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# **A Giant among Bibles: 'Erfurt 1' or Cod. Or. Fol. 1210–1211 at the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*\***

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### **Abstract**

This article provides a description of MS 'Erfurt 1', now classified as Cod. Or. Fol. 1210–1211 at the *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*. This manuscript is a huge Hebrew and Aramaic Bible, rooted in the tradition of the giant Bibles. The creation of this Bible was finished in 1343, most probably in or in the neighbourhood of Erfurt. The consonantal text is Ashkenazi, related to MS El. f.6 at the *Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek* of Jena. It also contains the text of an Ashkenazi tosefta-targum to 1 Sam. 17.8. The manuscript was severely damaged during the World War II. Restoration of the first volume is already underway.

**Keywords:** Bible manuscript, Giant Bibles, 1 Samuel, tosefta-targum 1 Sam. 17.8, Cod. Or. fol. 1210–1211, codicology, Ashkenaz, Erfurt.

### *A Giant Bible*

The *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* has in its collection a handwritten Hebrew–Aramaic Bible, dated 1343, classified as Cod. Or. Fol. 1210–1211, but

\* We would like to thank H.-O. Feistel, Head of the Oriental Department, and P. Figeac, *Fachreferentin*, who kindly gave us special permission to investigate the first chapters of 1 Samuel in February 2006 and who assisted us in our research.

also known as 'Erfurt 1'.<sup>1</sup> Its size is exceptional: it is the largest Hebrew Bible of its time (measuring 63×48 cm) and its script is in proportion. A complete cattle skin was needed to make one folio of this format, as opposed to normal books where a skin was used to prepare a double folio. Such double folios could easily be folded and stitched into quires. Therefore, the largest Codices generally measure less than approximately 55 cm in height, as does, for example, the Cod. Kaufmann A 78 in Budapest, which measured 55.2 cm (*Mishneh Torah*, dated 1310), and the famous Urbinati 1 in Vatican City, which measures 54.5 cm (dated 1294).<sup>2</sup> The maker of Or. Fol. 1210–1211 exceeded the height by pasting the more than 1100 folios in twos together. He sewed the pasted folios into quires and bound them into two volumes, each weighing almost 50 kilos.<sup>3</sup>

From the middle of the eleventh century onwards, Christian monasteries had produced giant Bibles, which are famous for their imposing size and luxurious illustrations. The production of the so-called Atlantic Bibles started in Rome, but soon spread to central and northern Italy and was introduced north of the Alps in the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup> At first, the Atlantic Bibles were located within the Benedictine monasteries, but with the spread all over Europe, other monastic orders were also involved. Sometimes a high-ranking individual or a 'pool' of donors commissioned

1. See also P. Werner (ed.), *Jüdische Handschriften / כתבי יד, Restaurieren–Bewahren–Präsentieren. Ausstellung der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin I* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek, 2002), no. 1 (exhibition catalogue with facsimiles); M. Beit-Arié, *The Erfurt Bible: Ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Preussischer Kulturbesitz) Or. fol. 1210–1211*, typescript (Philadelphia, 1999); M. Steinschneider, *Verzeichniss der hebräischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin I* (Berlin: Königliche Bibliothek, 1878), no. 125; P. de Lagarde, *Symmicta I* (Göttingen: Dieterichse Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1877), no. 1; I.B. De-Rossi, *Variae Lectiones V.T. I* (Parma: Regio Typographeo, 1784), p. lxxviii; B. Kennicott, *Dissertatio Generalis in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1780), cod. 160.

2. M. Beit-Arié in his unpublished typescript 'The Erfurt Bible' refers to the database of *The Hebrew Palaeography Project (HPP)*, which has been created for investigating the codicological details of all extant dated Hebrew manuscripts until 1540. The database contained about 2100 manuscripts at the time that the main result of the project were published in M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1981), see esp. pp. 12–13.

3. The present binding dates from 1590. See also the discussion in de Lagarde, *Symmicta*, no. 1.

4. F. Simader, 'Giant Bible of St Florian (fragment)', in A. Fingernagel and C. Gastgeber, *In the Beginning was the Word: The Power and Glory of Illuminated Bibles* (Cologne: Taschen, n.d.), pp. 78–81.

such a giant codex with the intention of presenting it to a specific religious institution.<sup>5</sup>

The Atlantic Bibles bear witness to the spirit of the Reform promoted by Pope Leo IX (d. 1054) and Pope Gregory VII (d. 1085),<sup>6</sup> who strove for a renewed uprightness in the Church and the restoration of the hierarchical order and spiritual life of the clergy. 'Books were fundamental instruments in restoring the religious observances of the clergy.'<sup>7</sup> Large display manuscripts that contained both Old and New Testaments were used in the choir and in the refectory for public readings, collective devotion and biblical studies.<sup>8</sup> Their completeness placed new emphasis upon the 'integral nature of the Old and New Testament and the study of the entire text of the Bible. The unusual format was probably also intended to further underline the importance of the Holy Book'<sup>9</sup> and the power and authority of the Church.<sup>10</sup>

A similar tradition is evident within the Jewish Ashkenazi communities from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards.<sup>11</sup> Several giant Bibles were produced, often complete, containing Torah, Prophets and the Writings. There are seven extant giant Bibles that contain both the complete Hebrew text and Targum to most of the books.<sup>12</sup> It seems that the

5. A. Fingernagel, 'Admont Giant Bible', in Fingernagel and Gastgeber, *In the Beginning was the Word*, pp. 94-97. 'Such commissions were frequently prompted by the founding of new monasteries and nunneries' (p. 97).

6. See P.S. Riverberi (9 January 2006), *Le Bibbie Atlantiche*. Online: <[http://www.bml.firenze.sbn.it/bibbie\\_atlantiche\\_ing.htm](http://www.bml.firenze.sbn.it/bibbie_atlantiche_ing.htm)>.

7. L.M. Ayres, 'The Italian Giant Bibles: Aspects of their Touronian Ancestry and Early History', in R. Gameson (ed.), *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 125-54 (126). I.S. Robinson, 'The Metrical Commentary on Genesis of Donizo of Canossa', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 41 (1974), pp. 5-37 (12).

8. Ayres, 'The Italian Giant Bibles', p. 126. Cluniac communities adopted a practice of readings from the Bible throughout the year.

9. Simader, 'Giant Bible of St Florian (fragment)', p. 78.

10. Robinson, 'The Metrical Commentary', p. 12.

11. The *HPP* (see above, n. 2), which now have investigated 3500 dated Hebrew manuscripts, provided a list of Hebrew Bible manuscripts with a height of more than 46 cm. It consists of twenty items and shows that Ashkenazi Jewry produced such manuscripts especially in the period from 1237 till 1351. The majority of them includes Targum. Besides the Ashkenazi manuscripts, there is one extant giant manuscript from Palestine (dated 988-989) and one from Spain (dated 1188), both without Targum. We are grateful to Tamar Leiter of the *HPP* for sending us this information.

12. Apart from Or. fol. 1210-1211: Solger Ms. 1-7 2to, Nuremberg (dated 1291, 48-49×36-37 cm); Urbinati ebr. 1, Vatican City State (dated 1294, 54.5×40 cm); Barberini

Ashkenazi community took over the Christian tradition of producing giant Bibles, underlining the importance and the entirety of the sacred text.<sup>13</sup> The latter issue may be confirmed by the remarkable fact that these Bibles disclose three of the four extant texts of the *Targum on Chronicles*.<sup>14</sup> One of them is the Erfurt Bible.<sup>15</sup>

The project of creating the Erfurt Bible was carried to a successful conclusion in 1343, according to Samson the punctuator in his colophon. He declares that the adding of the punctuation, the masorahs and the illustrations took him nine months. The writing of the consonantal text must have exceeded this time. The making of this gigantic Bible—including the preparing, ruling, pasting and binding of the folios—must have cost at least two years. Samson also remarks that the scribe of the

Or. 161-164, Vatican City State (dated 1297, 49.5×36.0-36.5 cm); Or. fol. 1-4, Berlin (fourteenth century, 50-51×35-36 cm); Hébreu 17-18, Paris (fourteenth-fifteenth century, 53.5-54×34.5-35 cm and 56-56.5×36-36.5 cm); B.H. I-VII, Genoa (dated 1438, 54.5-56×39.5-41.5 cm), all Ashkenazi manuscripts; thanks to Dr E. Engel of the *HPP* for supplying the information on the sizes. It is noteworthy that Kennicott 471 of the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* was recently rediscovered as Cod. Barberini Or. 161-164. The manuscript was described in Kennicott's catalogue as part of the Barberini collection, but was not mentioned again since this collection became part of the Vatican library, not even in N. Allony and D.S. Loewinger, *List of Photocopies in the Institute*, Part 3, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Library of the Vatican* (Jerusalem: Reuven Mas, 1968). The codex was rediscovered when the *Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts* filmed the Vatican collections last year in order to prepare a new catalogue. The microfilm numbers of Cod. Barberini Or. 161-164 are F 74203-74206.

13. Some codices also contain commentary, but this is unmistakably no integral part of this tradition. Codex B.H. I-VII of the Berio Library at Genoa contains Rashi's commentary in the outer margin, but these margins are not ruled and the commentary is written around the marginal corrections. Codex Urbinati I of the Vatican Library also contains Rashi's commentary, only to the Torah. In this case the place where the commentary is written, is not ruled and it was clearly added after the masorah and the corrections had been done.

14. Traditionally there is no Targum to Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles.

15. The three giant Bibles including Chronicles are Or. fol. 1210-1211 in Berlin, MS Or. fol. 1-4 in Berlin, and Urbinati ebr. 1 of the Vatican Libray. The fourth manuscript which contains a *Targum on Chronicles* is Ee 5.9 in Cambridge (dated 1347), which is neither a complete Bible nor a giant, for it only contains the *Targum on the Writings* and has a height of 12 inches. A fifth text was lost in the World War II: A 46 in Dresden, a complete Bible with Targum. The *Targum on Chronicles* is a rather unique text, for it is not found in other manuscripts or early editions, and is never mentioned in early sources such as the Talmud, or in medieval works such as Levita's *Meturgeman*, cf. R. le Déaut and J. Robert, *Targum des Chroniques* (AnBib, 51; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1971), p. 10.

consonantal text, Baruch bar Zerach, and he did their job for the heirs of Rabbi Shalom. This probably means that the rabbi gave the order, but died before the Bible was finished.<sup>16</sup> He must have been a very wealthy man.

### *The History of Erfurt*

Cod. Or. Fol. 1210–1211 was most probably made in or in the neighbourhood of Erfurt,<sup>17</sup> a flourishing town with three monasteries<sup>18</sup> and a large Jewish community. Some Jews supposedly lived there in the ninth century, but proof can only be produced from the eleventh century: a prayer book, tombstones and a charter.<sup>19</sup> The Jews lived all over the town, paid taxes and had their own cemetery. Despite some attacks on them in 1221 and 1266, the Jewish community functioned more or less as an integral part of Erfurt. When Landgrave Friedrich besieged the town in 1309, Christian and Jew fought together against the attacker.<sup>20</sup>

After incessant rains in 1315, crops failed all over Europe and famine became familiar to all. 'The previous rise in population had already exceeded agricultural production, leaving people undernourished and more vulnerable to hunger and disease.'<sup>21</sup> As a result of this crisis, the corn price quadrupled, so that the poor especially were hit.<sup>22</sup> A plague of typhus, dysentery and tuberculosis was the result and took a heavy toll. Some areas had a decrease in population of ten per cent. Erfurt and its surroundings saw many casualties. The neighbourhood of Erfurt used the Jews as their scapegoat and all the dormant anti-Semitic feelings rose to

16. So also E. Bartelt and H.-O. Feistel (2000), *Die hebräische Bibel 'Erfurt I'*, Online: <[http://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/deutsch/publikationen/1\\_2000/124\\_bartelt/index.html](http://staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/deutsch/publikationen/1_2000/124_bartelt/index.html)>.

17. According to J.H. Michaelis, *De codicibus mss biblico-hebraicis maxime Erfurtensibus* (Halle: Litteris Orphanotropei, 1706), p. 13, cited in Bartelt, Feistel, *Die hebräische Bibel 'Erfurt I'*.

18. One of the Grey Friars (1222), one of the Black Friars (1229), and one of the Austin Friars (1266).

19. A. Jaraczewsky, *Geschichte der Juden in Erfurt nebst Noten, Urkunden und Inschriften aufgefundenen Leichensteine* (Erfurt, n.p., 1868), pp. 1–3.

20. Jaraczewsky, *Geschichte*, pp. 16–19.

21. B.W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), p. 24.

22. M. Müller, *Een economische geschiedenis van Europa vanaf de vroege middeleeuwen tot omstreeks 1980* (The Hague: Nijgh & Van Ditmar, 1988), p. 55.

the surface again. Riots and expulsions again became common, albeit not in the city of Erfurt itself.<sup>23</sup>

In 1347, a much greater disaster hit Europe: Genoese trading ships, coming from the Black Sea, 'put into the harbour of Messina in Sicily with dead and dying men at the oars'.<sup>24</sup> Their disease was the bubonic plague, also known as the Black Death. So rapidly did it spread from one to another that it reached Russia within three years. 'So lethal was the disease that cases were known of persons going to bed well and dying before they woke.'<sup>25</sup> Complete villages were wiped out. For Europe it meant a decrease in population from 70 million in 1300 to approximately 45 million in 1430.<sup>26</sup> There was a common feeling that this was the end of the world.

Germany saw the first casualties of the bubonic plague in 1349—six years after Samson finished the Erfurt Bible. Some had the feeling that the Jewish communities suffered fewer casualties than the Christians. Jews were accused of poisoning the wells and within a few weeks the Jewish community of Erfurt was attacked. The attack is recorded as having taken place on 21 March 1349. The central synagogue was partly burnt, Jews hiding there were killed, the cemetery was destroyed,<sup>27</sup> and the entire community of Jews was expelled<sup>28</sup> and their properties seized.<sup>29</sup> What happened to the giant Bible of Rabbi Shalom is not known. When some Jews returned years later, they were only able to buy some of their old properties back. A Jewish record of that time, found in the archives of the city, says that the city council had sold the books that were left

23. Not in Erfurt itself, but see the list of German cities with attacks on Jews in Jaraczewsky, *Geschichte*, p. 25. One example is the *Judensturm* in Eisenach in 1343, cf. *Eisenach (Stadtkreis Eisenach): Jüdische Geschichte / Synagogen* (25 January 2006). Online: <[http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/eisenach\\_synagoge.htm](http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/eisenach_synagoge.htm)>.

24. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror*, p. 92.

25. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror*, p. 92.

26. Müller, *Een economische geschiedenis*, p. 56.

27. See, e.g., *Jüdische Friedhöfe in Thüringen* (25 January 2006). Online: <[http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/thueringen\\_friedhoeft.htm](http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/thueringen_friedhoeft.htm)>.

28. L. Zunz, *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin: Lamm, 2nd edn, 1919), p. 40, states that the Jewish community of Erfurt numbered approximately 3000 people.

29. This happened in spite of two Bulls by Pope Clement VI in 1348. In the first one he prohibited the killing, looting, or forcible conversion of Jews without trial. This only halted the attacks in Avignon and the Papal States. The second one stated that Christians who imputed the pestilence to the Jews had been seduced by 'that liar, the Devil'. He even urged the clergy to take Jews under their protection. See, e.g., Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror*, p. 113.

behind in two public sales: the first one brought in 844 DM, the second one 34 DM.<sup>30</sup>

### *Restoration of the Manuscript*

The Erfurt Bible most probably served the heirs of Rabbi Shalom for only six years. Its history is not known until it is mentioned in the catalogue of Michaelis in 1706, as being one of the collection of books belonging to the Austin Friars in Erfurt. Matthias Beck used it for the edition of the Targum of Chronicles in 1680–81.<sup>31</sup> Together with fourteen other Hebrew manuscripts it was moved to the *Königliche Bibliothek zu Berlin* in 1880, in order to avoid damage.<sup>32</sup> During World War II the Erfurt Bible was not evacuated from Berlin, but deposited in the cellars of the Ministry of Agriculture because of its size and weight. This building, however, was bombed on 3 February 1945. The Bible was damaged, first by fire, then by the water meant to extinguish the fire.<sup>33</sup> From then onwards it awaited restoration.

The *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* received a sum of Euro 60,000 in 1999 by kind permission of the *Kultur Stiftung* (Culture Foundation) of the German states in order to restore the manuscript. A detailed plan for this huge restoration project was put on paper, and in the same year a team of specialists started the restoration of the first volume, the most damaged one. A place was found in the bookbindery to execute the work, because there was no suitable room for such a large-scale project in the library. The restorers decided to work with two people at a time, because the several phases of the restoration could not be executed alone. The work started with the invitation to Malachi Beit-Arié, Professor of Codicology and Palaeography at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, to do the codicological research, which he carried out in 1999. He made an unpublished report of his findings.<sup>34</sup> Through a very accurate documentation of the

30. Jaraczewsky, *Geschichte*, p. 33.

31. Cf. M.F. Beck, *Paraphrasis Chaldaica I/II Libri Chronicorum* (Augsburg: Goebelius, 1680–81). This edition is later used in le Déaut and Robert, *Targum des Chroniques*.

32. Bartelt and Feistel, *Die hebräische Bibel 'Erfurt I'*, referring to the catalogue of Steinschneider.

33. Bartelt and Feistel, *Die hebräische Bibel 'Erfurt I'*.

34. This research is reflected in M. Beit-Arié, 'The Erfurt Bible', and in the description of the Erfurt Bible by H.-O. Feistel, no. 1 in the exhibition catalogue of Werner, *Jüdische Handschriften* (see n. 1).

restorers, a publication on the restoration of Volume 1, which is still in progress in 2006, saw the light in 2002, explaining the restoration process and providing many clear illustrations.<sup>35</sup>

The combination of fire and water had the effect that the tops of all the folios had shrunk and stuck together in a dangerous way. The stuck parchments had suffered from hydrolysis, were browned, and some parts were completely eroded. The thickness of the upper part of the volume had grown to more than twice the thickness of the lower part. A bad side effect was the wrinkling in those places that had not suffered so severely from heat and damp. Insects, finding a good breeding place in the moisturized mass, and leaving their excrement there, were also responsible for the holes and the browning. The damage was worst in the centre of the book, presumably because the damp stuck there for the longest time. When the restoration started, Volume 1 could only be divided into three parts.

Several specialist techniques were applied to restore the folios. The restorers separated the folios one by one with the aid of water compresses. When eight folios—one quire—were separated, they removed the glue that was used to stick two folios together, and smoothed down each page. To avoid more damage the smoothing of a folio had to be done in two stages, for which even the use of finger massage was necessary. By stretching the parchment and pressing it between boards the restorers hoped to produce folios of a size close to the original one. Because the parchment retained damp, the board and pulp that absorbed the damp had to be replaced every day for one month.

The effort needed to complete the restoration is huge. The restoration team hopes to gain more funds to investigate the type of ink used and the different methods of rebinding, but most of all to restore the second volume. Although this volume is not so severely damaged, in the current situation every time the manuscript is used, more deterioration is caused.

### *Description of the Manuscript*

The Erfurt Bible is one of the most impressive witnesses to mediaeval Jewish-Ashkenazi culture, not only because of its size, but also because of its completeness. A detailed description cannot be given due to the

35. J. Bispinck (ed.), *Jüdische Handschriften / כתבי יד, Restaurieren–Bewahren–Präsentieren. Ausstellung der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin II. Erste Schritte der Restaurierung der Hebräischen Bibel 'Erfurt 1'* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek, 2002).



damage to Volume 2 and the ongoing status of the restoration project on Volume 1. The following description is partly limited to the books of Samuel.

The manuscript is bound into two volumes, containing respectively 580 and 546 parchment folios. Its text is written in a neat hand, in a very large Ashkenazi letter, Hebrew text and Targum alternating by verse. Both MT and Targum have Tiberian punctuation, and include the *rafeh*. There is no *masorah finalis* at the end of Judges. In the margin to Samuel, alternative readings to the Hebrew text are found, indicated by 'ס'א' (ספר אחר), but there are no cases of *Qere*. The opening word of Samuel, as well as in other books, is beautifully decorated with micrographic masorah and different animal and floral figures, covering more than half of the page. The pages with the text of Samuel show almost no traces of dirt from fingers or other traces of wear caused by usage, and text and punctuation are easily legible. Noting this good quality, one is inclined to assume that the manuscript had been used only for a very short time after its completion in 1343.

The written space of 1 Samuel 1–3 consists of three columns of 30 written lines. Ruling was applied to create the columns of the main text and the masorah in the upper and lower margins. This was done with a lead pencil, which was the common Ashkenazi ruling technique in that period.<sup>36</sup> Extra vertical lines are drawn as guidance for the *masorah parva*, which is also usual in Ashkenazi manuscripts. In 1 Samuel, there are two of these lines between the columns and two in each outer margin, making a total of six.

The copyist of the main text left no colophon. That the manuscript has been written by Baruch bar Zerach is to be concluded from this name pointed out in the masorah on fol. 461v of Volume 2, ברוך ברבי זרח, הסופר, and on the stomach of an animal in the decorative masorah to Num. 22.12, בר זרח הלבבר.<sup>37</sup> Fol. 547r of Volume 2 contains the colophon of שמשון, Samson, who completed the masorah and the punctuation in 1343. Beit-Arié concludes, mainly on the basis of the different colour of ink, that another scribe has copied the last 75 pages of the main text. Moreover, the ink of these pages has the same colour as that of the masorah. If we may assume that the masorete Samson has also completed

36. M. Beit-Arié, *Hebrew Codicology* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1981), pp. 76–78.

37. De Lagarde, *Symmicta*, p. 134, and Beit-Arié, 'The Erfurt Bible', who also record a number of other places where ברוך is pointed out in the masorah.

the main text, it provides us with a plausible explanation for Baruch bar Zerach leaving us without his colophon.<sup>38</sup>

### *The Consonantal Text of the Manuscript*

Although stemmatological research must reveal the exact place of the manuscript, it is obvious that Cod. Or. fol. 1210–1211 is a manuscript within the Ashkenazi tradition, very close to MS El. f.6 in Jena and MS Add. 26,879 of the British Library in London. This can be illustrated by some examples from 1 Samuel 1–3. The following illustrations are clearly deviating words, omissions and additions. No other variant readings, such as orthographical variants or changed letters, are examined in this article.

There are four examples in which the text has words that concur with several other Ashkenazi manuscripts. In 1 Sam. 2.5, the majority read דמליא ורומי, but 'Erfurt 1', Jena El. f.6, London Add. 26,879 and Berlin Or. fol. 1-4 read דהות מליא ורומי. The same four manuscripts have an addition in 1 Sam. 2.10 after בקל רם, viz. כלי, although it seems that our Erfurt manuscript reads יבלי. These four manuscripts concur with Göttweig 11 in reading דמיא לאיתא instead of כאתא in 1 Sam. 2.5 and adding the word למדבחא after תרביא in 2.16. The last example is the word ארי instead of אם in 1 Sam. 3.9, which agrees with Jena El. f.6, London Add. 26,879 and Rome Or. fol. 72.

Some of the deviating words in 'Erfurt 1' only concur with the reading of Jena El. f.6 and London Add. 26,879. Examples of this phenomenon are the word דישמיש instead of משיש (1 Sam. 1.11); the word קדמך instead of בעינך (1.18); the addition of הוא after קיים (1.28); the reading דבית ישראל instead of דישראל (2.28); the adding of כדנן after the first word in 2.30; the use of ודמרנזין instead of ודמבסרין (2.30); and the variant כהנוחא instead of כהניא (2.36). The addition of the word שבי after מעם in 2.5 should also be mentioned, but this variant is also used in the Leiria edition. The addition of דחבתון after קדמי (2.32) belongs here, too, but reoccurs in the first and second Rabbinic Bible.

There remain six examples of correspondences between 'Erfurt 1' and Jena El. f.6, which do not occur in any other manuscript: the omission of בטורא (1.1); the addition of קדם after the fourth word of 2.1; the addition of המן ובנוהי after the fifth word of 2.5; the reading בין instead of עם (2.8); and the omission of פורענות (2.10). One can also put the reading

38. Beit-Arié, 'The Erfurt Bible'; P. Werner, *Jüdische Handschriften*, I, no. 1.

מועד (2.19) into this category, albeit that London Add. 26,879 has a similar reading, viz. מוזמן לזמן.

Some variant readings are unique to our manuscript, such as the omission of בחשוכא in 2.9; the reading of לחבריה instead of לגבר in 2.25; the reading ובוצא מקדשא instead of ובוצין בית מקדשא in 3.3. The manuscript also contains the word ואמר twice in 3.10, which is clearly a case of dittography.

### *Tosefta-Targum in 1 Samuel 17.8*

The manuscript contains, as far as we could see, only one tosefta-targum in the books of Samuel. It forms an integral part of the text of 1 Sam. 17.8. Part of the Biblical speech of Goliath runs: 'Am I not a Philistine, and are you not servants of Saul? Choose a man for yourselves, and let him come down to me.' This part is replaced by a much longer speech in which Goliath shows off his heroic deeds. It is the Ashkenazi version of Goliath's speech against the army of Saul and the Israelites. The Sefardi version is somewhat more extended and more poetical.<sup>39</sup> The content of this speech comes close to the text of Pseudo-Philo (*LAB* 61.2) and a marginal note in *Codex Reuchlinianus*.<sup>40</sup>

The text of the tosefta-targum is very close to that of MS El. f.6 in Jena. A further resemblance is that this is also the only tosefta-targum in the books of Samuel of the Jena manuscript. There is no hard proof of any dependence either way, but it is more likely that Erfurt 1 used Jena El. f.6 as a *Vorlage* than the other way round, because then Erfurt 1 would have omitted some words in order to create a more smooth style. Yet, it is also possible that both manuscripts used the same *Vorlage*. The text of 1 Sam. 17.8 runs as follows:<sup>41</sup>

וקם ואכריו בסידרי קרביא דישראל  
ואמר להון למה אתון נפקין לסדרא קרבא  
הלא אנ[א] גליית פלשתאה דמן גת  
דקטלית תרין בני עלי כהנא חפני ופנחס  
ושביתי ית ארון קיימא דיי  
ואובילית יתיה לבית דגון טעותי  
והוה חמן בקריו פלשתאי שבעא ירחין

39. Research into the versions of this tosefta-targum is done by R. Kasher, 'יש' האם?  
מקור אחד לחוספחות התרגום לנביאים', *AJSReview* 22/2 (1997), pp. 1-21, and E. van  
Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel* (SAIS, 1; Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 348-54.

40. Van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, pp. 348-50.

41. The abbreviations in the text are written in full in square brackets.

אף כל קרב דהו לפלשתאי אנא נפיק בריש חילא  
 ונצחנא בקרבא ורמינ[א] קטילין בעפרא דארעא  
 ועד כען לא אכשרו יתי פלשתאי למחוי אפילי רב אלפא עילייהון  
 ואחון ישראל מה נבורא עבד לכון שאול בר קיש דמנבעתא  
 דמיתון יתיה מלכא עיליכון  
 אם נבר גבר הוא ייחות ויעביד קרב[א] עמי  
 ואם נבר חלש הו[א] בחרו לכון נברא וייחות לוותי

And he arose and loudly proclaimed<sup>42</sup> against the ranks of Israel's armies.<sup>43</sup>

He said to them: 'Why have you<sup>44</sup> come out to draw up for battle?

Am I not Goliath,<sup>45</sup> the Philistine from Gath,

who killed the two sons of Eli the priest, Hophni and Phinehas?

And I captured the ark of the covenant of the Lord

and I carried it to the house of Dagon, my idol.

It was there, in the cities of the Philistines, for seven months.

Yes, in every battle the Philistines had,<sup>46</sup> I went out at the head of the army and I was victorious in battle, and threw down the killed ones as the dust of the earth.

Yet until now, the Philistines did not consider me worthy of being even a commander of a thousand over them.<sup>47</sup>

And you, Israel, what mighty deed did Saul, son of Kish, who is from The Hill, do,

that you appointed him king over you?

If he is a heroic man, let him come down and do battle with me.<sup>48</sup>

But if he is a weak man, choose for yourselves a man and let him come down to me.'

42. The verb כרז instead of כלא is attested in several Western texts (London Add. 26,879; Parma 3187; Jena El. f.6; Kimhi's commentary; First Rabbinic Bible; Leiria edition).

43. The addition of the word קרביא is only attested in Jena El. f.6, although several other Western texts read the singular of the same word; see Van Staaldvine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, p. 348 n. 1136.

44. The reading אהון נפקין instead of הפקין is also attested in other Western texts (London Add. 26,879; Jena El. f.6; Oxford Kennicott 5; Kimhi's commentary; Antwerp Polyglot).

45. Jena El. f.6 omitted the name Goliath, which can be an adaptation to the Hebrew text in which the name is either not mentioned, or is just an error. Most Ashkenazi texts include the name, see Van Staaldvine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel*, p. 352 n. 1171.

46. The flow of the sentence is improved by the omission of two words that are extant in all other Ashkenazi versions of this speech. Jena El. f.6 reads: כל קרב וקרב דהו להון לפלשתאי.

47. The spelling עילייהון is unique to Jena El. f.6 and 'Erfurt 1'.

48. The order of the words עמי קרב[א] is opposed to that in all other Ashkenazi versions.

*Evaluation*

Cod. Or. Fol. 1210–1211 is an important witness to the Ashkenazi version of the Targum. It is one of the seven complete Bibles we know that include the Targum. It is one of the three extant complete Bibles that also include *Targum Chronicles*. It is rooted in the tradition of giant Bibles, which started within the Gregorian Reform of the eleventh century and spread all over Europe, both within the Christian monastic orders and within the Jewish communities. It was a tradition that stressed the importance of the sacred text and the significance to study this text in its entirety. It now seems that *Targum Chronicles* survived due to these characteristics.

The Erfurt Bible is important to us because it is one of the 30 manuscripts containing a complete or almost complete text of the Targum to Samuel, the subject of the research project 'History and Origin of Targum Jonathan to the Prophets' (HistOr). The HistOr project aims at a new electronic text edition of Targum Jonathan, preparing a specimen edition of 1 Samuel 1–3.<sup>49</sup> This will provide the basis for the new edition of all the Targums within the International Targum Text Editing Project (ITTEP), started by the International Organization for Targumic Studies (IOTS). Within the scope of the HistOr project, a catalogue of Targum Manuscripts is being prepared, for which the investigation of the Erfurt Bible was important as well. Further stemmatological research will determine its place within the Ashkenazi tradition. This research will also show whether the text of this giant is as unique as its magnitude.

49. Under development by the software firm *Attune* in Delft. It can be seen on the site <<http://www.targum.nl>> (note that the contents for the moment merely serve as filler, the real content is to be put there later).

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