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**Abstract**

It is by now a commonplace to speak of “double” translation in the Aramaic targums of the Hebrew Bible. In its simplest form, this involves “the rendition of a single verb or noun by a translational doublet.”¹ In fact, the phenomenon is broader than the translation of single words. Michael Klein has focused on one important aspect of the larger phenomenon. He notes that many biblical phrases and longer passages are duplicated or even triplicated, in comparable but not identical language. “The targumim, in many of these cases, equalize the varying texts by translating one of them in conformity with the other—or, less frequently, by altering both versions in a mutually complementary fashion.”² But double translation is not restricted to this process of equalization. More often, as Martin McNamara points out, “The point in the double rendering may have been the targumist’s desire to bring out the wealth of the [Hebrew text].”³ One example appears at the very beginning of Targum Neofiti, where the Hebrew word בְּרֵאשִׁית of Gen 1:1 is translated “From the beginning with wisdom”—that is, once literally and again understanding the word in a midrashic sense based on Prov 8:22.⁴

**Disciplines**

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Syntactic Double Translation in the Targumim

MICHAEL CARASIK

It is by now a commonplace to speak of “double” translation in the Aramaic targums of the Hebrew Bible. In its simplest form, this involves “the rendition of a single verb or noun by a translational doublet.”¹ In fact, the phenomenon is broader than the translation of single words. Michael Klein has focused on one important aspect of the larger phenomenon. He notes that many biblical phrases and longer passages are duplicated or even triplicated, in comparable but not identical language. “The targumim, in many of these cases, equalize the varying texts by translating one of them in conformity with the other—or, less frequently, by altering both versions in a mutually complementary fashion.”² But double translation is not restricted to this process of equalization. More often, as Martin McNamara points out, “The point in the double rendering may have been the targumist’s desire to bring out the wealth of the [Hebrew text].”³ One example appears at the very beginning of Targum Neofiti, where the Hebrew word הָרָאשִׁיָּה of Gen 1:1 is translated “From the beginning with wisdom”—that is, once literally and again understanding the word in a midrashic sense based on Prov 8:22.⁴

This essay will focus on an aspect of targumic double translation that has not yet been recognized.⁵ I call this particular technique “syntactic double translation.” The basis behind this technique is the recognition, found already in Tannaitic literature, that some verses in the Hebrew Bible can be grammatically parsed in more than one way. In such cases, the targum sometimes

2. Ibid., p. 134*. In fact, the biblical text itself is often the result of the phenomenon that Klein describes. See Talmon, “Synonymous Readings”; idem, “Textual Study.”
4. Ibid., p. 52. For the Proverbs link, see Rashi’s commentary, ad loc.
5. Grossfeld (Neofiti 1: Genesis, p. xxxiii) includes “Clarification of difficult Hebrew syntax or lexicography” as #13 in his list of 22 causes of “syntactic expansion”; but see his comment to Gen 49:6–7, cited below.
translates in accordance with both possibilities. In what follows, I will describe this phenomenon and speculate on its implications by looking at a series of biblical passages and their targumic renderings.

Song of Songs 2:12

Let us begin by considering syntactic double translation through the lens of the phenomenon to which Cyrus Gordon gave the name Janus parallelism. What Gordon meant by the term is that a word seems to carry one meaning if read with what precedes it and a different meaning when read with what follows it. It is a “Janus” word in that it means something different when it faces backward than it does when it faces forward. Gordon’s example, which has become the classic one, is Song 2:12:

The middle word of the middle phrase of this line, רימזר, can mean either “pruning” or “singing.” We have, then, “the time of רימזר has arrived,” with no clue but context as to what it means. Having read “the blossoms appear in the land,” the reader is thinking along botanical lines and takes רימזר at first to mean “pruning.” But when one continues by reading “and the voice of the turtledove is heard in our land,” with its reference to birdsong, one retroactively rereads רימזר as singing. Both meanings serve a function in the line and in the poem from which it is taken, and both were undoubtedly intended by the author of the poem.

Psalms 93:1

In the previous example, it is meaning only, not syntax, that alters. Syntactically, it is clear that the phrase is to be interpreted as “the time of zamir has come,” and the only question is what zamir means. But there are other cases where it is not the meaning, but the syntax, that is potentially two-faced. Ps 93:1 provides an example:

6. The term was originally coined in Gordon, “New Directions,” p. 59. He subsequently (at the suggestion of Paul Friedrich) sharpened the term by calling it Asymmetric Janus parallelism (Gordon, “Asymmetric Janus parallelism,” 80° and 81° n. 4; Song 2:12 is discussed here as well). But the shorter phrase continues to be more commonly used. My thanks to Theodore A. Perry for pointing out to me the connection between Janus parallelism and double syntactic translation, and for bibliographical assistance.

7. According to HALOT, רימזר I and II, the two meanings come from two different original Proto-Semitic roots, “singing” from zamir and “pruning” from zamir.

8. Edward Greenstein of Tel Aviv University, at the conference “Remembering H. L. Ginsberg” in New York City on April 28, 2004, proclaimed “Greenstein’s law”: “If a word can mean A or it can mean B, it means both until proven otherwise.”

9. I have added an upper and a lower set of brackets to the verse to demonstrate the two different ways in which the phrase can be parsed. I first learned this example in a class taught by Stephen Geller at Brandeis University. Geller refers to this phenomenon as an
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The LORD has become king, He has donned majesty . . . the very world is made firm, never to totter.

It is the phrase לֵבְשׁ הַמָּרָיוֹד that causes the difficulty here. The standard usage of the verb לֵבְשׁ in the Qal is that it demands an accusative of the garment that is put on, as at the beginning of the verse: “He has donned majesty.” The natural way to continue reading, then, is לֵבְשׁ ה-יְ הַמָּרָיוֹד, “The Lord has donned might.” The Masoretic punctuation marks here, however, mark ה-יְ with a disjunctive accent, and group לֵבְשׁ, “might,” together with הַמָּרָיוֹד, the verb that follows it: “With might has He girded Himself.” Though the word לֵבְשׁ appears only once, we read it twice, first as the end of one phrase and again as the beginning of the next. Here, unlike our first example, the meaning of the word stays the same, but it is syntactically reread, again with the result that the verse packs two meanings where only one seems to be written. Again, it is likely that this is a deliberate effect.

This kind of effect is the bane of translators. The NJPS translates our phrase, following the Masoretic punctuation marks, as follows: “the LORD is robed, He is girded with strength,” ignoring the usual use of לֵבְשׁ and eliminating the first of the possible readings of the verse.11 The KJV is just slightly more successful: “the LORD is clothed with strength, wherewith he hath girded himself.” Here לֵבְשׁ is translated twice, once as one would naturally interpret it at first reading, syntactically related to what precedes it (“the LORD is clothed with strength”), and again a second time, as a relative pronoun, following the Masoretic accents (“wherewith he hath girded himself”).

Exodus 17:9

A passage from the Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael, the Tannaitic midrash to Exodus, recognizes explicitly that there are five verses in the Pentateuch that are syntactically “undecided” in this fashion.12 Here, for example, is Exod 17:9:

 exemplo of “X-Y-X,” since the Y term makes sense in either direction, but the three terms together do not.

10. For religious reasons, I will transcribe the Tetragrammaton euphemistically in this article.


If we forget about the Masoretic markings on the verse (which were of course not in existence at the time the rabbinic passage was formulated), this can be translated in either one of two ways:

1. Pick us some men and go out to fight Amalek tomorrow. I will stand on top of the hill. . . .
2. Pick us some men and go out to fight Amalek. Tomorrow I will stand on top of the hill. . . .

And here is how Onqelos translates it:

בַּחַר לָנוּ נְכֶרֶד תֹּפָר אֲנִי בָּרכָא בַּעֲמֵלָא מִיְּרֵי אֶנֶּה קַחַה לְרֵי הָפֶּרֶת

Lacking punctuation, this translation exactly mimics the Hebrew verse. “Tomorrow” is located precisely in between “Amalek” and “I” and can be read with either of them or both, as one chooses. Unlike the English translators of Ps 93:1, the Aramaic translator of Exod 17:9 was able to preserve the indecisiveness inherent in the original Hebrew.

Qohelet 10:6

But this approach is not always possible. When it is not, the only way to preserve the undecidability of a particular syntactic construction is by translating it twice, as the King James translators did with Ps 93:1. The Targum to Qohelet does in fact use this method, as the following example from Qoh 10:6 will show:

גֵּן קְפֻלָּא (כְּפַרְוָה) רֶכֶם (כְּפַרְוָה) קְפֻלָּא יִשְׁבָּא

This verse has been identified by modern biblical scholars as one in which the accent marks do not fit the most natural reading of the text. The NJPS nevertheless translates in accordance with them: “Folly was placed on lofty heights, while rich men sat in low estate.” But this translation ignores the grammatical incompatibility of בְּכָרָה, which has the definite article, and בְּכָרָה, which does not. Perhaps for this reason, the NEB implicitly transposes the etnachta, the major pause in the verse, from בְּכָרָה back to בְּכָרָה. It

13. Note that the Masoretic accents accord with translation 2, which (with its apparent suggestion that Joshua should fight today while Moses will not act until tomorrow) makes slightly less sense. I have suggested elsewhere that the Masoretic accents are sometimes intended to push the reader in the direction of a more difficult reading with the intent not to contradict the simpler reading (which readers can easily find on their own) but to add to it. See my “Exegetical Implications,” p. 165.


15. Against this, Kogut (ibid., p. 198) points to דְּנֵהוּ רְבִּים in Ezek 39:27, where the punctuation is not in question, to show that the punctuators might well have considered this syntax possible in Biblical Hebrew. Note also Qoh 3:19, where both the sense and the cantillation marks suggest that מְחַבֵּר дв (twice) is a construct form, though spelled with the segol of the absolute form.
translates, “the fool given high office, but the great and the rich in humble posts.” The English translators felt constrained to select one or the other of the two possible syntactic alternatives, but the Aramaic translator did not feel such a constraint:

יִבְי הַיָּלְדוֹת הַנְּפֶשֶׁה כְּלֵהלָּה הַמְּגָרֶשֶׁת בְּנֵי חֶלֶל הַנְּפֶשֶׁה כְּלֵהלָּה חַלְאוֹן מְגָרֶשֶׁת

The Lord enabled the wicked and the foolish Edom to enjoy good luck and to enjoy prosperity from the highest heavens [מִיְמְו הַמְּגָרֶשֶׁת] and his armies are proud and numerous [בֶּן מַרְעֶשֶׁת [בֶּן מַרְעֶשֶׁת]] while the people of the household of Israel are enslaved under him in exile. Because of the multitude of their sins [לִבְרִי מְרַעְעַת הָעָם], those rich [עָרִי מְרַעְעַת הָעָם] in property become poor and dwell in a lowly state among the nations.16

This, of course, is not a literal translation of the Hebrew or anything close to one. Alexander Sperber has characterized the Targum of Qohelet as falling under a translation category that he describes as “Translation and Midrash completely fused together.”17 Nonetheless, despite this fusion, the targumic “leave-no-word-behind” translation policy is still clearly in effect.18 For example, the Hebrew מִיְמְו הַמְּגָרֶשֶׁת appears in the targum as “from the highest heavens [מִיְמְו הַמְּגָרֶשֶׁת]” and מַרְעֶשֶׁת appears in the phrase “those rich [עָרִי מְרַעְעַת הָעָם] in property.” But the word in between them, בֶּרֶכּ, is translated (by its standard Aramaic cognate, בֶּרֶכּ) twice: once in the first part of the translation, along with the translation of מִיְמְו הַמְּגָרֶשֶׁת (“his armies are proud and numerous [בֶּן מַרְעֶשֶׁת [בֶּן מַרְעֶשֶׁת]])”, and again in the second part of the translation, with מַרְעֶשֶׁת (“because of the multitude of their sins [לִבְרִי מְרַעְעַת הָעָם]”). The word בֶּרֶכּ is not merely “not left behind”; it is “not left behind” from either of the two possible ways it could be read in the verse. Because of the expansive nature of this targum, the option taken by Onqelos in Exod 17:9, leaving the word to be parsed either way as the reader chooses, was not possible. But unlike the English translators, the Aramaic translator has not felt compelled to choose one version of the Hebrew syntax and ignore the other. By translating twice, he provides the reader with both.19

Ruth 4:5

In the Targum of Ruth, where the expansions to the text are more easily separated from the straightforward translation than in the Targum of Qohelet,

17. Sperber, Bible in Aramaic, vol. 4a, v.
18. This again is a well-known phenomenon; see method #30 in Luzzatto, Philoxenus, p. 21, where it is attributed to the need not to surprise listeners to an oral translation, who could follow closely enough to realize if a Hebrew word were left untranslated.
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there is just one verse, Ruth 4:5, that is syntactically difficult, and here too the
targum offers a syntactic double translation. The Hebrew text reads:

The phrases and seem to belong together in the
first part of the verse, and this is how the NJPSV translates it: “When you
acquire the property from Naomi and from Ruth the Moabitess, you must also
acquire the wife of the deceased.” But the etnachta, the Masoretic equivalent
in this verse of the English comma, falls not after “Ruth the Moabitess” but
after “Naomi,” and that is how the KJV translates it: “What day thou buyest
the field of the hand of Naomi, thou must buy it also of Ruth the Moabitess,
the wife of the dead.” Here too, the targum manages to translate the verse
both ways:

On the day that you buy the field from the hand of Naomi and from the hand
of Ruth the Moabitess, you are obliged to redeem and re-
quired to act as her brother-in-law and to marry her in order to raise up the
name of the deceased upon his inheritance.

The phrase “Ruth the Moabitess, wife of the deceased” is parsed (against the
later Masoretic reading) with “from the hand of Naomi”—to the extent that
“the hand of” Ruth is added to it. Then the entire phrase is reread as part of
the second half of the verse and translated again in the new syntax, albeit this
time represented merely by the pronoun “her” (ה녀).

Genesis 49:6–7

So far we have seen the technique of double syntactic translation only in
the Writings, the targumim of which are late and notoriously expansive. But

20. Philip Alexander describes the Targum to Qohelet as “periphrastic” (Alexander,
“Targum,” col. 328a) but notes that the Targum to Ruth, though moderately expansive,
“alternates blocks of aggadic material . . . with passages of more or less literal translation”
(col. 327b). Similarly, Sperber characterized Targum Ruth’s approach to including
additional material as “Quellen-Scheidung [that is, separation of sources] still possible”
(Sperber, Bible in Aramaic, vol. 4a, v).

21. For a full discussion of the difficulty of this phrase in the Hebrew text, see Sasson,
Ruth, pp. 120–22. Note that in this case, unlike our example from Qohelet, it is the KJV that
is faithful to the Masoretic Text and the NJPSV that silently revises it, despite the latter’s
claim (on its title page) to be translating “the traditional Hebrew text.”

22. Beattie, Tg. Ruth, p. 30. He gives a different version of the Aramaic text in “Pre-
liminary Edition,” p. 279, from what is cited here, but the differences do not materially
affect our conclusions.
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Gen 49:6–7 provides an example from Targum Onqelos. We begin with the Hebrew text.

In the NIV translation:

Let not my person be included in their council,
Let not my being be counted in their assembly.
For when angry they slay men,
And when pleased they maim oxen.
Cursed be their anger so fierce,
And their wrath so relentless.
I will divide them in Jacob,
Scatter them in Israel.

There is not any immediately evident difficulty in the Hebrew of this verse, as in the earlier examples we have seen. But it is one of the examples listed in the Mekilta as a grammatically undecidable passage. The issue turns on whether the adjective רָאָד , which begins v. 7 , is to be read with the following word, מַסְכָּן ("cursed be their anger"), or with the word that precedes it at the end of v. 6, שָׁרַד ("they maim cursed oxen"). The latter reading (as explained by Rashi in his comment to the same listing of passages at b. Yoma 52b) would suggest that the ox that Simeon and Levi maimed was that of Shechem, “cursed” because he was a descendant of Canaan, who was cursed in Gen 9:25 because his father, Ham, saw his father, Noah, naked. And indeed the Aramaic of Targum Onqelos provides both possibilities:

Verse 7 begins by translating רָאָד “cursed,” in a straightforward rendering of the Hebrew of that verse: “Cursed be their anger so fierce.” But רָאָד has already been translated at the end of v. 6 as מַסְכָּן, “the enemy,” with שָׁרַד connected to it in a construct chain: “they razed the wall of the enemy” (reading Hebrew רָאָד שָׁרַד as a unit). The translator reads through the siluq at the end of v. 6 to include the first word of v. 7; then he returns to the first

23. Grossfeld, Onkelos: Genesis, p. 158.
24. Luzzatto (Philoxenus, p. 21), in discussing the 30th of the 32 methods used (according to him) by Onqelos, points out that שָׁרַד, “wall,” reflects Hebrew שֶׁרֶד, “ox,” even though it does not accurately translate it. But he does not specifically note the phenomenon of syntactic double translation.
word of v. 7 as if it were indeed the beginning of a sentence, and continues normally. Note that Pseudo-Jonathan offers a double translation based on the same syntactic rereading, but with different language:

"For in their anger they killed the king and his ruler, and at their whim they demolished the wall of their enemies." Jacob said, "Cursed was the city of Shechem when they went into it to destroy it in their anger that was fierce; and (cursed was) their wrath against Joseph, for it was cruel."25

Rather than hans, we have והנה, a different phrase for "the wall of their enemies." This still understands the Hebrew רעה at the beginning of v. 7 to represent Shechem and his fellows, and for the same reason; again, the translator returns to והנה as if it were indeed the beginning of v. 7 rather than the end of v. 6, going so far as to add a superfluous "Jacob said" before it.26

Nahum 1:8

I have focused exclusively on the most dramatic kind of syntactic rereading, that which shifts a word or phrase from one half of the verse to the other or even from one verse to another. But syntactic rereading of a more general kind is no doubt responsible for a great many of the double translations found throughout all the targum. An example appears in Targum Jonathan to the Prophets. We begin with the Hebrew text.

And with a sweeping flood He makes an end of her place,
And chases His enemies into darkness. (NJSV)

David Toshio Tsumura has pointed to the word מַכָּה in this verse as another that is capable of being read as a Janus parallelism.27 The word מַכָּה can be read as the Masoretes have pointed it, with its feminine-singular suffix referring (evidently) to Nineveh, or (as the Septuagint apparently read it) as some form of the word כָּהָם, "those who rise up in enmity," paralleling


26. I note here Paul Flesher's observation that "whenever [Neofiti] and [ms. V in Klein, Fragment Targums] share an expansion in the special sections [Genesis 49, Numbers 21 and 22–24, Deuteronomy 32–33] that does not appear in [Pseudo-Jonathan], PJ tends to have a different expansion for that verse. . . . P may have once had the expansions but later replaced them with other material" (Flesher, "Translation and Exegetical Augmentation," pp. 60–67).

27. See the full discussion in Tsumura, "Janus Parallelism in Nah 1:8."
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אברך ("his enemies") of the second half of the verse. Here is how Targum Jonathan renders this verse:

The English translators of this targum render it as follows: "But in fierce anger and in great wrath he shall make an end of the nations which rose up and utterly destroyed the Sanctuary," and they note: "MT mqwmh has been rendered both as the noun meaning 'place' (and hence 'Sanctuary' . . .), and as a part of the verb qwm, which in the Hithpolel means 'rise in opposition.'" In fact, the Hebrew phrase חָלָה לְעָשָׂה ומַקְרֵם is first the object of God's destruction (as it is the object in the original Hebrew), then the subject exercising destruction, and a third time again the object of destruction by the enemies, the Sanctuary.

Qoheleth 9:10

As the previous example makes clear, an expansive translation may in fact be based nonetheless on a close syntactic rereading of the Hebrew text. Our next example demonstrates such a case with an additional feature: the fact that a syntactic rereading has taken place may not be obvious without an awareness of rabbinic midrash. This is the case with Qoh 9:10:

Seow explains the syntactic problem: "The Masoretic punctuation suggests that חָלָה לְעָשָׂה ומַקְרֵם is to be read with the infinitive לְעָשָׂה: 'Whatever your hand finds to do with strength, do!' We should, however, follow [several manuscripts, the Syriac text, and the Vulgate] in taking חָלָה ומַקְרֵם with the imperative לְעָשָׂה: 'Whatever your hand finds to do, do with strength!' The point is that one should wholeheartedly do whatever one is able to do." The standard rabbinic exegesis of this verse reads in accordance with the Masoretic cantillation, giving to the word חָלָה the particular meaning "while you are alive." The following example from Deuteronomy Rabbah (Margoliotes) 2:27 makes this clear:

This is what Scripture says, "All that your hand finds to do חָלָה, do" (Qoh 9:10). All you are able to do in the way of commandments while your strength

29. See the discussion in Seow, Ecclesiastes, p. 302.
31. Similar interpretations are found in Qoh. Rab. 9:10, Midrash Zuta Qoh. 9:8, Pirke Rabbati 3:3, and Otzar Hamidrashim Yelammedenu 4.
is still upon you, do. Why? Once a person is nullified from the world, his intentions are nullified. As much of commandments as you can grab, you should grab while you are still in life, and do them.

The assumption here, as in the other texts that follow this interpretation, is that “whatever your hand finds to do” refers to your ability to perform God’s commandments. More significantly for our question, however, is that they all interpret the word בְּעָלָם, “with your strength,” as meaning “while you are alive.” This explanation, of course, is based on the rest of the Qohelet verse: “For there is no action, no reasoning, no learning, no wisdom in Sheol, where you are going” (npsv). The Masoretic punctuation seems to be another example of the Janus phenomenon, aimed at pushing the reader (who may be assumed to have naturally read the verse as does Seow, “do them with all your might”) to reinterpret the verse in accordance with the midrashic understanding.

Reading the Targum to Qohelet through this lens, we see that it is not merely expansive in a general way but that part of the expansion results from specifically translating the Hebrew verse in accordance with both of its possible punctuations: “Whatever charity your hand finds to do for the needy do it with all your strength, for after the death a man has neither work nor reckoning nor knowledge or wisdom in the grave where you are going and nothing will help you but good deeds and charity alone.”\(^\text{32}\)

“Do it with all your strength” clearly translates בְּעָלָם as a phrase, in accordance with Seow’s suggestion. “A man has neither work nor reckoning” and so forth just as clearly translates the second half of the Hebrew verse. Without an awareness of the midrashic reading of this verse, the phrase “after the death” would simply seem to be an awkward addition, making “in the grave where you are going” into a redundancy. But a reader who is tuned in to the midrashic reading of the verse can recognize “after the death” as based on a second translation of the Hebrew word בְּעָלָם, now recontextualized (in accordance with the Masoretic punctuation) to read as the second word of the phrase בְּעָלָם תִּשָּׁא, “to do while you are in strength,” that is, “alive.” The phenomenon of double syntactic translation permits the targumist to read the biblical verse both in accordance with the most natural reading and in accordance with the traditional understanding.

**Deuteronomy 31:16**

To be sure, there are cases where it is not clear whether an expansion is indeed based on a close reading and syntactic double translation or whether it is motivated solely by other factors. A case in point is another of the five verses cited in the Mekhilta as being undecidable, Deut 31:16:

\(^{32}\) Knobel, *Tg Qohelet*, p. 45.
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The straightforward reading of the verse is provided by the King James translation:

And the LORD said unto Moses, Behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers; and this people will rise up, and go a whoring after the gods of the strangers of the land.

Here the semicolon after “fathers” corresponds to the *etnachta* under the word אביכך in the Masoretic Text, and the second half of the verse begins with the word וק, “will rise up.” The other alternative is to move the Masoretic pause forward one word and interpret the verse as if it read וק שכב עם אביכך, אביכך וק, “Behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers and shall rise up.”

There are two serious difficulties with this reading: first, the verb וק is third person, not second person, as the English translation of the rereading makes it seem; second, moving the verb to the first half of the verse leaves the phrase “this people” without a plausible interpretation, since a separate clause begins immediately after it. The reason that rabbinic tradition declared this verse undecidable was undoubtedly to provide a reference within the Pentateuch to the resurrection of the dead. According to *m. Sanh.* 10:1, anyone who maintains that there is no reference to resurrection in the Torah “has no share” in the World to Come.

Now let us read Deut 31:16 as translated by Targum Pseudo-Jonathan:

Then the Lord said to Moses: “Behold, you are about to lie in the dust with your fathers; and your soul shall be deposited in the treasury of eternal life with your fathers. Then the wicked ones of this people shall arise and shall stray after the idols of the nations.”

There is certainly no reference to resurrection of the body here, nor does even Moses’ soul “rise” again. But the inserted assurance to Moses that his soul will be “deposited in the treasury of eternal life with your fathers” would seem, nonetheless, in light of rabbinic tradition, to be a second reflex of the verb וק in the original Hebrew of the verse, reread together with אביכך of the first half of the verse as a reference to a continuation of life beyond physical death. At least Moses’ soul, if not his body, “will rise” after death to some transcendent form of ongoing existence. If this reading is correct, then

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34. I refer to this as a “second” reflex because it is conceptually secondary to the literal “shall arise,” which follows in its proper place and is thus second in consecutive order of reading.
Michael Carasik

here too we find the targum translating a verse twice, in accordance with two different possible syntactic readings of the original Hebrew. Moshe Goshen-Gottstein observes, “[O]ne can only wonder to what extent it makes sense to treat Targum Studies as a sub-area of Bible Studies in general, but not as a sub-area of Rabbinic Studies.”

Exodus 22:12

It might be possible to conclude that such double translations are the result of a combination of two earlier translation variants. Note the following example of translation variants in Targum Neofiti, described by Moshe Bernstein:

Exodus 22:12 reads 
μλçy al hprfh dh[yw πrfy πrf μaw 
(“If it be totally torn apart, let him bring it as a witness; he shall not pay for the torn animal”). Neofiti: 
μλçy al alyfq ˆydhs ˆwtyy πrfy hprfm ˆyaw 
(“If it is totally torn apart, let them bring witnesses; the torn one he shall not pay”); Margin I: 
lfqtm dhç ywrba ˆm hyl 
(“[if it is] indeed killed let him bring one of its limbs as a proof”). Both of these translate the Masoretic Text, although there is an interesting exegetical dispute regarding the nature of the proof which is required to exempt the bailee from payment. Is the torn piece of the animal sufficient proof, or are human witnesses demanded? But Margin II reads 
 Ef w tcmg dh[yw nyfmy μlçy alw arybtd 
(“let him bring him to the body of the torn animal and he shall not pay”). This version seems to read דע התרפש, a reading, incidentally, which is found also in midrashic halakhic literature.

And here is Pseudo-Jonathan’s rendering of the same verse:

אין יתבכרא תבר מ חות בר מмирין על פשרות דא בהדרקון דע נשתמ על שלבי

If it was torn by a wild beast, he shall bring him witnesses, or he shall bring him to the body of (the animal) that was torn; he shall not make restitution.

“He brings witnesses” reads the Hebrew text with the Masoretic vowels and punctuation; “let him bring him to the body of the torn animal” rereads דע as דע and reads across the Masoretic break between the two words.

Given the variants in the margins of Neofiti, it is possible to argue that Pseudo-Jonathan (or its predecessor) had only a single translation here and that the other translation was added secondarily. This model would conceivably also explain the example we saw in Ruth 4:5. Philip Alexander notes, too, that “[Pseudo-Jonathan] regularly has doublets in which one element corresponds to [Onqelos], while the other appears to represent a Palestinian

Syntactic Double Translation in the Targumim

It has been observed elsewhere that the text of Targum Jonathan, too, “is not free from later additions; from this cause arise the double translations of which the Targum contains several.” But we have found the phenomenon of double syntactic translation even in Targum Onqelos. I would add that all the examples given here were found without an exhaustive search. There may well be many more.

Conclusion

Since this phenomenon is so easily found in such a wide range of targumim (the various Targums to the Torah as well as those to the Prophets and the Writings), my suggestion is that in most cases this is not, in fact, an additive phenomenon created inadvertently, either by the accumulation of translational doublets from various sources or as an artifact of simultaneous interpretation in a synagogue setting. Rather, the translators were “actuated by a desire to preserve the indeterminability of the text.” Even after postmodernism, it is natural for a twenty-first-century reader to think of a text as having a single, fixed meaning, intended by its author. This, after all, is how most of us ourselves write most of the time. But it is just as natural for a Jewish reader to look at the originally unpointed text of the Hebrew Bible and see it as deliberately open to multiple intended meanings. As we have noted in our discussion of Exod 17:9, it is sometimes possible to translate in a way that leaves the multiple possibilities open. More often, the shift to a new language demands that the translator choose a single one of the possible options. But the Jewish translators of the Bible into Aramaic sometimes refused to make this choice.

I have referred above to the targumists’ “leave-no-word-behind” translation policy. Speaking of the targumists as a group (though they cover a fairly

38. Alexander, “Targum,” p. 322b, citing as examples Gen 3:5, 4:13, 8:11, 27:29; Exod 1:19; Lev 16:4; Num 26:9; and Deut 5:3.
40. I approached the problem experimentally in three ways: (1) by making a close reading of the targum and biblical text of Qohelet and of Ruth; (2) by examining the five verses cited in rabbinic literature as “undecidable”; and (3) by examining some verses that biblical scholars have explained as containing Janus parallelism. The intent was to mimic an archaeologist’s use of various test trenches by quickly probing the biblical text from three different angles.
41. The role such interpretation played in the creation of the targumim is still in dispute and cannot be resolved here; compare the opinion of Shinan, “Live Translation,” p. 47 (“the text’s oral provenance is evident”) with that of van der Kooij, “Origin and Purpose,” p. 213 (whose examination of three passages does “not support the idea that the Bible translations as written versions originated in a liturgical or synagogal setting”).
42. I made this suggestion previously with regard to the unusual punctuation of some of the verses in the Masoretic Text of Qohelet; see my “Exegetical Implications,” p. 165.
43. This seems to be the case as well in another of the Mekilta’s undecidable verses, Targum Onqelos to Exod 25:33 (= 37:20).
wide range both temporally and geographically), it seems to have been their intent to preserve as much as possible of the “extra” information provided in the biblical text alongside a straightforward, univocal reading. I believe that the phenomenon of double syntactic translation is not an artifact of mindless compilation of variants but a bold attempt to make the targumim convey what the translators saw as the richness of an intentionally manifold revelation.

Bibliography


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