

The Use of the Expressions 'Prophetic Spirit' and 'Holy Spirit' in the Targum and the Dating of the Targums

Pere Casanellas

University of Barcelona, Spain

Abstract

Among different expressions used by the targums to translate the Hebrew word meaning 'spirit', the terms 'prophetic spirit' and 'Holy Spirit' stand out. I will try to demonstrate (*contra* P. Schäfer, 'Die Termini "Heiliger Geist" und "Geist der Prophetie" in den Targumim und das Verhältnis der Targumim zueinander', *VT* 20 (1970), pp. 304–314) that both terms often have a basis in the Hebrew text (namely, the word רִיחַ), that both can have a similar relationship to prophecy and that the expression 'Holy Spirit' is as old as 'prophetic spirit' or even older. I will also outline the semantic contexts that underlie the use of one or other expression, which has nothing to do with the antiquity of either term.

Keywords

spirit of prophecy; Holy Spirit; Targum Jonathan; Targum Onqelos; Targum Neofiti; Fragmentary Targum; Targum Pseudo-Jonathan; Palestinian targums; dating of the targums

1. Introduction

When the word רִיחַ in the Hebrew Bible is associated with God, that is to say, when the spirit comes from God, the targums often add a qualifier to this word, usually a positive one, although not always (for example, in Tg 1 Kgs. 22.21–23 according to the targumist the lying spirit placed in the mouth of the prophets of King Ahab comes 'from before the LORD'). The main qualifiers of this kind are גְּבוּרָא 'of might, mighty' (Tg Jdg. 6.34; 11.29; 13.25; 14.6, 19 ...; Tg 1 Sam. 11.6 ...; Tg 1 Kgs. 18.46), גְּבוּאָה 'of prophecy, prophetic' and קוֹדְשָׁא 'of holiness, holy'. The last two are used very often in the targums and usually have a similar meaning. I will try to reveal possible differences in meaning between them and rules according to which the targumist uses the one or the other. I will also

*The English of this article has been revised by Dr J.F. Elwolde of the Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya (Barcelona) and former United Bible Societies translation consultant.

attempt to answer the question as to whether the use of either expression is a guide to the relative antiquity of a particular targum.

2. Peter Schäfer's Hypothesis Concerning the Greater Antiquity of the Expression 'Prophetic Spirit' and of Targum Onqelos

A comparative study of the expressions רִוַּח נְבוּאָה 'prophetic spirit' and רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ 'Holy Spirit' was published by Peter Schäfer in the year 1970.¹ Schäfer tried to establish a relationship between the use of each expression and the dating of the different targums, taking into account the theological significance of the expressions and the conscious use of each of them.

According to Schäfer, Targum Onqelos almost always uses the expression רִוַּח נְבוּאָה 'prophetic spirit': 8 occurrences² with only one exception (Gen. 45.27, where, according to the testimony of *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer*, the expression 'prophetic spirit' is also attested).³

On the contrary, in Targum Neofiti I and the Fragmentary Targum only the expression רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ 'Holy Spirit' (15 and 5 occurrences, respectively) is found.⁴

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan uses both expressions: רִוַּח נְבוּאָה 'prophetic spirit', 11 times, coinciding with 7 of the 8 occurrences of the same expression in Onqelos;⁵ רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ 'Holy Spirit',⁶ 15 times, of which, in contrast, only two coin-

¹ P. Schäfer, 'Die Termini "Heiliger Geist" und "Geist der Prophetie" in den Targumim und das Verhältnis der Targumim zueinander,' *V/T* 20 (1970), pp. 304–314.

² Gen. 41.38; Exod. 31.3; 35.31; Num. 11.25, 26, 29; 24.2; 27.18. In Exod. 31.3 the expression 'prophetic spirit' appears only in the variants t1 t10, t11, t225 and t292 of Sperber's edition. In Exod. 35.31 it appears only in the variants t1 t10, t11 and t292. See the list of sigla used for variants at the end of this article.

³ 'Onqelos translates: "And the prophetic spirit dwelt in Jacob, his father"' (*Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 38). See Schäfer, 'Die Termini "Heiliger Geist" und "Geist der Prophetie"', p. 307.

⁴ Targum Neofiti I: Gen. 31.21 margin; 41.38; Gen. 42.1; Exod. 2.12 margin; 31.3; 35.31; Num. 11.17, 25^{x2}, 26, 28, 29; 14.24; 24.2; 27.18; in Exod. 2.12 another marginal reading has רִוַּח נְבוּאָה 'prophetic spirit', but Schäfer dismisses this as a secondary gloss (pp. 306–307 and note 4); Fragmentary Targum: Gen. 27.1; 37.33; 42.1; Exod. 2.12; Num. 11.26; in fact, Schäfer does not take into account Num. 11.28, where, exceptionally, רִוַּח נְבוּאָה 'prophetic spirit' is found. A superscript number preceded by the sign × after a reference indicates the number of times a term appears in a verse (if more than once). A superscript number alone indicates the first, second, etc. occurrence of a form in the cited verse. A superscript letter *v* indicates a variant (after the *v*, I indicate in round brackets the sigla of the manuscripts containing the variant).

⁵ Gen. 41.38; 35.31; Num. 11.25², 26, 29; 24.2; 27.18.

⁶ רִוַּח נְבוּאָה 'prophetic spirit' occurs according to Schäfer at Gen. 41.38; 45.27; Exod. 33.16; 35.31; Num. 11.17, 25², 26, 28, 29; 24.2; 27.18; three occurrences should be added: Exod. 35.21; 37.8; Num. 11.25¹, none of which coincides with Onqelos. רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ 'Holy Spirit'

cide with the use of the same expression in Targum Neofiti I,⁷ and there is no correspondence at all, or only in one text, with the use of the expression in the Fragmentary Targum.⁸ From this Schäfer argues that Targum Pseudo-Jonathan is based on Onqelos and has also been influenced by rabbinic tradition.

Schäfer also observes that when Targum Onqelos uses the expression רִיחַ נְבוּאָה it always has a basis in the Hebrew text, that is to say, it always translates the word רִיחַ ‘spirit’, while Targum Neofiti I and the Fragmentary Targum often do not have such a basis for their use of the expression רִיחַ קוּדְשָׁא, that is to say, this expression has been added to the Hebrew text.⁹ In the case of Pseudo-Jonathan, of the four occurrences in which the expression רִיחַ נְבוּאָה is used but does not coincide with Onqelos, two have a basis in the Hebrew text;¹⁰ however, of the 15 occurrences in which Pseudo-Jonathan uses רִיחַ קוּדְשָׁא, in only one case is there a basis for that usage in the Hebrew text.¹¹ In sum, the use of the expression רִיחַ נְבוּאָה is more closely associated with the Masoretic text (MT) than the use of רִיחַ קוּדְשָׁא (see Table 1).

Moreover, an analysis of the verses of Targum Onqelos where the expression רִיחַ נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’ appears shows that the relation with prophecy usually depends directly on the biblical context (e.g., in Tg Gen 41.38 Joseph has a ‘prophetic spirit’ because he can interpret Pharaoh’s dreams), although Schäfer recognizes that in three occurrences (out of 8) the relation to prophecy is not obvious.¹² ‘In other words, the term “prophetic spirit” designates a narrowly defined and specific content, i.e., the spirit sent by God to humans conveying prophetic gifts.’¹³

occurs at Gen. 6.3; 27.5, 42; 30.25; 31.21; 35.22; 37.33; 43.14; Exod. 31.3; 33.16; Deut. 5.24; 18.15, 18; 28.59; 32.26.

⁷ Gen. 31.21; Exod. 31.3. The first occurrence is in a marginal note; the second one is in a problematic text (see Schäfer, ‘Die Termini “Heiliger Geist” und “Geist der Prophetie”’, p. 307, note 4).

⁸ Gen 37.33, which Schäfer considers a dubious variant.

⁹ This is so according to Schäfer in: (a) Fragmentary Targum: Gen. 27.1; 37.33; 42.1; Exod. 2.12; moreover, there is no basis in the MT of Num. 11.28 either, although the FragTgs have ‘prophetic spirit’; however, there is a basis (רִיחַ) in Num. 11.26; (b) Targum Neofiti I: Gen. 31.21 margin; 42.1; Exod. 2.12 margin; Num. 11.28; however, there is a basis in Gen. 41.38; Exod. 31.3; 35.31; Num. 11.17; 11.25^{x2}, 26, 29; 14.24; 24.2; 27.18.

¹⁰ According to Schäfer: Gen. 45.27; Num. 11.17; however, Num. 11.25¹ and Exod. 35.21 should be added, i.e., in sum 4 occurrences. According to Schäfer, then, there is no basis in Exod. 33.16¹ or Num. 11.28; however, Exod. 37.8 should be added, giving a total of 3 occurrences.

¹¹ At Exod. 31.3, but Gen. 6.3 should be added.

¹² Exod. 31.3; 35.31; Num. 27.18.

¹³ ‘Mit anderen Worten: Der Terminus “Geist der Prophetie” bezeichnet einen eng begren-

Table 1. Occurrences of ‘Prophetic Spirit’ and ‘Holy Spirit’ in the Targums of the Pentateuch and the Presence or Absence of רוּחַ in the MT, According to Schäfer.

<i>‘Prophetic Spirit’</i>		<i>Targum</i>	<i>‘Holy Spirit’</i>	
<i>Total occurrences</i>	MT רוּחַ		<i>Total occurrences</i>	MT רוּחַ
8 ^a	8	Onqelos	1	
		Neofiti	15	Often absent
		Fragmentary	5	Often absent
11 ^b	7 ^c + 2 ^d	Pseudo-Jonathan	15 ^d	1

^a) Including Exod. 31.3; 35.31, where the expression ‘prophetic spirit’ appears only in variants (see note 2).

^b) Including 7 of the 8 occurrences of ‘prophetic spirit’ found in Onqelos.

^c) Coincidences with Onqelos.

^d) Of 4 occurrences that do not coincide with Onqelos.

^e) Only two coincide with the use of the same expression in Neofiti.

The expression רוּחַ קודֶשׁא ‘Holy Spirit’ can differ from רוּחַ נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’ in two ways:

1. The expression ‘Holy Spirit’ also designates a prophetic spirit sent by God. However its relationship to prophecy is not evident from the biblical context, but becomes clear only when the parallel texts of the midrash are consulted. Schäfer provides such parallel texts for FragTgs Gen. 27.1; 37.33; FragTgs and TgNeof Gen. 42.1; FragTgs and TgNeof margin Ex 2.12; TgPsJ Gen. 27.5, 42.
2. The meaning of ‘Holy Spirit’ sometimes extends beyond that of ‘prophetic spirit’ and this meaning is often clarified by the midrash. For example, the concept that the Holy Spirit is imparted to a person in order to carry out good deeds, found in TgPsJ Gen. 6.3,¹⁴ appears also in Midrash Numbers Rabba 10.5, Seder Eliyyahu Rabba ch. 10 and Wayyikra Rabba 35.7.

While the midrash is helpful for explaining the expression רוּחַ קודֶשׁא ‘Holy Spirit’, it does not use the expression רוּחַ נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’.

zten und fest umrissenen Sachverhalt, nämlich den von Gott dem Menschen gesandten Geist, der prophetische Gaben vermittelt’ (Schäfer, ‘Die Termini “Heiliger Geist” und “Geist der Prophetie”’, p. 310).

¹⁴) ‘Have I not imparted my Holy Spirit to them, that they may do good works?’

Although in the Hebrew Bible the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ appears three times,¹⁵ whereas ‘prophetic spirit’ does not occur at all, Schäfer maintains that the latter term is older and more biblical than the first one, which is widely used in the targums in several different meanings. In fact, the three occurrences of ‘Holy Spirit’ in the OT can hardly be the sole reason for such widespread usage; on the other hand, the terms רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים ‘Spirit of God’ and רוּחַ יְהוָה ‘Spirit of the LORD’ frequently occur in the OT in relationship to prophecy and, thus, may be seen as corresponding to the expression ‘prophetic spirit’.

In theory, the presence of the term ‘prophetic spirit’ in Targum Onqelos could be due to a late revision, which attempted to avoid the variety of meanings associated with the expression ‘Holy Spirit’. However the following consideration indicates that this would not have been possible. It is well known that the Babylonian Talmud very often uses the term *Shekhinah* in places where the *midrashim* have the expression ‘Holy Spirit’, and it can nearly always be proved that in these cases a secondary substitution has taken place, ‘Holy Spirit’ being the earlier form. If Targum Onqelos was developed in Babylonia during the first Christian centuries on the basis of the Mishnah and Talmud, as Kahle supposed,¹⁶ the term ‘Shekinah’ instead of ‘spirit of prophecy’, as in the Babylonian Talmud, should be expected; it does not seem likely that in Targum Onqelos the term ‘Holy Spirit’ would be replaced by ‘prophetic spirit’ while at more or less the same time in the Babylonian Talmud the same term, ‘Holy Spirit’, was being replaced by *Shekhinah*. The use of the term *Shekhinah* in the Babylonian Talmud is, then, evidence that the term ‘prophetic spirit’ in Targum Onqelos is relatively old, older at least than the Babylonian Talmud.

All this means that Targum Onqelos cannot be considered more recent than the Palestinian targums.

Schäfer does not analyse Targum Jonathan and does not explain the reason for this omission. The reason is probably that there are no parallel targums with which Targum Jonathan can be compared. In any case, it is worth widening the study to this targum, which is done in §4, after a summary of the arguments provided by Domingo Muñoz León in a study from 1977.

¹⁵ Isa. 63.10.11; Ps. 51.13.

¹⁶ Schäfer bases his argument on the position held by Kahle and others, which maintains that Targum Onqelos developed from the beginning in Babylonia. However, even on the basis of the explanation which is more widely accepted nowadays, that Onqelos was composed initially in Palestine and later revised in Babylonia, perhaps around the third and fourth centuries, Schäfer’s argument would still be valid, since the hypothetical replacement of ‘prophetic spirit’ by ‘Holy Spirit’ would have taken place in the second stage, during the revision.

3. The Antiquity of the Expressions ‘Holy Spirit’ and ‘Prophetic Spirit’ According to Domingo Muñoz León

Muñoz León revised and corrected the arguments provided by Schäfer in a review of Schäfer’s book, *Die Vorstellung vom Heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur*, and later in an appendix to his own book, *Gloria de la Shekina en los Targumim del Pentateuco*.¹⁷ The following paragraphs summarize his arguments.

3.1. *Targum Neofiti I*

In Targum Neofiti I, *contra* Schäfer, the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ does not have a basis in the Hebrew text in only one case: Gen. 42.1. It is not necessary, then, to appeal to the midrash in order to explain the occurrences of ‘Holy Spirit’ in Targum Neofiti I. Additionally, according to Muñoz León, the antiquity of the expression ‘he saw in the Holy Spirit’ of Tg Gen. 42.1 can be demonstrated not only via the midrash but also via the parallel text of Sir. 48.25. Muñoz León does not take into account Tg Num. 11.28 (overlooked by Schäfer), because the term ‘spirit’ is present in the context, and with good reason he gives separate treatment to the two marginal occurrences of רִיחַ קֹדֶשׁא ‘Holy Spirit’ in Neofiti: Tg Gn 31,21 margin and Tg Ex 2,12 margin. In any case, his argument seems valid to us, since eleven occurrences of ‘Holy Spirit’ in Neofiti have a clear basis in the MT (see note 9, above).

3.2. *Targum Onqelos*

It is difficult to establish why the expression רִיחַ נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’ appears in Targum Onqelos. According to Díez Macho, Onqelos would have avoided the expression רִיחַ קֹדֶשׁא ‘Holy Spirit’ during revision of the targum in order to avoid terms consecrated by Christian theology.¹⁸ However, this is hardly consistent with the use, demonstrated by Schäfer, of the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ in very

¹⁷ (a) Domingo Muñoz León, review of Peter Schäfer, *Die Vorstellung vom Heiligen Geist in der rabbinischen Literatur* (Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, 28, München: Kösel-Verlag, 1972), *Biblica* 54 (1973), pp. 559–564. (b) Domingo Muñoz León, *Gloria de la Shekina en los Targumim del Pentateuco* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Francisco Suárez, 1977), pp. 539–548 (‘Anexo tercero’).

¹⁸ Alejandro Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1: Targum Palestinense ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana: Edición Príncipe, introducción general y versión castellana* (Madrid: CSIC, Instituto Arias Montano, 1968–1979), III, p. 54*.

early rabbinic texts. For this reason Muñoz León thinks that the expression ‘prophetic spirit’ could simply be an independent interpretative rendering of Targum Onqelos. In any case, if such a revision took place in Babylon, it would have been prior to the Talmud, otherwise the term *Shekhinah* would have been used instead of ‘Holy Spirit’.

3.3. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan uses both expressions, as already noted. In this targum the expression רִיחַ נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’ coincides with 7 of the 8 occurrences of the same expression found in Onqelos. We have seen that Schäfer concludes from this that Pseudo-Jonathan is based on Onqelos and that it has also been influenced by the midrash (which would explain the 13 occurrences of רִיחַ קוֹדֶשׁ ‘Holy Spirit’ without parallel in other targums). Muñoz León thinks that the use of ‘prophetic spirit’ in Pseudo-Jonathan might be due to terminological influence from Onqelos but that the abundant use of ‘Holy Spirit’ discounts Onqelos as the main source of Pseudo-Jonathan.

The frequent use of ‘Holy Spirit’ in Pseudo-Jonathan can only be explained, according to Schäfer, by its use in the midrash. However, as seen above (§2), in the case of another representative of the Palestinian targum (Muñoz León considered Pseudo-Jonathan to be a Palestinian targum), namely Neofiti I, there is no need to appeal to the midrash in order to explain the use of ‘Holy Spirit’, and Muñoz León thinks it doubtful that its use in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan may be explained by such influence. He points out that M. Kasher is of the opinion that the Palestinian targums are older than the *midrashim* and Muñoz León believes the coincidences between the Palestinian targums (including Pseudo-Jonathan) with regard to ‘Holy Spirit’ should be explained as due to the dependence of the Palestinian targums and the *midrashim* on an ancient exegetical tendency, which has been incorporated in the targums as rendering and in the *midrashim* as commentary. In any case, if the midrash had any influence on the Palestinian targums and Pseudo-Jonathan, it must have taken place prior to influence from the Babylonian Talmud, since if there had been influence from the Talmud it would have resulted in the use of the term *Shekhinah* and not ‘Holy Spirit’ or ‘prophetic spirit’.

3.4. *Antiquity of the Expressions ‘Holy Spirit’ and ‘Prophetic Spirit’*

As to the antiquity of the expressions ‘Holy Spirit’ and ‘prophetic spirit’, even if the influence of midrash on Targum Pseudo-Jonathan is admitted in order to explain the places where the Targum paraphrastically incorporates the term ‘Holy Spirit’, it does not mean that the term ‘prophetic spirit’ in Onqelos is earlier

than ‘Holy Spirit’ in other targums, since we have seen that there was no influence from the midrash on Targum Neofiti I, which only uses ‘Holy Spirit’.

The antiquity of the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ is evidenced by its appearance in the apocrypha, at Qumran and in the New Testament (as well as in TgOnq Gen. 45.27), and it is even used in contexts of prophecy, just like ‘prophetic spirit’. The fact that the latter expression is clearly more accurate does not mean that it is more ancient. Muñoz León thinks that both terms are very old.

The fact that the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ has a wider significance than ‘prophetic spirit’, since it includes not only the gift of prophecy but also that of doing good deeds, etc., does not mean, *contra* Schäfer, that the term ‘Holy Spirit’ cannot be ancient. Moreover, the apocrypha, Qumran, the New Testament and early *midrashim* seem to witness to the contrary. The early *midrashim*, as Schäfer’s work itself demonstrates, use the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ in a variety of senses, gathering up traditions of the first and second centuries, when prejudice against the expression did not exist. This is the situation that is to be found in Targum Neofiti I and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan (in the parts that are free from the influence of Onqelos). When the Babylonian Talmud replaces the ‘Holy Spirit’ of the early *midrashim* by *Shekbinah* this expression extends its semantic range to include the different meanings of ‘Holy Spirit’.

Schäfer seems to think that the use of ‘prophetic spirit’ in Onqelos is earlier than the *midrashim* and the Babylonian Talmud. Muñoz León, in contrast, thinks that Onqelos has deliberately replaced the term ‘Holy Spirit’ of the Palestinian targums by ‘prophetic spirit’ and observes that Targum Jonathan also mainly uses ‘prophetic spirit’. However, he says that it is difficult to ascertain whether the substitution was made due to prejudice against the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ (probably because of its use in Christian theology) or whether Onqelos uses ‘prophetic spirit’ due to a different interpretation of the biblical text, without a theological motive.

In the following sections I will clarify the exact use of the terms רִיחַ נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’ and רִיחַ קוּדְשָׁא ‘Holy Spirit’ in Targum Jonathan and will try to demonstrate that in both Targum Onqelos and Targum Jonathan the use of each term depends only on the interpretation of the biblical text, i.e., on the context of the different occurrences of רִיחַ ‘Spirit’ in the MT.

4. The ‘Prophetic Spirit’ in Targum Jonathan

Many texts in Targum Jonathan, from both the Former and Latter Prophets, add the complement רִיחַ נְבוּאָה ‘of prophecy, prophetic’ to the word רִיחַ, even though the expression רִיחַ נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’ (lit. ‘spirit of prophecy’) never appears in the MT. In Targum Jonathan there are 22 occurrences of this expression, distributed over 21 verses: Tg Judg. 3.10; Tg 1 Sam. 2.1; 10.6, 10; 19.20, 23; Tg

2 Sam. 23.2; Tg 1 Kgs. 22.24; Tg 2 Kgs. 2.9; 3.15; 5.26; Tg Isa. 61.1; Tg Ezek. 1.3; 3.22; 8.1; 11.5, 24²; 37.1^{×2}; 40.1; Tg Mic. 3.7, 8.¹⁹

- a. In the following 12 texts the Hebrew expression רִיחַ יְהוָה ‘spirit of the LORD’ or the similar expressions רִיחַ אֱלֹהִים ‘spirit of God’ and רִיחַ אֲדֹנָי ‘spirit of the Lord’ are translated by the Aramaic expression ܪܝܚ ܢܒܘܢܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ (in some cases with a minor variation, such as ܪܝܚ ܢܒܘܢܐ ܩܕܡ) ‘prophetic spirit from before the LORD’: Tg Judg. 3.10; Tg 1 Sam. 10.6, 10; 19.20, 23; Tg 2 Sam. 23.2; Tg 1 Kgs. 22.24; Tg Isa. 61.1; Tg Ezek. 11.5, 24²; 37.1²; Tg Mic. 3.8. The expression is also found in the variant Tg Isa. 11.2^{v1} (τ10 τ11 τ12 τ702 τ705).
- b. In another 6 cases the text translated by ܪܝܚ ܢܒܘܢܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ‘prophetic spirit from before the LORD’ is יְדֵי יְהוָה ‘the hand of the LORD’: Tg 2 Kgs. 3.15; Tg Ezek. 1.3; 3.22; 8.1; 37.1¹; 40.1 (this equivalence is also to be found in the Palestinian targums).²⁰ All these are texts that explain that God (his hand, his spirit) takes possession of the prophet in order to exercise God’s ministry.

¹⁹ To locate the occurrences of the different terms and expressions I first used the program *BibleWorks* (version 9.0.009b and later versions, with Targum database version 9.0.0008w, much improved in relation to previous versions; Norfolk, VA: BibleWorks, 2012) and then ran each search again in the ‘Targumic Studies Module’ of Stephen A. Kaufman, Joseph A. Fitzmyer and Michael Sokoloff, *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project* (online, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College; Jewish Institute of Religion, <http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/> [Consulted: March 2012—July 2013]). For Targum Jonathan I have also used Johannes C. de Moor (ed.), *A Bilingual Concordance to the Targum of the Prophets* (20 vols., Leiden, New York and Cologne: Brill, 1995–2003). The main text of the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* has been employed as the primary text for searches of Targum Neofiti, Fragmentary Targum, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Targum Psalms and Targum Chronicles; in the case of Targum Onqelos and Targum Jonathan, either Sperber or the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* may be regarded as primary, since they coincide in the occurrences of the expressions being examined; as for Qohelet, the primary text has been the main text of Sperber, which differs in two occurrences of the expressions being examined from the main text of the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* (see §8.2). On the main text of the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*, see http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/searching/targum_info.html. In only a few cases are variants from the primary text considered; these variants are disregarded and not taken into account in word-counts and statistics. The vocalized Aramaic forms of the examples are reproduced from Menachem Cohen, *Mikra’ot Gedolot ‘HaKeter’* (Bar Ilan University Press, 1992–).

²⁰ See Antonio Rodríguez Carmona, *Targum y resurrección: Estudio de los textos del Targum Palestinense sobre la resurrección* (Granada: Facultad de Teología, 1978), p. 87.

- c. In the variant Tg Ezek. 40.2^v (t10 t11 t12 t702 t705), the same Aramaic expression translates the Hebrew syntagm בְּמַרְאוֹת אֱלֹהִים ‘in divine visions’.
- d. In Tg Mic. 3.7, the same expression translates the Hebrew phrase מַעֲנֵה אֱלֹהִים ‘answer from God’.
- e. The shorter expression רִוּחַ נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’ appears, without any basis in the MT, in expansions of Tg 1 Sam. 2.1 and Tg 2 Kgs. 5.26. It also appears in the marginal notes of Codex Reuchlinianus to Tg 1 Kgs. 2.9^v (t705₆).36^v (t705₆).
- f. At 2 Kgs. 2.9, the targum adds the qualifier ‘prophetic’ to the words that Elisha speaks in reply to Elijah: וַיְהִי כַעַן עַל חֵד תַּרְוִין בְּרוּחַ נְבוּאָתְךָ עִמִּי ‘May I receive a double portion of your prophetic spirit’.

Finally, there are three special cases that are difficult to group together with others.

- g. In contrast, at 2 Kgs. 2.15, in an exception to the general rule, the targum does not add the qualifier ‘prophetic’ to Elijah’s spirit, almost certainly because the word רִוּחַ already has as its complement in the MT the name of the prophet: נַחַת רִוּחֵיהּ דְּאֵלִיָּהּ עַל אֵלִישָׁע ‘The spirit of Elijah rests on Elisha.’
- h. In the variant of Tg Zech. 12.10^v (t705₆), the Hebrew words רוּחַ חַן וְתַחֲנוּנִים ‘spirit of grace and supplication’ are translated by רִוּחַ נְבוּאָה וְצִלוּתָא דְקִשׁוּט ‘spirit of *prophecy* and true prayer’. It is probably on the basis of this targumic translation that Numbers Rabba 11.6 interprets וַיַּחֲנֶנְךָ ‘and be gracious to you’ (Num. 6.25) as ‘may he raise up prophets from you’.
- i. In the variant of Tg Zech. 4.6^v (t12), the word רִוּחַ is added to the Aramaic version, restoring greater consistency with the MT:

Zech. 4.6:

MT	לא בחיל ולא בכח כי אם-ברוּחֵיהּ	Not by strength, nor by might, but by my <i>spirit</i> .
Tg	לא בחיל ולא בגבורא אֱלֹהִין בְּמִמְרֵי	Not by strength, nor by might, but by my <i>word</i> .
t12	לא בחיל ולא בגבורא אֱלֹהִין בְּרוּחַ מִמֵּר קוּדְשִׁי	Not by strength, nor by might, but by the <i>spirit</i> of my <i>holy word</i> .

In Tg Judg. 11.29^v (K); 13.25^v (Fr); Tg 1 Sam. 11.6^v (t734); 16.13^v (K t10 t727), the variant רִוּחַ נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’ occurs, instead of רִוּחַ גְּבוּרָא ‘mighty spirit’ of the standard text of the targum.

5. The ‘Holy Spirit’ in Targum Jonathan

‘Holy Spirit’ and ‘prophetic spirit’ are, according to targumic theology, the instruments that God uses to convey his message to the prophet. Both ‘Holy Spirit’

and ‘prophetic spirit’ are channels of communication between God and prophet.²¹

There are 8 occurrences of the expression רִיחַ קֹדֶשׁ ‘Holy Spirit’ (lit. ‘spirit of holiness’) in Targum Jonathan, located in 8 verses: Isa. 40.13; 42.1; 44.3; 59.21; Ezek. 36.27; 39.29; Jl 3.1, 2. In all these cases there is a basis in the MT, that is to say, the Hebrew text already contains the word רִיחַ (Isa. 40.13: רִיחַ יְהוָה ‘the spirit of the LORD’; in the other seven instances: רִיחִי ‘my spirit’).

Nobody can speak in the name of God or transmit his message unless the person has the ‘Holy Spirit’ or the ‘prophetic spirit’.²² However, the ‘Holy Spirit’ is not always directly linked to prophets and prophecy; in three of the texts mentioned (Tg Isa. 44.3; Tg Ezek. 36.27; 39.29) the role of the ‘Holy Spirit’ is to inspire good deeds and/or to enforce God’s commandments.²³ In the last of the three texts, the gift of the ‘Holy Spirit’ is, moreover, closely associated with maintaining the Presence (*Shekhinah*) of God among his people.²⁴

6. Criteria Used by Targum Jonathan to Distinguish between the Renderings ‘Prophetic Spirit’ and ‘Holy Spirit’

First of all, it is easy to see that the criteria deduced by Schäfer from the Palestinian targums indicating that the expression ‘prophetic spirit’ always had a basis in the Hebrew text, because the word רִיחַ occurs there, whereas the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ often does not have such a basis, are not valid for Targum Jonathan, where, in fact, the exact opposite is true. As shown in §§4 and 5, the expression ‘prophetic spirit’ has no clear textual basis in the MT in two cases of the main

²¹ In the New Testament, too, this link between ‘Holy Spirit’ and prophecy is clearly seen, for example, in the Canticle of Zechariah: ‘Then his father Zechariah was filled with the Holy Spirit and prophesied’ (Lk. 1.67); see also: Lk. 2.26; Mk. 12.36; 13.11.

²² Josep Ribera-Florit, *El Targum de Isaías: La versión aramea del profeta Isaías* (Biblioteca Midrásica, 6, València: Instituto San Jerónimo para la Investigación Bíblica, 1988), p. 42. Bruce D. Chilton, *The Glory of Israel: The Theology and Provenience of the Isaiah Targum* (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series, 23, Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), pp. 48–52. On the association of ‘Holy Spirit’ and prophecy not only in the targums but in the rabbinic literature in general, see Schäfer, *Die Vorstellung*, pp. 21–26.

²³ In none of the three occurrences of the expression רִיחַ קֹדֶשׁ/קֹדֶשׁ ‘his/your Holy Spirit’ in the MT (Isa. 63.10, 11; Ps. 51.13) does there seem to be any connection with prophets and prophecy. In the New Testament, too, the ‘Holy Spirit’ is associated with doing good: Acts 10.38; 11.24; Rom. 5.5; Eph. 6.18.

²⁴ In Tg Joel 3.1, the giving of the ‘Holy Spirit’, which has prophecy as its purpose or consequence, takes place immediately after God causes the *Shekhinah* to dwell in the midst of the house of Israel (see the immediately preceding verse, 2.27).

text of the targums (plus three cases in marginal notes) and has a basis other than רִיחַ ‘spirit’ in 8 cases (for 6 of which the basis is יְדִי־הוֹהָה ‘the hand of the LORD’), whereas the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ always has such a basis in the MT (Tg Isa. 40.13: רִיחַ יְהוָה; in the other seven occurrences: רִיחֵי).

In my opinion, רִיחַ קוֹדֶשׁ ‘prophetic spirit’ and רִיחַ נְבוּאָה ‘Holy spirit’ are parallel concepts of similar meaning, but, contrary to the opinion of some scholars, Targum Jonathan does not use them indiscriminately.²⁵ In general, this targum employs the construction noted in the previous section, רִיחַ נְבוּאָה מִן קֳדָם, ‘prophetic spirit from before the LORD’, but when it is God himself who speaks (Isa. 42.1; 44.3; 59.21; Ezek. 36.27; 39.29; Joel 3.1, 2) the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ is always used without exception, and not ‘prophetic spirit from before the LORD’ or ‘prophetic spirit’. This is for two reasons: on the one hand, because the deferential formula מִן קֳדָם ‘from before’ and the indication that the spirit is of the LORD are no longer necessary, and on the other hand, because of the intimate association of holiness with God and his presence. The following example is of particular interest because it is quoted in the New Testament (Acts 2.17–21) without the targum’s double addition of ‘holy’ (verses 1 and 2):

²⁵ An indiscriminate use seems to be implied by Ribera-Florit, *El Targum de Isaias*, pp. 42–43 and p. 187 n. 1; however, in *Targum de Ezequiel*, p. 43 n. 79, the same author affirms that: ‘Mientras para los Tgs de los demás profetas “espíritu santo” se identifica a menudo con “espíritu profético” en el Tg Ez se distingue claramente la función de uno y de otro; cf. J. Ribera-Florit: “La exégesis rabínica postbíblica [...]”, pp. 71–73; Ribera: *Tg Is*, p. 43, n. 83.’ In fact, in neither of the two texts mentioned by Ribera-Florit does he explain the stated distinction, although he does do so in ‘Some doctrinal aspects of the Targum of Ezekiel’, in Paul V.M. Flesher (ed.), *Targum and Scripture: Studies in Aramaic Translations and Interpretation in Memory of Ernest G. Clarke* (Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture, 2, Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 151: ‘Tg Ezekiel speaks of “[a] prophetic spirit proceeding from the Lord” in connection with prophecy (Ezek. 1.3; 3.22; 8.1) and in the symbolic representation of the resurrection of the dry bones (Ezek. 37), whereas it uses both ‘Holy Spirit’ (Ezek. 36.27) and ‘spirit of fear’ (Ezek. 36.26) as a spirit ‘infused by God into the people so that they will have courage to observe the divine Laws and do good deeds’. I agree with Ribera-Florit that the distinction is clear in Ezekiel, and it may be added that the use of ‘Holy Spirit’ in the sense found in Targum Ezekiel can also be seen in Targum Isaiah 44.3, as already noted. Chilton seems to view the use of both terms (in Targum Isaiah) as indiscriminate and so when commenting on the text of Tg Isa. 63.10 (compare with my commentary below) he writes: “‘Holy spirit’ is the normal means of God’s address to his people, accomplished through prophets. It is for this reason that at 63.10, where the MT reads, “they grieved his holy spirit”, the Targum presents us with, “they provoked the word of his holy prophets”’ (*The Glory of Israel*, p. 50). The Hebrew text of Isa. 63.10 does not originally seem to have had any relation to prophecy, as Schäfer observes (*Die Vorstellung*, 23), but what interests us here is the way it has been interpreted by the targumist.

Joel 3,1:

וְהָיָה אַחֲרֵיכֵן אֲשַׁפּוּד אֶת־רוּחִי עַל־כָּל־בָּשָׂר	MT	After all this I will pour out <u>my Spirit</u> on all kinds of people.
וְיָהִי בְּתֵר בֵּין אֲשַׁפּוּד יְת רוח קדשי על כל בסרא	Tg	After all this I will pour out <u>my Holy Spirit</u> on all kinds of people.

On the other hand, a possible reference in 1 Thess. 4.8 to Ezek. 36.27 is interesting because it includes the addition τὸ ἅγιον ‘holy’, which corresponds to the targum’s קדשי.

It is only in Tg Isa. 40.13 that the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ is used in a text where it is not God who speaks; here it is interesting to note that in the MT there is no apparent association with prophecy or with the Spirit being given to a person:

Isa. 40,13:

מִי־תִבֶן אֶת־רוּחַ יְהוָה	MT	Who comprehends <u>the spirit</u> of the LORD?
מִן תִּקְוֶן יְת רוח קודשא בפּוּם כָּל נְבִיאָא הָלֵא יְי	Tg	Who established the <u>holy spirit</u> in the mouth of all the prophets, is it not the LORD?

In contrast, in none of the cases in which it has been noted (§4) that the targum uses the expression רוח נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’ is it God who speaks.

It is also interesting that the only two instances in which the expression רוח קדשו ‘Holy Spirit’ is used in the original Hebrew text of the prophetic books (Isa. 63.10, 11) are translated in the targum without this expression, an omission that tends to confirm my hypothesis, since these texts are not put into the mouth of God:²⁶

Isa. 63,10:²⁷

וְהִמָּה מָרוּ וְעָצְבוּ אֶת־רוּחַ קְדָשׁוֹ	MT	But they rebelled and grieved his <u>Holy Spirit</u> .
וְאִינּוֹן סְרִיבוּ וְאַרְגִּיזוּ עַל מִימַר נְבִיאֵי קְדָשִׁיהּ	Tg	But they rebelled and caused anger against the word of his holy prophets.

7. Criteria Used by Targum Onqelos to Distinguish between the Translations of ‘Prophetic Spirit’ and ‘Holy Spirit’

Targum Onqelos and Targum Jonathan seem to have been created in two stages: a Palestinian stage prior to 132 CE (perhaps even earlier in the case of Targum

²⁶ Chilton gives a different reason for the deletion of the qualifier קדש ‘holy’ in the targum of these two verses: the fact that this text does not concern God’s communication with his people (*The Glory of Israel*, 50). The explanation is not persuasive, precisely because the targum speaks of רוח קדשו ‘the word of his holy prophets’.

²⁷ On this text, see note 23.

Onqelos) and a second, Babylonian, stage from the third century onwards (in the case of Targum Jonathan two different phases have been identified in this second stage: late third and fourth centuries, and fifth century).²⁸

It is not surprising, then, that the same rule to be seen in Targum Jonathan about the use of the expressions ‘prophetic spirit’ and ‘Holy Spirit’ is also valid for Targum Onqelos. As already noted, this targum generally uses the expression ‘prophetic spirit’, and indeed it is not God who speaks in all these texts. There are two apparent exceptions, which can be easily explained.

- a. In Tg Gen. 45.27 Targum Onqelos has רוח קודשא ‘Holy Spirit’, even though the speaker is not God. However, as already seen in §2 (see also note 3), Pirque de Rabbi Eliezer attests to the use of the variant ‘prophetic spirit’ in this verse.
- b. In Tg Exod. 31.3^v (t1 t10 t11 t225 t292), despite the fact that God is the speaker, Onqelos employs its usual expression רוח נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’:

וְאִמְלֵא אֹתוֹ רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בְּחַכְמָה וּבְתַבּוּנָה וּבְדַעַת וּבְכָל-מְלָאכָה	MT	And I have filled him with the Spirit of God in wisdom, in understanding, in knowledge and in all [kinds of] craftsmanship.
וְאִשְׁלִימֵת עִמּוֹה רוּחַ נְבוּאָה מִן קֳדָם יי בְּחַכְמָה וּבְסִכְלֵתָנּוּ וּבְמַדְעָה וּבְכָל עֲבִידָא	Tg	And I have filled him with the <u>spirit of prophecy</u> from before the LORD, with wisdom and with intelligence and with knowledge and in all [kind of] craft.

Note here that (a) the word נְבוּאָה only appears in the variants t1 t10 t11 t225 t292, but is not found in British Museum MS Or. 2363, which served as the base-text for Sperber’s edition; and, more importantly, (b) although according to v. 1 it is God who speaks, in v. 3 he speaks in the third person (‘spirit [of prophecy] from before the Lord’), and for this reason the targum treats these words as though not spoken by God.

8. The ‘Prophetic Spirit’ and the ‘Holy Spirit’ in the Targums to the Writings

Only in the following books of the Writings are there five or more instances of ‘prophetic spirit’ and/or ‘Holy Spirit’, which for the purposes of this study may be considered sufficient for a rule to be deduced regarding the presence of each expression in the text: Tg Psalms, TgQohelet and Tg Chronicles.

²⁸ See Paul V.M. Flesher and Bruce Chilton, *The Targums: A Critical Introduction* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2011), pp. 153–158, 199–200, 226–227, 262.

8.1. *Targum of Psalms*

In the Targum of Psalms there are 10 occurrences of ‘prophetic spirit’ (Ps. 14.1; 22.27; 45.3, 46.1; 49.16; 51.13, 14; 68.34; 77.3; 79.1) and 5 occurrences of ‘Holy Spirit’ (78.1; 104.30; 106.33; 137.5; 143.10). The expression ‘prophetic spirit’ only twice has a basis in the MT (in 51.13 the basis is not רִיחַ but רִיחַ קִדְשָׁךְ) and the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ has such a basis on three occasions.

Although a distinction between the two expressions is not absolutely clear, it seems that the tendency is to use the expression ‘spirit of prophecy’ when the text refers to the spirit that dwells in a human being and ‘Holy Spirit’ when the spirit is in, or emanates from, God himself.

Ps. 77.3:

ביום עקתי אולפן מן־קדם יהוה [...] תבעית שרת על־רוח נבואה	Tg	In the day of my distress I sought <i>instruction from</i> <i>before the LORD; the spirit of prophecy rested upon me.</i>
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Ps. 106.33:

ארום סריבו על רוח קודשיה ופריש בסיפוותיה:	Tg	For they rebelled against his <i>Holy Spirit</i> ; and he <i>spoke</i> <i>plainly</i> with his lips.
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8.2. *Targum of Qohelet*

In the Targum of Qohelet there are 9 occurrences of ‘prophetic spirit’ (Qoh. 1.4; 3.11, 12, 14; 4.15; 9.7; 10.7; 12.9, 10) and 4 occurrences of ‘Holy Spirit’ (1.2; 2.13; 8.12, 14).²⁹ Neither expression has a clear basis in the MT in any instance.

More clearly than in the Targum of Psalms, it seems that in Tg Qohelet the targumist distinguishes his use of each expression. Solomon, the author of the book, always *speaks* (verb אמר: 1.4; 3.11; 4.15; 9.7; 10.7) or *knows* (verb ידע: 3.12, 14) by means of the ‘prophetic spirit’. By the ‘prophetic spirit’ he also prepares books (verb תקין: 12.9) and some words are *spoken* to him (verb אהאמר: 12.10). The activity of the ‘Holy Spirit’ is reserved for a higher level of actions: *revelation* (verb איתגלי: 8.12) and *vision* (verb חזא: 1.2; verb חמית: 2.13; 8.14).

²⁹ Qoh. 1.2 and 2.13 have ‘prophetic spirit’ in MS hébr. 110 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, which forms the textual basis of Targum Qohelet in the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*. The main text used in this article for Qohelet (Sperber) is based on MS Or. 2375 of the British Library; MS Urbinati Ebr. 1 also has ‘Holy Spirit’ in both verses.

8.3. *Targum of Chronicles*

In the Targum of Chronicles there are 11 occurrences of ‘prophetic spirit’ (1 Chron. 2.6, 55; 4.18; 28.12; 2 Chron. 15.1; 18.21, 22, 23, 27; 20.14; 24.20) and 4 of ‘Holy Spirit’ (1 Chron. 11.11; 25.2; 2 Chron. 7.6; 23.11). The expression ‘prophetic spirit’ has a basis in the MT on 7 occasions (1 Chron. 2.55; 28.12; 2 Chron. 15.1; 18.21, 22, 23; 20.14), whereas ‘Holy Spirit’ has such a basis just once (1 Chron. 11.11). Two instances of ‘prophetic spirit’ without any apparent basis whatsoever in the MT can be explained through the midrash: 1 Chron. 2.6, 55.³⁰

It seems difficult to distinguish in which cases each expression is employed. ‘Prophetic spirit’ is often used, as expected, in contexts such as speaking in the name of God (1 Chron. 4.18; 2 Chron. 15.1; 18.21, 22, 23; 20.14; 24.20) or receiving the word of God (1 Chron. 28.12; 2 Chron. 18.27). The ‘prophetic spirit’ is also poured out on officers working in the temple as musicians or singers (1 Chron. 2.6, 55). On the other hand, it is also possible to prophesy by the ‘Holy Spirit’ (as explicitly stated in 1 Chron. 25.2) and this spirit is necessary for offering praise before the Lord (2 Chron. 7.6). However, in the two remaining texts the role of the ‘Holy Spirit’ is broader: in 2 Chron. 23.11, David through the Holy Spirit has a jewel embedded in the royal crown, a jewel ‘on which was clearly engraved the great and glorious name’; in 1 Chron. 11.11, the ‘Holy Spirit’ gives instructions for battle.

9. The ‘Prophetic Spirit’ and the ‘Holy Spirit’ in the Fragmentary Targum, in Neofiti I and in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

Much has been already said about these targums in §§2 and 3. Here, the focus is on the extent to which their use of each expression is conditioned by context.

9.1. *Fragmentary Targum*

In the Fragmentary Targum the only occurrence of ‘prophetic spirit’ (Num. 11.28) appears in a context of prophecy, as does one of the 5 occurrences of ‘Holy Spirit’ (Num. 11.26). It is worth noticing that in the three cases in which a human being *sees* something through the spirit (verbs חָמַי and אֶסְתַּחֲבַל) the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ is used, as in Qohelet (see §8.2 above). In the other

³⁰⁾ See J. Stanley McIvor, *The Targum of Chronicles* (The Aramaic Bible, 19; Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1994), p. 47 n. 5, and pp. 54–55 n. 52.

occurrence of ‘Holy Spirit’ there is no connection with prophecy (the ‘Holy Spirit’ is withdrawn from Esau so that Jacob can receive the blessing).

9.2. *Targum Neofiti I*

As already noted, Targum Neofiti I only uses the expression ‘Holy Spirit’. Since this term can cover all nuances of meaning of ‘prophetic spirit’, few remarks are required. In fact, in the 8 places where Onqelos can be compared (Gen. 41.38; Exod. 31.3; 35.31; Num. 11.25², 26, 29; 24.2; 27.18), Onqelos always uses ‘prophetic spirit’, as already seen. In Gen. 42.1 the ‘Holy Spirit’ is associated with the verb חמא ‘to see’.

9.3. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan has 14 occurrences of ‘prophetic spirit’ and 15 of ‘Holy Spirit’.³¹ Some roles seem to be the reserve of the ‘Holy Spirit’: it is imparted in order that people might *do good works* (Gen. 6.3) and by it human beings can *see* or *hear* whatever God wants to reveal to them (Gen. 27.5: שמעת; 27.42: אתחווה; 31.21: חמא; 37.33: חמי). Only the Holy Spirit is the subject of verbs meaning ‘to speak’ (Gen. 35.22: מתיבא רוחא דקודשא וכן אמר ליה). When the presence of the spirit in people does not have a connection with prophecy, the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ can be used (Deut. 5.24) and it is also employed in connection with God’s announcement that he will hide or withhold his spirit (Deut. 28.29; 32.26).

10. Conclusions

It is not true that the רוח נבואה ‘prophetic spirit’ always has a basis in the Hebrew text, that is to say, that it always translates the word רוח ‘spirit’, while the expression רוח קודשא ‘Holy Spirit’ often does not have such a basis, that is to say, that the expression has been added to the Hebrew text. This is not so in the targums studied by Schäfer, since in Targum Neofiti I the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ has a basis in the MT in 11 out of a total of 13 occurrences.³² Significant data from other targums include the following: in Tg Psalms only 2 occurrences of ‘prophetic spirit’ out of a total of 10 have a basis in the MT and in Tg Qohelet none of the 9 occurrences of this expression have such a basis; in Tg Jonathan the use of ‘prophetic spirit’ has as a basis the presence of the word רוח ‘spirit’ in the MT in only 13 out of 22 occurrences, while all 8 occurrences of ‘Holy Spirit’ in Tg Jonathan

³¹⁾ See note 6.

³²⁾ In these conclusions marginal notes and variants are disregarded.

have such a basis. In sum, as can be seen in Table 2, 53% of the occurrences of ‘prophetic spirit’ have רִיחַ as a basis in the MT, but a similar proportion, 49%, of the occurrences of ‘Holy Spirit’ also has such a basis. The midrash might lie behind not only many occurrences of the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ but also several occurrences of the expression ‘spirit of prophecy’: see, for example, § 8.3 and note 30.

Table 2. Occurrences of ‘Prophetic Spirit’ and ‘Holy Spirit’ in the Targums and the Presence or Absence of רִיחַ in the MT

<i>‘Prophetic Spirit’</i>		<i>Targum</i>	<i>‘Holy Spirit’</i>	
<i>Total occurrences</i>	MT רִיחַ		<i>Total occurrences</i>	MT רִיחַ
6 ^a	6	Onqelos	(1)	(1)
		Neofiti	13	11
1		Fragmentary	5	1
14 ^b	6 ^c + 5 ^d	Pseudo-Jonathan	15 ^e	2 ^f
22	13	Jonathan	8	8
10	2	Psalms	5	3
9	0	Qohelet	4	0
11	7	Chronicles	4	1
73	39	Total	55	27
	53%		49%	

^a) Excluding Exod. 31.3 and 35.31 (included in Schäfer’s list), where the expression ‘prophetic spirit’ appears only in variants (see note 2).

^b) Including 7 of the 8 occurrences of ‘prophetic spirit’ found in Onqelos; additions to Schäfer’s list: Exod. 35.21; 37.8; Num. 11.25¹.

^c) 6 coincidences with Onqelos.

^d) Of the 8 occurrences that do not coincide with Onqelos.

^e) Only two coincide with the use of the same expression in Neofiti.

^f) Gen. 6.3 added to Schäfer’s list.

The expression רִיחַ קֹדֶשׁ ‘Holy Spirit’ could be as old as, or even older than, the expression רִיחַ נְבוּאָה ‘prophetic spirit’. It appears in the MT of Isa. 63.10, 11, in the apocrypha, at Qumran and in the New Testament. It does not appear in Tg Onqelos, but appears 8 times in Tg Jonathan, of similar dating. It is also the only one of the two expressions that appears in Tg Neofiti. It is an expression that does not disappear over the course of time and frequently occurs in late targums, such as Pseudo-Jonathan and the targums to the Writings. It is difficult to prove, as Muñoz León suggests, that ‘Holy Spirit’ has been replaced by ‘prophetic spirit’ because of a prejudice against the use of ‘Holy Spirit’ in Christian theology.

I see no clear correlation between the use of either expression and its greater or lesser antiquity (Schäfer’s theory).

It is possible that in certain targums (Onqelos and Jonathan) there is a preference for ‘prophetic spirit’ because of the high esteem in which the prophetic role was held, whereas in other targums (especially Neofiti and the Fragmentary Targum) there is a preference for ‘Holy Spirit’. In fact, the latter expression can cover all the meanings and contexts of the expression ‘prophetic spirit’, to which several other meanings or nuances are, instead, added. According to Schäfer, the expression ‘prophetic spirit’ always has a basis in the MT and the relation with prophecy usually depends directly on the biblical context, while in the case of the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ an association with prophecy appears clearly only when the parallel texts of the midrash are consulted. An analysis of the texts indicates that this view should be modified: it is true that when there is a connection to prophecy in the MT (in about 54 texts quoted above) the targums tend to have ‘spirit or prophecy’ (about 40 instances),³³ but in 14 instances they have ‘Holy Spirit’;³⁴ it is to be noted that a link between ‘Holy Spirit’ and prophecy appears in the New Testament as well.³⁵ The text of TgPs. 51.13 is illustrative, as it indicates such an association for the targumist as well:

אֱלֹהֵי תְּשֻׁלִּיכֵנִי מִלְּפָנֶיךָ וְרוּחַ קְדֹשְׁךָ אֱלֹהֵי תִקַּח מִמֶּנִּי:	MT	Cast me not away from your presence, and take not <u>your Holy Spirit</u> away from me.
לֹא תִסְלַק יְתִי מִן־קִדְמָךְ וְרוּחַ נְבוּאָתְךָ קֹדֶשְׁךָ לֹא תִסְלַק מִינִי	Tg	Cast me not away from your presence, and remove not <u>your Holy Spirit of prophecy</u> from me.

The use of each expression in the targums depends to a large extent on the Hebrew original and on the context of the Aramaic text. In Targum Onqelos and Targum Jonathan, the expression ‘prophetic spirit’ is used unless *God is speaking about his own spirit*. In the Fragmentary Targum and Targum of Qohelet it is only the ‘Holy Spirit’ that is associated with *visions* and *revelations*; Targum Pseudo-Jonathan adds the prophetic function of *hearing* as well. In Pseudo-Jonathan it is never the ‘prophetic spirit’ *that speaks* to the prophet (as the subject of verbs meaning to speak), but the ‘Holy Spirit’. Some actions not directly related to prophecy are also reserved to the ‘Holy Spirit’: the *impulse to do good deeds* and *presence in a human being without any association with prophecy* in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan; similarly, in the Fragmentary Targum the ‘Holy Spirit’ is

³³) (a) With רוּחַ in the MT: TgOnq Gen. 41.38; Num. 11.25, 26, 29; 24.2; FrdTgs Num. 11.28; TgPsJ Gen. 41.38; Num. 11.17, 25^{x2}, 26, 28, 29; 24.2; TgJon Judg. 3.10; 1 Sam. 10.6, 10; 19.20, 23; 2 Sam. 23.2; 1 Kgs. 22.24; 2 Kgs. 2.9; Isa. 61.1; Ezek. 11.5; 11.24; 37.1²; Mic. 3.8; TgChron 2 Chron. 15.1; 18.21, 22, 23; 24.20. (b) With another basis in the MT (דְּיִתְרוֹהָ, etc.): TgJon Ezek. 1.3; 3.22; 8.1; 37.1¹; 40.1; Mic. 3.7; TgChron 2 Chron. 18.27; 20.14.

³⁴) (a) With רוּחַ in the MT: TgNeof Gen. 41.38; Num. 11.17, 25^{x2}, 26, 29; 24.2; FrdTgs Num. 11.26; TgJon Joel 3.1, 2; TgChron 1 Chron. 25.2. (b) Other cases: TgNeof Num. 11.28; TgPsJ Deut. 18.15, 18.

³⁵) See note 21, above.

withdrawn from Esau so that Jacob can receive the blessing; in the Targum of Chronicles the ‘Holy Spirit’ gives *instructions for battle*. In sum, it may be said that there is a tendency to use the expression ‘Holy Spirit’ when there is a greater proximity of the spirit to God (see also § 8.1 above on the Targum of Psalms), for higher-level activities (vision, revelation) in prophecy, and for some actions not directly related to prophecy (such as doing good deeds).

Sigla for the Variants

For manuscripts and old editions of targums I have used the list of sigla approved at the last meeting of the International Organization for Targumic Studies (8 August 2013), namely, the letter *t* followed by a number in the list prepared by Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman,³⁶ optionally followed by a letter referring to the textual family to which the manuscript belongs.

- Fr Various biblical fragments with targum in the Taylor-Schechter Collection of the University Library, Cambridge, England, according to Sperber (vol. II, pp. VI–VII).
- K Kimhi’s Commentary, Soncino, 1485.
- t1 Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, MS Solger No. 1–7, 2to.
- t10 The First Rabbinic Bible, Venice: Bomberg, 1515–1517.
- t11 The Second Rabbinic Bible, Venice: Bomberg, 1524/25.
- t12 The Antwerp Polyglot Bible, 1569–1572.
- t225 Halle (Germany), Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, MS Cod. Hebr. 4 (Socin No. 84).
- t292 Biblia Hebraica, Ixar, 1490.
- t702 London, London School of Jewish Studies, MS H. 116 (Montefiore 7).
- t705 Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Codex Reuchlinianus No. 3.
- t705₅ Marginal note of Codex Reuchlinianus preceded by ספ אחר (= ספר אחר).
- t705₆ Marginal note of Codex Reuchlinianus preceded by תרג ירוש or ירוש (= תרגום ירושלמי).
- t734 *Prophetæ Priores*, Leiria, 1494.
- t727 London, British Library, MS Or. 1471 (Margoliouth 130).

³⁶ See Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman, ‘Standard List of Sigla for Targum Manuscripts’ (online, Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit, 2012, <http://www.targum.nl>).