which the Greeks call the Nile."

(2) Lebanon (XXI 11) is derived from Deut. 1:7 and 11:24.

(3) Senir (XXI 11), the Amorite name for Hermon, is taken from Deut. 3:9 - a passage used to establish the limits of the Transjordanian tribes.

(4) The Great Sea (XXI 11), the Sea (XXI 15), and the Great Salt Sea (XXI 16): Deut. 11:24 and 34:2 mention "the Hinder Sea"; Ex. 23:31, "the Sea of the Philistines" but only the long boundary texts correspond verbally to 1QGenAp. here: Num. 34:6; Ez. 47:15, "the Great Sea".

(5) Hauran (XXI 11) comes from Ez. 47:18. It also possibly exegetes Bashan in Num. 32:33.

(6) All the land of Gebal as far as Kadesh (XXI 11). The "land of Gebal" is northern Edom, the modern Jebal, identified with the Biblical Mt Seʿir by the Targumim (see p.184). The ancient land of Gabala, or Gabalene, as it was called by the Greeks, stretched from Wadi el-Hasa to Petra; cf., Josephus AJ III 40, and Eusebius On. s.v. Gabalene. This suggests that 1QGenAp. means Petra by Ḳadesh. Ḳadesh is taken from Num. 34:4, Ḳadesh-barnea. "The land of Gebal" probably goes back to an exposition of the vague "all the places nigh thereunto" in Deut. 1:7, which the Palestinian Targum (Ps-J) filled out as, "all the habitations of Amon, and Moab and Gabala"; cf., Sifre Deut. 6, "Amon and Moab and Mt Seʿir".

(7) The Great Desert that is east of Hauran and Senir as far as the Euphrates (XXI 12): The Euphrates is a well-known boundary datum of the Land mentioned in Gen. 15:18; Ex. 23:31; Deut. 11:24; Deut. 1:7. "The Great Desert" is derived from Ex. 23:31 where "the desert unto the Euphrates" has been taken to mean, "the desert extending to the Euphrates". Deut. 11:24 probably also played a part, for there"the desert" and "the Lebanon" are conjoined in such a way as to suggest that they are contiguous areas, "from the Desert and the Lebanon". To the author of this section of 1QGenAp., as to Palestinian Jews in general, "the desert" meant first of all not the Negev and the Sinai Peninsula but the deserts across the Jordan. So in TBL Y.Talmud 31 "the great road that goes to the desert" refers to the Trans-Jordanian King's Highway (which is roughly the same as the northern section

of the modern Haj road), or else the almost identical Via Nova of Trajan.[12] Copyists later moved this item in TBL Sifre 35 and TBL Tosefta (Cod.V) 42 to the end of the TBL (following a mention of Ashkelon) thinking that the "desert" must be the Sinai Desert and the "road" the Via Maris.

(8) The Mount of the Bull (XXI 16) is the equivalent of the Targumic Taurus Amanus which was used to identify Mt Hor in Num. 34:7. In our analysis of this Targumic name we suggested that underlying Taurus Amanus was an earlier stage of the tradition, viz., Mt Taurus (טורוס טור). Such a tradition would explain the name in 1QGenAp. The author of that work, having met the name טורוס טור as an identification of the Biblical Mt Hor translated the word טורוס as the equivalent of the Greek Ταῦρος. Hence his curious "Mt of the Bull"; see p.206.

(9) The Red Sea (XXI 17) is a literal rendering of the Greek Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα; cf., Josephus AJ I 39, "The Euphrates and the Tigris end in the Erythrean Sea". To the Greeks, the Red Sea meant the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf; see Herodotus II 158ff; Pliny NH VI 28; cf., Jubilees VIII 21. This item in 1QGenAp. may go back to"the east sea" mentioned in Ez. 47:17. This is the Dead Sea in fact, but the description is very rare and so may have been misunderstood.

(10) The Reed Sea (XXI 18) comes from Ex. 23:31. It is the present day Red Sea. For the geographical ideas see p.42.

The agreement between the boundaries here marked out and those of the Targumim is very close. There is agreement in the matter of equating all the Biblical boundary descriptions, and in the actual borders drawn. The only point where the two texts do not entirely correspond is in the eastern border of the Land: 1QGenAp. carries this far eastwards to the shores of the Indian Ocean; the meturgemanim were probably not so extreme, though it is hard to say what precisely they envisaged as the eastern border, owing to the confused state of the material in verse 15. The affinities, then, between the boundaries of the Palestinian Targumim and those of 1QGenAp., and their disaffinities with the post-AD 70 Rabbinic borders of Israel, point to the origin of the primary stratum of the Palestinian Targumim of this chapter before AD 70.

2. THE SECONDARY MATERIAL IN VERSE 6

We discovered that this material bore a strong resemblance to the ruling of R. Judah on the western border of the Land. It did not, however,

agree with R. Judah's ruling exactly either in substance or in form. It is not easy to draw a firm conclusion from these facts. If the two texts are directly related, then one might argue that the Palestinian Targum is a rather confused statement of R. Judah's position; but it would be equally valid to regard R. Judah's position as a more refined statement of the Palestinian Targum. As so often in these cases of parallelism the answer to the problem probably lies not in making one of the texts directly dependent on the other, but in seeing them both as independent representatives of an earlier exegetical tradition. Since R. Judah's position vis-à-vis the western boundary was rejected by the majority, it is unlikely that the similar view given by the Palestinian Targum could have originated after his time. This material, then, was probably inserted in the Palestinian Targum some time early in the second century AD. This judgment applies only to the basic form of the gloss; the elaborations are probably from a much later date.

3. THE MATERIAL RELATED TO THE TBL IN VERSE 15

In verse 15 we found material in the Palestinian Targumim which was clearly related to the TBL. However, once again any direct dependence on any of the extant recensions of the TBL was unlikely, for the Targumim on a number of points differed from the TBL in the form of its names, as well as in the addition of apparently genuine information not found in the TBL; e.g.,

Tg.	The fortress of ᶜIyyon	The depression of ᶜIyyon	TBL Sifre 21
Tg.	The image of the cock that is east of the cave of Dan	The cock that is above Caesarea	TBL Sifre 23

In addition, the meturgemanim appeared to be aware on one occasion at least of the exegetical basis of the TBL, where this could no longer be deduced from any of our extant recensions. Thus TBL Sifre 18, "the fortress of Bar Senigora" was apparently derived from Zedadah in Num. 34:8. It is just conceivable that the glossator of the Targumim may have conjectured the exegetical basis of this point in the TBL, but the connection chosen is far from obvious. There are two possible relationships between this plus material in the Palestinian Targumim and the TBL: firstly, it is possible that the Targumic data are derived from a recension of the TBL no longer extant; or else the Targumic data reflect not so much the TBL as the exegetical discussions which must have accompanied the formulation of this document. This seems to me to be the most satisfactory explanation.

It should be noted that the glossator who introduced this material into the Targum seems to have already found the text totally exegeted and so could only add his new material to pre-existing identifications. This confirms our earlier conclusion that the primary stratum which was glossed with the new material related to the TBL is prior to the TBL. This portion, then, of the glosses in the Palestinian Targumim of verse 15 dates from the late second century AD.

The dating of this material allows us to date two other strata of verse 15: (a) the glosses which have been added to the TBL-related stratum must be later than that stratum, and therefore probably post-c.AD 200; and (b) the redactional stratum must be later than both.

Finally, a word about Onkelos. O effectively identifies only one point in the boundaries of the Land in Num. 34, viz., Kadesh-barnea as Rekem Ge'a. Significantly, this is the sole point of agreement between the TBL and the primary stratum of the Palestinian Targumim (save for the western border as the Great Sea, which hardly counts). This may indicate that O at this point represents a revision of the Palestinian Targumic boundaries on the basis of the TBL. If this is the case, then O for this passage cannot be earlier than the beginning of the third century AD.

V. CONCLUSIONS: A suggested history of the Pentateuchal Targumim

We have completed an intensive analysis from a number of different angles of two portions of the Palestinian Targumim, and all that remains for us to do is to take stock of our findings and draw some general conclusions as to the nature and development of these works.

Our soundings in the Palestinian Targumim of Gen. 10 and Num. 34 brought us down in each case to a basic stratum of material which we were able to date to the period before AD 70. It would seem reasonable to conclude from this that these two strata belong to one continuum, and that underlying our extant Palestinian Targumim is a complete Pentateuchal Targum of the Second Temple Period.

To judge by the two sections of it which we have uncovered, this old Palestinian Targum had two main characteristics: (a) it was non-expansive; and (b) it was broadly uniform.

(a) The old Palestinian Targum non-expansive

In saying that the old Palestinian Targum was "non-expansive" I mean that at any given point it did not greatly exceed in bulk the original Hebrew. I do not mean it was "literal" as opposed to "non-literal", nor do I want to suggest that its rendering could be characterized as *peshat* as opposed to *derash*; I shall argue presently that it was, in general complexion, both midrashic and non-literary, but, at the same time, it probably contained few, if any, long explanatory pluses, and certainly fewer expansions of any kind than the extant Palestinian Targum texts. Towards the end of the second century AD R. Judah b.Ilai declared (t.Meg. IV 41 (228,26); b.Kidd. 49a):[1]

> "He who translates a verse according to its form is a liar; if he adds thereto, he is a blasphemer and a libeller."

Though the precise meaning of this statement is elusive, it obviously envisages a Targum standing somewhere between crass literalness on the one hand, and free expansion on the other. I would hold that the old Palestinian Targum conformed generally to this dictum.

The steps which led us to this conclusion may be briefly retraced. In our literary analysis we found in almost every case that we considered (and not only Gen. 10 and Num. 34 passed under review, but other passages as well) that it was possible to abstract from our extant Palestinian Targumim an independently viable and non-expansive rendering of the original.

To put this in another way: the expansive element nearly always took the form of an easily detached addition to a base translation.[2] When we investigated these explanatory pluses we found that a fair proportion of them had marks of secondary insertion into the base translation. This intrusiveness betrayed itself sometimes in the way in which the plus was joined to the base translation; sometimes by its content, as when it contained late haggadah; sometimes suspicion of insertion arose when we compared the recensions of the Palestinian Targumim synoptically. And so it became increasingly evident that our extant Palestinian Targumim are elaborations of a much less full earlier Targum.

This conclusion, arrived at on the basis of internal analysis of the Targumim, may be supported by appeal to certain extrinsic considerations:

1. The Mishnaic rules for "targumizing" given in m.Meg. IV 4, and reflecting synagogue practice before AD 200, appear to be aimed at preventing the Targum from becoming too expansive:

> "He who reads the lesson from the Torah (=Pentateuch) shall not read less than three verses. He shall not read to the meturgeman more than one verse (at a time), and in the reading from the prophets (= the haphtarah) not more than three. Should these three verses be three(separate) sections, then they must be(read to the meturgeman) one by one."

There is an evident principle involved in this ruling, namely that the Targum must be controlled and disciplined by laying it alongside the Biblical text, to which it forms a bridge. This principle is hardly observed if the Targum is heavily expansive.

2. The homily was an ancient element of the synagogue service both in the Diaspora and in the Land of Israel - a fact typically expressed by the Rabbis by tracing it back to Moses.[3] The homily was frequently based on the lesson for the day. Now, it is difficult to reconcile this fact with an expansive Targum, for it results in a curious duplication of function if the lesson was first paraphrastically interpreted in the Targum, and then once again explained in the homily. (later I shall put forward the view that the expansions in our extant Palestinian Targumim were largely introduced when they were no longer in liturgical use.)

3. The discovery of 11QtgJob has demonstrated that a non-expansive type of Targum was known in the period of the Second Temple. The Dead Sea Caves have also provided us with an early example of the expansive type of Targum, namely 1QGenAp. However, it should be observed that there is a

fundamental difference in form between the latter work and the Palestinian Targumim: it is impossible to extract from 1QGenAp a complete rendering of the original into Aramaic for the sections of Genesis which it covers, and consequently it would be difficult to recite it against the Hebrew text in the manner implied by m.Meg. IV 4. It is hard to imagine it ever having been used liturgically; it appears to have been a literary composition right from the outset.[4] Thus 1QGenAp. is a different sort of Targum to the Palestinian Targumim.

4. The other early Jewish Targumim which were in all likelihood intended for public use - the Septuagint, Aquila and the Aramaic Targum underlying the Peshitta Pentateuch - are all of the non-expansive variety. This fact naturally leads us to wonder whether the earliest stages of the Palestinian Targumim were similar.

5. Finally, it is surely rather significant that our earliest copies of the Palestinian Targum - the Cairo Genizah fragments, the oldest of which dates from the late seventh century AD - are not marked by extensive paraphrase, whereas our latest Targum text (BM 27,031 from the 16th cent.), which represents the youngest recension of the Palestinian Targum, Ps-J., is also the most expansive. This suggests that the line of evolution of the Palestinian Targum has been from less to more expansive.

There is one argument against the position which we are advocating which deserves particular note. It has been pointed out that on a number of occasions haggada appearing in an abbreviated form in Targum O is found more fully in the Palestinian Targumim.[5] This could be read as indicating that O was derived from a Palestinian Targum that was already haggadically expanded. This may be (and, indeed, sometimes is) the case, but it is not the only possible explanation of the facts. Allusive haggadah is by no means confined to O; it is found in the Palestinian Targumim as well. Are we then to postulate a yet more paraphrastic Targum which the Palestinian Targumim are abbreviating and to which one must refer to understand their allusions ? This is unnecessary, for it is simpler to suppose that these allusions are rather to a heritage of haggadic traditions shared by the meturgemanim and their hearers. Nevertheless, I do not want to deny that O is derived from a Palestinian Targum, and that the movement from this parent Palestinian Targum to O was broadly speaking a movement from <u>derash</u> to <u>peshat</u>.

(b) <u>The uniformity of the old Palestinian Targum</u>

When we compared synoptically our extant Palestinian Targumim

it was clear that they differed more with respect to their plus material than their base translations. This judgment is true even allowing for the limited number of possible renderings of any given Hebrew text into Aramaic. Thus it appeared that our extant Palestinian Targumim are descended from the same broadly uniform old Palestinian Targum. We must be careful how we picture this parent Targum. It would be too rigid to think of it as a manuscript master-copy or archetype, for the base translations of the Palestinian Targumim contain some irreducible divergences both of rendering and interpretation. Rather it was a tradition which reflected a definite exegetical standpoint.

A moment's thought will indicate that this exegetical standpoint must be that of the Pharisees. It should not be forgotten that our extant Palestinian Targumim have been transmitted to us through the channel of Rabbinic Judaism. We know that the Rabbinic strand of Judaism and its forerunners was not the only one to produce Targumim: note 1QGenAp., 11QtgJob, and several fragments of Pentateuchal Targumim from Qumran, as well as the Targum of Job destroyed by Rabban Gamliel.[6] A plurality of Targumim is hardly surprising when one considers that the Bible and its interpretation were fundamental to all parties of Judaism in the post-Biblical period. The only Targum of this period which would have been handed down in Rabbinic circles is that which originated with the Pharisees, the spiritual ancestors of the Rabbis.

(c) <u>The writing down of the old Palestinian Targum</u>

According to Rabbinic sources the Targum was given orally. The evidence for this, however, must be carefully weighed, for it does not imply anything more than that it was forbidden to read from a written Targum in the synagogue service. This prohibition was evidently designed to avoid any action which would create confusion between the Scroll of the Law itself and the Aramaic translation of it (b.Meg. 32a); there was to be no blurring of the distinction between the Written Law and the Oral Law which supplemented and interpreted it. The Targum belonged to the latter (y.Meg. 74d.14).

While there is one principle to be upheld here, there is another, equally important, which the Rabbis would have been at pains to maintain, namely that the rendering of the Scriptures into Aramaic in the

synagogues should accord with their interpretation of Scripture. One way of holding to both would have been to have a written Targum or Targumim reflecting their exegesis, which could be learned beforehand and recited from memory in the synagogue itself. This is what, in fact, happened at one stage of the history of the Targumim. That the Targum circulated in written form in Rabbinic circles is put beyond doubt by the fact that the question could be discussed as to whether, like a liturgical copy of Scripture, it could defile the hands (m.Yad. IV 5). One should also ponder the implications of the fact that a minor was permitted to give the Targum (m.Meg. IV 6; t.Meg. IV 21). This ruling only makes sense if he could prepare the translation beforehand. Moreover, in certain circles it was a practice for the congregation as well as the meturgeman to prepare the Targum in advance, by reading each verse in the Hebrew twice and once in the Targum (b.Ber. 8a/b). This points to a widespread use of written texts in a standard form.

As far as the Rabbinic evidence goes it is possible that the old Palestinian Targum was in written form,at least for private use, in the first century AD. We may appeal once again to the Qumran Targumim and the reference to the copy of the Targum of Job destroyed by Rabban Gamliel as proof of written Targumim at this date. Internal evidence, however, suggests that the old Palestinian Targum was originally transmitted orally, or at least that written copies of it were either not widespread or not identical. An oral stage in its development is the most obvious way of accounting for the variations in the tradition. There is no contradiction between postulating this oral transmission and our earlier contention that the old Palestinian Targum was broadly fixed and uniform by the first century AD. Memorizing was an important aspect of early Jewish education, and the learning of the Targum a fundamental part of the curriculum in the Beth ha-Sepher. Consequently, though passed on orally, the Targum could achieve a high degree of definition and uniformity. Besides, presumably a meturgeman could be "corrected" just like a Tanna, so that an oral tradition could even be subjected to limited revision.[7]

Some of the additions to the Palestinian Targumim which we looked at appeared to have been made to the base translation when it was in written form. They offer valuable evidence as to the time when the oral transmission came to an end and the Targum was reduced to writing. Some of this secondary material was introduced towards the end of the second century AD (see on Num. 34:15), while some was added c.AD 150 (see Ps-J Num. 34:6). Thus it would appear that the old Palestinian Targum was already in writing by the middle of the second century AD.

An obvious motive for committing an oral tradition to writing would be to reduce it to a completely fixed and controllable form. Owing to the nature of Jewish education an oral tradition could be highly uniform and stable, but it could never attain the fixity of a written text. What prompted this desire to fix and standardize the old Palestinian Targum ? We have just noted that the Targum appears to have been written down by the middle of the second century AD. This date suggests the answer: its reduction to writing had taken place some time earlier as part of the general movement before the Second Jewish War (AD 132-135) finally to close the canon of Scripture and standardize the text. This aims of this reform could not have been fully realized until the Targum by which Scripture was rendered in the synagogue was fixed as well.

(d) Onkelos and the survival of the old Palestinian Targum

Two facts about Onkelos emerged in the course of our study: firstly, there was a high degree of correspondence between O and the base translation of the Palestinian Targumim; secondly, at certain points O could be explained as a revision of the Palestinian Targum. There is an evident line of development here: the old Palestinian Targum must have been steadily left behind by the developments in halakha and exegesis after AD 70, and by the process of standardizing the Hebrew text. Consequently, a revision of it would have become imperative sooner or later. It is simplest to regard O as substantially representing that revision. The act of puting down the oral Targum in writing may well have been the first step towards revision, for it would have allowed the Targum to be compared more easily with current exegesis and the differences assessed.

The writing down of the old Palestinian Targum and the initial stages of its revision probably took place shortly before the War of Bar Kokhba.[8] Rabbinic tradition, in fact, records that Targum O was produced at this time by Onkelos the proselyte in the school of Akiba; see b.Meg. 3a. The parallel in y.Meg. 71c.10 says the same about the Greek version of Aquila. The latter is probably the true account,[9] but the other statement may, incidentally, be true as well, for the conditions that made necessary, and undoubtedly brought about a revision of the Greek Bible in the early second century AD would have operated with hardly less force in the case of the Aramaic Targum.

O as it stands probably does not represent that revision purely and simply. Rather it marks the culmination in Babylonia in the late

third or early fourth century AD of a process of revision which began in Palestine shortly before the outbreak of the Second Jewish War. That revision was not only intended to bring it up to date on halakhic matters and into line with the current form of the Hebrew text, but also, as I suggested earlier, to emphasize the interpretation of Scripture "according to its plain sense". So a great deal, though by no means all, of the midrash was removed.

After proto-O had been established as the standard form of the Targum, the old Palestinian Targum still survived. This is a simple statement of fact. Moreover,it remained in some sort of use, for it received glosses and expansions long after the time of Bar Kokhba, as late as Islamic times in the case of Pa-J. What function did it fulfil that secured its survival ? Our analysis provided no direct answer to this question, but a simple suggestion is in order. The element of haggada and interpretation was higher in the old Palestinian Targum than in any of its subsequent revisions. It must, therefore, have been attractive to all those whose task it was to expound Scripture - the Darshan in the synagogue and the schoolmaster in the Beth ha-Sepher. It provided such people with a convenient short commentary on Scripture. It was copied and further haggada introduced. Indeed, it would seem likely that in many cases the haggadic glosses were added to make explicit and fill out haggada already in the Targum in allusive form. This process of expansion was tolerated because the Targum was no longer in direct public use.

(e) <u>Summary</u>

The following, then, is a summary of our reconstruction of the evolution of the Palestinian Targumim:

1. The earliest stage which we can trace is represented by the old Palestinian Targum - a Targum in use in Pharisaic circles before AD 70. It was generally non-expansive, though midrashic, and it was orally transmitted.[10]

2. About the time of the Bar Kokhba War this old Palestinian Targum was reduced to writing. Several forms of the tradition may have been recorded, in an attempt to embrace it as comprehensively as possible.[11]

3. This writing down was a preliminary step towards revision. The need for revision was felt partly because of the disagreements between the old version and the more recent developments in halakha, partly because of the movement towards finally standardising the text and canon of Scripture, and partly because of an increasing awareness of the plain sense (<u>peshat</u>) of Scripture.

4. This process of revision reached its culmination in Babylonia in the late third or early fourth centuries in what we know as O.

5. After the old Palestinian Targum had been supplanted by proto-O and O in public use it continued in private circulation and developed over the centuries into a repository of interpretations and of haggada of interest to all expositors of Scripture.

In this final chapter I have tried to keep in mind a dictum which Aristotle puts at the beginning of his Nicomachean Ethics. "Our discussion", he writes, "will be adequate, if it has as much clearness as the subject-matter admits of, for precision is not to be sought for alike in all discussions, any more than in all products of the crafts" (Nic. Eth. I 3). The Targumim are highly complex works, with an involved history: this much was clear from our analysis of the glosses to Num. 34:15. Moreover, I am aware that I have chosen to study material of a rather special kind, namely geographical names, and this must be taken into account in assessing my results. I put forward my conclusions, therefore, as being only as clear and precise as these restrictive limitations of the subject will allow.

APPENDIX I: THE TEXTS

A. The Targumim

1. Introduction

2. The texts:

   (a) Genesis 10 in Codex Neofiti 1

   (b) Genesis 10 in Pseudo-Jonathan

   (c) Genesis 10 in the Fragmentary Targum

   (d) Targum 1 Chronicles 1

   (e) Numbers 34 in Pseudo-Jonathan

   (f) Numbers 34 in Codex Neofiti 1

   (g) Numbers 34 in the Fragmentary Targum

B. The Tannaitic Boundary List

1. Sifre and Yalkut

2. Tosefta Codex Erfurt

3. Tosefta Codex Vienna

4. The Yerushalmi Talmud

A. The Targumim

1. INTRODUCTION

Since Gen. 10 in Codex Neofiti 1 is the only one of our texts which has been adequately edited, I have been forced to base my study on the manuscripts and early printed editions. The purpose of this appendix is to furnish the transcriptions and colllations which I have used.

Gen. 10 and Num. 34 are found in the following recensions of the Palestinian Targum:

(1) N. = Codex Neofiti 1
(2) Ps-J.= Pseudo-Jonathan
(3) FT. = Fragmentary Targum.

There are no Geniza Fragments and no Targumic Toseftas of any importance. I have also edited part of

(4) TC. = Targum Chronicles

which came into the discussion of the Table of the Nations.

(a) Codex Neofiti 1 (N)

Vatican Library, Rome. For the palaeography of the ms. see A. Díez Macho Neophyti 1 I (1968) pp. 19*-56*; II (1970) pp. 18*-29*; III (1971) pp. 17*-19*. Professor Díez Macho is in process of publishing this text, but so far only Genesis to Leviticus have appeared. I have transcribed the ms. from photographs in the University Library, Manchester. A photographic reproduction of it has been issued in a limited edition by Makor Publishing Ltd, Jerusalem.

N. is furnished with extensive glosses, in both margins and between the lines. In Gen. 10 and Num. 34 these are from two sources: (1) Ms(s) of the FT recension; see e.g., Num. 34:6,15. These readings do not, however, correspond exactly to any extant FT mss. (b) Ms(s) of the Ps-J recension; see, e.g., Gen. 10:7,9,10. It is clear at a number of points that the glossator derived his material from two sources; e.g.,

Gen. 10:4, אלסרסוס ל"א אלסו

Here אלסרסוס = FT, while אלסו points to a reading אלס וטרסוס = Ps-J. The hand that glossed Gen. 10 is different to the hand that glossed Num. 34, while a third hand has added an almost illegible gloss to Num.34:8.

Sigla: N. = the main text
Ngl. = N gloss
Ngl(lm). = gloss in the left-hand margin
Ngl(rm). = gloss in the right-hand margin
Ngl(int). = interlinear gloss
D-M. = the edition of Díez Macho

(b) Pseudo-Jonathan (Ps-J)

There are two witnesses for this text:

(1) B = Ms. Add. 27,031, British Museum, London; see Margoliouth BMC Heb. and Sam. Mss no. 99.

This interesting manuscript was probably written by a German scribe in Italy, for although the hand is Ashkenazi, there are other features of the manuscript which are not; for example, it has eight-leaved quires, against the normal four leaves in Ashkenazi manuscripts. The manuscript certainly came to the British Museum from Italy, having belonged to the Italian Jewish bibliophile Joseph Almanzi (1801-1860), the bulk of whose manuscripts the library acquired in 1865 (see the purchase-note at the end of the volume: "Purchd. of Asher & Co (Almanzi Colln. Oct. 1865)"; further J. Leveen BMC Heb. and Sam. Mss IV (1935) pp. vii-viii; S.D. Luzzato Yad Yoseph (Padua 1864) p.22 no.137 = Hebräische Bibliographie ed. Steinschneider 5 (1862) p.44 no.137). It may possibly have been at one time in the library of Hayyim Joseph David Azulai (c.1724-1807), for this formed the nucleus of Almanzi's collection. The manuscript is not dated, but f.231b has a censor's signature: Dominico Irosol. (=Irosolimitano) 1593. M. Ginsburger made an attempt to publish this text in Pseudo-Jonathan . . . nach der Londoner Handschrift (1903), but his transcription is very unreliable.

(2) Ed. princ. = Editio princeps in Hamishah humshe Torah, published by Asher Forins under the patronage of Juan Bragadin, Venice 1590-1 (8vo); see Steinschneider Cat. Bod. (1852-60) no. 295.

This text has sublinear pointing, but this has been introduced into an originally unvocalized text, as the frequent doubling of consonantal yodh and waw and the matres lectionis for short vowels indicate. Ed. princ. is very close to B; the differences in Gen. 10 and Num. 34 are almost all orthographic. However, ed. princ. is not derived from B, as Ginsburger has shown, Pseudo-Jonathan (1903) pp. iii-iv. Azariah de Rossi in his Me'or ʿEnayim

(1574) chap. IX (Kiryath Sepher ed I.A. Benjacob, Wilna (1863) p.127), claims that he saw two copies of the Targum Yerushalmi, one belonging to the Foa family of Reggio, the other to R. Samuel Kasis of Mantua. Asher Forins published the Reggio manuscript; see the preface to his Hamishah humshe Torah. It is possible that the other manuscript was BM 27,031. The latter has an owner's name on f.3a, but it defeats satisfactory decipherment. The ed. princeps must be reckoned as having the status of an independent manuscript.

(c) The Fragmentary Targum (FT)

This is found in the following witnesses:

(1) V = Ms. Ebr. 440, Vatican Library, Rome; see Assemani Bibl. Vat. Cat. I (1756) p.400. It is found at the end of a portion of the Hebrew Bible; 13th century. I have taken this as my base text, but have disregarded the odd pointing.

(2) Nu. = Solg. Ms. 1,2°, Stadtbibliothek, Nürnberg. A seven volume Bible with Targumim and Masora Magna and Parva; Ashkenazi, and written in Germany by one scribe; colophon vol. VII (=Solg. Ms. 7,2°) f.127v, gives the date of the ms. as 1291.

(3) S. = Ms no. 264, Sassoon Library, London: Targum Yerushalmi ᶜal ha-Torah, in a Yemenite Siddur Gadol. The Siddur is written in a square Yemenite hand of the 17th century; see D.S. Sassoon Descriptive Cat. of Heb. and Sam. Mss in the Sassoon Library I (1932) p. 320.

(4) P. = Ms. Heb. 110, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. This has for our two passages only Gen. 10:4,9,10,11; Num. 34:6,8 as against Gen. 10:2-4, 9-14, 17-18 and Num. 34:3-12,15 in the forementioned FT mss. The FT is on ff. 1-16 of the ms.; ff. 17-139 contain Targum Jonathan of the Hagiographa, written in 1455-1456 by Nathan b. Saadia ha-Kohen Shalal at Tlemcen in Algeria for his own personal use. Folios 1-16 are in a cursive hand, but the lemmata are in square characters which resemble closely those in the lemmata of ff. 17-139; however, ff. 1-16 are not mentioned in any of the colophons. Folio 139v has the note: "Codex iste in Bibliothecam Colbertinam delatus est

ex Aleppo civitate Syriae anno Christi 1674".

(5) L. = Ms. B.H. fol.1, Universitätsbibliothek, Leipzig; see Delitzsch in Naumann Cat. mss in Bibl. civitatis Lipsiensis: cod. orient. ling (1838) p.271 no. 1. Pentateuch, Megilloth, Haphtaroth with Targum and Rashi. Ashkenazi and written in Germany. It is not dated but the scribe was מכיר בן קרשביא son of ברכיה הנקדן who wrote משלי שועלים. This ought to allow an approximate dating. This ms does not have FT for either Gen. 10 or Num. 34.

(6) M. = A recently discovered ms of FT in the Gunsburg Library, Moscow; its Hebrew University Library no. is MS. 6684. I have not been able to find out anything about this manuscript.

(7) Bomb. = The editio princeps at the end of part 1 of the Biblia Rabbinica prepared for the printer Daniel Bomberg by Felix Pratensis, Venice (1516-1517); see Steinschneider Cat. Bod. (1852-1860) col.6, no.28. The second Bomberg Biblia Rabbinica prepared by Jacob ben Hayyim, Venice (1524-25) also has FT at the end of part 1. The text is the same as Bomb. I. On Bomb. II see Steinschneider Cat. Bod. col. 11, no. 52. A facsimile of Bomb. II has been issued by Makor Publishing Ltd (Jerusalem 1972).

(8)Testimonia:see Ginsburger Das Fragmententhargum (1899) p. 93 for Gen. 10, and p. 118 for Num. 34.

Bomb. is very close to Nu. and may be actually based on it; S is also close to this group; V is a little further away, while P stands quite on its own. M. Ginsburger Das Fragmenthargum (1899) is an attempt to edit FT, but it is very unsatisfactory. It is based on the peculiar and late transmission of P, which it transcribes very carelessly. M.C. Doubles has prepared a new edition of FT as a doctoral thesis at St. Andrews: The Fragment Targum: A critical re-examination of the Editio Princeps, Das Fragmententhargum by Moses Ginsburger in the light of recent discoveries (1962). This has not yet been published. Dr Doubles kindly loaned me his work sheets when I was preparing Gen. 10 and Num. 34 in FT; this was important for the readings of V which I have not seen personally. See also M.C. Doubles "Toward the

publication of the extant texts of the Palestinian Targum(s)" VT 15 (1965) pp. 16-26.

(d) Targum Chronicles (TC)

This is found in the following witnesses:

(1) E. = Ms.or.fol. 1210/1211, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; originally at Erfurt. This is my base text.

(2) V. = Cod.Ebr.Urb. 1, Vatican Library, Rome.
Vgl. = V gloss.

(3) C. = Ms.Or.Ee 5.9, Cambridge.
Cgl. = C gloss.

For texts and editions of the Targum of Chronicles see R. Le Déaut and J. Robert Targum des Chroniques I (1971) pp. 11ff. This edition takes V as the base; E is the base of P. de Lagarde Hagiographa Chaldaice (1873) and A. Sperber The Bible in Aramaic IVa (1968). Lagarde corrected E occasionally from C and a third codex; see p. III, "ad Cantabrigensis et tertii codicis fidem hic illic reficto". This "third codex" was, apparently, no. 442 in Fleischer Cat. Cod. mss orientalium Bibl. Regiae Dresdensis (1831). It was destroyed during the Second World War; see Robert and Le Déaut I p. 13.

2. THE TEXTS

2(a) Genesis 10 in Codex Neofiti 1

(1) ואלין תולדוות בנוי דנח שם וחם ויפת ואתיליד להון
בנין בתר מבולא:
(2) בנוי דיפת גמר ומגוג ומדי ויון ותובל ומשך ותירס
ושם אפרכיותהון אפריקי וגרמניה ומדי ומקדוניא
וביתניא ומוסיא ותרקא:
(3) ובנוי דגמר אשכנז וריפת ותוגרמה: ושם אפרכיותהון
אסיה וברבוי וברבריא:
(4) ובנוי דיון אלישא ותרשיש כתים ודודנים: ושם
אפרכיותהון אלם וטרסם ואיטליא' ודרדני':
(5) מן אלין אתפרשו נסי אומיא בארעותהון גבר ללשניה
לזרעיתהון באומיהון:
(6) ובנוי דחם כוש ומצרים ופוט וכנען:
(7) ובנוי דכוש סבא וחוילה וסבתא ורעמ' וסבתכא ובנוי
דרעמה שבא ודדן:
(8) וכוש אולד ית נמרוד הוא שרי למהוי גיבר בארי':
(9) הוא הוה גיבר בחטאה קדם ייי בגין כדין יתאמר
כנמרוד גיבר בחטאה קדם ייי:
(10) והווה שרוי מלכותיה בכל הדם ונציבין וקטיספי'
בארעא דבבל:
(11) מן ארעא ההיא נפק אתוריא ובנה ית נינוה וית
פלטיותא דקרתא וית הדיף:
(12) וית תלאסר בין נינוה ובין הדיף היא קרתא רבתא:
(13) ומצרים אולד ית לודיא וית ענמיה וית להבייא וית
נפתוחייא:
(14) וית פתרוסיא וית כסלוחיא די נפקו מן תמן פלישתייא
וית קפודקייא:
(15) וכנען אול ית צידון בכורא וית חת:
(16) וית יבוסיא וית אמוראי וית גרגשיא:
(17) וית חוויא וית ערקיא וית ארתוסיא:

(18) וית ארוודייא וית זימרייא וית אנסוכיא ומן בתר
כדין אתפרשו זרעיהון דכנעיא:
(19) והוה תחומהון דכנעניא מן צידון מעלך לגררה עד עזה
מעלך סדומה ועמרה אדמה וצבוים עד קלרהי:
(20) אילין בנוי דחם לזרעייתהון ללשניהון בארעהון
באומיהון:
(21) ולשם אתילד אף הוא אבוהון דכל בני עבריא אחוי
דיפת רבה:
(22) בנוי דשם עלם ואשור וארפכשד ולוד וארם:
(23) בנוי דארם עוץ וחול וגתר ומש:
(24) וארפכשד אולד ית שלח ושלח אולד ית עבר:
(25) ולעבר אתילד תרין בנין שמה דחד מנהון פלג ארום
ביומוי אתפלגו דיירי ארעא ושמה דאחוי יקטן:
(26) ויקטן אולד ית אלמודד וית שלף וית חצרמות וית
ירח:
(27) וית הדורם וית אוזל וית דקלה:
(28) וית עובל וית אבימאל וית שבא:
(29) וית אופיר וית חוילה וית יקטן כל אלין בנוי
דיקטן:
(30) והוה משרוייהו' מן מישא מעלך לספריא טוורי מדנחה:
(31) אלין בנוהי דשם לזרעיתהון ללשניהון בארעהון
לאמיהון:
(32) אילין זרעית בנוי דנח לחלוותהון באומיהון ומן
אלין אתפרשו אומייא בארעא בתר מבולא:

Apparatus to N Gen. 10

(1) תולדוות] ms reads תולדוות' with a sign of abbreviation Ngl(lm) תלוודתיה יחוס.

(2) ומדי ... ותרקא] Ngl(rm) ויטינייא ומקדוניאה והמדאי ואוסייא ותרקי; D-M wrongly reads ומוסייא.

ובית̇ניא ... ותרקא] Ngl(lm) ותרקי ואותייה ויתינייה

(3) אסיה] Ngl(lm) ועסייה.

וברבוי] Ngl(rm) ופרכווי.

(4) אלם וטרסם] read אלס וטרסס; Ngl(rm) אלסטרסוס ל"א אלסו.

איטליא'] = איטליאה; Ngl(lm) אילטיאה (sic!).

ודרדני'] = דרדניא; Ngl(lm) ודרדרייא.

(5) נסי] Ngl(lm) רברבני from a reading נְשִׂיֵּי (So D-M)

בארעותהון] Ngl(rm) בארעהון.

לזרעיתהון] Ngl(rm) לזרעייתהון.

(6) וכנען] Ngl(lm)+ ושום אפרכייותהון ערביא ומצרים ואלייהוק וכנען.

(7) רעמ'] = רעמה.

דדן] Ngl(lm)+ ושום אפרכייותהון סיניראי והינדיקאי וסמראי ולובאי וזינגאי ובנוי דמוורטינוס זמרגד ומזג

Compare Ps-J.

(8) באר'] = בארעא; Ngl(rm) קדם בחטאה ולמרדה ייי ב"א.

(9) כדין] Ngl(lm) כן.

(4) אחרונים יחד אחרונים] Ngl (ms) יחד יחד יחד

(29) [סוף] to assisted of בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(30 אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה.

שיחה] Ngr(fm) בוקר.

(31)חברותית] Ngr (fm) חברותית.

חברתית] Ngr (ונה) [חיה]מעבדה.

[אחר]עבודה] Ngr (fm) שיחה = חברתי.

(32)בוקר] Ngr (fm) מחקר.

(33) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(34) שיחה] Ngr(fm) בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(35) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(36) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(37) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(38) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(39) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(40) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(41) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(42) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(43) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(44) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(45) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(46) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(47) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(48) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(49) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

(50) אחרת] Ngr(fm) שיחה של בבר physiochemical dialogue.

2(b) Genesis 10 in Pseudo-Jonathan

(1) ואילן תולדת בנוי דנח ואיתיילדו להום בנין בתר
סובענא:
(2) בנוי דיפת גמר ומגוג ומדי ויון ותובל ומשך ותירס
ושום אפרכיותהום אפריקי וגרמניא והמדיי ומקדינייא
ויתיניא ואוסיא ותרקי:
(3) ובנוי דגומר אשכנז וריפת ותוגרמה:
(4) אלס וטרסס אכזיא ודרדניא:
(5) מאילן איתפרשא גנוסי נגוות עממיא כל חד ללישניה
ליחוסיהום בעממיהום:
(6) ובנוי דחם כוש ומצרים ופוט וכנען ושום אפרכיותהום
ערביא ומצרים ואליחרק וכנען:
(7) ובנוי דכוש סבא וחוילה וסבת' ורעמה וסבתכא ושום
אפרכיותהום סיניראי והינדיקי וסטראי ולובאי וזינגאי
ובנוי דמוריטינוס זמרגד ומזג:
(8) וכוש אוליד ית נמרוד הוא שרי למיהוי גיבר בחיטאה
ולמרדא קדם ה' בארעא:
(9) הוא הוה גיבר מרודא קדם ה' בגין כן יתאמר מן יומא
דאיתברי עלמא לא הוה כנמרוד גיבר בצידא ומרודא
קדם ה':
(10) והות שירוי מלכותיה בבל רבתי והדס ונציבין וקטיספון
בארעא דפונטוס:
(11) מן ארעא ההיא נפק נמרוד ומלך באתור דלא בעא למיהוי
בעיסת דרא דפליגתא ושבק ארבע קוריין איליין ויהב
ליה ה' בגין כן אתרא ובנא ארבע קוריין אוחרנין
ית נינוה וית פלטיאת קרתא וית חדיות:
(12) וית תלסר דאתבניא ביני ניניוה וביני חדיית איהי
קרתא רבתא:
(13) ומצרים אוליד ית ניוטאי וית מריוטאי וית ליווקאי
וית פנטסכינאי:
(14) וית נסיוטאי וית פנטוליטי דנפקו מתמן פלישתאי
וית קפודקאי:

(15) וכנען אולד ית צידון בוכריה וית חת:
(16) וית יבוסאי וית אמוראי וית גירגשאי:
(17) וית חיואי וית עירקאי וית אנתוסאי:
(18) וית לוטסאי וית חומצאי וית אנטיוכי ובתר כדין
איתבדרו זרעייתהון דכנענאי:
(19) והוה תחום כנענאי מן כותנייס מעלך לגרר עד עזה
מעלך לסדום ועמורא אדמה וצבויים עד קלרהי:
(20) אילייך בנוי דחם לזרעית יחוסיהון ללישנהון במותב
ארעתהון בגניסת עממיהון:
(21) ולשם איתיליד אף הוא בר הוא אבוהון דכל בני
עיבראי אחוי דיפת רבא בדחלתא דה':
(22) בנוי דשם עילם ואתור וארפכשד ולוד וארם:
(23) . . . . .
(24) וארפכשד אוליד ית שלח ושלח אוליד ית עבר:
(25) ולעבר איתילידו תרין בנין שום חד פלג ארום ביומוי
איתפליגת ארעא ושום אחוי יקטן:
(26) ויקטן אוליד ית אלמודד דמשח ית ארעא באשלוון וית
שלף די שלף מוי דנהרוותא וית חצרמות וית ירח:
(27) וית הדורם וית אוזל וית דיקלא:
(28) וית עובל וית אבימאל וית שבא:
(29) וית אופיר וית חווילא וית יובב כל איליין בנוי
דיקטן:
(30) והוה בית מותבניהון מן מישא מעלך לספרוואי טור
מדינחא:
(31) איליין בנוי דשם ליחוסיהון במותב ארעייתהון לגניסת
עממהון:
(32) איליין יחוסי בנוי דנח ליחוסיהון בעממיהון ומאיליין
איתפרשו עממיא בארעא בתר טובענא:

Apparatus to Ps-J Gen. 10

(1) ואילן] Ed. princ. אלין.

ואיתיילדן] Ed. princ. ואתילידו.

(2) והמדיי] Ed. princ. והמריי.

ומקדינייא] Ed. princ. ומקדוניא.

(3) ותוגרמה] Ed. princ. ותוגרמא.

(4) Ed. princ. ובני יון אלישה אלס ותרסוס אכזיא ודרדניא.

(5) מאילן] Ed. princ. מאלין.

איתפרשא] Sic! Ed. princ. אתפרשו.

גנוסי] Ed. princ. גניסי.

(6) וסבת'] = וסבתה.

וסמראי] Ed. princ. וסמראי.

מווריטינוס] Ed. princ. מוריטינוס.

(9) איתברי] Ed. princ. אתברי.

(10) שירוי] Ed. princ. שרוי.

(11) קורין אילין] Ed. princ. קורין אלין.

חדיות] Ed. princ. פריות Sic! but חדיות in ver. 12.

(14) פלישתאי] Ed. princ. פלשתאי.

(15) בוכריה] Ed. princ. בוכרי.

(17) חיואי] Ed. princ. חואי.

(18) אנטיוכי] Ed. princ. אנטכואי.

(19) קלרהי] Ed. princ. קלרהי.

אילין] Ed. princ. אלין.

(29) ahmn] Ed. prine. ahmn.

rbrN] Ed. prine. rbN.

(30) rbrN] Ed. prine. rbN.

(31) rbrN] Ed. prine. rbN.

(32) rbrN] Ed. prine. rbN.

mrmhmrb] Ed. prine. mrmhmrb.

(33) rbrN] Ed. prine. rbN.

(34) rbrN] Ed. prine. rbN.

(35) rbrN] Ed. prine. rbN.

(36) mrmhmrb] Ed. prine. mrmhmrb.

2(c) Genesis 10 in the Fragmentary Targum

(2) בנוי דיפת גומר ושם אפרכייותהון אפריקי וגרמניא
ומדי ומוקדוניא ויתניא ומוסקי ותרקי:
(3) ובנוי דגומר ושם אפרכיותהון אסיא ופרכוי וברבריאה:
(4) ובנוי דיוון אלישה ושם אפרכיותהון אלטרסוס
איטליא ודרדניא:

(9) הוא הוה גיבר בצידה בחטאה ק' ייי הוה צאיד בני
אינשא בלישניהון ואמר להון רחוקו מן דינוי דשט
ואדבקו בדינוי דנימרו' בגין כדין יתאמר כנמרוד
גיברא גיבר בצידה גיבר בחטאה ק' ייי:
(10) והוות שירוי ונציבין וקטיספו בארעא דבבל:
(11) מן ארעא ההיא נפק אתורייא ית נינוה וית פלטייתא
דקרתא וית הדיית:
(12) וית תילאסר דבין נינוה ובין הדיית היא קרתא
רבתא:
(13) ומצרים אוליד ית לודאי וית מריוטאי וית באנטפולטאי
וית לוסטאי:
(14) וית פילוסאי וית פנטסכינאי די נפקו מתמן פלשתאי
וית קפדוקאי:
(17) וית טריפוליטאי וית ערקאי וית כפרוטאי:
(18) וית אנטרדיאי וית חמצאי וית אנטוכייא מן בתר כן
איתפרשו ניטי אומייא:

Apparatus to FT Gen. 10

(2) ומוסקי] Nu. Bomb. ואנסייא; S ואנסיא.

שם] S שום.

(3) שם] S שום.

(4) ושם] SNu. Bomb. omit.

ודרדניא] S ודודניא.

(9) בלישניהון . . . . בצידה] S בצידא בחטאה ק׳ ייי דהוה צייד בבני אנשא בלישנהון.

בלישניהון] PSNu. Bomb. בלישנהון.

ואדבקו] Nu. Bomb. ואידבקו; SP ואדביקו.

דנימרו׳] = דנימרוד.

כדין] S כן.

גיבר בצידא בחטאה ק׳ ייי S] גיברא . . . . ק׳ ייי.

גיבר] 2° SNu. Bomb. omit.

(10) שירוי] + SNu. Bomb. מלכותיה בבל הדס.

(11) אתורייא] + SNu. Bomb. ובנא.

(12) דבין] SNu. Bomb בין.

(13) באנטפולטאי] Nu. פאנטפוליטאי; S Bomb. פנטפוליטאי.

(14) פנט סכינאי] S פנט סכנאי.

קפודקאי] S קפדוקאי.

(17) טרפוליטאי] S טרפלאי.

(18) $\overline{\text{Nu}}_{\text{comb}} = \overline{\text{Nu}}_{\text{forced}} + \overline{\text{Nu}}_{\text{free}}$

$\overline{\text{Nu}}_{\text{forced}}$ is given by Eq. 8.

$\overline{\text{Nu}}_{\text{free}}$ is given by Eq. 15.

2(d) Targum 1 Chronicles 1

(1) דין ספר יחוסיא פתגמי יומיא דמן יומי עלמא:
אדם שת אנוש:
(2) קינן מהללאל ירד:
(3) חנוך מתושלח למך:
(4) נח שם חם ויפת:
(5) בנוי דיפת גמר ומגוג ומדי ויון ותובל ומשך ותירס
ושום אפרכותהון אפריקי וגרמניא וחמראי ומוקדוניא
ויתניא ואוסיא ותרקיא:
(6) ובנוי דגומר אשכנז ודיפת ותוגרמה ושום אפרכותהון
אסיא ופרכווי וברבריא:
(7) ובנוי דמקדון אלס וסרטוס אטליון ודרדניא:
(8) ובנוי דחם ערב ומצרים אליחרק וכנען:
(9) ובנוי דערב סינראי והנדקאי וסמראי ולובאי וזנגאי
ובנוי דסמריאסינוס זמרג ומזגג:
(10) וערב אוליד ית נמרוד הוא שרי למהוי גבר בחטאה
שדי אדם זכאי ומרד קדם יהוה:
(11) ומצרים אוליד ית נאטאי וית מראטאי וית לאקאי
וית פנטסכנאי:
(12) וית פנטפוליטאי וית נסאטאי דנפקו מנהון פלשתאי
וית קפוטקאי:
(13) וכנען אוליד ית כותניאס הוא דבנא ית צידון הוא
בוכריה דכנען וית חת:
(14) וית יבוסאי וית אמוראי וית גרגשאי:
(15) וית חואי וית ערקאי וית אנחוסאי:
(16) וית לטוסאי וית חומצאי וית אנטוכאי:
(17) ובנוי דשם עלמאי ואתוראי וארפסדאי ולודאי
וארמנייאי וחולאי וגתראי ומשכאי:
(18) וארפסדאי אוליד ית שלח ושלח אוליד
ית עבר:

(19) ולעבר איתילידו תרין בנין שום חד פלג ארי ביומוהי
איתפליגו דיירי ארעא ושום אחוהי יקטן מטול
דביומוהי שריאו שניהון דבני נשא לאוקטעא מן
בגלל חוביהון:
(20) ויקטן אוליד ית אלמודד דמשח ופליג ית ארעא באושליא
וית שלף דשלף ית נהרותא לתחומיא וית חצרמות
דאתקין אתר כמינא לקטלא עלי ארחא וית ירח
דאתקין פונדוקין והוה כל דעליל למיכל ולמישתי
הוה מוכיל ליה סמא דמותא ונסיב כל מה דהוה בידוי:
(21) וית הדורם וית אוזל וית דקלה:
(22) וית עיבל וית אבימאל וית שבא:
(23) וית אופיר אחר מפקנות דהבא וית חוילה אחר מפקנות
מרגליתא וית יובב כל אילין בנוי דיקטן:

Apparatus to Targum 1 Chron. 1

(5) Vgl. גרמניה גיתיה והמדן ואוביסוס ויתניאה ומוסיה ותרקי

Cgl. גרמכייא גיתייה והמדן ואוביסוס ויתניאה ומוסייה ותרקי

אפריקי] Vgl גרמניה; Cgl גרמכייא read גרמנייא.

גרמניא] Vgl גיתיה; Cgl. גיתייה.

חמדאי] V המדאי; Vgl, Cgl המדן.

מוקדונייא] C מוקדונייא; Vgl, Cgl אוביסוס.

יתניא] V יתיניא; Vgl יתניה Cgl יתנייה.

אוסיא] Vgl מוסיה; Cgl מוסייה.

תרקיא] V תרקי; Vgl, Cgl תרקי.

(6) Vgl ובנוי דגמר אסיה ודריגת וגרמנקיה

אסיא] Vgl אסיה.

פרכווי] Vgl דריגת; Corruption of ריפת?

ברבריא] Vgl גרמנקיה.

(7) Vgl אלישה אלס טוסס אכזיה ודרדניא

Cgl. ובנוי דיון אלישה אלם תרסס אכזווייה ודרדנייה רידום וחמץ ואנטיוך

רידום וחמץ ואנטיוך should go with ver. 16.

אלס] V אלסו, ו by dittography; Cgl אלם read אלס.

תרסה שם; ותרפה מאה חמשים ושבע שנים [ותרפח]
תרפח ו [תרפחי] תרפחי; תרפחו תרפחה תרפחנה.
תרפחתי ו [תרפחתי] תרפחת תרפחתי תרפחתם תרפחתן תרפחנו.
תרפחת ו [תרפחת] תרפחת תרפחתי תרפחתם תרפחתן תרפחנו.
תרפח ו [תרפח] תרפחה תרפחו תרפחה תרפחן תרפחנו.
תרפחתי ו [תרפחתי] תרפחת תרפחתי תרפחתם תרפחת

2(e) Numbers 34 in Pseudo-Jonathan

(3) ויהוי לכון תחום דרומא מן מדברא דציני סור
פרזלא על תחומי אדום ויהוי תחום דרומא מן סייפי
ימא דמילחא מדינחא:
(4) ויקיף לכון תחומא מן דרומא למסוקיתא דעקרבית
ויעבר לציני טוור פרזלא ויהוון מפקוי מן דרום
לרקם גיעא ויפוק לטירת אדריא ויעיבר לקיסם:
(5) ויקיף תחומא מקיסם לנילוס דמצראי ויהון מפקנוי
למערבא:
(6) ותחום מערבא ויהוי לכון ימא רבא אוקינוס ותחומיה
הינון מי בראשית עם מיא קדמאי דהוון בגויה
אבירוי ופרכירוי כרכוי ומדינתיה ניסוי ומחוזוי
ספינתיה ואלגווחיה דין יהוי לכון תחום מערביא:
(7) ודין יהוי לכון תחום ציפונא מן ימא רבא תכוונון
לכון לטווריס אומניס:
(8) מסוורוס אומניס תכוונון לכון מעלך לטבריא ויהון
מפקנוי דתחומא מן תרין ציטרוי מכוונין לכרכוי דבר
זעמה ולכרכוי דבר סניגורא ודיווקינוס ותרנגולא
עד קיסרין מעלך לאבלס דקילקאי:
(9) ויפוק תחומא לקרן זכותא ולגבתא דחטמנה ויהון
מפקנוי לביריא דבית סכל ולמציעות דרתא רבתא
דממצעא בין טירת עינוותא לבין דרמשק דין יהוי
לכון תחום ציפונא:
(10) ותכוונון לכון לתחום מדינחא מטירת עינוותא
לאפמיאה:
(11) ויחות תחומא מן אפמיאה לדפני מן מדנח לעיינוותא
וממערת פניאס
ויחות תחומא למערת פניאס יחות תחומא לטור תלגא
ומטור תלגא יחות תחומא לעינן ומעינן יחות תחומא
ויסב מיישרא מישר נחלי ארנונא וייתי למדברא דציני

טור פרזלא מי מצותא אבל ודמוכה סמיך לגיניסר
כרך מלכותהון דאדומאי אחסנות שיבט ראובן וגד
ופלגות שיבט מנשה ויחות תחומא ויקיף לתחום ימא
דגיניסר ממדינחא:
(12) ויחות תחומא ליורדנא ויהוון מפקנוי לימא דמילחא
ריקם גיעא מן דרומא טוורוס אומניס מן ציפונא
ימא רבא מן מערבא ימא דמילחא מן מדינחא דא תהוי
לכון ארעא דישראל למצרני תחומהא חזור חזור:
(15) תרין שיבטין ופלגות שיבטא קבילו אחסנתהון מעיברא
ליורדנא מדינחא:

Apparatus to Ps-J Num. 34

(3) מילחא] Ed.princ. מלחא.

(4) עקרבית] So also Ed.princ.; Ginsburger wrongly reads עקרבים.

קיסם] Ed.princ. קסם.

(6) אוקיכוס] Ed.princ. אוקייכוס.

אבירוי] Ed.princ. אבידוי.

פרכירוי] Ed.princ. פרכידוי.

כרכוי] Ed.princ. כדכוי.

(8) כרכוי] 1º Ed.princ. כדכור ; 2º Ed.princ. כדכי.

(9) רחטמנא] Ed.princ. רחטמונא.

לבירא] Ed.princ. לכריא.

(11) עייכוותא] Ed.princ. עיכוותא.

מיישרא] Ed.princ. מישרא.

דציני] Ed.princ. וציני.

ודמוכה] Ed.princ. ודמיכה.

(12) ציפונא] Ed.princ. צפונא.

(15) שיבטין] Ed.princ. שבטין.

שיבטא] Ed.princ. שבטא.

מעיברא] Ed. princ. מעברא.

2(f) Numbers 34 in Codex Neofiti 1

(3) ויהווי לכון תחומא מן דרומה מן מדברה דצין
עד תחומיהון דאדומיי ויהווי לכון תחום דרומה
מן סייפי ימה דמלחה מן מרנחה:
(4) ומקף לכון תחומה מן דרומא מן מסקייתה דעקרבין
ויעבר בסור פרזלא ויהוון מפנוקי מן דרום לרקם
דגיעה ויפוק סירת אדרייה ויעבר בתחום שוק
מסיי בקסם:
(5) ומקף תחומה מן לקסם לנילוס דמצריי ויהוון מפכוקי
למערבה:
(6) ותחום ימה רבה אוקיינוס אינון מי בראשית מטוי
מעוזוי וספינתה עם מיא קדמויי די בגווה דין
יהווי לכון תחום ימא:
(7) ודן יהווי לכון תחום צפונה מן ימה רבה תכוונון
לכון להומינוס טוורס מזרח:
(8) מן טוורוס מינס תכוונון רמערני אנטוכייה ויהוון
מפנוקי רתחומה ראוורס דקיריקי:
(9) ונפק תחומה לזפירין ויהוון מפנוקי טירת עגבתה
די יהוון לכון תחום רצפונה:
(10) ותכוונון לכון לתהום מדינחה מן טירת ענוותא
לאפמיה:
(11) ונחת תחומה מן אפמיה לדפני מן מדינחה לעיינה
ונחת תחומה ומקף על סיפווי ימה דגניסר מן
מדינחה:
(12) ונחת תחומה לירדנה ויהוון מפקנוי ימא דמלחה דא
תיהווי לכון ארעא לתחומה מן חזור חזור:
(15) תרין שבטייה ופלגות שבטה דמנשה קבלו אחסנתהון
מן עבר לירדנה דיריחו קדמין מן מדנחה נפק להון

תחומה לכנרת כרך מלכיהון דאמוריי נפק להון
תחומה לכרכא דעיון דמן מדנח רבית ירח וממדנח
ימא דבית ירח נפק להון תחומא לידיוקיטא
ומידיוקיטוס תרנגיל קסריון דממדנח מערבה
דדן נפק להון תחומה לטור תלגא לתחומה לבנון
דמצפון עייינוותיה דדרמשק ומצפון עייינוותייה
דדרמשק נפק להון תחומא לנהרא רובא נהרא פרת
דעלוי סדר נצחני קרבוי דיי מתעבדין ומנהרא
רובא נהרא פרת נפק להון תחומא לקרן זווי
דבתריה וכל טרכון בית זימרא בית מלכותא
דסיחון מלכותא דאמוריי ובית מלכותא דעוג
מלכא דבותניין מה די קטל משה נביא דיי נפק
לרפיון ולשוקמזיי ולמערת עין גדי עד מטי ספר
ימא דמלחא דין הוא תחומא דחרין שבטיה ופלגות
שבטה:

Apparatus to N Num. 34

(3) מן דרומה] Ngl (int) מד' = מדרומה; Ngl (lm) דרומיה.

מן מדברה] Ngl (int) ממד' = ממדברה.

מן מדנחה] Ngl (int) ממד' = ממדנחה.

(4) ומקף] Ngl (lm) ויקף.

מן דרומא] Ngl (int) מד' = מדרומא; Ngl (lm) דרומי' = דרומיא.

מן מסקייתה] Ngl (int) ממ' = ממסקייתה; Ngl (lm) מסקו' = מסקותה.

בטור] Ngl (int) לטו' = לטור.

ויהוון] Ngl (lm) ויהווי; the word in the text to which the gloss refers has not been marked with a circle.

מן דרום] Ngl (int) מד' = מדרום.

ויפוק] Ngl (lm) ויפק.

ויעבר] 2° Ngl (lm) + בקסם.

(5) ומקף] Ngl (lm) ויקף.

דמצריי ויהוון מפכוקי] Ngl (lm) דמצריים ויהווי מפ' = מפכוקי.

מפכוקי] sic! read מפנוקי.

למערבה] Ngl (lm) מע' = מן מערבה.

(6) ... וספינתה] Ngl (lm) הוא אוקייאנוס ניסוי ומחוזוי וספינתה.

קדמייה דאית בגווה Ngl (lm)] קדמויי .... בגווה.
הינן מיה בראשית.

דבגווה = דב' Ngl (int)] די בגווה.

תחומה מערבייה Ngl (rm)] תחום ימא.

Gloss reads:

ותחום ימה רבה הוא אוקייאנוס ניסוי
ומחוווי וספינתא עם מיא קדמייה
דאית בגווה הינון מיה בראשית
דין יהווי לכון תחומה מערבייה.

Compare F.T.

(7) תחום] Marked for a gloss, but no gloss is provided.

לטוורוס מ' Ngl (lm)] להומינס טוורוס =
לטוורוס מינס.

(8) טוורוס מינס] Ngl (lm) ת"א טורי יסמינוס;
Compare the reading of the Arukh טורי יסמנוס;
Ginsburger Das Fragmententhargum (1899)
p118. The gloss is in a different hand from
the others and rather difficult to read.

רמערני .... ראוורס דקיריקי] has been later
corrected to למעלני .... לאוולס דקיליקי.

רמערני] Ngl (rm) למעלה ; Ngl (rm) מעלך.

רתחומה] read דתחומה ; Ngl (rm) בתחומה דא'
דקלקאי ; דא' = דאוולס.

(9) ונפק] Ngl (lm) ויפק.

טירת עגבתה] Ngl (lm) דירת עיינוותה.

רצפונה] read דצפונה; the ר has been crossed
out; Ngl (rm) צפונייה.

(10) לאפמיה .... לתחום] Ngl (rm) לתחומה מערביי'
בין דיירת עיינוותה לאפמייס ; מערביי' =
מערבייא ; for בין read מן.

(i) Name the process by which water vapour in the air is converted into water droplets; Name (1mk)
the part [1mk] where this process occurs in the diagram above.

(ii) Explain why the level of water in the flask remains constant during the process. [2mks]

(iii) Name [1mk] and explain [2mks] the role played by the part labelled Y in the diagram above.

(iv) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Z. [1mk]

(c) Name [1mk] and explain [2mks] the role played by the part labelled W in the diagram above.

(d) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled X in the diagram above. [1mk]

(e) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Y in the diagram above. [1mk]

(f) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Z in the diagram above. [1mk]

(g) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled W in the diagram above. [1mk]

(h) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled X in the diagram above. [1mk]

(i) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Y in the diagram above. [1mk]

(j) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Z in the diagram above. [1mk]

(k) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled W in the diagram above. [1mk]

(l) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled X in the diagram above. [1mk]

(m) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Y in the diagram above. [1mk]

(n) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Z in the diagram above. [1mk]

(o) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled W in the diagram above. [1mk]

(p) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled X in the diagram above. [1mk]

(q) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Y in the diagram above. [1mk]

(r) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Z in the diagram above. [1mk]

(s) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled W in the diagram above. [1mk]

(t) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled X in the diagram above. [1mk]

(u) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Y in the diagram above. [1mk]

(v) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Z in the diagram above. [1mk]

(w) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled W in the diagram above. [1mk]

(x) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled X in the diagram above. [1mk]

(y) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Y in the diagram above. [1mk]

(z) Name [1mk] the process that occurs in the part labelled Z in the diagram above. [1mk]

2(g) Numbers 34 in the Fragmentary Targum

(3) ויהוי לכון תחומא דרומייא מן מדברא די רקם
כלו קבל תחומיהון דאדומאי וייהוי לכון תחומא
דרומייא מן סיפי ימא דמילחא מן מדינחא:
(4) ויקוף לכון תחום' דרומייא מן מסקיותיה דעקרבין
ויעבר בטור פרזלא ויהוי מפקנוי מן דרום לרקם
דגיעה ויפוק דירת אדרייא ויעבר בקסם:
(5) ויקוף תחום' מן קסם לנילוס דמצרי' ויהוון מפקנוי
מן מערבא:
(6) ותחום מארבא הוא אוקינוס ניסוי ומחוזוי וספינתא
עם מיא קדמייתא דאית בגווה הינון מי בראשית
דין יהוי לכון תחומא מערבי':
(7) ודין יהוי לכון תחומא צפונייא מן ימא רבא
תכוונון לכון לטוורוס מנוס:
(8) מן טוורוס מנוס תכוונון לכון למעלא לאנטוכיא
ויהויין מפקנוי דתחומא דאוול' דקילקאי:
(9) ויפקון תחומייא לזפירין ויהוון מפקנוי דירת
עיינותא דין יהוי לכון תחומא ציפונייא:
(10) ותכונון לכון לתחומא מערבייא מן דירת עיינותא
לאפמיים:
(11) וייחות מאפמיים לדפני מן מדנח לעיינותא וייחות
תחומא וימטי סמיך לימא דגניסר מן מערבא:
(12) וייחות תחומא ליוָרדנ' ויהוון מפקנוי ימא דמלחא
דא תיהוי לכו' ארעא לתחומא' חיזור חזור:
(15) תרין שבטין ופלגות שבטא דמנשה קבילו אחסנתהון
מן יורדנא דיריחו קדמאין מן מדינחא מן מישר
דמלחא נפק להון תחומא לכנרת כרך דמלכותהון דאמוראי
ומן כנרת כרך מלכותהו' דאמוראי נפק להון תחומא
לסור תלגא ולחומתא דליבנן ומן טור תלגא וחומתא
דליבנן נפק להון תחומא לחובא די מן צפון עיינותא

דדרמסק ומן חובא די מן צפון עיינוותא דדרמסק נפק
להון תחומא לדיוקסס תורנגלא דקיסריון די מן
מדנח מערב ומן יוקסס תורנגלא דקיסריון דימן
מדנח מערב נפק להון תחומא לנהרא רבא נהרא פרת
נפק להון תחום' לקרין זוותא לבתרא כרך כל טרכון
זימרה בית מלכותיה דסיחון מלכהון דאמוראי
ובית מלכותיה דעוג מלכ' דמתנן נפק לרפיח
ולשוקמזיי עד מטי ספר ימא דמלחא דין הוה דתרין
שיבטייא ופלגות שיבטא:

Apparatus to FT Num. 34

(3) דרומייא] S Nu. Bomb. מדרומא.

ממדברא] S Nu. Bomb. מן מדברא.

דרקם] S Nu. Bomb. די וקם

כל קבל] S כל קביל; Nu. כל קובל; Bomb. כלו קבל כל.

ויהוי] S Nu. Bomb. ויהי.

תחומא] 2° S Nu. Bomb. omit.

דרומא] S. Nu. Bomb. דרומייא.

מסיפי] Nu. Bomb. מן סיפי.

דמלחא] Nu. Bomb. דמילחא.

(4) ויקוף] S Nu. Bomb. ויקף.

תחומא =] תחומ'.

דרומיא] S Nu. Bomb. דרומייא.

מסקיותא] S Nu. Bomb. מסקיותיה.

דעבר] S. Nu. Bomb. ויעבר

ויהון] S ויהוי.

מדרום] S Nu. Bomb. מן דרום

דגיעא] S Nu. Bomb. דגיעה

אדריא] S Nu Bomb. אדרויא

(5) ויקף] S Nu. Bomb. ויקוף

תחומא] = תחומי.

דמצרים] = דמצרי.

ויהון] SNu. Bomb. ויהון.

(6) מארבא] sic! SPNu. Bomb. ימא רבא.

כיסוי] SNu. Bomb. כסוי.

ומחוזוי] S Bomb. ומחרוי; Nu. ומחודוי.

קדמייתא] SNu. Bomb. קדמיא.

בגווה] Nu. Bomb. בגויה.

תחומא] S תחומיא.

מערבי] = מערביא.

(7) תחומא] SNu. Bomb. תחום.

פיפוניא] S פפוניא; Nu. פיפ = פיפוניא; Bomb. פיפוניא.

(8) סוורוס] Nu. Bomb. מטוורוס.

אלעמב] SPNu. Bomb. עלעמב.

לאנטוכיא] SNu. Bomb. לאנטוכייא.

ויהוין] SNu. Bomb. ויהון.

דתחומא] SNu. Bomb. תחומא.

דאוולי] = (?) דאוולס; So S.

(9) ויפקון] S ויפוק.

תחומייא] SNu. Bomb. תחומא.

עייכוותא] SNu. Bomb. עייכותא.

ז

יהוי] SNu. Bomb. גיהורי.

תחומא] SNu. Bomb. תחום.

צפוניא] SØNu. Bomb. צפונית.

(10) ותכובון] SNu. Bomb. ותכוונון.

לתחומא] SNu. Bomb. תחומא.

מדירת עיינותא] SNu. Bomb. עיינות מדירת.

לאפמיים] SNu. לאפמים.

(11) וייחות] 1° Nu. Bomb. ויחות, SNu. Bomb + תחומא.

מאפמיים] SNu. Bomb. לאפמים.

מדנח] Nu. Bomb. לעיינותא מדנח' = מדנחא; S. לעי' מדנחא ; לעי' = לעיינותא.

וייחות] 2° Nu. Bomb. ויחות.

דגניסר] SNu. Bomb. דגינוסר.

(12) וייחות] SNu. Bomb. ויחות.

תחומא] SNu. Bomb. omit.

יורדנ'] = יורדנא ; Bomb. ירדנא.

תיהוי] S. Nu. Bomb. תהי.

לתחומא'] = לתחומאה; SNu. Bomb. לתחומהא.

(15) שבטין] SBomb. שבטיא ; Nu. שיבטא.

דמנשה] SNu. Bomb. omit.

יורדנא] So Nu.; S. Bomb. ירדנא.

דיריחו] SNu. Bomb. דירחו.

מישר] S Nu. Bomb + ימא.

דמלכותהון] Nu. Bomb. דמלכתהון.

דאמוראי] 1° Nu. Bomb. דאימוראי.

דאמוראי . . . . . ומן כנרת] S omits.

ומן כנרת] Nu. Bomb. ומכנרת.

מלכותהו'] = מלכותהון.

דאמוראי] 2° Nu. Bomb. דאימוראי.

דליבנן] 1° S Nu. Bomb. דלבנן.

דליבנן . . . . ומן טור] Bomb omits.

מן טור] S Nu. מטור.

וחומתא דליבנן] S Nu. דלבנן ולחומ' = ולחומתא.

דדרמסק bis] S Nu. Bomb. דדמשק bis.

עיינוותא] 2° Nu. Bomb. עיינותא.

לדיוקטם] Nu. Bomb. לדיוקינוס.

תורנגלא] 1° S טור תלגא; Nu. Bomb טור תלג' = תלגא; but S Nu. Bomb. have תורנגלא 2°

מערב] bis S Nu. Bomb. + דן bis.

יוקטס] S Nu. Bomb. יוקינוס.

פרת] S Nu. Bomb +

דעלוי סדר ניצחני קרבוי דייי
מתעבדין ומן נהרא רבא נהרא פרת

תחומ'] = תחומא.

(כל טרכון) כרך] SNu. Bomb. omit.

(דסיחון) מלכותיה] SNu. Bomb. מלכותא.

דסיחון] Nu. דסיחן.

מלכהון] S מלכיהון.

(דעוג) מלכותיה] SNu. Bomb. מלכותא.

מלכ'] = מלכא.

(לרפיח) נפק] SNu. Bomb. נפיק.

דמלחא דין] SNu. Bomb. דמילחא הדין.

הוה (דין)] SNu. Bomb. + חולקהון.

הוה] S הוא.

שיבטייא דתרין] S שבטיא דתרין; Bomb. שבטיא דתריין; Nu. שיב' דתריין = שבטיא.

שיבטא (last word)] Bomb. שבטא Nu. שיב' = שיבטא.

B. The Tannaitic Boundary List

1. SIFRE AND YALKUT

	Yalkut (Oxford ms)	Sifre (Rome ms)	Sifre (London ms)
		תחומי ארץ יש' עד	תחום מארץ יש' ועד
		מקום שהחזיקו עולי	מקום שהחזיקו עולי
	בבל	בבל	בבל
(1)	פרשת אשקלון	פרשת אשקלון	פרשת אשקלון
(2)	חומות מגדל שרשן	חומת מגדל שר שן	חומת מגדל שרשן
(3)	דר	דר	דיר
(4)	חומות עכו	חמת עכו	חמת עכו
(5)	מגיאתו	האש מגיאתו	מגיאתו
(6)	גיאתו עצמה	גיאתו עצמה	גיאתו עצמה
(7)	מברתא	כברתא	כברתא
(8)	כומתא/בומתא	בית זניתא	בית זניתא
(9)	קצרא וגלילא	קצרא דגלילא	קצרא רגליא
(10)	קבייתא רעייתא	קבייא דעייתא	קבייא רעייתא
(11)	מצריא רעבתא	מצייא דעבתא	מצייא רעבתא
(12)	במותא דביריין	נמותא דביריין	במותא דביריין
(13)	פחורתא דייתיר	טחורתא דיתר	נחורתא דייתר
(14)	נחלא דא בעאל	נחלא דאבצל	נחלא דאביצאל
(15)	בית ער	בית עד	בית ער
(16)	מרעשתא	מרעשתא	מרעשתא
(17)	לילא רבתא	לולא רבתא	לילא רבתא
(18)	קרבא דבר סנגרא	כרכא דבר סנגרא	כרכא דבר סנגרא
(19)	מיסף	מיסף	מיסף
(20)	ספנתא	ספנתא	ספנתא
(21)	נקיבתא רעייא	נקיבתא רעיון	נקיבתא רעיון
(22)	תרנגולא עילאה	תרנגלא עילאה	תרנגלא עילאה
	דכיסרי	דקיסרי	דקיסרי

(23)	בית סוכת	בית סוכות	בית סוכת
(24)	יונקת	יקנת	יינקת
(25)	רקם דאגרא	רקם דחגרא	רקם דחגרא
(26)	סורבונא דזימרא דתחום בוצרא	טרכונא דזימרא דביתחום ביצרא	נורבונא/טרבונא דזימרא רבת רב תחום נוצרא
(27)	סקא	יובקא	יוסקא
(28)	חשבון	חשבון	חשבון
(29)	נחלת דור	תחלת זרד	נחלת דור
(30)	סכוסא	ססותא	סכותא
(31)	נימרין	נימרין	נימרין
(32)	עליה מוליא זרואי	מליה זירואי	מלייא וירואי
(33)	רקם גיאה	רקם גיאה	רקם גיאה
(34)	גינאה דאשקלון	גינייא דאשקלון	גיננייא דאשקלון
(35)	דרך גדולה ההולכת במדבר	דרך גדולה ההולכת במדבר	דרך גדולה ההולכת למדבר

2. TOSEFTA CODEX ERFURT

תחום ארץ ישראל

(1) פרשת אשקלון
(2) חומת מגדל שרשן דקיסרי
(3) שורא דרור
(4) שורא דעכו
(5) כבריתא
(6) ריש מעון רגעתן
(7) רגעתן גרמא
(8) אגר זניתא
(9) קצטרא דגליל
(10) קביא רעיתא
(11) תפלית
(12) טניפא
(13) סחרתא דיתיר
(14) מוסתא דבור
(15) ממציא דעכתא
(16) מי שפר
(17) עילי רבתא
(18) מחרשתא
(19) מגדל חרוב
(20) נקיפתא דעיון
(21) תיקרת
(22) כפרא דבר טנגרא
(23) תרנגלא עילאה
דלעילא מן קיסרין
(24) בית טוכת סכל
(25) רקם דחגרא
(26) טרכונא דבתחום
בצרה
(27) חשבון
(28) יוקפא
(29) נחלא דזרד
(30) יגוד סיכותא
(31) נמרין
(32) מלי חזרואי
(33) רקם גיאה
(34) גיניא דאשקלון

3. TOSEFTA CODEX VIENNA

תחום ארץ ישראל

(1) פרשת אשקלון
(2) חומת מגדל שר
(3) שינה ודור
(4) שורה דקיסרה
(5) שורה דעכו
(6) ריש מייא דגעתין
(7) געתין גרמא
(8) כברתא
(9) כזניתא
(10) קצטריא דגלילא
(11) קובעיא דראתון
(12) מילתא דכור
(13) כוריי רבתא
(14) תפניא
(15) סנפתא
(16) סחרתא דיתר
(17) ממציא
(18) מספד
(19) מחרשת
(20) גחלא דיפצאל
(21) ועולשתא
(22) אולם רבתא
(23) מגדל חרוב
(24) נקבתא דעיון
(25) כוישא
(26) תיקרת
(27) כרכא דבר סינגורא
(28) תרנגלא עילייא דקיטרין
(29) קנת
(30) רקם דדוגרא
(31) טרכונא דמתחם לבצרה
(32) יגר שהדותא
(33) נמרין
(34) מלח דזרואי
(35) יבקא
(36) חשבון
(37) נחלא דזרד
(38) רפיח וחוגרה
(39) ועמון ומואב
(40) רקם גיאה
(41) גינייה דאשקלון
(42) דרך הגדולה ההולכת למדבר

4. THE YERUSHALMI TALMUD

תחומי ארץ ישראל כל שהחזיקו עולי בבל

(1) פרשת
(2) חומות מגדל שיד
(3) שינא דרור
(4) שורא דעכו
(5) קציריא דגליל
(6) כברתה
(7) בית זניתא
(8) קובעיא
(9) מילתא דביר
(10) בירי רבתא
(11) תפניסא
(12) סנפתא
(13) מחרתא דייתר
(14) ממציא דאבהתא
(15) ראש מי נעתון
(16) נעתון עצמה
(17) מי ספר
(18) מרחשא
(19) מגדל חרוב
(20) אולם רבתא
(21) נוקבתא דעוון
(22) ותוקרת
(23) ברכה רבא ובר סנגדא
(24) תרנגולא עילאה דלמעלא מן קיטרין
(25) טרכונא דמתחם לבוצרא
(26) מלח דזורכאיי
(27) נמרין
(28) בית טבל
(29) קנח
(30) רפיח דחגרא
(31) דרך הגדולה ההולכת למדבר
(32) חשבון
(33) יבקא
(34) נחלא דזרד
(35) יגר שהדותא
(36) רקם דגועה
(37) גניא דאשקלון

APPENDIX II: TABLES

A. The Sons of Japhet

Table 1: Gomer and his sons
Table 2: Yavan and his sons
Table 3: The rest of Japhet's sons

B. The Sons of Ham

Table 4: Cush, Mizraim, Put and Canaan
Table 5: The sons of Cush I: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah and Sabtechah
Table 6: The sons of Cush II: Raamah and his sons
Table 7: The sons of Cush III: Nimrod's territories and cities, Group A
Table 8: The sons of Cush IV: Nimrod's territories and cities, Group B
Table 9: The sons of Mizraim
Table 10: The sons of Canaan
Table 11: The borders of Canaan

C. The Sons of Shem

Table 12: The sons of Shem
Table 13: The sons of Aram
Table 14: The sons and descendants of Arpachshad
Table 15: The borders of the sons of Joktan

D. Exegetical traditions

Table 16: The exegetical tradition on the sons of Japhet
Table 17: The exegetical tradition on the cities of Nimrod

TABLE 1: GOMER AND HIS SONS

MT:	גמר	אשכנז	ריפת	תוגרמה
N.	אפריקי	אסיה	ברבוי	ברבריא
Ngl.		עסייה	פרכווי	
Ps-J.	אפריקי			
FT.	אפריקי	אסיא	פרכוי	ברבריאה
TC.	אפריקי	אסיא	פרכווי	ברבריא
TCgl.	גרמניה	אסיה	דריגת	גרמנקיה

TABLE 2: YAVAN AND HIS SONS

MT:	יון	אלישה	תרשיש	כתים	דדנים
N.	מקדוניא	אלם	טרסם	איטליא(ה)	דרדני(א)
Ngl.	מקדוניאה	אלסטרסוס ל"א אלסו		אילטיאה	דרדרייא
Ps-J.	מקדינייא	אלס	טרסס	אכזיא	דרדניא
FT.	מוקדוניא	אלסטרסוס		איטליא	דרדניא
TC.	מוקדוניא	אלס	טרסוס	אטליון	דרדניא
TCgl.	אוביטוס	אלם	תרסס	אכזיה	דרדנייה

TABLE 3: THE REST OF JAPHET'S SONS

MT:	מגוג	מדי	חבל	משך	תירס
N.	גרמניה		ביתניא	מוסיא	תרקא
Ngl.		המדאי	יטנייה יתינייה	אוסייא	תרקי
Ps-J.	גרמניא	המדיי	יתיניא	אוסיא	תרקי
FT.	גרמניא		יתניא	מוסקי אנסייא	תרקי
TC.	גרמניא	חמדאי	יתניא	אוסיא	תרקיא
TCgl.	גיתייה	המדן	יתנייה	מוסייה	תרקי

TABLE 4: CUSH, MIZRAIM, PUT AND CANAAN

MT:	כוש	מצרים	פוט	כנען
N.				
Ngl.	ערביא		אלייהרק	
Ps-J.	ערביא		אליחרק	
FT.				
TC.	ערב		אליחרק	
TCgl.				

TABLE 5: THE SONS OF CUSH I: Seba, Havilah, Sabtah and Sabtechah.

MT:	סבא	חוילה	סבתה	סבתכא
N.				
Ngl.	סינראי	הינדיקאי	סמראי	זינגאי
Ps-J.	סינראי	הינדיקי	סמראי	זינגאי
FT.				
TC.	סינראי	הנדקאי	סמראי	זנגאי
TCgl.				

TABLE 6: THE SONS OF CUSH II: Raamah and his sons

MT:	רעמה	שבא	דדן
N.			
Ngl.	לובאי מווריטינוס	זמרגד	מזג
Ps-J.	לובאי מוריסינוס	זמרגד	מזג
FT.			
TC.	לובאי ממריאטינוס	זמרג	מזגג
TCgl.			

TABLE 7: THE SONS OF CUSH III: Nimrod's territories and cities A*

MT:	שנער	ארך	אכד	כלנה	בבל
N.	בבל	הדם	נציבין	קטיספי'	נכל
Ngl.	פונטוס				
Ps-J.	פונטוס	הדס	נציבין	קטיספון	בבל
FT.	בבל	הדס	נציבין	קטיספו'	בבל

TABLE 8: THE SONS OF CUSH ~~III~~ IV: Nimrod's territories and cities B*

MT:	אשור	כלח	נינוה	רסן	רחבת עיר
N.	אתוריא	הדיף		תלאסר	פלטיותא דקרתא
Ngl.	אתוריה	חדיית			פלטייותא קרתא
Ps-J.	אתור	הדיות		חלסר	פלטיאת קרתא
FT.	אתורייא	הדיית		חילאסר	פלטייתא דקרתא

*Note: these are not given in their Biblical order, but in the order in which I have discussed them.

TABLE 9: THE SONS OF MIZRAIM

MT:	לודים	ענמים	להבים	נפתחים
N.				
Ngl.	לויקאי	מריוטאי	פנטפוליטאי	סכינאי
Ps-J.	ניווטאי	מריוטאי	ליווקאי	פנטסכינאי
FT.		מריוטאי	פאנטפולטאי	לוסטאי
TC.	נאטאי	מראטאי	לאקאי	פנטסכנאי
TCgl.				

MT:	פתרסים	כסלחים	כפתרים
N.			קפודקייא
Ngl.	פילוסאי	פנטסכינאי	(קפוד)קאי
Ps-J.	נסיוטאי	פנטפוליטאי	קפודקאי
FT.	פילוסאי	פנטסכינאי	קפדוקאי
TC.	פנטפוליטאי	נסאטאי	קפוטקאי
TCgl.			

TABLE 10: THE SONS OF CANAAN

MT:	צידון	חת	יבוסי	אמורי	גרגשי	חוי
N.						
Ngl.						
Ps-J.						
FT.						טריפוליטאי
TC.	כותניאס בותניאס					
TCgl.						
Gen.R.						חלדון
y.Meg.						
Jos.	Sidonius	dest.*	dest.*	dest.*	dest.*	dest.*
Jerome						

MT:	חמתי	צמרי	ארודי	סיני	ערקי
N.	אנטוכיא	זימריא		ארתוסיא	
Ngl.	אנטיוכאי	חמצאי	לוטסאי		
Ps-J.	אנטיוכי	חומצאי	לוטסאי	אנתוסאי	
FT.	אנטוכיא	חמצאי	אנטרידנאי	כפרוסאי	
TC.	אנטוכאי	חומצאי	לטוסאי	אנתוסאי	
TCgl.	אנטיוך	חמץ	רידוס		
Gen.R.	פיפניה	חמץ	ארוד	ארתוסייה	ארקס דליבנן
y.Meg.	חמת	חמץ	רודוס		
Jos.	Amathē/ Epiphaneia	dest.*	Aradus	dest.*	Arkē in the Lebanon
Jerome	(1)Amath/ Epiphania (2)Antioch	Emessa	Aradus	Sini	Arcas

* dest. = destroyed

TABLE 11: THE BORDERS OF CANAAN

MT:	צידון	גרר	עזה	סדם	עמרה	אדמה	צבים	לשע
N.								קלרהי
Ngl.								
Ps-J.	כותניים							קלרהי
FT.								
Gen.R.								קלרהי
y.Meg.								קלרה
Jerome								Callirrhoe

TABLE 12: THE SONS OF SHEM

MT:	עילם	אשור	ארפכשד	לוד	ארם
N.					
Ngl.					
Ps-J.		אתור			
FT.					
TC.		אתוראי			ארמיינאי
TCgl.					

TABLE 13: THE SONS OF ARAM

MT:	עוץ	חול	גתר	מש
N.				
Ngl.				
Ps-J.				
FT.				
TC.				
TCgl.				

TABLE 14: THE SONS AND DESCENDANTS OF ARPACHSHAD

MT:	שלח	עבר	פלג	יקטן	אלמודד	שלף	חצרמות	ירח
N.								
Ngl.		עבר נהרא						
Ps-J.						Etym.*	Etym.	
FT.								
TC.				Etym.	Etym.	Etym.	Etym.	Etym.
TCgl.								

MT:	יובב	חוילה	אופיר	שבא	אבימאל	עובל	רקלה	אוזל	הדורם
N.									
Ngl.									
Ps-J.									
FT.									
TC.									
TCgl.									

*Etym. = etymology

TABLE 15: THE BORDERS OF JOKTAN'S SONS

MT:	משא	ספר(ה)
N.		
Ngl.		
Ps-J.		
FT.		
TC.		
TCgl.		

TABLE 16: THE EXEGETICAL TRADITION OF THE SONS OF JAPHET

MT	Josephus	Targumim	y.Meg. 71b	Gen.R.37:1	b.Yom.10a
Gomer	Galatians	Phrygia	גרממייה	אפריקי	גרממיא
Ashkenaz	Reginians	Asia	אסייא	אסיא	
Riphat	Paphlagonians	Parthia	הדייח	חדיב	
Togarmah	Phrygians	Barbaria	גרמניקיה	גרמניא / גרמונקיא	
Yavan	Ionia	Macedonia	אווסוס	מקדוניא	מקדוניא[2]
Elishah	Aeolians	Hellas	אלס	אלס	
Tarshish	Cilicians	Tarsus	טרסם	טרסוס	
Kittim	Cyprus	Achaia/ Italia	אביה	איטליא	
Dodanim		Dardania	דרדנייה	דדניא	
Magog	Scythians	Germania	גוחיא	גרמנייא	קנדיא
Madai	Medes	Media/ Hamadan	כשמיעה	מדי	כמשמעו[2]
Tubal	Iberians	Bithynia	ויתנייה	[1]איסיניא	בית אונייקי
Meshech	Cappadocians	Mysia	מוסייא		מוסיא
Tiras	Thracians	Thrace	תרקא / פרס	תרקי / פרס	בית תרייקי / פרס

Note 1: Standing against Tubal and Meshech Gen.R. has only איסיניא; this must be a corruption of something like ואוסיא ויתיניא.

Note 2: b.Yom. 10a in fact reads:

מדי וז מקרוניא יון כמשמעו

This must obviously be emended to:

מדי כמשמעו יון וז מקרוניא

TABLE 17: THE EXEGETICAL TRADITION ON THE CITIES OF NIMROD

MT	Targumim	Gen.R.37:4	Jerome	Ephrem I 58A	b.Yoma 10a
Babel	Babel	בבל	Babel	ܒܒܠ	בבל
Erech	Edessa	הדס	Edissa	ܐܘܪܗܝ	אוריכות
Akkad	Nisibis	נציבין	Nisibis	ܢܨܝܒܝܢ	בשכר
Calneh	Ctesiphon	קטיספון	Ctesiphon	ܟܠܢܐ ܣܘܦ	נופר נינפי
Niniveh	Niniveh	נינוה	Ninive	ܢܝܢܘܐ	נינוה
Rehoboth- ʿIr Calah	Broad streets of the city Adiabene		Plateae civitatis	ܪܘܒ ܟܠܚ	פרת דמישן פרת דבורסיף
Resen	Tel Assar	חלחסר		ܪܫܢ ܣܠ	אקטיספון

APPENDIX III: ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: The Four Rivers of Paradise

Figure 2: The Borders of the Canaanites

Figure 3: The Borders of the Land according to Ezekiel

Figure 4: The Borders of the Land according to R. Judah b. Ilai

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Figure 6: The Babylonian World Map

Figure 7: The World Map of Cosmas Indicopleustes

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Figure 9: A Roman Medallion of the year 22 BC

Figure 10: A Sallust Map

Figure 11: An Isidore Map

Figure 12: An Isidore Map with Climates

Figure 13: A sketch of the Hereford Map

Figure 14: A Macrobius Map

Figure 15: A reconstruction of the Jubilees Map

Figure 16: A coin of Apamea Cibotus

FIGURE 1: THE FOUR RIVERS OF PARADISE

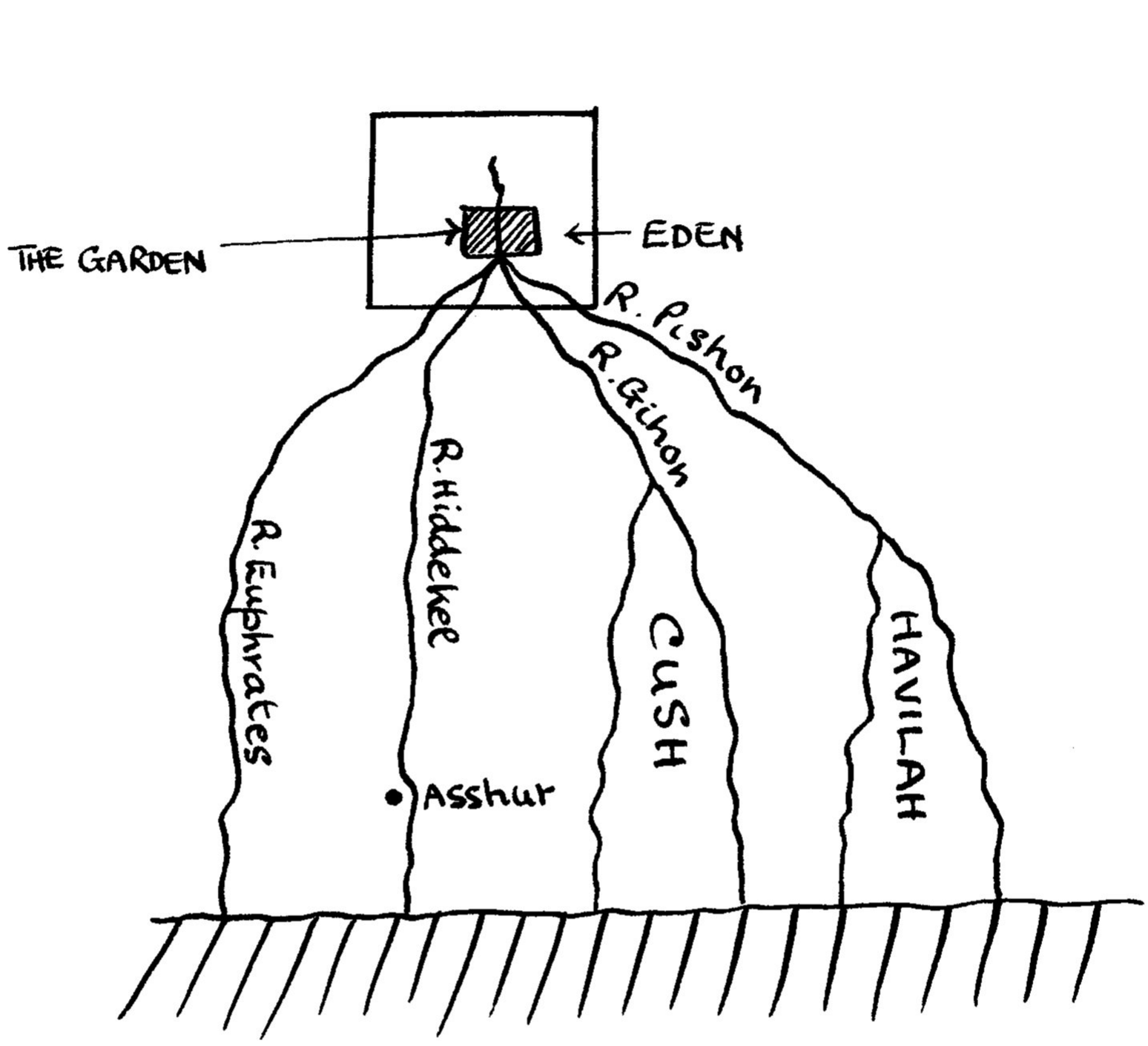


FIGURE 2: THE BORDERS OF THE CANAANITES

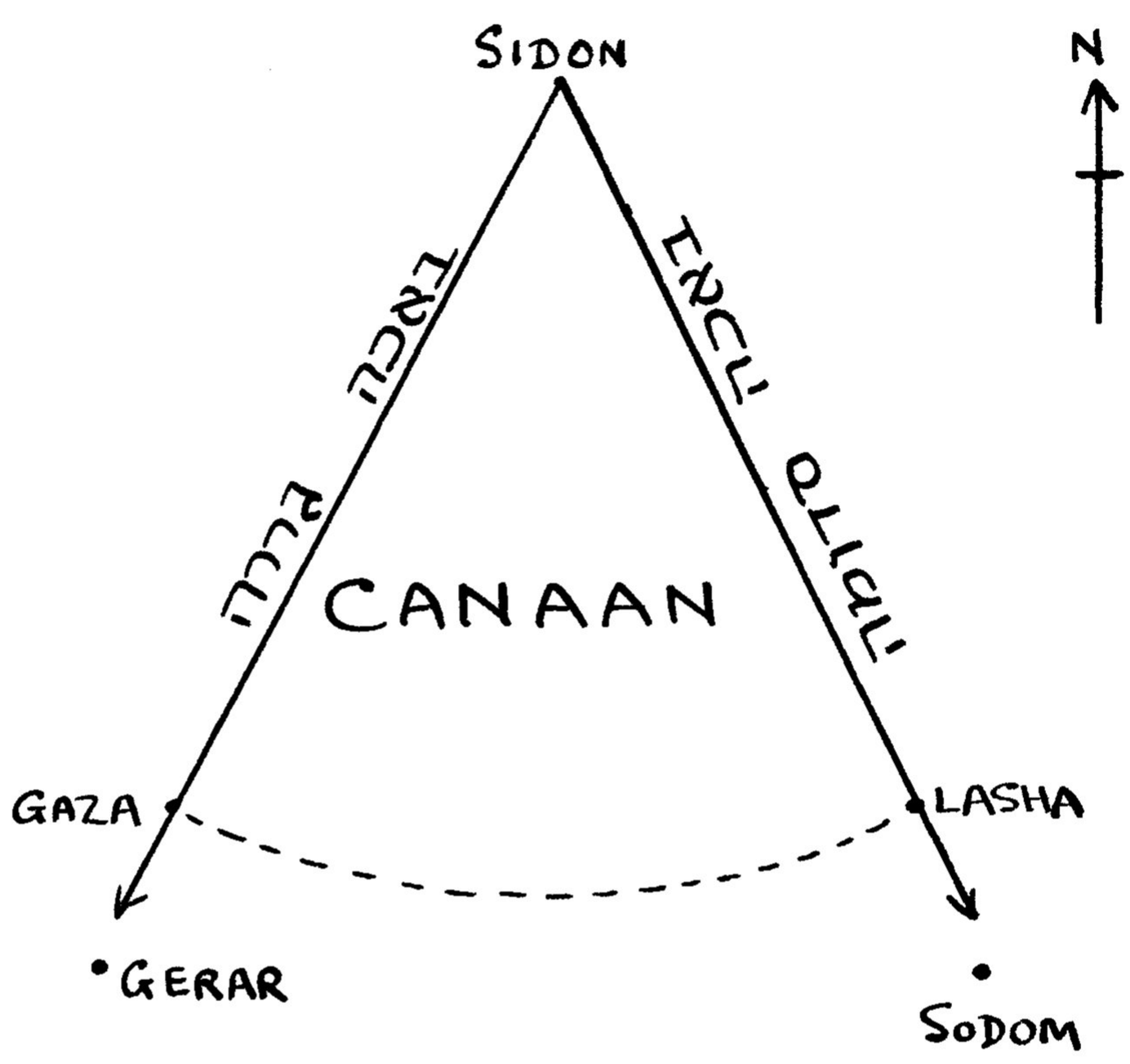


FIGURE 3: THE BORDERS OF THE LAND ACCORDING TO EZEKIEL

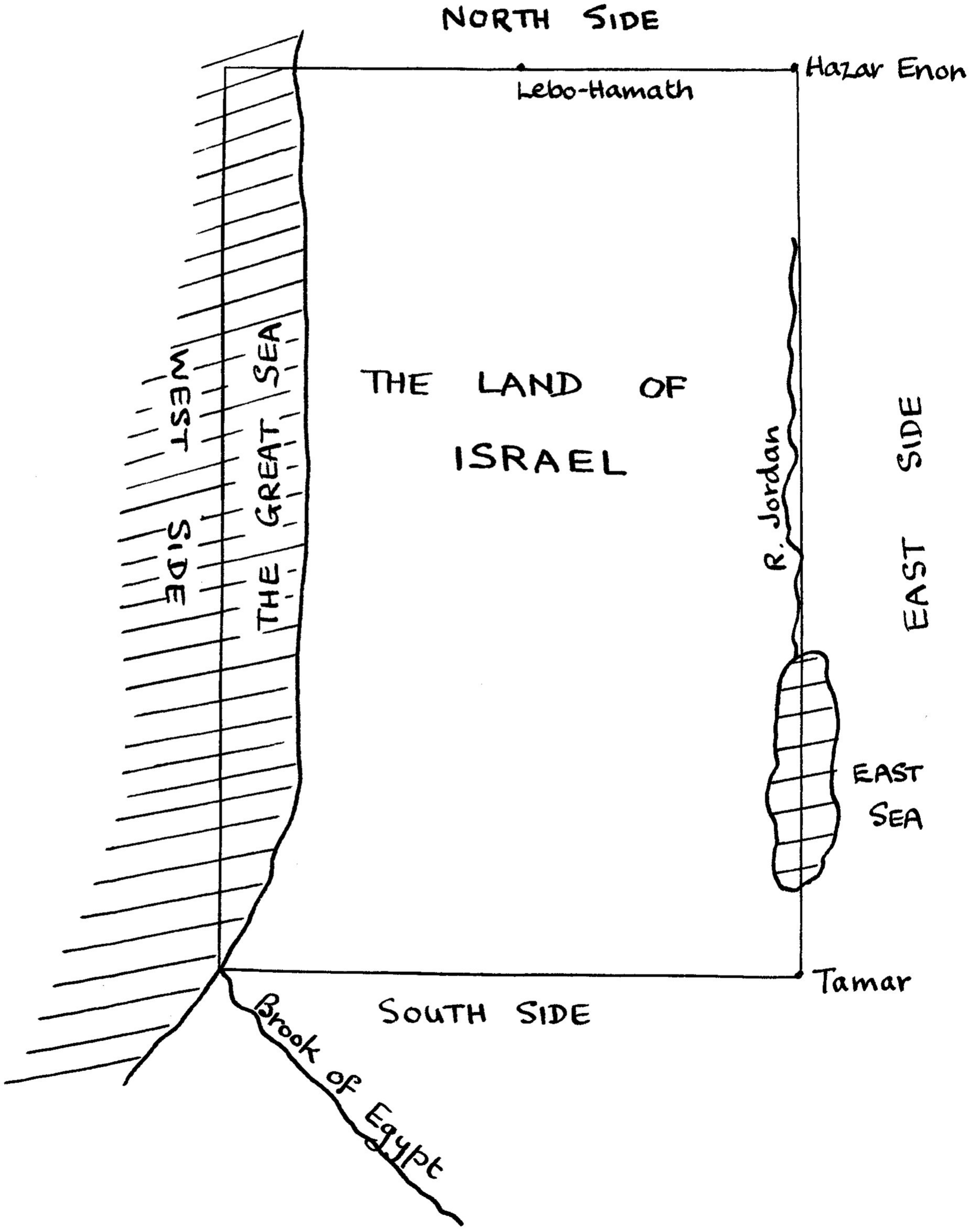


FIGURE 4: THE BORDERS OF THE LAND ACCORDING TO R. JUDAH B. ILAI

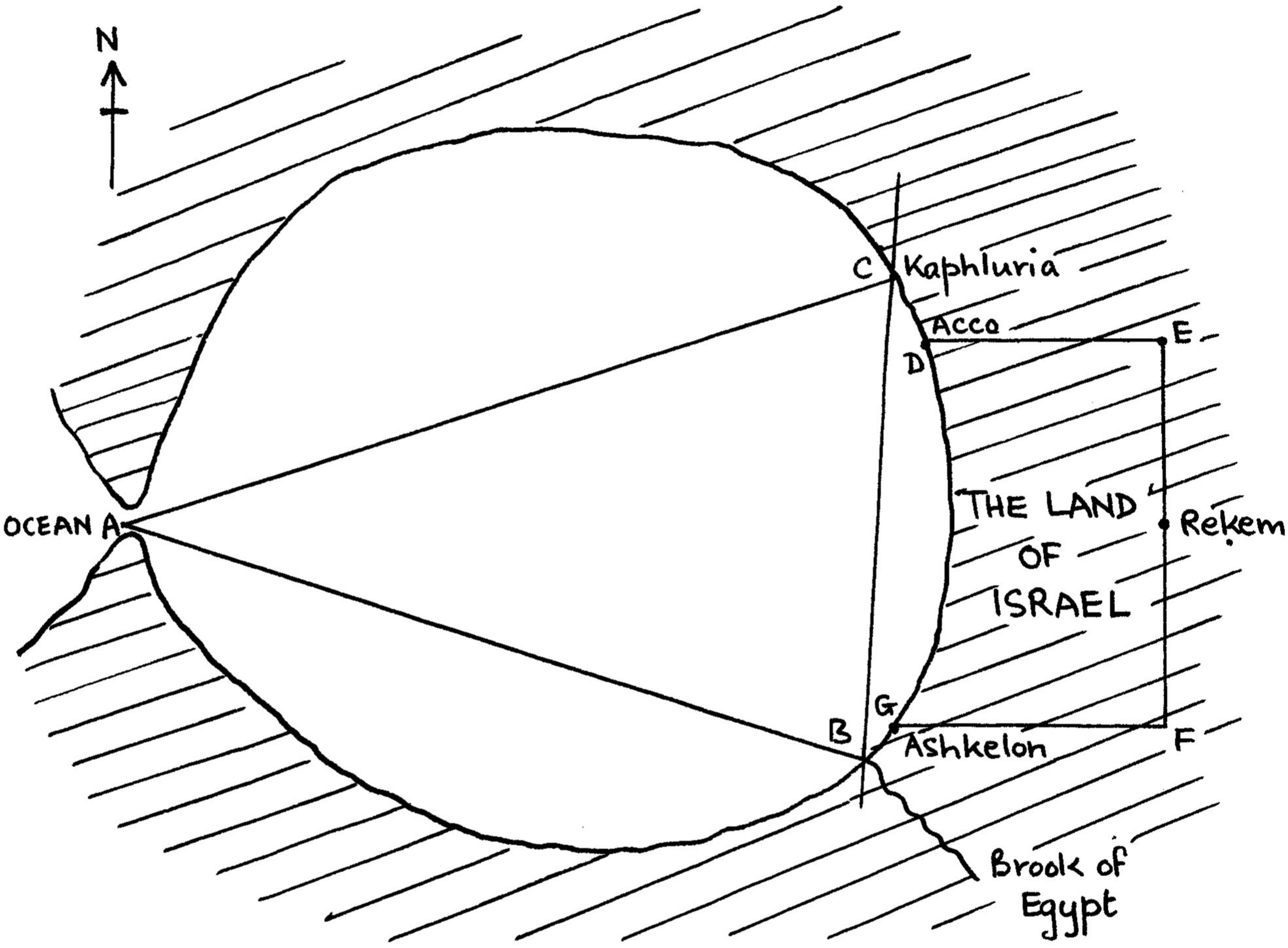


FIGURE 5: THE IONIAN WORLD MAP

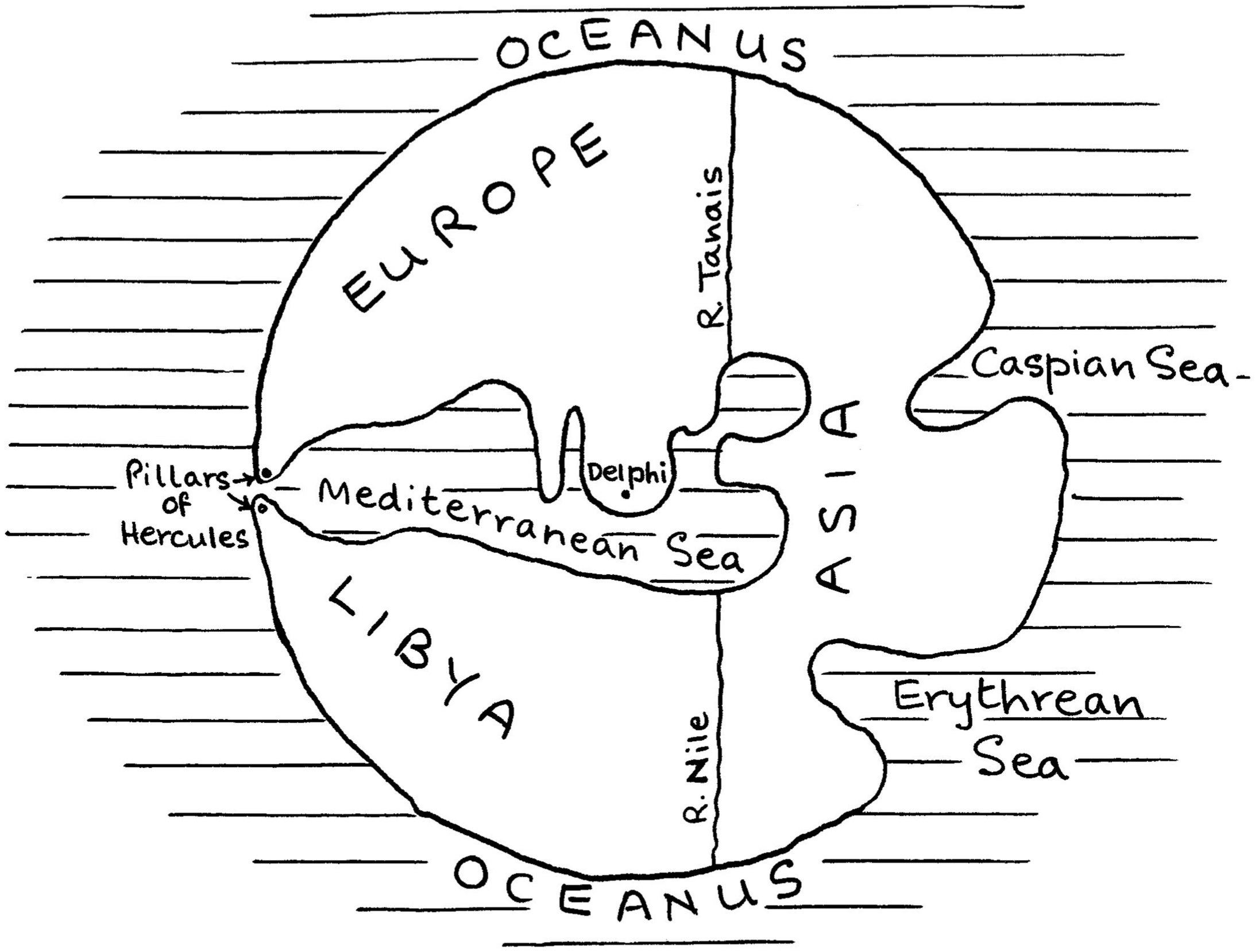
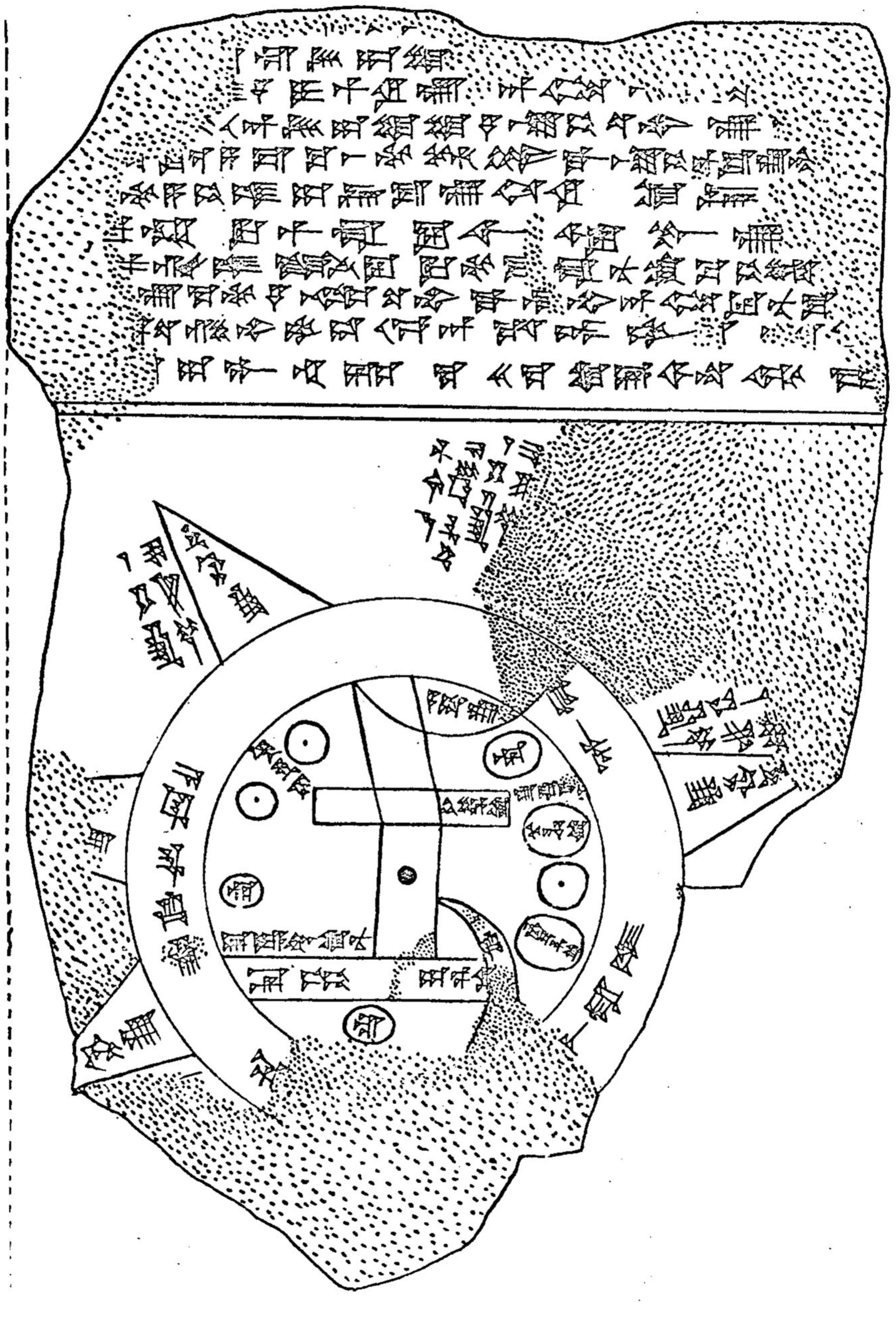


FIGURE 6: THE BABYLONIAN WORLD MAP



A sketch of the Babylonian World Map

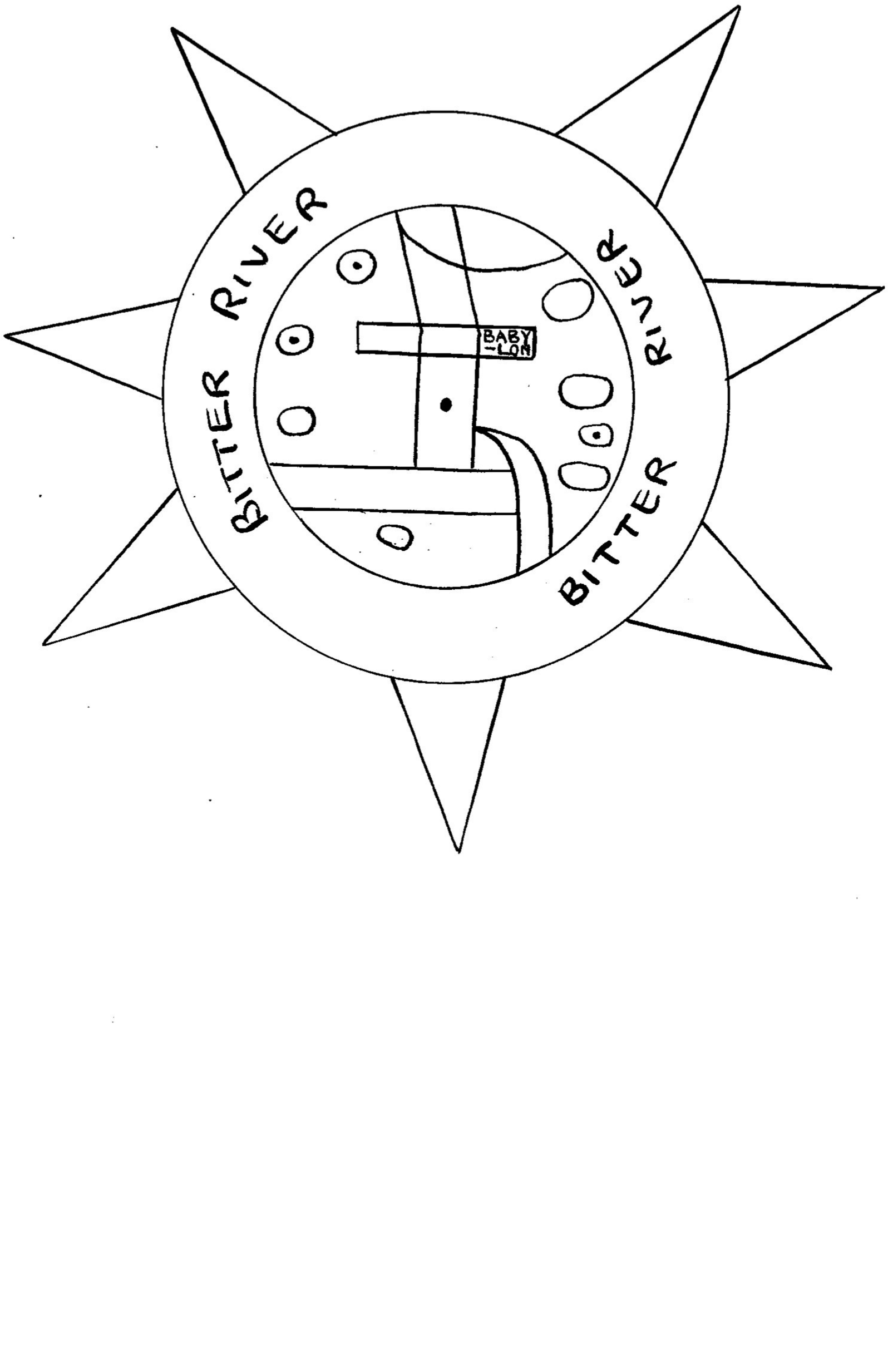


FIGURE 7: THE WORLD MAP OF COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES

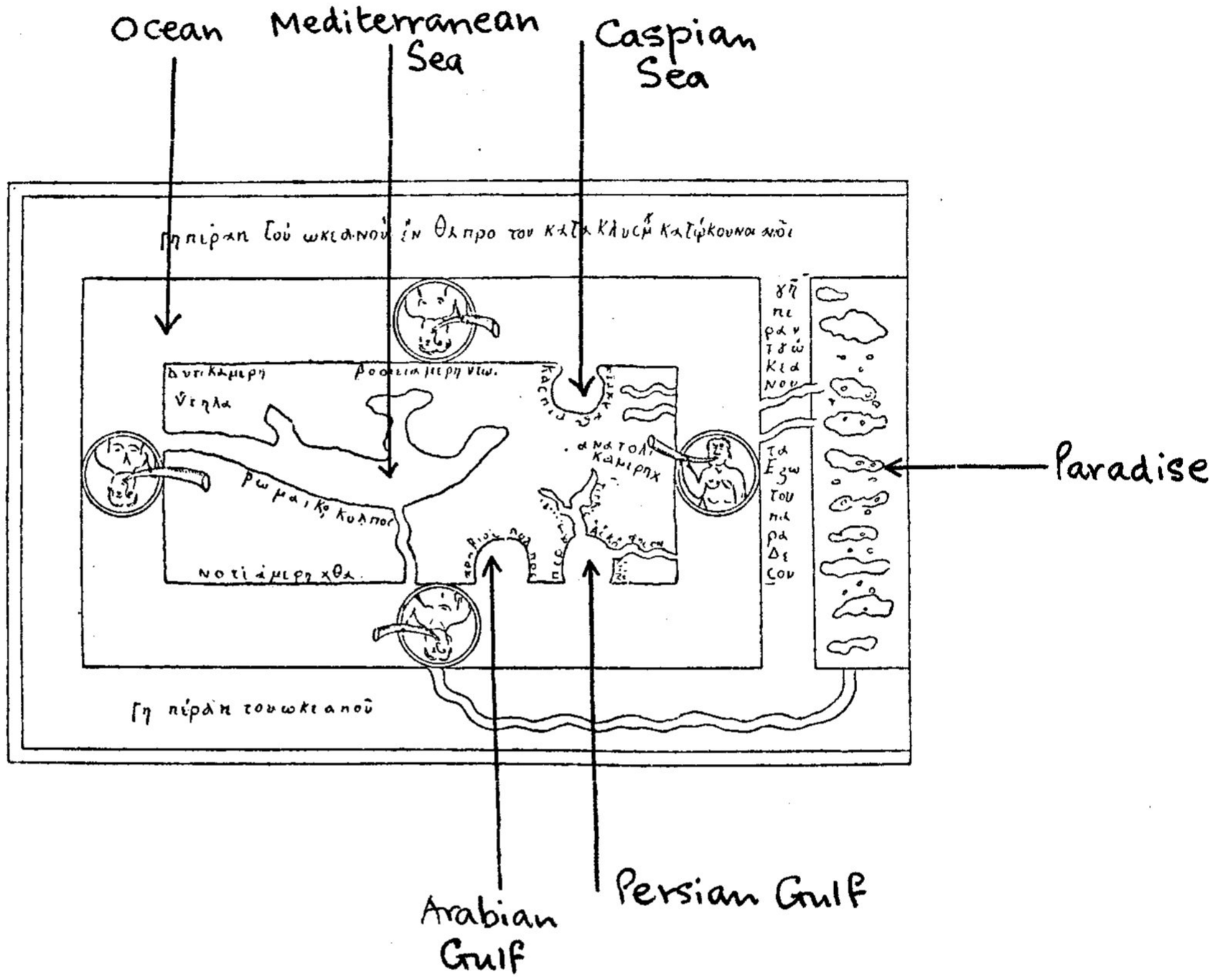


FIGURE 8: A BASIC T-O MAP

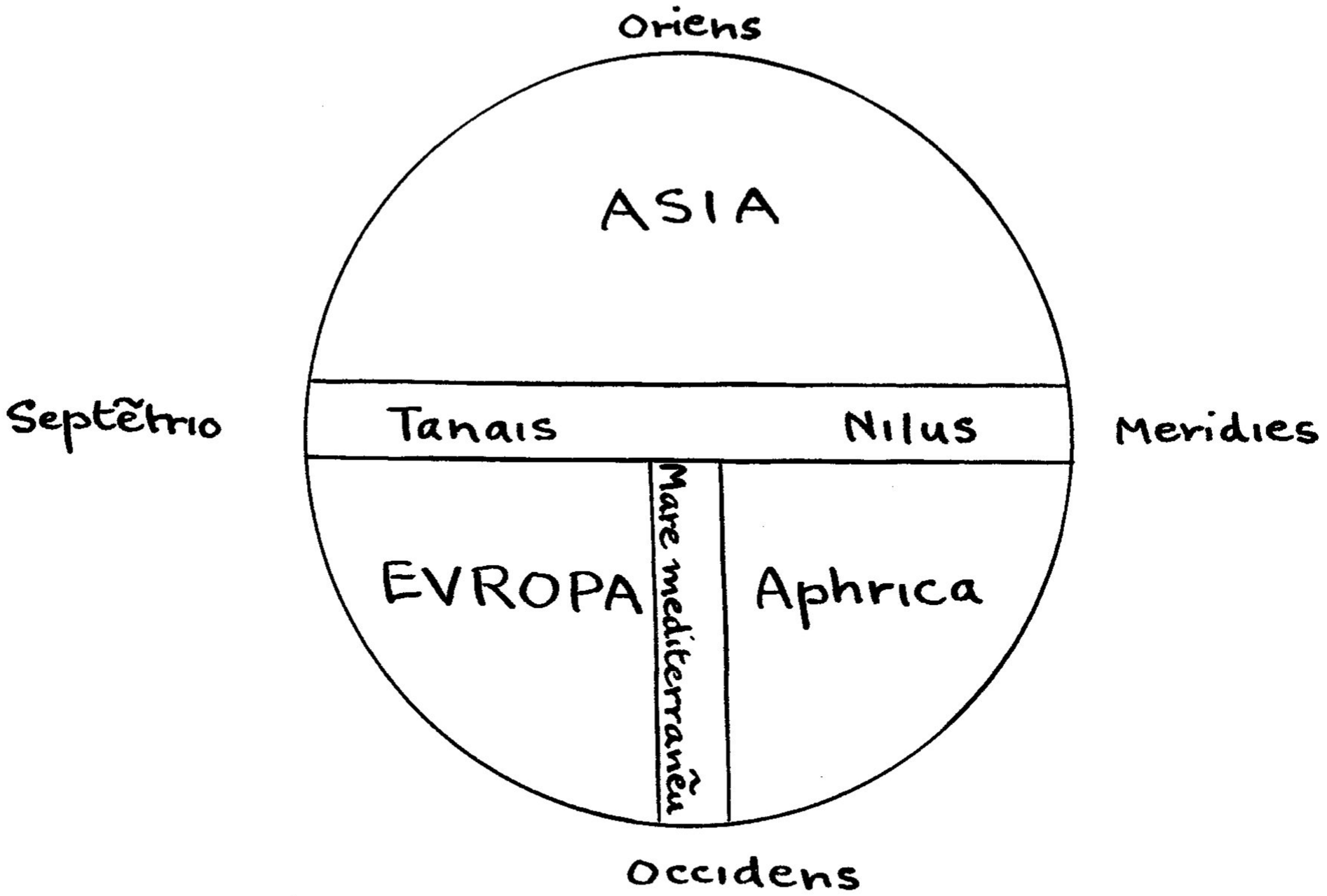


FIGURE 9: A ROMAN MEDALLION OF THE YEAR 22 BC

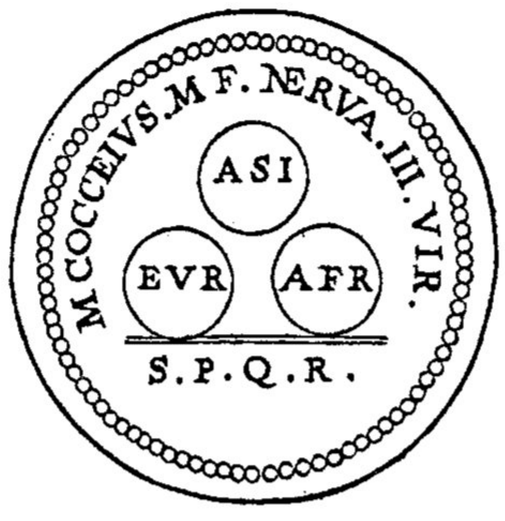


FIGURE 10: A SALLUST MAP

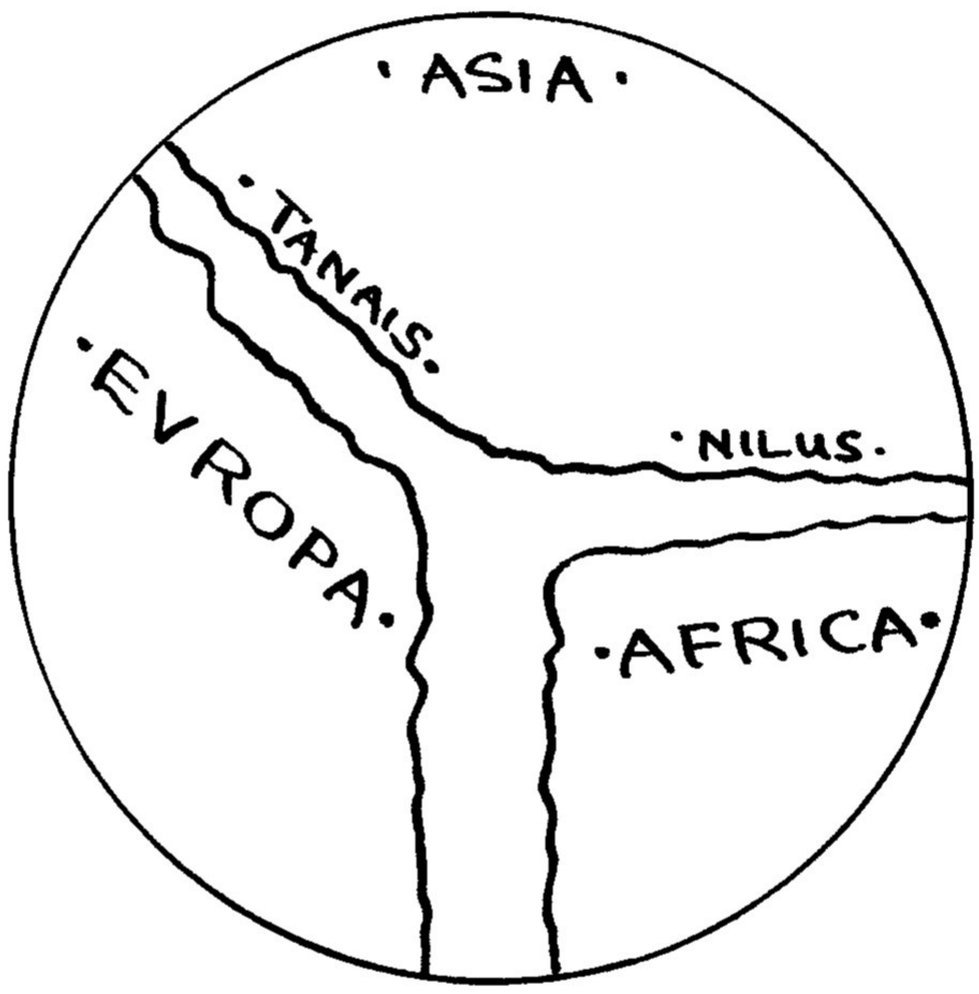


FIGURE 11: AN ISIDORE MAP

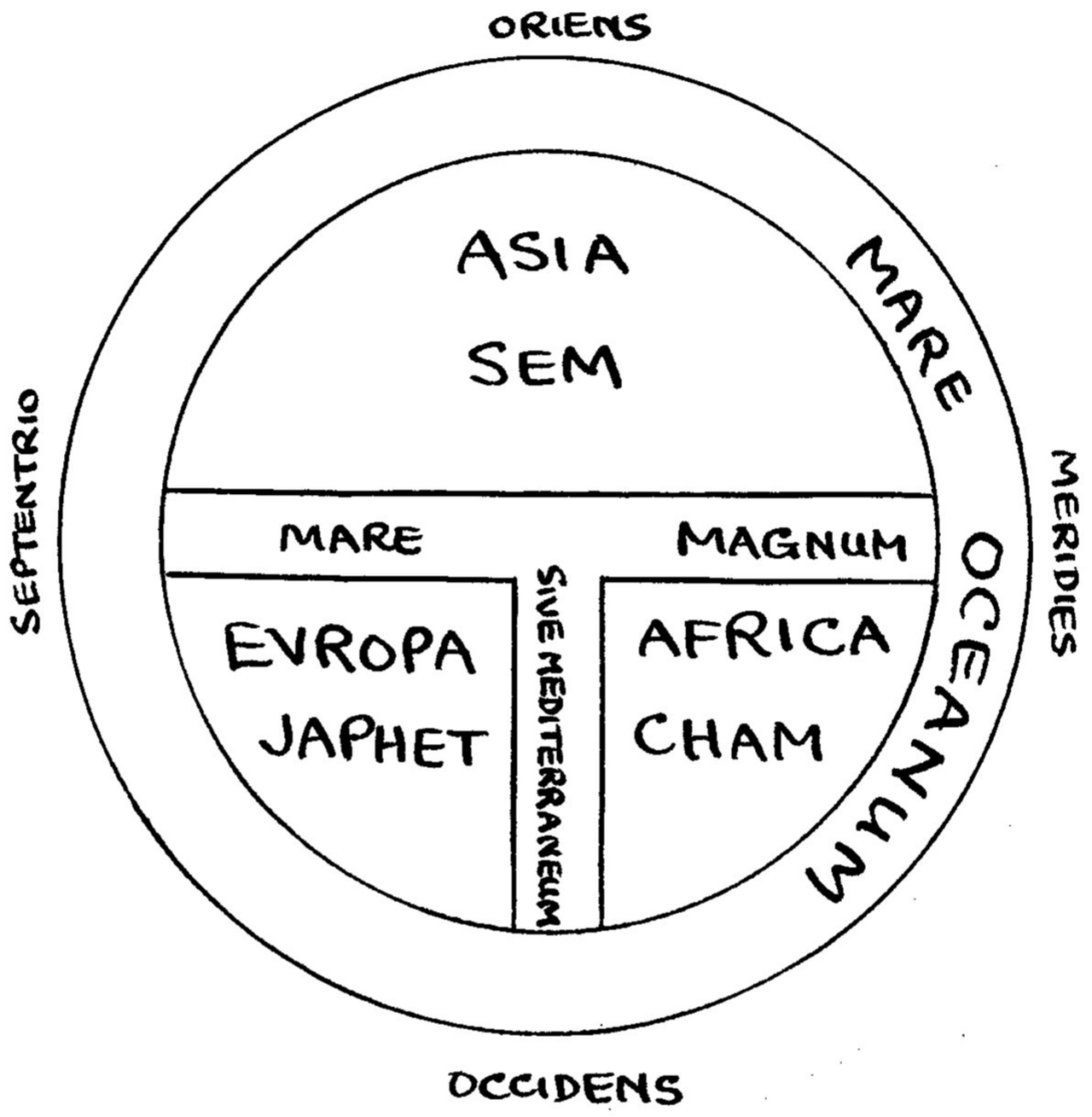


FIGURE 12: AN ISIDORE MAP WITH CLIMATES

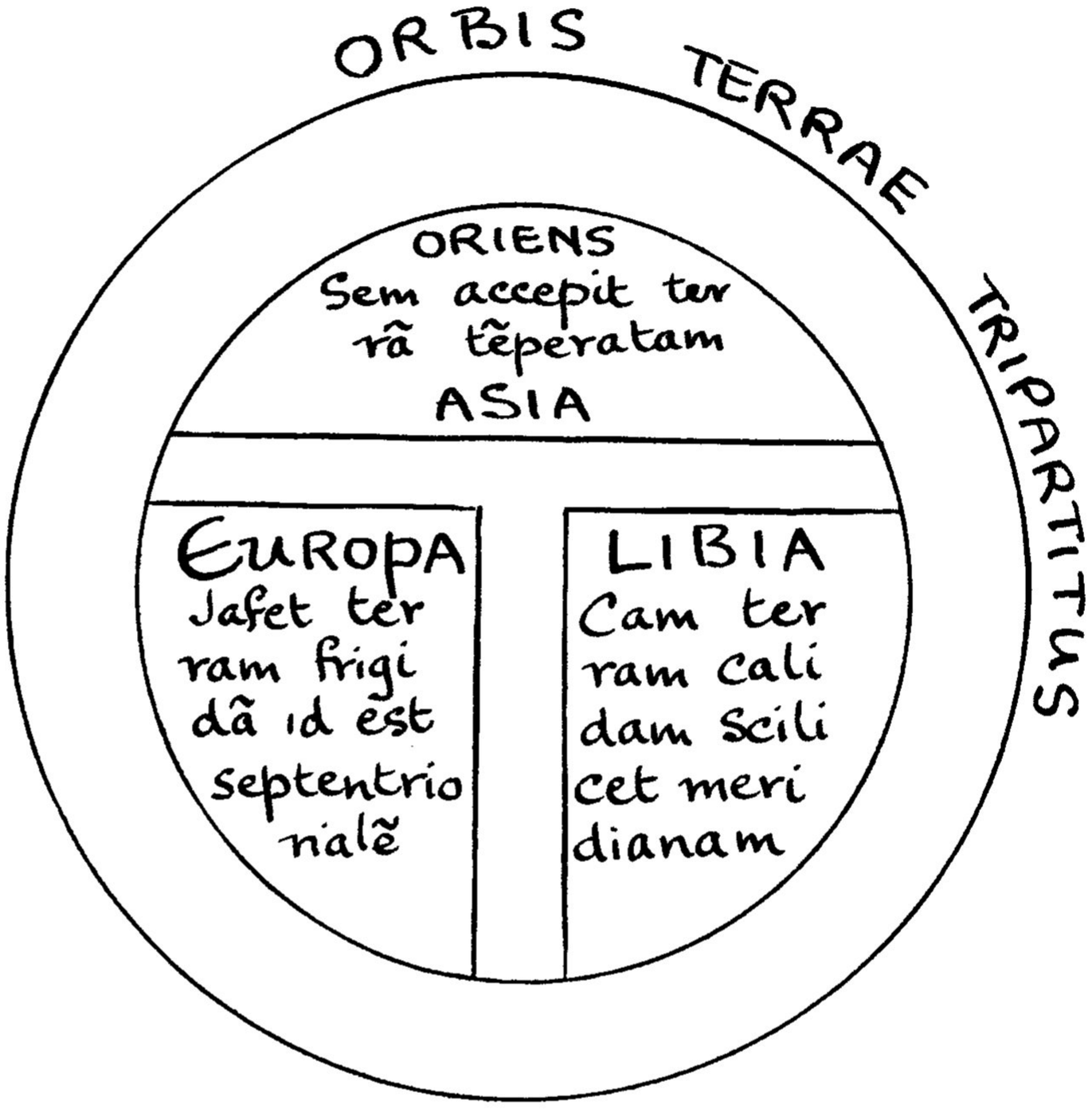


FIGURE 13: A SKETCH OF THE HEREFORD MAP

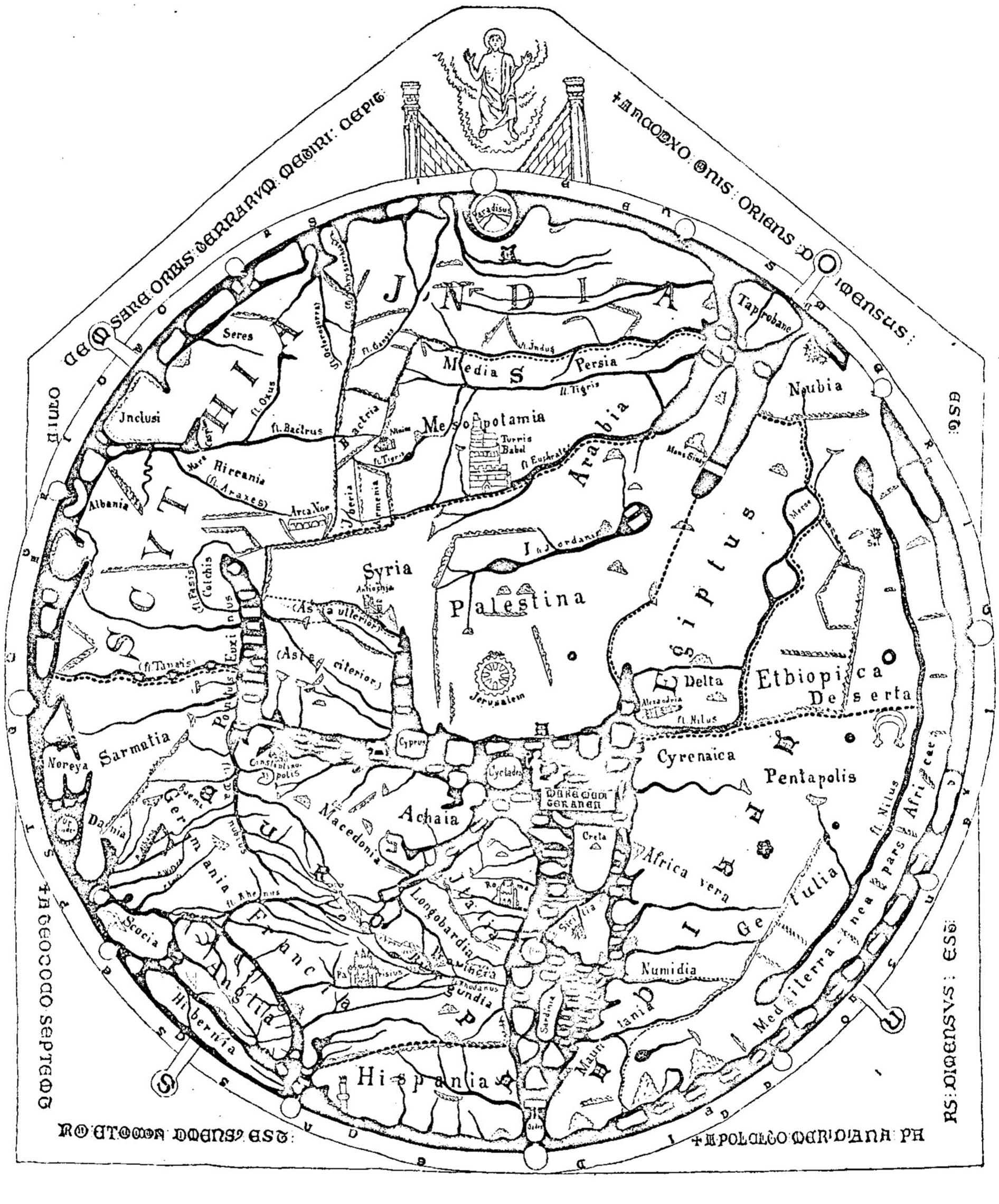


FIGURE 14: A MACROBIUS MAP



FIGURE 15: A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE JUBILEES MAP

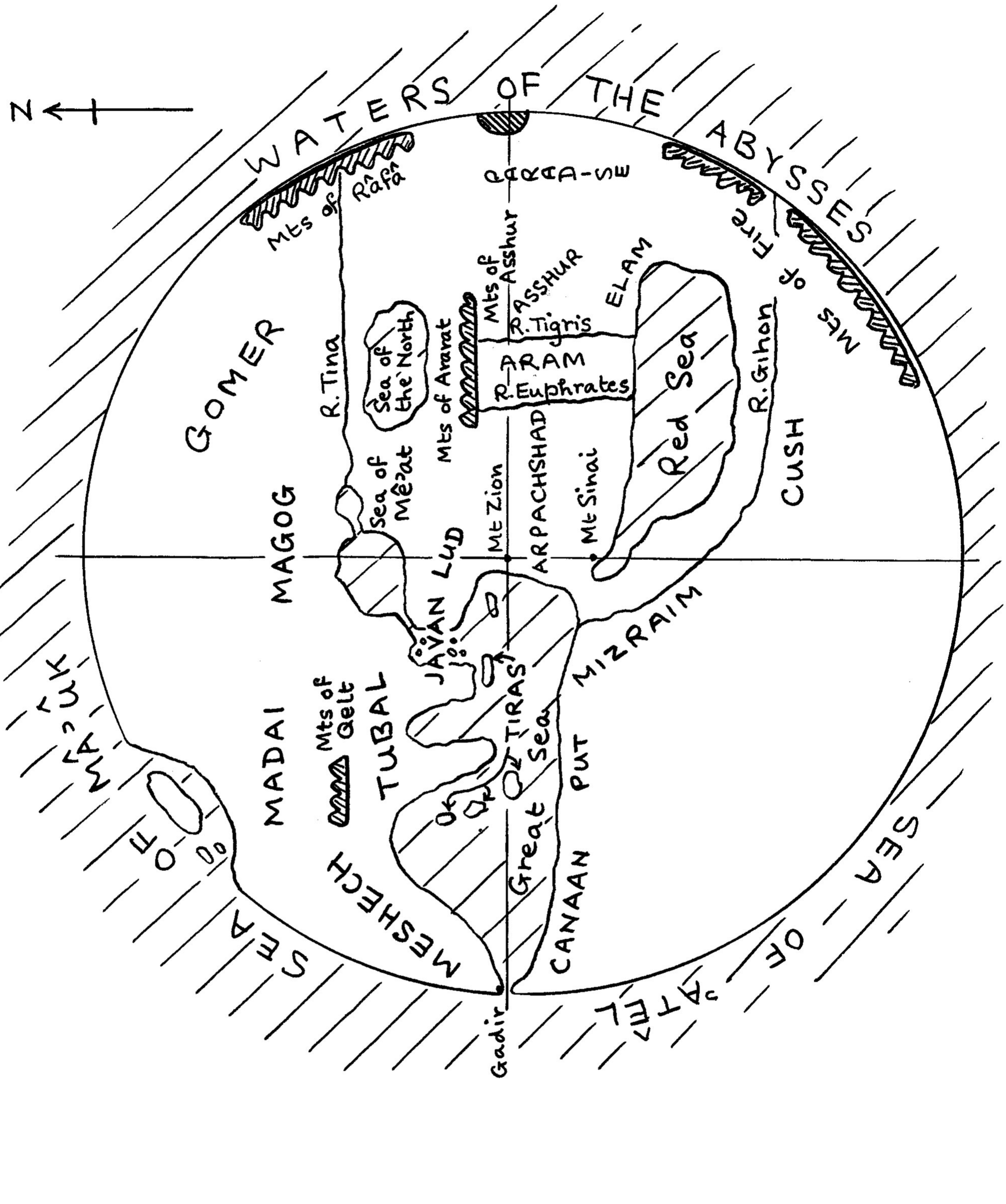


FIGURE 16: A COIN OF APAMEA CIBOTUS



APPENDIX IV: BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATTERS

"Vengamos ahora a la citación des los autores que los otros libros tienen, que en el vuestro os faltan. El remedio que esto tiene es muy fácil, porque no habéis de hacer otra cosa que buscar un libro que los acote todos, desde la A hasta la Z, come vos decís. Pues ese mismo abecedario pondréis vos en vuestro libro; que puesto que a la clara se vea la mentíra, por la poca necesidad que vos teníades de aprovecharos dellos, no importa nada; y quizá alguno habrá tan simple que crea que todos os habéis aprovechado en la simple y sencilla historia vuestra; y cuando no sirva de otra cosa, por lo menos, servirá aquel largo catalogo de autores a dar de improviso autoridad al libro. Y más, que no habrá quien se ponga a averiguar si los sequistes o no los sequistes, no yéndole nada en ello."

Cervantes Don Quixote Prologue to Part I.

Abel GP = F-M. Abel Géographie de la Palestine I-II (1933-38)

Y. Aharoni The Land of the Bible (1967)

Aruch = Nathan b. Yehi'el Aruch Completum ed. A. Kohut I-VI (1878-1889)

Assemani BO = J.S. Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis I-III (1719-1728)

Avi-Yonah HL = M. Avi-Yonah The Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab Conquests (1966)

Avi-Yonah MRP = M. Avi-Yonah A Map of Roman Palestine (^{2}1940)

Bacher Ag. der Tann. = W. Bacher Agada der Tannaiten I-II (1884-90)

Badger Nestorians = G.P. Badger The Nestorians and their rituals I-II (1852)

BB = Bar Bahlul Lexicon ed. R. Duval I-III (1901)

A. Berliner Beiträge zur Geographie und Ethnographie Babyloniens im Talmud und Midrasch (1883)

M. Besnier Lexique de géographie ancienne (1914)

G. Boettger Topographisch-historisches Lexicon zu den Shriften des Flavius Josephus (1879)

Brandenstein-Mayrhofer HAP = W.Brandenstein and M.Mayrhofer Handbuch des Altpersischen (1964)

Broughton MRR = T.R.S. Broughton The Magistrates of the Roman Republic I-II and Supplement (1951-1960)

A. Büchler Studies in Jewish History (1956)

Canard Hamdanides = M. Canard Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides (1953)

E.Cashdan "Names and interpretation of names in Pseudo-Jonathan Genesis" in: Essays presented to I.Brodie ed. Zimmels (1967) pp. 31-39.

Chabot Syn. Or. = J-B. Chabot Synodicon Orientale (1902)

CIJ = J-B. Frey Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum I-II (1936/52)

CPJud. = Tcherikover, Fuks and Stern Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum I-III (1957-64)

Debevoise Parthia = N.C. Debevoise A political history of Parthia (1938)

M. Delcor "La portée chronologique de quelques interpretations du Targoum Néophyti contenus dans le cycle d'Abraham" JStud.Jud. 1 (1970) pp. 105-119

A. Díez Macho "The recently discovered Palestinian Targum" VTSupp. 7 (1959) pp. 228-9

A. Díez Macho "En torno a la datación del Targum Palestinense" Sefarad 20 (1960) pp. 3ff

DK = H.Diels and W.Kranz Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker I-III (^{11}1964)

Downey Antioch = G.Downey A History of Antioch (1961)

H. Duensing Verzeichnis der Personen-und der geographischen Namen in der Mischna (1960)

Dussaud Topographie = R.Dussaud Topographie historique de la Syrie ancienne et médiéval (1927)

EI = Encyclopaedia of Islam

EI^2 = Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition

Estori ha-Parḥi Kaftor va-Ferah ed. H. Edelmann (1852)

EJ = Encyclopaedia Judaica

Encyclopaedia Talmudith

A. Epstein "Les Chamites de la table ethnographique selon le Pseudo-Jonathan compare avec Josèph et le livre des Jubilés" REJ 24 (1892) pp. 82-96.

Fiey Assyrie = J.M. Fiey Assyrie Chrétienne I-II (1965)

Forcellini Onom. = J.Perin Onomasticon totius latinitatis I-II (1913-20) (part of Forcellini's Latin Thesaurus)

P.M. Fraser PA = P.M. Fraser Ptolemaic Alexandria I-III (1972)

Freimark "Zu einigen Ortsnamen in Tosefta Traktat Sebebit" in: Festgabe H. Wehr ed. W. Fischer (1969)

FT = Fragmentary Targum

S.Gandz "The distribution of land on earth's surface according to Hebrew sources" AAJR 22 (1953) pp.23-54

H.Gauthier Les nomes d'Egypte depuis Hérodote jusqu'à la conquête arabe (1935)

GGM = Geographi Graeci Minores ed. C. Muller I-II (1855)

Ginzberg Legends = L. Ginzberg The Legends of the Jews I-VII (1911-38)

A.Y. Harkavy "אפריקא, אפריקי in Thargum und bei den Rabbinen" Jüd.Z. Wiss.Leb. 5 (1867) pp.34-39

Head HN^2 = B.V. Head Historia Numorum (^{2}1911)

Hildesheimer Beiträge = H.Hildesheimer Beiträge zur Geographie Palästinas (1886)

Hoffmann Auszüge = G.Hoffmann Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer (1880)

IM = Imago Mundi

Jastrow Lexicon = M.Jastrow A Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi and the Midrashic Literature (1895)

JE = Jewish Encyclopaedia

Jones CERP = A.H.M. Jones Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces (^{2}1971)

Kent OPG = R.G. Kent Old Persian Grammar (1950)

Klein "Grenzverzeichnis" = S.Klein "Das Tannaitische Grenzverzeichnis" HUCA 5 (1928) pp.197-259

S. Klein "Palesztina határai a Pseudo-Jonathan es a töredék-Targum szerint Num. 34,3-15" MZS 24 (1907) pp.238-258

S. Klein Sefer ha-Yishub I-II (1939-44)

Y. Komlosh Ha-mikra be-'or ha-targum (1973)

Krauss GLL = S. Krauss Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum I-II (1899)

S. Krauss "Die biblische Völkertafel im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum" MGWJ 39 (1894-95) pp.1-11; 49-63

Krauss Tal.Arch. = S. Krauss Talmudische Archäologie I-III (1910-12)

S. Krauss Monumenta Hebraica, Monumenta Talmudica ed. K. Albrecht, S.Funk and N. Schlögl V 1 (1914) pp. 2-9 (a discussion of the Table of the Nations in Rabbinic sources)

Lane Arab.-Eng.-Lex. = W. Lane Arabic-English Lexicon (1867 ff)

Le Strange Lands = G. Le Strange The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate (1905)

Levy NHCW = J. Levy Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch I-IV (1876-1884)

J. Lightfoot "Targ. Jonath. in Num. XXXIV 8 notatum" in: Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae (1671) pp. 47-49

J. Lightfoot "שלמאה Salmaeus, vel Salameus apud Targumistas pro קיני Kenaeo" in: Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae (1671) pp. 15-16

A.M. Luncz "The borders of those who returned from Babylon" Jerusalem 11-12 (1916) pp.283-310 (in Heb.)

Mad.Map = M. Avi-Yonah The Madaba Mosaic Map, with introduction and commentary (1954)

Miller Ma = K. Miller Mappae arabicae I-VI (1926-27)

Miller Mm = K. Miller Mappae mundi I-VI (1895-1898)

J. Morgenstern Die Französische Academie und die 'Geographie des Talmuds' (1870; 2nd ed. 1870)

A. Musil Arabia Petraea I-III (1907-1908)

A. Musil Arabia Palmyrena (1928)

M.McNamara Targum and Testament (1968)

N = Codex Neofiti 1

P. Neeman Encyclopedia le-geographia Talmudith I-II (1972)

Neubauer GT = A. Neubauer La géographie du Talmud (1868)

Neusner History = J. Neusner A history of the Jews in Babylonia I-IV (1965-1969)

O = Onkelos

Obermeyer Landschaft = J. Obermeyer Die Landschaft Babyloniens im Zeitalter des Talmuds und Gaonats (1929)

OCD^2 = Oxford Classical Dictionary (^{2}1970)

Orbis Latinus = Graesse-Benedict-Plechl Orbis Latinus I-III (1972)

Pape-Benseler = W.Pape Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache vol.III Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen G.E. Benseler (^{3}1863-1870)

Pigulevskaja Les villes d'Iran = N.V. Pigulevskaja Les villes de l'état iranien aux époques parthe et sassanide (1963)

Preisigke Wb / Suppl = F. Preisigke Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden I-IV (1925 ff); Suppl. E.Kiessling I (1940 ff)

Press EEI = I. Press Encyclopedia of Eretz Israel: A topographical-historical encyclopedia of Palestine I-IV (1951-55)

Ps-J = Pseudo-Jonathan

PSm = R. Payne Smith Thesaurus Syriacus

PSSupp = J.P. Margoliouth Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus of R.Payne Smith

Ramsay AM = W.M. Ramsay The Historical Geography of Asia Minor (1890)

Ramsay Cities and Bishoprics = W.M. Ramsay The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia (1897)

Rich Narrative = C.J. Rich Narrative of a residence in Koordistan I-II (1836)

P. Romanoff "Onomasticon of Palestine" PAAJR 7 (1935-36) pp.147-227

A. Schalit Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus (1968), Suppl. I to A complete concordance to Flavius Josephus ed. K.H. Rengstorf

Schuerer-Vermes-Millar = E. Schuerer The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ, new Eng. edition revised and edited by G. Vermes and F. Millar I (1973)

E. Schuerer Geschichte des Juedischen Volkes I-III (^{4}1909)

J. Schwarz A descriptive geography and a brief historical sketch of Palestine (1850)

Schwarzenbach GT = A. Schwarzenbach Die geographische Terminologie im Hebräischen des Alten Testaments (1954)

Segal Edessa = J.B. Segal Edessa: "the blessed city" (1970)

G.A. Smith HG = G.A. Smith Historical Geography of the Holy Land (1931)

Sophocles Lex. = E.A. Sophocles Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (1870)

Steph. Byz. = Stephanus Byzantinus Ethnica ed A. Meineke

Stephanus Thesaurus = H. Stephanus Thesaurus Graecae Linguae ed. Hase and Dindorf I-VIII (1831-65)

Strack Intro. = H.L. Strack Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash (1931)

St.-B = H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch I-IV (1922-28)

SWP Memoirs = The Survey of Western Palestine Memoirs ed R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener (1881)

TBL = Tannaitic Boundary List

TC = Targum Chronicles

Tenney Frank Econ. Survey = T. Frank An economic survey of ancient Rome I-V (1933-40)

Thes. Ling. Lat. = Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Lipsiae 1800 ff)

Thompsen LS = P. Thompsen Loca Sancta (1907)

Vilnay "Identification of Talmudic Place Names" JQR 45 (1954) pp. 130-140

Wetzstein Reisebericht = Wetzstein Reisebericht ueber Hauran und die Trachonen (1860)

Wright Geographical Lore = J.K. Wright The geographical lore of the time of the Crusades (^{2}1965)

L. Zunz "Essay on the geographical literature of the Jews from the remotest times to the year 1841" in: A. Asher The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela II (1841) pp.230-317.

Footnotes to I. The Problem of Method

1. See, for example, A. Berliner Targum Onkelos II (1884) pp. 106-7; 218-219; more recently, A. Díez Macho "En torno à la datación del Targum Palestinense" Sefarad 20 (1960) pp. 1-16; M. McNamara Targum and Testament (1968) pp. 190-205; M. Delcor "La portée chronologique de quelques interpretations du Targoum Néophyti contenues dans le cycle d'Abraham" J.Stud.Jud. 1 (1970) pp. 105-119.

2. A. Díez Macho "The recently discovered Palestinian Targum" VTSupp. 7 (1959) pp. 228-9; Neophyti 1 I (1968) pp. 71*-73*.

3. The parallel in b.Yom. 10a wrongly attaches this identification to "Asshur" in Gen. 10:11, a good illustration of the "floating" nature of many Tannaitic traditions.

4. Neophyti 1 I (1968) p. 72*. The reference to Albright is to VTSupp. 7 (1959) p. 229.

5. See A. Berliner Targum Onkelos II (1884) pp. 106-7.

6. The Targum has "from Romi and Constanțini". The second name is a redefinition of the first.

Footnotes to II,2 The nature and extent of the Rabbis' geographical knowledge.

1. "Essay on the geographical literature of the Jews from the remotest times to the year 1841" in: A. Asher The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela II (1841) p. 230.

2. For Ps-Scymnus see GGM I pp. 196-237; on Aratus see H.I. Marrou Education in Antiquity (1964) p. 253; on "topical history", mentioned below, see Marrou p. 232.

3. C. Van Paasen The Classical Tradition of Geography (1957); J.K. Wright The geographical lore of the time of the Crusades

(^{2}1965) pp. 127-9. For the current debate about the scope of geography see R. Hartshorne The Nature of Geography (1939) = Annals of the Association of American Geographers XXIX 3-4.

4. Strabo has much to say about the wanderings of Odysseus, and in I 2.24 p.32 mentions a commentary of Apollodorus on the Catalogue of Ships.

5. See Dussaud Topographie p.112 ff.

6. See S. Gandz "The distribution of land on the earth's surface according to Hebrew sources" AAJR 22 (1953) pp. 23-54.

7. See J.K. Wright The Geographical Lore of the time of the Crusades (^{2}1965) p. 45 and p.379 note 5, with the literature cited there.

8. To take just imperial coinage from the reign of one Emperor, Hadrian, the following large issues convey geographical information: (1) The "Province" type; (2) the "Adventus" type; (3) the "Restitutor" type. For examples of these see: A.S. Robertson Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet II (1971) pp. lviii, lxvii, 112-5 and plates 25-6 (for no. 1); pp. lviii, lxvi, 111-112 and plate 25 (for no. 2); pp. lviii-lix and 115-6 and plate 26 (for no. 3).

9. O. Cuntz and J. Schneitz Itineraria Romana I-II (1929/1940); K. Miller Itineraria Romana (1916).

10. So H. Bunbury A History of Ancient Geography I (1879) p. 138; H.F. Tozer A History of Ancient Geography (^{2}1935) pp. 44-46; J.O. Thompson A History of Ancient Geography (1948) pp. 44-48.

11. The most important are: Th. Reinach "Judaei" in Daremberg-Saglio Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romains III (1896) pp. 619-32; also "Diaspora" JE IV pp. 559-74. E. Schuerer "Diaspora" HDB Extra Volume (1904) pp. 91-109; also Geschichte des Juedischen Volkes III (^{4}1909) pp. 1-188; J. Juster Les juifs dans l'Empire Romain I (1914) pp. 179-212. Juster, with

the others to draw on, gives the most detailed list. He is particularly valuable for his citation of Patristic evidence. Since these studies appeared, a number of works have been published which may be used to supplement and correct them; for example, J-B. Frey Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum I-II (1936/52) = CIJ; Tcherikover, Fuks and Stern Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum I-III (1957-64) = CPJud; especially III pp. 197-209, "Places of Jewish habitation in Egypt"; J. Obermeyer Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und Gaonats (1929); E.R. Goodenough Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman Period I-XIII (1956-69) contains a useful survey of archaeological material from the Diaspora. The various articles in EJ such as "Syria" and"Egypt" are not worth consulting for the early period. For other bibliography see under the separate regions.

12. So S.W. Baron argues that because Paul apparently wanted to go to Spain, there must have been "considerable Jewish communities" there before AD 50; see A Social and Religious History of the Jews I (1952) pp. 170, 370. There is not a shred of evidence for this.

13. For Syria, see C.H. Kraeling "The Jewish community in Antioch" JBL 5 (1952) pp. 130-160; G. Downey A History of Antioch (1961) passim; B.Z. Luria Ha-Yehudim be-Suryah (1957). For Arabia, see J. Ben Zeeb Yisra'el ba-ᶜArab (^{2}1957); J. Ben Zbi "The origins of the settlements of Jewish tribes in Arabia" EI 6 (1960) pp. 130-148.

14. H. Willrich Urkundenfaelschungen (1924) pp. 18-23 argues against the authenticity of this document but his arguments are specious. It must be dated between 213 BC, when the rebellion of Achaeus was finally crushed, and 206 BC, when Antiochus returned from the east. He was still there (in the"upper satrapies") when the letter was written. On Zeuxis see OGIS 253-6; Polybius XVI 1.8 and F.W. Walbank A Commentary on Polybius II (1967) p. 649 (cf. p.503).

15. The degree of textual confusion in these documents is unusually high and must go back to the sources which Josephus used. He may have consulted the Capitoline Archives which had been burned in AD 69 and restored by Vespasian (Suetonius Vespasian 8). Perhaps the work of restoration was not too successful. Note how Josephus unwittingly quotes three copies of the same decree, all varying slightly and one of them mutilated: XIV 228-9 = XIV 234 = XIV 237-40. On these documents see: L. Mendelssohn "Senati consulta Romanorum quae sunt in Josephi Antiquitatibus" Acta Societatis Phil. Lipsiensis 5 (1875) pp. 87-288; B. Niese "Bemerkungen ueber die Urkunden bei Josephus Archeologie B XIII, XIV, XVI" Hermes 11 (1876) pp. 466-88; P. Viereok Sermo Graecus (1888); A. Momigliano Prime linee di storia della tradizione maccabaica (1931) pp. 32, 151-170; "Richerche sull'organizzazione della Giudea" ARSP 1934 pp. 192-221.

16. Ramsay in HDB II p.85.

17. A. Reifenberg "Das antike zyprische Judentum und seine Beziehungen zu Palaestina" JPOS 12 (1932) pp. 212 ff.

18. For the Delos synagogue see E.L. Sukenik Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece (1934) p. 37 f; Goodenough Symbols II p. 71; for Aegina, Sukenik p.44 f and Goodenough p. 75.

19. See Acts 16:13. This reference is not, however, certain, see F.F. Bruce The Acts of the Apostles (1952) p. 314.

20. Belle D. Mazur Studies in Jewry in Greece I (1935).

21. Valerius Maximus I 3.3. But this is far from satisfactory evidence. Both epitomators have inaccuracies, e.g., "Hispalus" instead of "Hispanus" (Broughton MRR I p. 482) and their accounts are difficult to interpret. Thus, what are the "arae privatae" in Nepotianus, and what the "Sabazi Iovis cultu" of Julius Paris ? P.Oxy. 668, 191-2, a fragment of an epitome of Livy, refers to an expulsion of the Chaldaeans from Rome in 139 BC:

Cn. Pisone C. Polli(o cos.*
Chaldaei urbe til(. . .

For the end read, "urbe et Italia"; see Grenfell and Hunt Oxy.Pap. IV (1904) p. 101, lines 191-2. These two editors argue (p.113) that the source of Valerius is thus shown to be Livy. But in Valerius the consuls are L. Calpurnius and M. Popilius Laenas (cf Broughton MRR I p. 481), whereas in the epitome of Livy they are Cn. Piso and C. Pollio

22. For Jews in Rome see H.J. Leon The Jews of Ancient Rome (1960) where the older bibliography is cited.

23. Josephus AJ XVIII 252 states that Herod Antipas was banished to Lugdunum (? Lyons) in AD 39, but the parallel in BJ II 183 has him sent to Spain; see Schuerer, Vermes and Millar History I (1973) p. 352; H.W. Hoehner Herod Antipas (1972) p. 262 note 1.

24. Juster I pp. 184-5; G. Katz The Jews of the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul (1957).

25. See Juster and Katz quoted in the foregoing note.

26. CIJ fails at this point. See P. Monceaux "Les colonies juives dans l'Afrique romaine" REJ 44 (1902) pp. 1-28; "Inscriptions juives" RA 4th series 3 (1904) pp. 354-73; "Epigraphische Beitraege zur Geschichte des Judentums" MGWJ 53 (1909) pp. 525-38; M. Simon Recherches d'histoire judéo-chrétienne (1962) pp. 30ff, "Le judaisme berbere dans l'Afrique ancienne"; C.Z. Hirschberg Toledoth ha-Yehudim be-'Aphrikah ha-zephonith (1965).

27. Catacomb: P.J. Ferron "Inscriptions juives de Carthage" Cahiers de Byrsa (Musée Lavigerie, Paris 1951) pp. 175-206; Goodenough Symbols II pp. 63-68. Synagogue: Goodenough pp. 89-100.

28. S.A. Appelbaum Yehudim vi-Yvanim be-Kirenyah ha-kedumah (1969).

29. V.A. Tcherikover CPJud I (1957) pp. 1-111; P.M. Fraser Ptolemaic Alexandria I-III (1972-73) passim; Jewish inscriptions in Frey CIJ II and re-edited in CPJud III pp. 138-166.

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* I presume the editors mean: Cn.Pisone C. Polli(one coss.

30 See the list of "Places of Jewish habitation in Egypt" in CPJud. III pp. 197-209.

31. CPJud. I pp.45-46.

32. J. Neusner A History of the Jews in Babylonia I-IV (1965-69); J. Obermeyer Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und Gaonats (1929).

33. J.B. Segal "The Jews of northern Mesopotamia before the rise of Islam", Studies in the Bible Presented to M.H. Segal (1964) ed. J.M. Grintz and J. Liver.

34. The name was borne by, John Hyrcanus (b.BK. 82b; Josephus BJ I 109); Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (m.PA. II 8); Joshua ben Hyrcanus (m.Sot. V 5). Through time it came to be simply a proper name, and so R. Eliezer's son was called Hyrcanus after his grandfather (b.Sanh. 68a; b.Shabb. 147a). The name Harkenosh is found in 1QGenAp. XX, but is hardly to be related to Hyrcanus.

35. Akiba's travels: Galatia and Phrygia, b.RH. 26a; Caesarea Mazaca, y.Yeb. 15d.14, with emendation of the text; // t.Yeb. XIV 5 (259,6) and cf. b.Yeb. 121a; Brundisium, m.Erub. IV 1; Puteoli and Rome, Lam.R. V 18.1; b.Makk. 24a; Nehardea, m.Yeb. XVI 7; Ginzak = Gazaca, modern Shiz, south-east of Lake Urmia. Here he preached on the generation of the Flood (Gen.R. XXXIII 5) and gave a ruling on the halakhic status of a certain type of fish (b.AZ. 39a), possibly some peculiar brand from the Lake. b.AZ. 34a refers to a visit to the same place on which he was unable to answer questions put to him, but the parallel in b.Ta'an. 11b has Mar ᶜUḳba, and this is almost certainly the correct reading, for Mar ᶜUḳba II was renowned for his ignorance. See Rashi to b.Ta'an. 11b. A baraitha in b.Ber. 8b attributes to R. Akiba a description of some of the customs of the Medes, but the parallel in PRK IV (60,2) has "the sons of the east" and attributes the saying to Rabban Simeon ben Gamliel. Arabia Petraea, b.RH. 26a; Zuphrin, y.BK. 7a.44; // Sifre Num. IV (7,21); b.BK. 113a; Num.R. VIII 7.

36 See Cod. Theod. XVI 8.14 (AD 399) revoked by edict of XVI 8.17 (AD 404) but re-imposed by XVI 8.29 (AD 429). For Rabbinic references see, Lev.R. V 4 (16a.17) // Deut.R. IV 8; y.Hor. 48a.44. Further, A. Buechler "Apostole, apostoli" JE II pp. 20-21; H. Graetz Geschichte der Juden IV (^{3}1903) pp. 441-444; S. Krauss "Die juedischen Apostel" JQR o.s. 17 (1905) pp. 370-383; H. Voegelstein "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Apostolates in Judentum" MGWJ 49 (1905) pp. 427-449; J. Juster Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain I (1914) pp. 388-90; II (1914) pp. 287-88; H. Mantel Studies in the History of the Sanhedrin (1961) passim.

37. The actual intercalation of the year was a matter for the Great Beth Din, and required ratification by the Patriarch; see b.Sanh. 11a.

38. b.Hull. 48a; t.Hull. III 10 (504,30); t.Para VII 4 (636,30); t.Mik. IV 6 (656,23). A formula is used to introduce each of the inquiries: "It happened that the sons of Asia came up three times to Yavneh to ask concerning . . . and on the third occasion they allowed it."

39. y.Erub. 21c.24; y.Kidd. 64d.31. For the Alexandrians questioning R. Joshua see m.Neg. XIV 13; b.Nidd. 69b.

40. Strack Introduction pp. 107 ff; J. Neusner History I (1965) chapters II and IV for Tannaim of Babylonian origin.

41. Evidently an old authority for (1) he does not bear the title "Rabbi", and (2) his ruling is reported as a Tannaitic tradition.

42. N.G. Cohen "R. Meir: a descendant of Anatolian proselytes" JJS 23 (1972) pp. 51-59.

43. Many Christian texts attest these pilgrimages, for example, Origen Hom. in Jos. XVII 1 (PG XII 910). Access to sacred sites seems sometimes to have been difficult for Jews, see Jerome Comm. in Soph. to Zeph. 1:15,16 (PL XXV 1353-1354). Bitterness on this score is reflected in Gen.R. LXXIX 7.

44. On the textual problem here see D. Weiss Halivni Sources and Traditions (1968) p. 259.

Footnotes to II.3 The Rabbinic "Image of the World"

1. To be pedantic for a moment, Tiberias, where R. Jeremiah lived, is virtually on the same parallel as the city of Babylon: Tiberias, 32° 48'N; Babylon, 32° 33'N.

2. The maps given in Z. Vilnay "Maps of Palestine in Rabbinical literature" EI 2 (1953) pp. 89-92 are all too late for our purpose. They are based on the boundaries of the Land in Num. 34, and go back to a common archetype which was probably quite ancient. It seems to have been oriented on east, and was rather similar to the Palestinian section of the Jerome map in BM Add. 10049 (c.AD 1150); see Miller Mm II Tafel 12; Mm III pp. 13-19. The surviving maps of the Majorcan school of Jewish cartography in the 14th and 15th centuries do not come into the picture either; see Judah Abenzara's Map of the Mediterranean 1500 (Society of Jewish Bibliophiles, 1971); Cecil Roth Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Booklore (1970) pp. 116-120.

3. See L. Bagrow and R.A. Skelton History of Cartography (1964) pp. 25-38.

4. On the four rivers of Paradise see F. Delitzsch Wo lag das Paradies ? (1881); G. Hoelscher "Die vier Paradiesstroeme" in: Drei Erdkarten (1949) = Sitzungsb. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wissenschaft, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1944/48), pp. 35-44; E.A. Speiser"The Rivers of Paradise" in: Festschrift J. Friedrich (1959) pp. 473-85. My reconstruction will be found in figure 1. The territory of the Canaanites arranges itself schematically thus:

FROM SIDON
- YOU GO TOWARDS GERAR —— TO GAZA
- YOU GO TOWARDS SODOM —— TO LASHA

This I have represented graphically in figure 2. See further J. Simons "Two notes on the problem of the Pentapolis" OTS 5

(1948) pp. 92-108. As for the Promised Land according to Ezekiel, the text is in considerable disorder owing to the intrusion of explanatory glosses. The schema, however, is perfectly clear: the "border" of the Land is divided into four "sides", north, east, south and west. This at once suggests a basically rectilinear shape. Each side is defined by a starting point (preposition min) and a finishing point (he-locale or 'el/ʿad), so that the end point of one side is the starting point of the next. See figure 3. For the emendations involved, see BH³.

5. It is an attested tendency of copyists to omit diagrams, whether out of diffidence or the desire to save space.

6. Jubilees was written between 135 and c.95 BC. The main witnesses for our piece of text are as follows: (a) the Ethiopic version, the only extensive text of the two chapters. Unfortunately, it is full of uncertainties. Edition: R.H. Charles The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees (1895). Translation and commentary: R.H. Charles The Book of Jubilees (1902) pp. 69-78. See further W. Baars and R. Zuurmond "The project for a new edition of the Ethiopic Book of Jubilees" JSS 9 (1964) pp. 67-74. (b) Diamerismoi based on the lost Greek version of Jubilees VIII-IX e.g., the Diamerismos attributed to Hippolytus and edited by A. Baur Die Chronik des Hippolytus (1905) = TU XXIX (1). The diamerismoi should be used with great caution, because the authors always adapted the material to their own ends. (c) 1QGenAp XVI-XVIII contains fragments based on or close to the Jubilees tradition. One should also consider XXI 11-19. See J.A. Fitzmeyer The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (²1971); further R. de Langhe "La terre promise et la Paradis d'eprés 1QGenAp." in: Scrinium Lovaniense, Mélanges hist. E. van Cauwenbergh (1961) pp. 126-135. It is also possible that 1QM II 10-14 owes something to the Jubilees diamerismos.

7. On Ionian maps see: E.H. Bunbury HAG I; W. Kubitschek "Karten der Oikumene" PW X 2046; F. Jacoby PW VII 2667 "Hekataios (3)" especially 2690 (8); H. Berger Geschichte der Wissenschaftliche Erdkunde der Griechen (²1903) pp. 25-170; W.A. Heidel The Frame of Ancient Greek Maps (1937) = American geog. Soc. research series XX.

8. See Bunbury HAG I p. 147.

9. Compare Bunbury's reconstruction in HAG.

10. P. Grelot"La géographie mythique d'Hénoch et ses sources orientales" RB 65 (1958) pp. 33-69.

11. The Tablet is BM 92687, see Cun. Texts XXII plate 48. On the map see: B. Meissner Babylonien und Assyrien II (1924) pp. 378-9; "Babylonische u. griechische Landkarten" Klio 19 (1924) pp. 97-100; K. Miller Ma I 1 (1926) pp. 7-10, "Die ersten Anfaenge der Kartographie auf asiatischen Boden"; E. Unger "Ancient Babylonian Maps and Plans" Antiquity 9 (1935) pp. 311-22; T.J. Meek "The orientation of Babylonian Maps" Antiquity 10 (1936) pp. 223-26; E. Unger "From Cosmos Picture to World Map" IM 2 (1937) pp. 1-7.

12. On mediaeval cartography see: C.R. Beazley The Dawn of Modern Geography I (1897) pp. 375-91; II pp. 549-642; III (1906) pp. 528-9; De Santarem Essai sur l'histoire de la Cosmographie I-III (1849-52); J.K. Wright Geographical Lore (1925) pp. 121-26; 247-54; Bagrow-Skelton History of Cartography (1964) pp. 39-50; 67-74; G.H.T. Kimble Geography in the Middle Ages (1938). For reproductions see De Santarem's Atlas (1849), some very beautiful, but - alas ! - sometimes inaccurate copies; K. Miller Mappae mundi I-VI (1895-1898); Mappae arabicae I-VI (1926-27). See also IM supplement 4, Monumenta cartographica vetustioris aevi (AD 1200-1500) ed. R. Almagià and M. Destombes, vol. 1 Mappaemundi (1964).

13. Agathemerus I 2 reports that Democritus pictured the world as an oblong, but Cosmas would not have been influenced from this quarter. The figure is based on Cosmas Indicopleustès Topographie Chrétienne ed. W. Wolska-Conus I (1968) p. 545. This is taken from Ms. Sin. Gr. 1186 (11th century). Since the text itself presupposes an illustration and all the diagrams in all three mss of Cosmas agree, we have no reason to doubt that they represent a 6th century original. See further op. cit. pp. 137-139 on the map.

14. Figure 8 is based on Zacharias Orbis Breviarium (Florence 1493); see Bagrow-Skelton p. 42.

15. Figure 9 is from Miller Mm III p. 130 which reproduces Caroli Ducis Croyiaci et Arschotani . . . Numismata (Antwerp 1654) tom. XV fig. 18. Obverse: head of Octavian with the inscription: AUGUSTO DIVI FILIO COS. XI TR.P. II IMP. VIII, which dates it to 22 BC; Reverse: M. COCCEIUS M.f. NERVA III VIR (=triumvir monetalis). For this person see PW sub M. Cocceius Nerva (3) and PIR^2 II 290 no. 1224.

16. Figure 10 is based on Miller Mm III pp. 112-114, which reproduces the map in Ms H. VI 188 4to (14th century) in the Chigiana in Rome. This is the simplest of the Sallust maps.

17. There is a clear photograph of it in Beazley I p. 380.

18. Figure 11 is based on the Mainz edition of Isidore's Etym. in the John Ryland's Library, Manchester.

19. Figure 12 is based on Almagià-Destombes Mappaemundi (1964) (= IM Suppl. IV 1) 17,7 (p.41). De Santarem Atlas pt. 1 sheet 1 no. 2 gives another copy. Both have LIBIA for Africa which suggests a Greek original. De Santarem reproduces a Greek T-O map.

20. Reproduced from Miller Mm IV p. 2. For a photograph see Bagrow-Skelton pl. XXIV. On the map, see Miller Mm IV "Die Herefordkarte".

21. Figure 14 is based on the frontispiece of Kimble Geography in the Middle Ages (1938). Cf. Miller Mm III p. 123. Note also the reconstruction of the diagram in Macrobii Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis ed. J. Willis (Teubner) II (1963) p. 165.

22. See G. Schiaparelli Astronomy in the Old Testament (1905) p. 23.

23. I know of three other attempts to redraw the Jubilees map: A. Herrmann Die Erdkarte der Urbibel (1931); G. Hoelscher "Die Karte des Jubiläenbuches" in: Drei Erdkarten (1949) = Sitzungsb. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. (1944/48) pp. 57-73; M. Testuz Les idées religieuses du livre des Jubilés (1960) pp. 56-58. Hoelscher's is the only one of these attempts which can be taken seriously. For studies bearing on Jubilees' geographical ideas see: J. Dahse "Ein zweites Goldland Salomons" Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 43 (1911) pp. 1-79; P. Borchardt "Das Erdbild der Juden nach dem Buche der Jubiläen" Petermanns GM.71 (1925) pp. 240-50; R. Uhden "Die Erdkreisgliederung der Hebräer nach dem Buche Jubiläen" Zeitschrift für Semitistik 9 (1933/34) pp. 210-33; E. Stechow "Zur Kenntnis Inner-Afrikas in antiker Zeit" Petermanns GM 98 (1954) pp. 25-26.

24. On the technique of reconstructing maps see J.L. Myres "An attempt to reconstruct the maps used by Herodotus" Geog. Journal 8 (1896) pp. 605-31; K. Miller Mm VI (1898), "Rekonstruierte Karten" pp. 1-4.

25. A certain amount of direct influence of the Book of Jubilees on the Rabbis' world-picture cannot be ruled out. Jubilees seems to have influenced some of the later midrashim. Saadya found a copy of it in the library of the academy at Sura (see R. Kircheim's edition of a commentary on 1 Chronicles by a pupil of Saadya (Frankfurt a. M. 1874) p. 36); the author of Sepher Yosippon also had access to the work.

26. In certain cases the Rabbinic 'Okyanos may mean the Mediterranean. This is a very late development, and the reason for it is fairly clear. Firstly, Ocean lost entirely its old mythological associations and came to mean, as it does in modern times, a large sea. Secondly, the strict equation of the Great Sea and the Mediterranean weakened, and so the two terms converged.

27. Rashi's אוקינוס הוא הים הגדול שבכל הימים could also be translated, "Ocean, that is the greatest of seas" but then ש׳ would be redundant. Moreover the translation which I have given in the text leads naturally into the problem which Rashi discusses next.

28. See Tos.b.Bek. 55b (caption מטרא) on the position of the Garden of Eden.

29. A. Greenbaum "'Gan ᶜEden miḳḳedem' ba-Targumim" Sinai 20 (1957) pp. 214-228.

Footnotes to II.4 The Principles of Rabbinic Toponomy

1. On ancient toponomy see: K. Truedinger Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie (1918); E.J. Bickerman "Origines gentium" CP 47 (1952) pp. 65-81; A. Dihle "Zur hellenistischen Ethnographie" in: Grecs et Barbares (1961) pp. 207ff. Parallels with modern toponomy are sometimes instructive; see Y. Aharoni "The study of toponomy" in: The Land of the Bible (1966) pp. 94-117.

2. Timaeus FGH 566F 69; Callimachus, frags 378-9 in R. Pfeiffer Callimachus I (1949) pp. 304-6 with notes ad loca. Cf., also Appian Ill. 2.

3. So too when the Callaeci of north-west Spain came onto the Graeco-Roman scene through conflict with Rome, their origin was accounted for in similar fashion. Asclepiades of Myrleia, a Greek schoolmaster living in Spain, said they were descended from the famous Greek archer Teucer and his companions; see Strabo III 4.3 p. 157.

4. See Manetho frag. I 6 in the edition of W.G. Waddell (Loeb 1940), and compare it with Diodorus I 10.1; Philo of Byblos FGH 790F 1.29; Berossus FGH 680F 1.9. On the basis of the Babylonian and Egyptian king-lists Berossus and Manetho were able to overwhelm Greek chronology. On the apologetic use of chronology see B.Z. Wacholder "The Biblical Chronology in the Hellenistic World Chronicles" HTR 61 (1968) pp. 451-81.

5. Cf. CA II 152.

6. The Greek practice of renaming cities, an instance of which Josephus mentions in AJ I 138, would have lent support to Josephus' case.

7. Anat was also a warrior goddess. For Neith see K. Michalowski The Art of Ancient Egypt (1969) p. 99 and chart III.

8. E. Norden Die germanische Urgeschichte in Tacitus Germania (^{3}1923) p. 196, gives a characteristically incisive but over-neat summary of Greek toponomy:

> "Da es sich um eine Ortsbenennung handelt, wird es sich nach den Erfahrungen, die wir bisher machten, empfehlen, uns die Frage vorzulegen, welche Ausdrucksformen dieser Typus in der ethnographischen Literatur hatte. Mir sind zwei bekannt, von denen die zweite drei Unterarten aufweist. 1. Der hellenische κτίστης gibt dem Orte einen hellenischen Namen, der ihm dauernd verbleibt; die Benennung erfolgt meist nach dem namen des Gründers selbst, sonst dem eines seiner Verwandten oder dem seines Vaterlandes, gelegentlich auch nach einem zufälligen Begebnisse bei der Gründung (technische Bezeichnung für den letzen Fall: ἀπό τινος συμβεβήκοτος). 2. Der Name erfährt im Laufe der Zeit eine Umnennung (μετονομασία), und zwar a) in dem der alte hellenische Name der Stadt, wenn sie auf hellenische Gebiete liegt, mit einem jüngeren, ebenfalls hellenischen vertauscht wird (μεταλλάσσεται), ein Vorgang, der sich mehrfach wiederholen kann (sechsmalige μετονομασίαι eines und desselben Ortes sind keine Seltenheit), b) in dem er durch Berührung seiner Bewohner mit landeseingeborenen oder eingewanderten Barbaren verunstaltet wird (διαφθείρεται), c) in dem er, infolge von Verdrängung des Hellenentums, durch einen Barbarennamen ersetzt wird."

9. In AJ I 127 Josephus engages in what looks like a sort of primitive philology. With this passage compare Cassius Dio LXVIII 26. 3-4.

10. For "correct" identifications see J. Skinner Genesis ICC (^{2}1930) pp. 195-223. Modern scholars give too much weight to early Jewish identifications of the names, not realizing, it would seem, how conjectural these are.

11. Lagarde Onomastica Sacra (1870) p.1. On the early onomastica see J.G. Kahn "Did Philo know Hebrew ?" Tarbiz 24 (1965); A. Hanson "Philo's etymologies" JTS n.s. 18 (1967) pp. 128-139; D. Rokeah "A new onomasticon fragment from Oxyrhynchus" JTS n.s. 19 (1968) pp. 70-82.

12. For Hebrew as the primary language see Ps-J Gen. 11:1; Gen.R. XVIII 4; Jubilees XII 25-26; Ginzberg Legends V p.205 bottom.

With the rediscovery by the general scholarly world of Hebrew at the time of the Renaissance and Reformation this idea revived. It was debunked by Leibniz.

13. See G. Vermes Scripture and Tradition (^{2}1973) pp. 175-6.

14. B.V. Head Hist. Num. (^{2}1911) pp.666-7; BMC Phrygia (1906) pp. xxxix, 101 no.182.

15. E. Babelon "La tradition phrygienne du déluge" Revue de l'histoire des religions 23 (1891) pp. 174-183; W.M. Ramsay Cities and Bishopries I pt.2 (1897) pp. 669-72.

16. For three Rabbis in Nabataea see Gen.R. LXXIX 7 and cf. b.Meg. 18a; b.RH. 26b.

Footnotes to III.2 Literary and haggadic analysis of the Targumim of Gen. 10.

1. See Krauss GLL p. 116 for eparchia as a loan-word in Rabbinic texts. Its use in the Targumim is curiously reminiscent of that in Ptolemy, e.g., Arg. to IV: "Display of the whole of Libya (=Africa) according to its constituent provinces (ἐπαρχίας) or satrapies".

2. J. Skinner Genesis ICC (^{2}1930) p. 207 argues that the word gibbor "expresses the idea of violent, tyrannical power, like the Ar. ʿgabbār." But this is not necessarily so. Note, for example, the Messianic title 'El gibbor in Is. 9:5, and the use of the term geburah for God's power in Ps. 21:14, and throughout Rabbinic literature.

3. This is the source of Isidore Etym. XIV 3.12, "In Persidae primum orta est ars magica, ad quam Nebroth gigans post confusionem linguarum abiit ibique Persas ignem colere docuit."

4. See Koh.R. V 11,5 (31b.37) // Cant.R. VI 2,6 end (66a.13); cf. Ps-J Gen. 9:27 // Gen.R. XXXVII 8 (342,3); Ps-J Gen. 24:62 and Gen.R. LXIII 6 (684,2).

5. In Gen. 10:21 there is another example of giving a twist to an originally neutral epithet. There Japhet is apparently called in the Hebrew "Japhet the great". Because of the predetermination of Japhet as good, Ps-J renders "Japhet great in the fear of the Lord."

6. A metaphorical use of the verb "to hunt" is found in the Bible, e.g., Prov. 6:26; see b.Sot. 4b on this verse. The use of the English "ensnare" is similar.

7. See OCD^2 p.586, sections 6-8; F.Schulz Principles of Roman Law (1936); B. Nicholas Roman Law (1962) pp. 27-28.

8. A contributory factor may have been the representation of Nimrod in haggadah as the first tyrannous world-ruler, and so likely to have known all the tricks of repression used by wicked Rome. See PRE XI; Isidore Etym. VII 6.22.

9. Note a disinterested modern commentator's judgment on this point: "It is not said that Nimrod founded these cities (cf. v.11)", J. Skinner Genesis ICC (^{2}1930) p.210.

10. See Torah Shelemah II Gen. 10 no. 40, quoting from 'Ozar midrashim kithbe-yad, a work to which I do not have access.

11. Kimhi felt the need for an antithesis to ראשית, but still construed Asshur as the subject of "went out":

> "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel and he ruled over it, and afterwards he conquered Erech and Accad and Calneh, the four of which are in the land of Shinar; or he conquered all four of them at the beginning and afterwards conquered other cities which are not mentioned."

12. In Neh. 13:6 Artaxerxes is called "king of Babylon", and in Judith 2:1 Nebuchadnezzar is called "king of the Assyrians". Cf. 2 Kings 23:29. In the case of large empires, the ancients seem to have had difficulty distinguishing the heartlands from the provinces.

13. See B. Heller EI III 842-844; the Persian Tabari Chron. I xlvi-xlviii translated M.H. Zotenberg Chronique de Tabari I (1867) pp. 136ff.

14. See J.B. Segal Edessa: "The blessed city" (1970) pp. 1-2; J.M. Fiey Assyrie chrétienne I (n.d.) p.39 for some remarks on Nimrod in Syriac literature. Milton, in his "Biblical history" at the end of Paradise Lost, sums up the haggadah very neatly:

> " . . . . . till one shall rise
> Of proud ambitious heart, who not content
> With fair equality, fraternal state,
> Will arrogate dominion undeserved
> Over his brethren, and quite dispossess
> Concord and law of Nature from the earth;
> Hunting (and men, not beasts, shall be his game)
> With war and hostile snare such as refuse
> Subjection to his empire tyrannous
> A mighty hunter thence he shall be styled
> Before the Lord, as in despite of Heav'n,
> Or from Heav'n claiming second sovranty;
> And from rebellion shall derive his name,
> Though of rebellion others he accuse.
> He with a crew whom like ambition joins
> With him or under him to tyrannize,
> Marching from Eden towards the west, shall find
> The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
> Boils out from under ground, the mouth of hell;
> Of brick, and of that stuff, they cast to build
> A city and a tow'r, whose top may reach to heav'n."
> (PL XII 24-44)

15. See, for example, Ps-Clem. Recog. I 30 (PG II 1224); Epiphanius Anc. CXIV (ed. Dindorf I, 217-8); Syncellus Chron., CHSByz XLI 83-84; Glycas Ann., CHSByz XXII p. 142.

16. Gen. 15:19 has ten nations, but in Ex. 13:5 the count has dropped as low as five. The ingenuity of the Rabbis was much exercised to harmonize all these texts; see, e.g., Mekh. Pisha XVII (I, 142). It is typical of the uncanny air of actuality that hangs about some of these Rabbinic traditions that of all the names in the Biblical lists of Canaanite nations, "Girgashite" is the only one to occur on Punic inscriptions: גרגש, at Umm el-Awamid (Lidzbarski NSE (1898) p.36 no. 405; p.37 no. 421); גרגשם, at Marseille$^{S}_{\wedge}$ (p.54 no. 673); גרגשי, at Carthage (ESE 1 (1902) p.36).

17. For example, Evagrius HE IV 18 (ed. Bidez-Parmentier p.168,7); Ioannes Antiochenus frags 11,5 and 12 (FHG IV 547a); Moses of Chorene Hist.Arm. I 19; Theophanes Chron. ed. de Boor p.200,17; the Suda s.v. Chanaan (ed. Adler IV p.785 no.79); Nicephorus HE XVII 12 (PG CXLVII 252B).

18. Evagrius and Nicephorus; see E. Patsig BZ 2 (1893) p.422; C.E. Gleye BZ 5 (1896) pp. 462-4; E. Patsig BZ 10 (1901) pp.45-48.

19. Nicephorus so understood it. The forms of the names "Gergesite" and "Jebusite" are as in the LXX.

20. The form of the name "Joshua the son of Nun" in the inscription is Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ, which points to dependence of the source on the LXX; Josephus prefers the forms Ναύηχος and Ναύηκος, but the LXX has Ναυῆ. Note also the "Semitism" in the inscription: "from before the face of . . .".

21. See Rashi to Gen. 1:1. Rashi is dependent on midrash Tanhuma, as is clear from his comment to Ps. 111:6. The text as quoted by Rashi is not found in any extant manuscript of Tanhuma, but I have no doubt that it is genuine, and that Tanḥuma Bereshith XI (ed. Buber 7,4) contains a truncated form of it. Cf. A. Berliner Rashi ʿal ha-Torah (1886) p.364.

22. The transmission of the material in Rashi to Gen. 1:1 actually uses the loan-word לסטים from λῃστης, but too much stress should not be put on this fact, for this word is very common in Rabbinic Hebrew and Aramaic; see Krauss GLL 315.

23. Ginzberg Legends III 410-411; VI 127-128.

24. Parallels: Meg. Taʿan. Scholion 72; Gen.R. LXI 7 (666,1).

25. See V. Tcherikover Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews (1959) pp. 113-116; 452-53, notes 123-128.

26. See J.P. Peters and H. Thiersch Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa (1905) pp. 38,66; Tcherikover op. cit. p.453 note 128.

27. "Sidonian" is used for "Phoenician" in the Bible (Jud. 18:7; 3:3; 1 Kgs 5:20; 16:31), and "Phoenician" for "Canaanite" (Is 23:11). Philo of Byblos asserts that the ancestor of the Phoenicians was called Chna. A curious sidelight is found in Augustine (PL XXXV 2096), who says: "When our peasants (i.e., the peasants of north Africa) are asked what they are, they reply in Punic Chanani".

28. There is an echo of this confliet in t.Chol. XVIII 16, which tells how in Caesarea once, the Greeks went to the circus and the Jews in their absence plundered the fruit-market. It was a Sabbatical year, which made their action all the more serious, for by eating this fruit they were implying that Caesarea, where it had been grown, was outside the Land of Israel. See further A. Buechler Studies in Jewish History (1956) p. 185 fn. 1; also H. Lichtenstein "Die Fastenrolle" HUCA 8-9 (1931-32) pp. 302-304 (46-48).

29. The same controversy forms the background of the curious story told in Cant.R. I 6,1 end (17b.7): Resh Lakish and R. Abbahu were riding into Caesarea when Resh Lakish said, Why do we have to enter this idolatrous and pagan city ? Abbahu silenced him with the rebuke, The Holy One is not pleased with anyone who informs against Israel. Resh Lakish, in so speaking, was guilty almost of treachery. There were enough people, Abbahu implies, to say that Jews had no right to be in Caesarea, without Resh Lakish giving them support.

30. Cf. Josephus CA I 62. Interesting is the use of the cognate Latin term "latrocinium" with regard to the Jews by Pompeius Trogus; see Prologue to bk. XXXIX (ed. Seel p.322, 14) and bk. XL 2, 3-5 (p.275, 21). The "latrociniis Iudaeorum" of which he speaks are not acts of highway robbery, but refer to the expansion of the Hasmonean kingdom. His source may be Timagenes of Alexandria; see J.G. Gager Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism (1972) pp.48ff; Schuerer-Vermes-Millar History I (1973) pp. 22ff.

31. "Origines gentium" CP 47 (1952) p. 76b; see Arist. Rhet. I 5; Hyperid. Epit. 7; Diod. Sic. III 2.1.

32. Krauss, as usual, is not at a loss for suggestions, see GLL p.147 and MGWJ 39 (1895) p.63, but, as often, they are not very sober. I toyed for a while with the idea of taking Kethnias as = a putative Greek Kothoniag*, an adjective from Kothon, the Greek form of the Punic word for a dock for ships; the most famous of these cothons was at Carthage. Kethonias could then be the dockland of Sidon. This would make tolerable sense in Gen. 10: 19, where "Sidon" could just possibly be read as a place-name, but not in 1 Chron. 1:13, where the Targum read it as a personal name. A further difficulty is that there is no evidence for the

cothon in Phoenicia; see D. Harden The Phoenicians (1962) pp. 30-32 37. 126.

33. The text of FT is far from secure at this point: S has "from Babel", but Vat. 440 does not; N reads, ומן בתר כדין. This could be taken to suggest either that בבל has dropped out of N by haplography, or that it has been inserted into FT (ms. S) by dittography; Ps-J has ובתר כדין.

Footnotes to III,3 The geographical equivalents in Genesis 10

1. There are about a dozen literary references, most of them in the historians of Rome like Appian and Cassius Dio (2nd and 3rd centuries AD), and three in the papyri (4th and 8th centuries AD); for these see Preisigke Wb. III 289a.

2. There was a tendency to assimilate the Greek Libuē to the meanings of the Latin Africa. So Appian BC IV 53 uses παλαιὰ Λιβύη and νέα Λιβύη as equivalents of the Latin "vetus Africa" and "nova Africa". So, too, in Strabo XVII 3.13 p.832 Libuē is used of the area around Carthage, while in XVII 3.25 p.840 it stands for Augustus' province of "Africa proconsularis". Note further Steph. Byz. 363,7: "Carthage: the capital of Libuē".

3. See Aristophanes Aves 1553 and Stephanus Thesaurus (ed. Dindorf) VII 386. Mandeville Travels ed. Seymour p.115 and the mediaeval cartographers have this people with only one foot, but some of the classical sources imply that they had two. Steph. Byz. states that they were an Ethiopian race (574, 12).

4. See Diocletian's inscription fixing prices: CIL III 2328, 58 frag. Aegirat. I 2.13 and Galen XV 632; VI 801. For other references see Stephanus Thesaurus (ed. Dindorf) IV 974 and Thes. Ling. Lat. III 488 s.v. caroenum.

5. See Pape-Benseler and Forcellini Onom. under "Ascania" and "Ascanius"; further Roescher Ausführliches Lex. der Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie I (1884-90) cols. 913-4.

6. See R.G. Kent Old Persian (1950) p. 206b; Brandenstein and Mayrhofer Handbuch des Altpersischen (1964) p. 151.

7. If פרתיאין of 1 Tg.Esth. 8:15 = Parthians, then this form shows dependence on the Greek.

8. If the reference to Armenia be eliminated, there is a still earlier setting for this Targum to be considered. It may refer to the years 40-37 BC when the Hasmonean Antigonus and the pro-Parthian party held control of Jerusalem. The pro-Roman Herod, the Idumean, had fallen back on Masada and his other fortresses in the south. The Targum may look forward to the reduction of these strongholds on the arrival of the Parthian commander Pacorus.

9. See PW XIV 2350, 44 ff; EI^2 s.v. "Berbers"; NED s.v. "Barbary". Ibn Khaldun implies that the name "Berber" was derived from the unintelligibility of the native speech, rather than from a pre-existing name "Barbaria" for the region; see his History of the Berbers, translated by Le Baron de Slane I 168.

10. Du Cange Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v. "Barbaricum"; the Greek has ὅτι ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ παράκειται (Cod. Can. Eccles. Afric. 52; see Stephanus Thesaurus (ed Dindorf) s.v. βαρβαρικός.

11. One might also add: It. Ant. X 2, "promunturium Barbari in Mauretania", and It. Ant. I 2, "Mauretania, id est ubi Bacuates et Macenites barbari morantur".

12. See EJ s.v. "Berbers"; M. Simon Verus Israel (1964) pp. 352 ff; M. Simon, "Le judaisme berbere dans l'Afrique ancienne" RHPR 1964 pp. 1-31 and 105-145.

13. There is considerable confusion in the sources about what R. Hanina actually said. I have accepted the report of R. Aha since this alone makes geographical sense. As we saw above the Greek geographers regarded the Mediterranean as formed by the Ocean bursting into the earth's land-mass.

14. Yalkut 586 has the variant "Britannia" for "Sarmatia".

15. It is tempting to emend כות' to גות' = Goth; then ברברי might mean "a German".

16. Chantraine Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque (1968) p. 475b.

17. See Tenney Frank Econ. Survey I 156; IV 297, 313.

18. Tg.1 Sam. 2:4; Mekh. Bah. IX 32 (II 268). Krauss cites the Targum as גברי מקדונא' . . . . מלכות מקרון , and the Aruch cites the Mekhilta as מלכות מקדין, but I can find no authority for these readings.

19. See I. Löw in Krauss GLL II 297a, Krauss Tal. Arch. II 625.

20. Ptolemy III 15.1 uses Achaia in the unusual sense of "Greece north of the Isthmus" - the equivalent, in fact, of Hellas.

21. BM Ms Or. 2375 (ed. Sperber) has a shorter text which mentions Rome, but not Italy; the London Polyglot does not even have Rome; see pp. 111 ff.

22. Conon, or perhaps Photius, does not mention which Temple of Jupiter, but probably that of Capitoline Jupiter is meant. Cf., Vitruvius II 1.5, "The hut of Romulus on the Capitol is a significant reminder of the fashions of old times".

23. In the Middle Ages Byzantine Greek influence, both cultural and political, on southern Italy was strong: some of the inhabitants of Calabria in the time of Benjamin of Tudela spoke Greek (see his Itinerary ed. Asher p. 14); in 1155 the region was conquered by the Byzantine Emperor Manuel. Hence in mediaeval Jewish texts "Greek Italy" acquired a new relevance. As a parallel to the Jewish classification of Greeks and Romans together one may cite the use of the name "Yavanas" in Indian texts for both Greeks and Romans; see O. Neugebauer The exact sciences in Antiquity (^{2}1969) p. 167; cf., p. 174.

24. Eustathius Comm. in Hom. Iliad. K 409 (II 349) preserves a curious Greek usage of "Kitians" not only for the inabitants of Kition, but for Cypriots and even Phoenicians. This is a reverse development of the Hebrew use of the term.

25. רומאי O ; רומי/איטליא Ps-J ; רומאי/איטליא FT ; מדינת N [רומי/איטליה]. . . . מן [רומי]. Both רומי and איטליה are in rasura but איטליה at least is clear in the photographs of N in the University Library, Manchester. For liburnae (Ps-J למברניא; FT לבדניא), see Caesar BC III 9.1; Plutarch Pomp. 64; PW XIII 1 col. 143 s.v. "liburna". For "legions" FT has לגיונין, and Ps-J has גליונין .

26. C. Gordon "Aramaic Magical Bowls in the Istanbul and Bagdad Museums" Archiv Orientalni 4 (1934) pp. 320 ff.

27. Levy NHCW s.v. אספר emends to ליכון and translates: "Was bedeutet ציים (Num. 24:24) ? Rab sagt: Die weisse (λευκόν) Legion". But אספיר =σπεῖρα should be feminine.

28. W. Leaf Strabo on the Troad p. 137 argues that Strabo has misinterpreted Homer, and that Homer's Δαρδανίη is not a city but a region.

29. See BM Cat. Troad p. 51.

30. Though Germanioi = Carmanians in Herodotus I 125. The קרמנאי of b.Naz. 31a may be Carmanians, or inhabitants of Kerman in Persia.

31. גרממיא של ארום; a variant reading for the Yalkut, found in the Arukh ed. Kohut s.v. גרמניא , has גרמומיא של רומי.

32. The words in brackets are an intrusion.

33. See Ginzberg Legends index; St-B III (^{2}1954) pp. 831-840; W. Zimmerli Ezechiel (BKAT 1969) p. 921 with bibliography.

34. See EI s.v. Shiz; Le Strange Lands pp. 223-224; H.C. Rawlinson "Memoir on the site of Atropatenian Ecbatana" JRGS 10 (1841) pp. 65-158.

35. Herodotus I 98 Agbatana; cf., the Old Persian Hagmatana; see Brandenstein-Mayrhofer HAP p. 122; Kent OPG 212a bottom. Ezra 6:2 has the form אחמתא.

36. גבינת בית אוניקי . The mishnah of the Yerushalmi has the text

המוריים והגבינה ותירייקי = "muries, cheese and theriace"; theriace (= θηριακή (sc. ἀντίδοτος)) was an antidote against the bite of serpents, or against poison in general; see Pliny NH XX 264; XXIX 24; Androm. in Gal. XIV 32. It is mentioned elsewhere in the Talmud, e.g., b.Shabb. 109b.

37. The date of the manuscript precludes any reference to Moscow - an identification of Meshech favoured by Russophobic chiliasts of modern times. Besides the Hebrew for Moscow is מוסקובה = MOCKOBA.

38. I suspect that the form תורקי found in many manuscripts has arisen through late assimilation of an original תרקי to תותכוס (Benjamin of Tudela Itinerary ed. Asher p. 23), or טורקי (Sepher Yosippon I 1) = Tourkoi/Turci = Turks; see the Suda ed. Adler I 481,401; IV 810,340; Sophocles Lex. s.v. Tourkoi 1086b. Ibn Ezra reports the opinion of some commentators that the awkward תורק in Cant. 1:3 שמך שמן תורק, is a proper name. They were probably thinking of the Rabbinic תורקי. What they took it to mean, however, is not clear.

39. See P. von Rohden PW II 359.

40. O has שלמאה for Kenites in Gen. 15:19 and Num. 24:21.

41. J. Euting Nabatäische Inschriften (1885) p. 28 f.

42. אגדה ערביה, Gen.R. LXXIX 7, with many variants. I have followed the explanation of Theodor ad loc. The story is paralleled by a tale of Rabbah b. Bar Hanah in b.Meg. 18a; b.RH. 26b. For this man's fabulous Arabian adventures see JE X 290. The context shows that the חגרא which was the home-town of a certain Anan b. Hiyya according to b.Yeb. 116a cannot be Hegra = Meda'in Salih, but must be somewhere in the region of Nehardea; see Obermeyer Landschaft p. 266.

43. Lam.R. III 3 סוגר של ערביים; some have taken סוגר here as a place-name, but the reference has not been satisfactorily explained.

44. The best discussion is by Jastrow and Ginzberg in JE II 43-44.

45. Preisigke Wb III 327b; Suppl. I 417a.

46. EJ VIII 1349; IV 493; J. Fischel Ha-Yehudim be-Hodu (1960); S. Shellim Treatise on the Origin and Early History of the Bene Israel (1963).

47. See Wright Geographical Lore p. 272.

48. Further Wright Geographical Lore pp. 302-304. It is possible that the error was compounded by the fact that Indian traders were to be found at this period on the east African coast.

49. Fischer PW IIA 968 s.v. Sebritai.

50. BGU 94,4; Preisigke Wb. III 325b; Suppl. I 416b; Grenfell-Hunt-Goodspeed Tebtunis Pap. II (1907) p. 383.

51. See Lane Arab.-Eng. Lex. Bk. I p. 1256b; Abulfeda Geog. IV p. 151 (trans. Reinaud II 1 pp. 205 ff); Ibn Haukal pp. 8, 147-8 (trans. Kramer and Wiet pp. 8, 145-6); Marvazi XIII (39a) (trans. Minorsky pp. 53 ff); see also G.R. Tibbets Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portugese (1971), index s.v. Zandj. It is the Zangistān of the Persian Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam sect. 55 (trans. Minorsky p. 163; see further his notes on pp. 471-472). On Idrīsi's large world map of AD 1154 ard al-Zandj is marked in east Africa, which is placed below India; see K. Miller Ma I,2 sheet II sect. vii; Ma II pp. 168-9.

52. Hermann von Wissmann PWSupp. XI 1337 s.v. Zangerae.

53. Honigmann PW XIII 149; Forcellini Onom. s.v.

54. I can find no reference in ancient sources to "Libyan asses". As often with Greek loan-words in the Talmud, we are dealing with a totally non-literary level of the Greek language.

55. It is taken from the Latin, for, though Mauretania is sometimes found in Greek, it is a loan-word; the correct Greek form is Maurousia, and the gentilic Marousios or Mauros; see St. Weinstock PW XIV 2348 f.

56. Preisigke Wb. III 296a; Suppl. I 407c; Kees and Honigmann PW IIIA 706-709.

57. EI^2 I 1173a; further St. Weinstock PW XIV 2358, 22; Dessau PW XV 5.

58. See also Abulfeda Chron., cited in Reinaud's translation of Abulfeda's Geog. II 1 p. 170 fn. 1.

59. B.Eruv. 19a curiously locates Damascus "Between the Rivers".

60. פלטום in Sifre Debarim 80 (146,5) is not a corruption of פרתים; see Finkelstein's note ad loc.

61. Symmachus and the Vulgate also identify Ellasar as Pontus; Ngl.Gen. 14:1 and N.Gen. 14:9 make Arioch king of Pontus. In 1QGen.Ap. XXI 23 Arioch is king of Cappadocia, Amraphel king of Babylon and Tidal "King of the nations which lie between the rivers"; see J.A. Fitzmeyer The Genesis Apocryphon (^{2}1971) pp. 159 ff.

62. For other forms see Sturm PW XVII 717-721.

63. Forrer Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches (1920) p. 32 and passim.

64. See Sturm PW XVII 757.

65. See PWSupp. IV 1102; EI III 76b s.v. al-Madā'in; O. Reuther "The German excavations at Ctesiphon" Antiquity 3 (1929) pp. 434-51.

66. Tabari Annales trans. Zotenberg II pp. 73-74; Pigulevskaja Les villes d'Iran p. 123; PWSupp. IV 1112, 41.

67. On Mahoza see JE VIII 261; EJ XI 729-30.

68. K. Holzhey Assur u. Babel in der Kenntnis der griechisch-römischen Welt (1921).

69. For the gentilic ending in יא- see N.Gen. 10:19; Pesh. Gen. 10:11 (cf. PSm. 421); for the gentilic in אה- see O.Gen. 10:19 (cf., Jastrow Lex. 137a).

70. J-B Chabot Synodicon Orientale (1902) = Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques XXXVII p. 667a; PSm.Supp. 40a; G. Hoffmann Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer (1880) = Abhandlungen f.d. Kunde des Morgenlandes VII 3 pp. 175-179.

71. Other references to Atouria are: Arrian An. III 7.7 (Roos the Teubner editor wrongly changes Ἀτουρίας to Ἀσσυρίας); Steph. Byz. 476,11; this entry is dependent at least in part on Strabo XVI 1.1 p. 736, and is the source of the Suda s.v. Ninos (ed. Adler III 471,417). See PW II 2260.

72. This is the source of Mart. Cap. VI 678; note also Pliny NH VI 41-42, which is the source of Solinus XLVI 1 and Mart. Cap. VI 691; cf., Amm. Marc. XXIII 6.20.

73. A. Maricq Classica et Orientalia (1965) pp. 103-111.

74. In b.Sanh. 106a the Asshur of Num. 24:24 may be taken as Parthia, a meaning for the term found in Bar Bahlul.

75. EI II 194b; Le Strange Lands pp. 90-91; Fiey Assyrie I p. 103.

76. Fiey Assyrie I pp. 165-167; Canard Hamdanides I p. 123 n. 105; for Ḥazzah, see Yâḳut II 263,11.

77. Ararat = Kardu is a standard Jewish equation, see, e.g., Ps-J. Gen. 8:4.

78. For Aram = Armenia, see p. 161.

79. For archaeology see R.C. Thompson and R.W. Hutchinson A Century of Exploration at Nineveh (1929) pp. 137-141. On p. 139 these authors state: "Claudius (AD 41-54) may perhaps have made Niniveh into a Roman colony, as coins both of Trajan and Maximus appear to note this fact, retaining the old name Ninus and Niniva respectively." This view is accepted by Weidner PW "Ninos" col. 642, but Ramsay showed in 1894 that these coins belong to Ninica Claudiopolis in Cilicia; see BM Cat. Lycaonia etc., pp. lviii - lix.

80. For Syriac references see PSm. 2362; Hoffmann Auszüge index; Tuch De Nino; Badger Nestorians I p.78; for Arabic: Le Strange Lands pp. 87-89; EI III 611a s.v. "Mosul"; Fiey Assyrie I p.29.

81. Jerome, however, Int. Chron. Eus. (PL XXVII 111 top) wrongly identified it with Nisibis, though the words that do so may be a gloss. Amm. Marc. XIV 8.7 also misplaced it at Hierapolis in northern Syria.

82. See S. Klein "The estates of R. Judah ha-Nasi" JQR n.s. 2 (1911-12) pp. 550-54.

83. See J. Montgomery Kings ICC (1951) p.493.

84. Hierocles Synecdemus (ed. Burckhardt (Teubner)) App. I p.62 no. 26.

85. PWSupp. IV 686-689; cf., also EI III pp. 268-271.

86. W. Andrae Das wiederstandene Assur (1938) pp. 171 ff; RLA I s.v.; EI II 683 s.v. Kal^{c}at Sherkat.

87. It may be the same as Ptolemy V 18.9 Labbana; Polybius V 51.2 Libba; Tab. Peut. for Sabbin 28 mp east of Hatra read perhaps Labbin; see PW s.v. Labbana; Debevoise Parthia p. 226.

88. See Hermann and Kees PW XVII 141; Gauthier Nomes pp. 168-70.

89. Kees PW XIV 1676; Gauthier Nomes pp. 142-144; P.M. Fraser PA I pp. 9-10; 143-144.

90. Gauthier Nomes pp. 37-38; cf., P.Fay. 23a.

91. Kees PW XIX 512; G. Dalman PJ 20 (1924) pp. 46 ff.

92. Kees PW IIA 367.

93. Kees PW X 2264; G. Dalman PJ 20 (1924) p. 47.

94. Kees PW XIX 408; G. Dalman PJ 20 (1924) pp. 46, 50 ff.

95. Hermann and Kees PW XIX 509; R.G. Goodchild TIR Cyrene (1954); A.H.M. Jones CERP (^{2}1971) pp. 349ff.

96. On the possibility of Kaft-ur as a name for the Delta region of Egypt see G.A. Smith Historical Geography (1931) p. 126 fn. 1.

Footnotes to III.4 The Targumim and early exegesis of the Table of the Nations.

1. See A. von Gutschmid Kl. Schr. V 240; A. Bauer Die Chronik des Hippolytus (1906) = TU 29 (NF 14) (1906) pp. 162-242.

2. See M. Seloessinger JE VII p.259; cf., Schürer-Vermes-Millar I pp. 117-118. I have taken my translation from the text of H. Hominer (1964). There is another transmission of this Diamerismos in Sepher ha-zikhronoth XXXI 6-15 (see M. Gaster The Chronicles of Yerahmeel (1899) pp. 66-68); also G.R. Cardona "I nomi dei figli Togarmah secondo il Sepher Yôsêphôn" Riv. d. Stud. Or. 41 (1966) pp. 17-28.

3. Cf., the form Candanovia; see Orbis Latinus s.v. Scandinavia.

4. The Goths were frequently identified with the earlier Scythians; see Procopius Bell. Goth. IV 5.6; Isidore Etym. IX 2.27.

5. Streck PW VII 2516; Ch. Pellat EI^2 III 50b; E. Herzfeld "Hatra" ZDMG 68 (1914) p. 655; Le Strange Lands p. 98; Hoffmann Auszüge pp. 184-188.

6. E. Honigmann EI III 1119; Weissbach PW IA 618; Le Strange Lands 95; Syriac texts mention also a Resh ᶜAina in the region of Marga to the north-west of the Greater Zab, modern Ra's ul-ᶜAin. This was less important than the other town, but it would give a better geographical grouping of the cities; see Fiey Assyrie I 250.

7. E. Unger RLV XIV 35b; G. Meier PW XVIII 886; Streck EI IV 1124.

8. Note: the Tigris has changed course since and now runs much further to the east.

9. M.Streck EI II 800b; Le Strange Lands p. 39.

10. E. Unger RLV VIII 504; M. Streck EI III 146; Le Strange Lands pp. 73-74.

11. Weissbach PW XV 1082; M. Streck EI III 146; Le Strange Lands p. 43. פרת could mean either (1) the Euphrates; or (2) a "district" from the root פרת = divide, out.

12. O. Schroeder RLV II 121; Fraenkel PW III 735; E. Herzfeld EI I 726.

13. It is possible that there was another R. Yehuda b. Bathyra living at Nisibis earlier, for b.Pes. 3b records a strategem used by a person of this name to prevent the participation of a gentile in the Passover at Jerusalem. This incident must have occured before AD 70. The reference cannot be to our Yehuda ben Bathyra, but may be to his grandfather.

14. See p. 26, and further J. Neusner A History of the Jews in Babylonia I (1965) pp. 58ff; "The conversion of Adiabene to Judaism" JBL 83 (1964) pp. 60-66, with older bibliographies.

15. Some have argued that Mar ʿUḳba I and Mar ʿUḳba II are one and the same person, but this strains chronology intolerably. Moreover the Mar ʿUkba traditions are too diverse and contradictory to belong to one man; see Neusner Bab. I 99-100; II 98-107; III 53-58; Bacher JE s.v. "Exilarch".

16. I cannot find a shred of evidence for Neusner's assertion that "there can be no doubt that there was a Palestinian by the name of Rav ʿUḳba or Rabbi Mar ʿUḳba" (Bab. II 104).

17. See further J. Neusner Aphrahat and Judaism (1971) pp. 1-4 and passim.

18. See further A.Schalit ASTI 4 (1965) pp. 171ff.

19. P. Kahle The Cairo Genizah (^{2}1959) pp. 265 ff.

Footnotes to IV.2 The short boundary-texts.

1. E. Honigmann PW II 203 (4); Fr. Buhl EI IV 660; Abel GP II 488; Dussaud Topographie 75 ff.

2. Benzinger PW III 2100; Abel GP II 347; A. Musil Palmyrena (1928) 230 ff; Dussaud Topographie 285 ff.

3. Benzinger PW II 1117 (3); Dussaud Topographie 80 ff.

4. Benzinger PW II 680 (10); Dussaud Topographie 110.

5. E. Honigmann PW XVIII 1494; Dussaud Topographie 77 ff.

6. E. Honigmann PW IIIA 245; Dussaud Topographie 88f and map V 2B.

7. Benzinger PW II 371 (1); Abel GP II 251; Dussaud Topographie 121 ff.

8. Benzinger PW I 2347; E. Honigmann EI IV 679; Dussaud Topographie 121 ff.

9. The name is Semitic and is variously represented in Greek: Emesa (Josephus BJ VII 226); Emisa (Ptolemy V 14:15); Emissa (Amm. Marc. XIV 8.9) etc.

10. Benzinger PW V 2496; M. Sobernheim EI II 309; N. Elisseeff EI^2 III 397; Dussaud Topographie 103 ff.

11. E. Honigmann PW IIIA 217; Dussaud Topographie 117 and maps XIV 3A and V 1B.

12. Honigmann loc. cit.

13. Benzinger PW I 2442; M. Streck and H.A.R. Gibb EI^2 I 516; G. Downey A History of Antioch (1961); Dussaud Topographie 425 ff.

14. Benzinger PW VI 192 (3); M. Sobernheim EI II 240; D. Sourdel EI^2 III 119; Abel GP II 341-342; Dussaud Topographie 233 ff.

15. Schwarzenbach GT 62-64.

16. Abel GP II 248, 350

17. Starcky Dict. de la Bible Suppl. VII 896; Abel GP I 389-91.

18. G. Vermes "Car le Liban, c'est le conseil de la communauté" Mélanges A. Robert (1957) pp. 316-325; idem Scripture and Tradition in Judaism (1961; ^{2}1973) pp. 26-39; cf., JTS ns 9 (1958) pp. 1-12; H.D.F. Sparks "The symbolic interpretation of Lebanon in the Fathers" JTS ns 10 (1959) pp. 264-279.

Footnotes to IV.3 The Targumim of Numbers 34.

1. The Editio princeps has עקרבית, and on close inspection I am certain that BM Ms 27,031 reads the same, and not עקרבים as Ginsburger supposed.

2. Abel GP II 247

3. Avi-Yonah MGP 2nd ed. marks the city as Acrabbein, presumably on the basis of this text, but Eusebius is simply giving a transliteration of the Hebrew עקרבים, derived from the LXX.

4. For a rather puzzling reference to Acrabattene see 1 Macc. 5:3 (= Josephus AJ XII 328); Sy.I of this text has עקרבית for the name.

5. The fundamental study is J. Starcky Dict. de la Bible Suppl. VII 886 ff; see also G.I. Davies "Hagar, el-Hegra and the location of Mt. Sinai" VT 22 (1972) pp. 152-163.

6. J. Starcky Ann. Dept. of Ant. Jordan XI-XII; RB 72 (1965) pp. 95-97.

7. R. Savignac and J. Starcky RB 64 (1957) p. 205; A. Negev IEJ 13 (1963) p. 113.

8. PSm. 3978; cf., Bar Bahlul (ed. Duval) II 1916; Aphrahat Dem. XI 9.

9. The text is not certain; it is possible we should read רקם וחגרא as in m.Gitt. I 1. There is also a variant רגם for רקם. In TBL Y.Talmud 30 we find רפיח רחגרא.

10. Hachette World Guide: The Middle East (1966) p. 558: "Es Sig is a gorge only six feet across at its widest point and enclosed between two high cliffs rising perpendicularly to heights of over 260ft in places. It is difficult to imagine anything more impressive than this marvellous corridor leading to a fairy-city of pink sandstone. The cliff-faces are so high they block one's view of the sky."

11. See, e.g., the "Babata archive" from Naḥal Ḥever; Y. Yadin Bar Kokhba (1971) pp. 240-241; 248-249. There were Jews, moreover, living to the south of Petra at Hegra by the first century AD; see CIJ 1421; 1422.

12. M. Weippert The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Palestine (1971) p. 44 note 142; pp. 115-116.

13. Y. Aharoni locates Azmon at the neighbouring ʿAin Muweilih; see The Land of the Bible (1967) p. 372. El Kuseima is the form of the name given on present-day Israeli maps (see Israel 1:250,000 south sheet); older writers have Kuseme or Kossaima; see G. Dalman PJ 1924 p.58 note 1; C.L. Wooley and T.E. Lawrence The Wilderness of Zin (PEF Annual 1914) pp. 58-59.

14. Musil Arabia Petraea II p.11; Abel GP II pp.172, 200.

15. See W. Ruge PW XI 389-90; Hans Treidler PW Supp. IX 1352; M. Streck EI I 312-313; Abel GP I 335-336.

16. W. Ruge PW VA 39(5).

17. Honigman PW VA 50(6).

18. The whole range has no real modern name. The Turks revived the ancient designation and called it Amanos Dağları.

19. In the quotation the words, "which the Taurus and the Rhosian mountains divide" are the opposite to what one expects, but this is a literal translation of the Greek.

20. Finzenhagen Die geographische Terminologie des Griechischen (1939) pp.99,104; Oberhummer PW II 2413.

21. Oberhummer PW II 2414(10); Ruge PW XI 390.

22. Schalit EI I 116ff; cf., Klein MGWJ 59 (1915) p.169.

23. E. Meyer and G. Radke PW XA 227-230; A.H.M. Jones CERP (^{2}1971) pp. 197-200; W. Ramsay AM pp. 358, 384.

24. Benzinger and others PW I 2663-2665.

25. Obermeyer Landschaft p.86.

26. Abel GP II 297; Benzinger PW III 1290(9); G.A. Smith HG pp. 304 ff; Avi-Yonah MRP p.8.

27. Abel GP II 302; Benzinger PW IV 2062; G.A. Smith HG 304.

28. SWP Memoirs I p.118.

29. Benzinger PW IV 2136(2); Abel GP I 304.

30. G.A. Smith HG p.304 fn. 2 correctly supposes that Josephus means Tell el-Ḳadi by Daphne.

31. Strabo XVI 712; Pliny NH V 76; Benzinger PW IV 2136(3); Downey Antioch pp.19ff.

32. Benzinger PW III 115(1); G.A. Smith HG 348.

33. C.M. Doughty Arabia Deserta (^{2}1964) I p.45; Dussaud Topographie p.390 ff; Abel GP I p.347. Hermon is also known as Jebel Sheikh.

34. The gloss read thus: קרתא טבריה דסמיכא לב'.

35. G. Hölscher PW VI 1865; G.A. Smith HG p.349; Dussaud Topographie p. 371 ff; M. Avi-Yonah HL pp. 170-171.

36. Schuerer-Vermes-Millar I (1973) pp. 561-573; G.A. Smith HG pp. 350-353. For the names Bar Senigora and Bar Zoᶜema see Klein "Grenzverzeichnis" p. 223.

37. Dussaud Topographie map II (opposite p.40) 2B. For Namara see Dussaud

Topographie pp.341,359; G. Hölscher PW XVI 1609.

38. So Avi-Yonah HL p.171.

39. Dussaud Topographie pp.330-331 and map II (opposite p.40) 1A; Benzinger PW III 138; Abel GP II 261; G.A. Smith HG 412.

40. Dussaud Topographie p.322 and map II (opposite p.40) 1A; Klein "Grenzverzeichnis" pp. 205,224.

41. Dussaud Topographie p.367 and map II (opposite p.40) 2B; M. Avi-Yonah HL p.171; Klein "Grenzverzeichnis" p.209.

42. Dussaud Topographie pp. 322,367.

43. M. Avi-Yonah HL p.167; the text is highly problematic.

44. Dussaud Topographie pp. 330,337 and map II (opposite p.40) 2A; Klein "Grenzverzeichnis" p.232.

45. B. Mazar Tarbiz 20 (1949) p.317; G.I. Davies VT 22 (1972) pp.156 ff. On the lines see M. Avi-Yonah HL pp.118-119.

46. Dussaud Topographie map I (opposite p.21) 3C; Abel GP II 284; Avi-Yonah MRP p.37; P. Ber-Adon EI 4 (1956) pp.50-55; W.F. Albright in Cod. Neofiti 1 I ed. A. Díez Macho (1968) pp. 71*-72*. Beth Yerah was the Greek Philoteria.

47. Plato Phaedo 118a; m.AZ. I 5; Kleine Pauly s.v. Huhn.

48. Avi-Yonah MRP p.33; Abel GP II 322; Benzinger PW VII 417.

49. Abel GP II 371; G. Hölscher PW XIV 139.

50. Abel GP II 348.

51. Avi-Yonah MRP p.20.

52. Avi-Yonah MRP p.28; Abel GP II 431; Beer PW 1A 232.

Footnotes to IV.4 The Targumim and the Tannaitic Boundary List

1. For the halakha involved see A. Büchler, "R. Judah and the Greco-Roman cities of Palestine" in: Studies in Jewish History (1956) pp. 179-244; Encyclopedia Talmudith under "Land of Gentiles" and "Land of Israel".

2. Following the Biblical distinction between the hill, the lowland and the valley (see Josh. 10:40; Jud. 1:9), the Rabbis tried to define these regions in Judaea, beyond Jordan and in Galilee (see m.Sheb. IX 2; y.Sheb. 38d.56) but this appears to have been a rather academic exercise; it is unclear how it worked out halakhically. This "Three Regions" Formula is distinct from the one which we are considering, though not contradictory to it, for the total area which it covers could be embraced within the first region of our Three Regions Formula. It is interesting that y.Sheb. 38d.7 (from bot.) states that the other Three Regions Formula is not applicable in Syria.

3. For this sense of לפנים see y.Sanh. 29c.64; m.Meg. I 11; y.Hall. 60a.40.

4. It should be noted that according to m.Sheb. VI 3 shebi^{c}ith is eaten and the soil cultivated "from the River and Amanah". This can only be true if the area thus designated is totally "outside". The parallel in m.Hall. IV 8 does, indeed, say that hallah is to be offered in the same region, but this does not contradict, for though the commandment regarding the giving of hallah was, strictly speaking, to be observed only within the Land, the practice, unlike that of shebi^{c}ith, was obviously easily exported, and was, in fact, widely observed in the Diaspora.

5. Klein "Grenzverzeichnis" p.251.

6. The count drops to five in Ex. 13:5. Mekh. Pisha XVIII (Lauterbach I 142) argues that, in effect, seven are meant.

7. See also 1QM II 12; Y.Yadin The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light (1962) pp. 34-35.

8. A careful reading of the TBL confirms that Ammon and Moab were,

indeed, outside the Land. TBL Tosefta (Cod.V) 39 has "Ammon and Moab". Klein is correct, however, that this is a later insertion, deriving ultimately from m.Yad. IV 3. This passage shows that in the time of R. Tarphon (T2) Ammon and Moab were reckoned as "outside", as they were also in the time of Judah b.Ilai (b.BB 56a), so it is unlikely they were included by the TBL.

9. Strack Intro. p.119; JE VI 430.

10. It must be appreciated that the laws regarding the cleanness of land and "the commandments pertaining to the Land" are closely related. The position may be summarized thus: All "land of the gentiles" is unclean, and all "Land of Israel" is clean. It is possible to declare Land of Israel unclean, but impossible to declare land of gentiles clean. Consequently, every case where a town such as Ashkelon is declared clean, must be a matter of lifting a ban earlier imposed on a portion of the Land of Israel. Once the ban was lifted the town was thus re-instated as within the Land and so should (strictly) have been made subject again to "the commandments pertaining to the Land". It was this conclusion that Rabbi and his Beth Din appeared to be trying to avoid. The impurity of gentile land inhered both in the soil and the air, the uncleanness conveyed by each differing only in degree. In declaring the "air" of Ashkelon clean rather than its soil, Rabbi and his Beth Din may have been adopting a technical expedient to avoid bringing the town under the soil-laws which operated within the Land. On the other hand it is possible, as Professor Ch. Rabin suggested to me, that "air" (אויר) here means "space within certain confines", and hence "the air of Ashkelon" means "the inside of Ashkelon", within the city wall. Then the declaration of the inside of the city as clean may match the earlier declaration of its environs as clean. For the status of "land of gentiles" see the old rulings discussed in b.Shabb. 15a.

11. 1QGenAp.'s borders are reminiscent of Shem and Arpachshad's portions in the Jubilees Diamerismos, see Jubilees IX 4.

12. Y.Aharoni The Land of the Bible (1966) pp.49ff; for the Haj road see C.M.Doughty Travels in Arabia Deserta I-II (^{2}1936); M. Avi-Yonah HL p.183.

Footnotes to V. Conclusions: A suggested history of the Pentateuchal Targumim

1. The Tosafists (b.Kidd. 49a, he-metargem) quote an explanation of what R. Judah means:

> "Rabbenu Hananeel explained: He who translates a verse according to its form; for example: 'And they saw the God of Israel' (Ex. 24:10); he who translates, 'And they saw the God of Israel' - he is a liar, because they did not see the Shechinah in itself, as it is written, 'No man shall see me and live' (Ex. 33:20). And he who adds to it: he who says, 'And they saw the angel of God' - he is a blasphemer, for he attributes the praise of God to an angel. One must translate thus: 'And they saw the glory of the God of Israel.'"

This explanation is hardly satisfactory, because formally, "they saw the glory of God" involves just as much addition as "they saw the angel of God". M.McNamara The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch (1966) p.41 wrongly attributes Rabbenu Hananeel's explanation to R. Judah himself; R. Hananeel is an eleventh century authority !

2. The one exception which we encountered was in the miniature apocalypse in Ps-J Deut. 34:1-3.

3. See b.Meg. 32a; Philo in Eusebius PE VIII 7,12-13; Luke 4:16-21.

4. J.P.M. van der Ploeg and A.S. van der Woude Le Targum de la Grotte XI de Qumran (1971); J.A. Fitzmyer The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I (^{2}1971); see pp. 6ff of the latter work for a discussion of the literary form of 1QGenAp.

5. G. Vermes "Haggadah in the Targum Onkelos" JSS 8 (1963) pp. 159-69; J.W. Bowker "Haggadah in the Targum Onkelos" JSS 12 (1967) pp. 51-65.

6. t.Shabb. XIII 2 (128,21); b.Shabb. 115a; y.Shabb. 15c.5; Sopherim V and XV.

7. t.Meg. IV 41 (229,1); further S. Lieberman Hellenism in Jewish Palestine (1962) pp. 93ff.

8. See my article "The Targumim and early exegesis of 'Sons of God' in Genesis 6" JJS 1972 pp.60-71.

9. See Schürer-Vermes-Millar I p.102. Aquila may have had predecessors, see D. Barthélemy Les devanciers d'Aquila (1963).

10. I do not mean to imply that the old Palestinian Targum is to be completely equated with the base translations of the extant Palestinian Targumim.

11. This would help to account for the differences in the base translations of the extant Palestinian Targumim.