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The *Targum* or "Chaldee Paraphrase": Reading as Interpretation in John Donne's Sermons

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In 1941 David Daiches published his groundbreaking work, *The King James Version of the English Bible: An Account of the Development and Sources of the English Bible of 1611 with Special References to the Hebrew Tradition*.[1] Daiches demonstrated that reading the Hebrew Bible for these translators was an act of interpretation, a weighing of the alternative meanings of the Hebrew original—specifically with the aid of medieval Jewish exegetical sources. This central project of Christian Hebraism in Reformation England finds a willing partner in John Donne.[2] For in his preaching on the Hebrew Bible Donne turns, through the tradition of Christian Hebraism, to these very Jewish sources, to ascertain the "literall sence" that was propounded by William Tyndale in *The Obedience of a Christen Man* as "the rote and grounde of all and the ancre that never fayleth."[3]

This essay will focus on Donne's use of one particular Jewish source, the *Targum*, known also (although mistakenly) as the "Chalde

[1]David Daiches, *The King James Version of the English Bible: An Account of the Development and Sources of the English Bible of 1611 with Special References to the Hebrew Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

[2]See Chanita Goodblatt, *The Christian Hebraism of John Donne: Written with the Fingers of Man's Hand* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2010).

[3]William Tyndale, *The Obedience of a Christen Man* (Antwerp: Hans Luft [Johan Hoochstraten], 1528), p. cxxix[v].

Paraphrase."[4] The *Targum* (literally the Hebrew term for "translation") refers to the Aramaic translation of the Hebrew Bible, comprising a literal paraphrase as well as incorporating interpretive commentaries.[5] It originally possessed a liturgical function, comprising an oral explanation that followed upon the Bible readings in the synagogue during the Sabbath service and subsequently redacted (beginning in the 5th century C.E.) into a written text.[6] It was ultimately included in the 1525 *Biblia Rabbinica*, which became the *textus receptus*, "the

[4]The name "Chalde Paraphrase" is due to the accepted though mistaken belief that the language spoken in Chaldea (southern Mesopotamia) in the days of the prophet Daniel was Aramaic. See: Anson Rainey, "Chaldea, Chaldeans," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, second edition, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), Vol. 3, pp. 561–62.

[5]Aramaic is a Semitic language that gradually replaced Hebrew as the spoken tongue of the Jews in Babylonia and Palestine. Aramaic was also incorporated into the Hebrew Bible (the books of Daniel and Ezra) and into the Jewish liturgy: the *Kaddish* or Jewish prayer of mourning; the *Ketubah* or Jewish Marriage Contract; and the Passover *Haggadah*, a text that sets out the order of the Seder, which is the ceremonial meal of this holiday. In addition, the *Talmud*, a central text of Rabbinic Judaism, contains extensive sections of Aramaic. For further discussion, see Richard Gottheil and Wilhelm Bacher, "Aramaic Language among the Jews," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2, ed. Isidore Singer (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1902), pp. 68–72; Bernard Grossfeld and S. David Sperling, "Bible. Aramaic: The *Targumim*," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, second edition, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), Vol. 3, pp. 588–95.

[6]There are three official versions of the *Targum*: *Targum* (attributed to) *Onkelos*, originating in Babylonia, which is on the first part of the Hebrew Bible, the *Pentateuch*; *Targum Jonathan* (attributed to Jonathan ben Uzziel), also originating in Babylonia, which is written on the second part of the Hebrew Bible, the *Prophets*; and the *Targum*, originating in Palestine, which is on the third part of the Hebrew Bible, the *Hagiographa*. The discussion of the *Targum* is based on the following works: Grossfeld and Sperling 2007; Étan Levine, "The Targums: Their Interpretive Character and Their Place in Jewish Text Tradition," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, Vol. 1: "From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300), Part I: Antiquity," ed. Magne Sæbø (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), pp. 323–31.

standard form of the Masoretic text for subsequent scholarship by both Jews and Christians."[7]

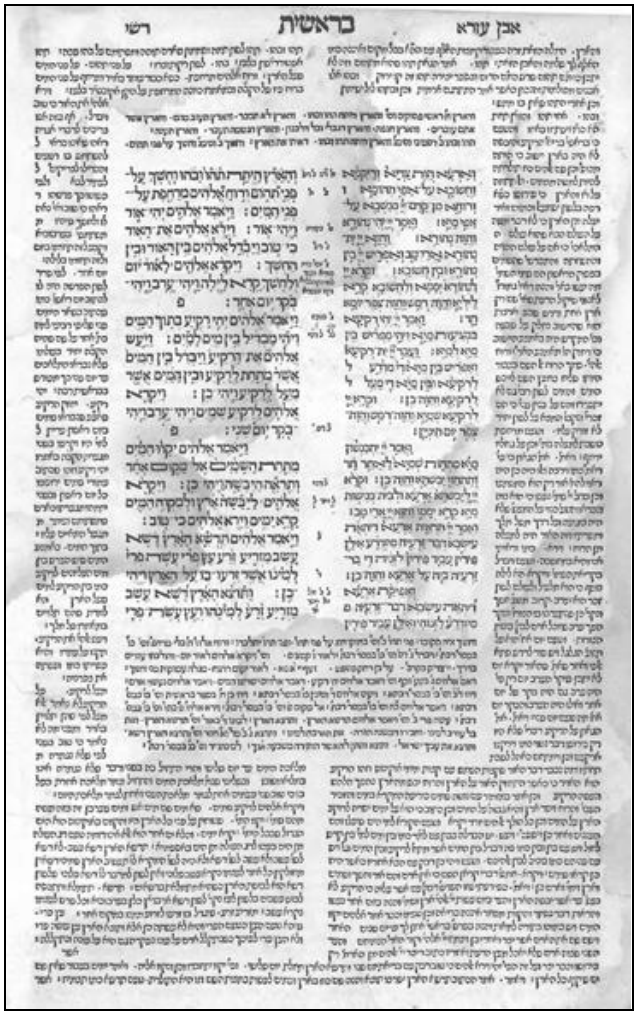

Figure 1. *Biblia Rabbinica 1525*
Open Source

[7]Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Reformation of the Bible: The Bible of the Reformation*, Catalog of the Exhibition by Valerie R. Hotchkiss and David Price (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 106.

For the Christians, the *Targum* possessed a special significance. Writing on *Milton and Midrash*, Golda Werman explains that the *Targum* "particularly interested the Christian scholars of Milton's time; they believed that the authors of these *Targums* lived in Jerusalem about fifty years before Christ, and that their writings are therefore accurate exegeses that were part of Christ's tradition."[8] It is most conceivable that for Donne—who can effectively be designated (according to Matt Goldish's definition) as a "third-order Hebraist . . . who could read *some* Hebrew, but who knew and used significant amounts of Jewish literature in Latin and vernacular translation"[9]—the *Targum* was readily available (in the original and in Latin translation) in the 16th-century *Complutensian* and *(Royal) Antwerp* Polyglots.[10]

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[8]Golda Werman, *Milton and Midrash* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1995), p. 77.

[9]Matt Goldish, *Judaism in the Theology of Sir Isaac Newton* (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1998), p. 18.

[10]Evelyn Simpson proposes that this was the source for Donne's use of the *Targum*. See: *The Sermons of John Donne,* ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953–1962), Vol. 10, p. 312. Parenthetical citations to this edition will be noted as *Sermons* volume number: page number. Emma Rhatigan suggests that another intermediate source for Donne's citation of the *Targum* could have been Joannes Lorinus's *Commentaria in librum Psalmorum* (1611–1616); see Emma Rhatigan, "Donne's Biblical Encounters," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England*, *c. 1530–1700*, ed. Kevin Killeen, Helen Smith, and Rachel Willie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 570. The *Complutensian Polyglot* (*Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*) was printed in Alcalá de Henares, Spain by the University of Complutum between 1514–17, while the *(Royal) Antwerp Polyglot* was printed between 1569–84 and was partially funded by Philip II of Spain (hence the name). Each polyglot contained the Hebrew text, the *Vulgate*, the Greek *Septuagint* with its Latin translation, and the *Targum* with its Latin translation. For a discussion of these polyglots, see: Theodor William Dunkelgrün, *The Multiplicity of Scripture: The Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible* (1568–1573). Ph.D. Dissertation. The University of Chicago. 2012; and Basil Hall, "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries," in *The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 50–55.

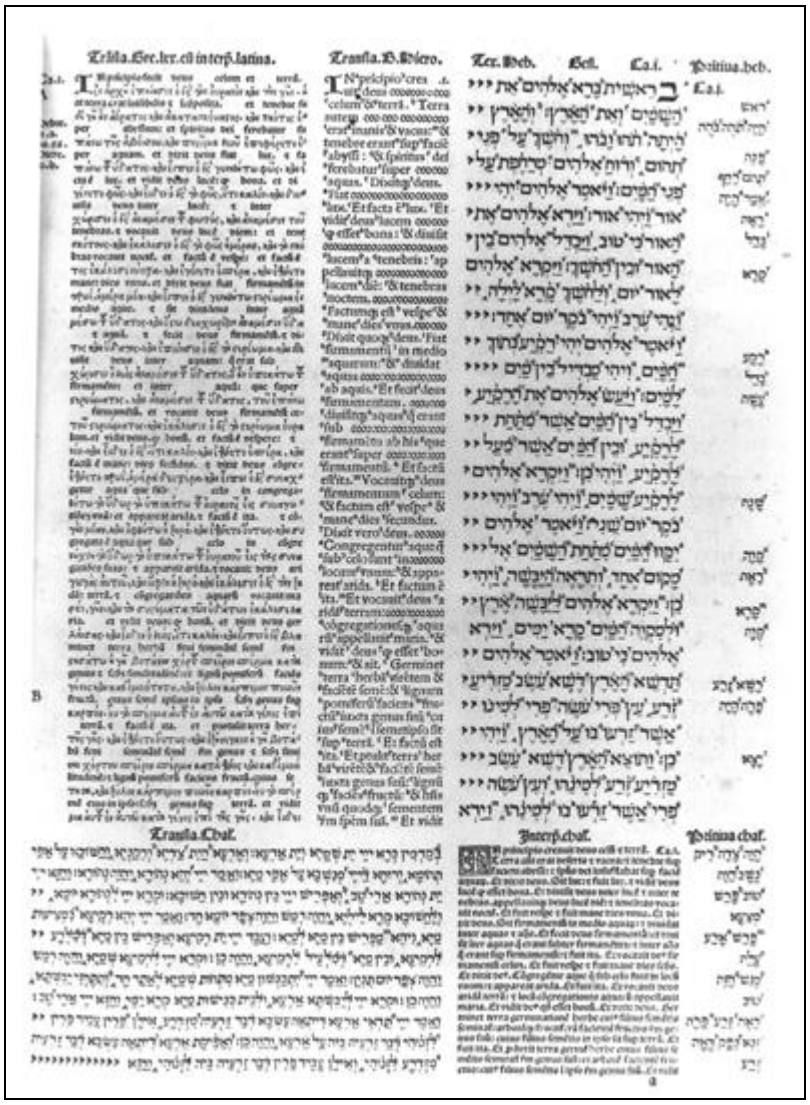

Figure 2. *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* 1514-1517.
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Donne makes a direct reference to both of these polyglots in his sermon "Preached at White-hall, April 8. 1621," on Proverbs 25:16. He says (*Sermons* 3:231-32):

> In the sixt Chapter of this booke, when *Solomon* had sent us to the *Ant*, to learne wisedome, betweene the eight verse and the ninth, he sends us to another schoole, to the Bee: *Vade ad Apem & disce quomodo operationem venerabilem facit*, Go to the Bee, and learne how reverend and mysterious a worke she workes. For, though S. *Hierome* acknowledge, that in his time, this verse was not in the Hebrew text, yet it hath ever been in many Copies of the Septuagint, and though it be now left out in the Complutense Bible, and that which they call the Kings [Royal], yet it is in that still, which they value above all, the Vatican.

Various questions will be raised about Donne's use of the *Targum*. The first concerns philological and intertextual aspects; that is, what is the nature of the relationship among the various texts—the Hebrew Bible, its Aramaic translation and the Latin translation of the *Targum*?[11] A second question to be asked is: what are the cruxes in the Hebrew Bible that generate these translations? A final question concerns thematic and cognitive aspects: what is Donne's specifically theological use of the Jewish source, and what does his search for the meaning of the biblical text reveal about his linguistic and rhetorical consciousness? In answering these questions, I will demonstrate how Donne's citations of the *Targum*, in twenty-three sermons throughout his preaching career,[12] are tailored to three specific methods of interpretation. These methods correspond to the type of meaning Donne provides for philological and semantic ambiguities in the Hebrew biblical text: confirming a literal meaning; extending the meaning of the Hebrew term in order to provide an alternative, literal meaning; and, most complexly, creating a metaphoric/symbolic meaning for the biblical text. These three methods will be both set out in tables, and discussed in three distinct sections.

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[11]All transcriptions of the Latin translation of the *Targum* are taken from the copy of the *Antwerp Polyglot* at Lincoln College, Oxford: *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, & Latine*, 8 volumes (Antwerp: Christopher Plaintin, 1568–1573). I thank Peter McCullough and Sebastian Verweij for generously providing these transcriptions. The English translations of the Latin *Targum* were provided by Ilaria Stiller-Timor, and are printed with her permission.

[12]This list completes the one drawn up by Evelyn Simpson, in her brief discussion of "Donne's Sources" (*Sermons* 10:312–16).

Donne's First Use of the *Targum*: Literal Meaning

This first group is concerned with confirming a literal meaning; these eleven instances are listed in Table 1:[13]

Biblical Verse	*Sermons*	*Antwerp Polyglot*	*Targum*
Gen. 31:53	*Iacob swore by the Feare of his Father Isaac*; that is, by whom his Father *Isaac* feared, as the Chalde Paraphrase rightly expresses it (Sermon on 1 Peter 1:17)[14]	*Vol. 1, sig. K1r, p. 109* Et iurauit Iacob per illum quem timebat pater suus Isaac And Jacob swore by the one his father Isaac was afraid of	*Biblia Rabbinica* 1:79 So Jacob swore by Him, whom his father Isaac feared (Grossfeld, Genesis 114)

[13]The *Targum* is translated from the *Biblia Rabbinica*. A Reprint of the 1525 Venice Edition (Jerusalem: Makor Publishing, 1972); parenthetical references will be cited by volume and page number. These translations of the Aramaic in this table are either my own, or cited from the following modern English translations: Philip S. Alexander, trans., *The Targum of Canticles* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2003); Kevin J. Cathcart and Robert P. Gordon, trans., *The Targum of the Minor Prophets* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1989); Bernard Grossfeld, trans. *The Targum Onqelos to Exodus* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988); Bernard Grossfeld, trans., *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988); Bernard Grossfeld, trans., *The Two Targums of Esther* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991); Céline Managan, trans., *The Targum of Job* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991); and David M. Stec, trans., *The Targum of Psalms* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2004).

[14]Katrin Ettenhuber, ed., *Sermons Preached at Lincoln's Inn, 1620–1623*, The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Vol. 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 63. Parenthetical citations will be noted as *OESJD* volume number: page number.

Exod. 3:14	That Name of God in Exodus…in the *Originall*, it is plaine, and plaine in the *Chalde Paraphrase*, that that name is delivered in the *future*, *Ero qui ero*, *I shall bee that I shall be* (Sermon on 2 Peter 3:13; *Sermons* 8:76)	*Vol. 1, sig. Q4r, p. 191* Et dixit Deus ad Moysen: Ero qui ero And God said to Moses, I shall be that I shall be	*Biblia Rabbinica* 1:127 So the Lord said to Moses, "I will be, concerning that which I will be" (Grossfeld, Exodus 8)
Esth. 4:16	*I also and my Maids will fast likewise*, says *Esther*, in her great enterprise; for, that which the Original expresses here, by *Gnalai*, for me, the *Chalde* Paraphrase expresses by *Gnimmi*, with me: She was as well to fast as they (Sermon on Esther 4:16; *Sermons* 5:224)	*Vol. 3, sig. O2r, p. 159* Vade congregato omnes Iehudæos qui inuenti suerint in Susan, & ieiunate mecum Go and gather together all the Jews that you will find in Shoshan & fast (you, plural) with me	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:337 Go and gather all the Jews who are to be found in Susa, and fast with me (Grossfeld, Esther 61)
Job 13:15	It will be all one sense to say, with the Originall, *Behold he will kill me*, (that is, let him kill me) *yet shall not I hope in him*? and to say with our translation *Behold though he kill me, yet will I hope in him*: And this sense of the words, both in the *Chaldee paraphrase*, and all translations, (*excepting* onely the *Septuagint*) do unanimously establish (Sermon on Job 13:15; *Sermons* 3:189)	*Vol. 3, sig. T1r, p. 217* Ecce si occiderit me, coram eo orabo: veruntamen vias meas coram eo arguam Even though he will slay me, I will pray (to) him: but I will show my own ways before him	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:214 Behold if he should slay me before him I would pray; yet I will argue my ways before him (Managan, Job 44)

Job 16:19	For, the first word *Gned*, is an Hebrew word, but the other, *Sahad*, is Syriaque; and both signifie alike, and equally, *testem*, a *witnesse*. *He that heares the voyce of swearing, and is a witnesse*, sayes Moses, in the first word of our Text; and the the *Chalde* Paraphrase, intending the same thing, expresses it in the other word, *Sahad* (Sermon on Job 16:17–19)[15]	*Vol. 3, sig. T5r, p. 225* Attamen nunc, an num est in cælis testis meus, & testificans super me in excelsis? But now, is my witness in heaven, & (is he) witnessing on me in the highest place?	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:219 Only now is not my witness in the heavens, and he who testifies for me on high? (Managan, Job 48–49)
Ps. 2:12	The Son of God, *Osculamini filium, Kisse the Sonne*. Where the Translations differ as much, as in any one passage, The Chalde paraphrase (which is, for the most part, good evidence)…*Apprehendite disciplinam*, Embrace knowledge (Sermon on Psalm 2:12; *OESJD* 5:90)	*Vol. 3, sig. 2B2r, p. 291* Recipite doctrinam Accept the doctrine	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:4 Accept instruction (Stec 30)

[15]David Colclough, ed., *Sermons Preached at Court of Charles I*, The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Volume 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 220–21. Parenthetical citations will be noted as *OESJD* volume number: page number.

Ps. 11:3	I scarse know any word in the Word of *God*, in which the *Originall* is more ambiguous, and consequently the *Translations* more various, and therefore, necessarily also, the *Expositions* more diuers, than in these words….the *Chalde Paraphrase*, *If Foundations bee destroyed*, *what can the righteous doe*? (Sermon on Psalm 11:3; *OESJD* 3:3)	*Vol. 3, sig. 2C2r, p. 303* Quoniam si fundamenta destruantur, cur operatur iustitiam? As, if the foundations be destroyed, why does the righteous take care (or: devote himself to) of the justice?	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:12 For if the foundations are shattered, why does the righteous do good (Stec 42)
Ps. 139:22	so the Chalde paraphrase expresses it, *Odio consummato*, a hatred to which nothing can be added (*Sermon* on Romans 12:20; *Sermons* 3:381)	*Vol. 3, sig. 2X4r, p. 523* Consummato odio infestus fui illis I was haunted (or infested) by complete hatred towards them	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:123 I hate them with a perfect hatred (Stec 234)
Song of Sol. 1:1	This world begun with a Song, if the *Chalde Paraphrasts*, upon *Solomons Song of Songs* have taken a true tradition (Sermon on Judges 5:20; *Sermons* 4:180)	*Vol. 3, sig. 2I6r, p. 659* Decem cantica dicta fuerunt in seculo isto, & hoc canticum dixit Adam… aperuit os suum, & dixit psalmum cantici dici Sabbati Ten canticles were said in this period, and Adam said this canticle…he opened his mouth and said the canticle of the day of Saturday.	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:263 Ten songs were recited in this world (Alexander 75)

Lam. 1:1	for, we may not despise the testimony of the *Chalde Paraphrasts*…that *Jeremy* writ these Lamentations (Sermon on Lamentations 4:20; *Sermons* 4:238)	*Vol. 4, sig. O4r, p. 439* Dixit Ieremias Propheta & Sacerdos Magnus The prophet and high priest Jeremiah said	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:289 Said Jeremiah the prophet and high priest
Mal. 2:16	And in *Vulgar*, and in *Holy* Tongues, The *Septuagint*, the *Chalde*, all, read, that place thus, *If a man hate her, let him put her away*, (which induced a facility of *divorces*) (Sermon on Isaiah 50:1; *OESJD* 3:33)	*Vol. 4, sig. 2H2r, p. 915* Quòd si oderis eam, dimitte eam, dicit Dominus exercituum Deus Israel For, if you hate her, leave her, says the Lord of hosts	*Biblia Rabbinica* 3: But if you hate her, divorce her, says the Lord God of Israel (Cathcart and Gordon 235)

These eleven citations are similar in Donne's citing of the *Targum* to determine the "*Originall*" meaning of the biblical text. Two examples will therefore sufficiently demonstrate this method. The first example is from Donne's 1627 "Sermon of Commemoration of the Lady Danvers" (*Sermons* 8:61) preached at St. Dunstan's, in which he focuses in part on Exodus 3:14: "And God saide unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM."[16] The crux in the biblical text concerns the meaning of the *Tetragrammaton*—the "Name of four letters," *YHWH* or *Jehovah*—which can mean "I SHALL/WILL BE WHAT I SHALL/WILL BE." The root of the Hebrew word is *hyh*/*hwh*/*hvh*, "to be, to exist," and is indeed expressed in a strictly future verbal form, "I will be." Yet the exegetical tradition does make available other meanings ("I Am That I Am"; "I Cause to Be What Comes into Existence").[17] Donne cites the

[16]*The Holy [King James] Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament and the New* (London: Robert Barker, 1611), p. F(r). Parenthetical citations will be noted as *KJ*, page number.

[17]See: B. W. Anderson, "God, Names of," in *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 410;

explanation of the *Targum*—"I will be, concerning that which I will be"—in order to argue for its meaning in the future tense.[18] His purpose in emphasizing the future tense is to support his exposition of the biblical phrase on which he bases his entire sermon (on 2 Peter 3:13), which, he argues, sustains the promise of future resurrection in the words, "we, according to his promises, looke for new heavens" (8:63). Thus Donne subsequently writes that "*Man* is a *future Creature*. In a holy and usefull sense, wee might say, that *God is a future God*" (8:75).

The second example to be discussed is from "The First Sermon Preached to King Charles" at St. James's in 1625, on Psalm 11:3: "If the foundations bee destroyed: what can the righteous doe."[19] Donne notes the alternative way in which the Hebrew word *ha-shatot* has been translated; this can be seen, for example, in the more general *Vulgate* term "the things," which follows the Septuagint.[20] Donne's focus on the term "foundations" first affirms the literal translation of the Hebrew word created from the root *shatah*, "a basis, i.e (figuratively) political or moral support:—foundation."[21] This focus then itself provides a basis for Donne's subsequent statement, which guides his entire sermon, that "I had fixed my selfe upon certaine *Foundations*, Confidences, and Assurances of Deliverance from thee [God]" (*OESJD* 3:4).

Louis F. Hartman, and S. David Sperling, "God, Names of: YHWH," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, second edition, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference, USA, 2007), Vol. 7, p. 675.

[18]For a discussion of Donne's preaching on the *Tetragrammaton*, see: Goodblatt, *Christian Hebraism*, pp. 58–65.

[19]*KJ*, Bbb 6[r].

[20]For a discussion of the translations of, and commentaries on, this verse, see: J. M. Neale and R. F. Littledale, *A Commentary on the Psalms from Primitive and Mediaeval Writers,* volume 1: Psalm I to Psalm XXXVIII, fourth edition (London: Joseph Masters, 1884; New York: AMS, 1976), p. 173.

[21]Francis Brown, S. R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs, eds., *Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2014c1906), p. 1059; James Strong, *A Concise Dictionary of the Words in the Hebrew Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1890), p. 122, number 8356.

Donne's Second Use of the *Targum*: Extensions of Meaning

Donne also cites the *Targum* in order to extend the meaning of the Hebrew term, that is, to provide an alternative, literal meaning. The seven instances are listed in Table 2:[22]

Biblical Verse	*Donne's Citation (Sermons)*	*Antwerp Polyglot*	*Targum*
Gen. 1:2	He is called by this Name, by the word of this Text, *Ruach*, even in the beginning of Creation, God had created Heaven and Earth, and then *The Spirit of God*, *sufflabat*, saith Pagnins translation, (and so saith the *Chalde Paraphrase* too), it *breathed upon the waters* (Sermon on Lamentations 4:20*; Sermons* 4:251)	*Vol. 1, sig. A2r, p. 3* & spiritus Dei insufflabat super faciem aquarum And the spirit of God breathed upon the face of the waters	*Biblia Rabbinica* 1:14 And a wind from before the Lord was blowing on the surface of the water (Grossfeld Genesis 42)

[22]Further sources for the translation of the *Targum* are: Bruce D. Chilton, trans., *The Isaiah Targum* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990c1987); Bernard Grossfeld, trans., *The Targum Onqelos to Deuteronomy* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988); and Peter S. Knobel, trans., *The Targum of Qohelet* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991).

Deut. 32:21	*They have provoked God with their vanities*, the *Chaldee* Paraphrase ever expresseth it, *Idolis*, with their Idols (Sermon on Ecclesiastes 5:13–14; *Sermons* 3:50)	*Vol. 1, sig. 2Q1r, p. 733* Ipsi prouocauerunt corã me in eo quod non erat timendũ: irritauerunt corã me in cultu idolorũ: & ego p̃[ro]uocabo eos in eo qui nõ est populus: in populo insipiẽte irritabo illos They have provoked me with that which is not to be afraid of: they have irritated me with a cult of idols	*Biblia Rabbinica* 1:457 They caused jealousy before Me with a non-deity; they caused provocation before me with [the worship of] idols (Grossfeld Deuteronomy: 94–95)
Job 14:14	*All the days of my appointed time, till my changing [kalaph] come*…And so the Chaldee Paraphrasts, the first Exposition of the Bible, have express'd it, *Quousque rursus fiam*, Till I be made up again by death (Sermon on Psalm 55:19)[23]	*Vol. 3, sig. T3r, p. 221* Si moriatur vir impius, nunquid potest viuere? proptereà omnibus diebus militiæ meæ expectabo, donec veniat immutatio vitę meæ If an undevout man dies, can he live? Therefore I will wait during all the days of my army, till the change of my life come	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:215 until the transfor-mations of my life would come (Managan 45)

[23]Peter McCullough, ed., *Sermons Preached at the Jacobean Courts, 1615–1619*, The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 37. Parenthetical citations will be noted as *OESJD* volume number: page number.

Ps. 38:2	*Thy hand presses me sore*; so the Vulgat read it, *Confirmasti super me manum tuum*, *Thy hand is settled upon me*; and the Chalde paraphrase carries it farther then, to *Mansit super me vulnus manus tuæ*, Thy hand hath wounded mee, and that hand keeps the wound open (Sermon on Psalm 38:2; *Sermons* 2:66)	*Vol. 3, sig. 2F6r, p. 347* Quoniam sagittæ tuæ irruerunt in me, & mansit super me vulnus manus tuæ For your arrows have sunk into me, and the stroke (or injury) of your hand stayed on me	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:35 And the stroke of your hand rests upon me (Stec 82)
Prov. 14:31	the *Chalde paraphrase* renders this text thus, *He that oppresses the poore reproaches his owne soule*; for his own soule is as poore, as any whom he can oppresse….Doe not violate, doe not smother, not strangle, not *suffocate the good motions* of Gods Spirit in thee (Sermon on Proverbs 14:31; *Sermons* 8:290)	*Vol. 3, sig. 2B6r, p. 575* Qui opprimit pauperem, opprobrium facit animæ suæ He that oppress the poor, shames his soul	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:157 He who oppresses the pious poor does it to his soul
Eccles. 8:11	the Chaldee Paraphast express this place thus, *Quia non est factum verbum ultionis*; As though this sinner made himself believe, that God had never spoken word of revenge against sinners (Sermon on Ecclesiastes 8:11; *OESJD* 1:23)	*Vol. 3, sig. 2H5r, p. 645* (misprinted as '639') Et ideo quòd non fit verbum vltionis improborum velocissimè super opera eorum mala And because a word of punishment against an evil work of these depraved is not said speedily	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:319 Because the matter of punishment of the wicked is not done quickly for their evil deeds (Knobel 42)

Isa. 52:3	For the first, since both the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, and the Jewish *Rabbins* themselves, do interpret this to be a prophecy of the Messias (Sermon on Isaiah 52:3; *OESJD* 1:3).	*Vol. 4, sig. O2r, p. 259* Quoniam hæc dicit Dominus: Gratis venundati estis, & absque argento redimemini. And you shall be redeemed without money (silver)	*Biblia Rabbinica* 3:82 And you shall be redeemed without money (Chilton 102)

Donne's citation from the *Targum* in discussing the Penitential Psalm 38:2 provides an apt illustration of his rhetorical strength in developing and supplementing the literal meaning of a Hebrew term with rhetorical and cognitive force.[24] Debora Shuger's statement that "divine power fascinates Donne largely in its destructive and catastrophic aspect"[25] is especially relevant to his preaching on this verse (at the Inns of Court in 1618) that reads "thy hand presseth me sore."[26] For Donne continues here to describe the biblical experience of divine punishment established in Psalm 38:1: "O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath: neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure."[27] The crux in the biblical verse Psalm 38:2 is the term *va-tinḥat*, which in this case means not simply to descend but also—and more intensely—to "press down" or "press sore."[28] Donne concentrates on the infliction of divine violence, conscientiously returning to the *Targum* in order to accurately expand upon the raw physicality of this act. Furthermore, his focus on the prolonged, oppressive action of the divine hand offers an alternative, literal meaning that extends the *Targum* explanation that "the stroke of your hand rests upon me"; it is not simply an act of

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[24]A discussion of Donne's sermon on the Penitential Psalm 38:2, has been developed at length in my book *Christian Hebraism*. My present discussion cites particularly from pages 119–20.

[25]Debora Kuller Shuger, "Absolutist Theology: *The Sermons of John Donne*, in *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997c1990), p. 171.

[26]*KJ*, Ddd[r].

[27]*KJ*, Ccc 7[v].

[28]Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 639; Strong, p. 78, number 5181.

"resting" or remaining on the wounded psalmic speaker, but rather a prolonged act of injury that rhetorically supplements and reinforces the explanation preserved in the Latin translation. In this manner, Donne fully embodies one's feeling of pain, thereby significantly drawing out the act of divine punishment.

Two further examples substantiate this method of extending the literal meaning of the Hebrew term. There is Donne's citation of the *Targum* in his 1622 Gunpowder Plot sermon on Genesis 1:2, preached at St. Paul's: "the Spirit of God mooved upon the face of the waters."[29] This biblical verse contains three cruxes: the alternative meanings of the Hebrew word *ruaḥ* as either "wind" or "spirit"; the equivocal meaning of the Hebrew word *meraḥefet* as either "hover" or "float"; and the vernacular meaning of the Hebrew phrase *`al-penei* as "on the surface of" versus its literal meaning as "on the face of." The *Targum* explains that "a wind from before the Lord was blowing on the surface of the water," eliding as well as any reference to personification in its translation; as Bernard Grossfeld notes, *meraḥefet* is translated into the unequivocal term "blowing," which is "designed to indicate that *ruaḥ* here means 'wind' and not 'spirit.'"[30] Clearly, this does not satisfy Christian Trinitarian theology, and so Donne carefully follows the Latin translation of the *Targum*, which reads that "the spirit of God breathed upon the face of the waters." By doing so, he not only uses the term "spirit" but also accordingly preserves the anthropomorphic characteristics of both the Spirit and the waters as a forceful theological statement.

Lastly, there is Donne's citation of the *Targum* in his 1628 sermon preached at St. Paul's on Proverbs 14:31: "Hee that oppresseth the poore, reprocheth his Maker ['*osehu*]."[31] Donne first follows the *Targum* in replacing what John Healey terms "the theologically objectionable"[32] phrase "reprocheth his Maker" with the phrase "oppresses his soul." Subsequently, however, Donne integrates the *Targum*'s translation with that of the *King James Bible* to establish a

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[29]*KJ*, A[r].

[30]Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Genesis*, p. 43, note 3.

[31]*KJ*, Iii 5[r].

[32]John F. Healey, trans., *The Targum of Proverbs* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1991), p. 37.

causal relationship between them: if you oppress your soul, you thereby reproach its Maker. For Donne, therefore, his reading transfers the punishment onto the oppressor himself and deepens the commitment of this self-reflexive act. He thereby underlines in this instance a theological force—one's personal responsibility toward the divinity in one's soul—and a cognitive force as well—as an expression of affliction and distress. Taken together these three examples are illustrative of the way in which Donne extends and develops literal meaning in these various sermons.

Donne's Third Use of the *Targum*: Metaphoric/Symbolic Meaning

Donne's most complex and fascinating purpose in citing the *Targum*, however, is in order to create a metaphoric/symbolic meaning for the biblical text. The five instances are listed in Table 3:

Biblical Verse	*Donne's Citation (Sermons)*	*Antwerp Polyglot*	*Targum*
1 Sam. 7:6	They poured water, *Vt esset symbolum lacrymarum* [marginal note: Rab. Oziel], That that might be a type, and figure, in what proportion of teares, they desired to expresse their repentance (Sermon on Psalm 6:6–7; *OESJD* 3:111)	*Vol. 2, sig. Y3r, p. 257* & effuderunt cor suum in pœnitentia ante Dominum And they poured their heart in penance before the Lord	*Biblia Rabbinica* 2:131 And poured forth their heart in repentance like water before the Lord
Ps. 89:48	And so in this text, the Chalde Paraphrase expresses it thus, *Videbit Angelum mortis*, he shall see a Messenger, a forerunner, a power of Death, an executioner of Death (Sermon on Psalm 89:48; *OESJD* 1:128)	*Vol. 3, sig. 2O6r, p. 443* [49] Quis est ille vir qui viuet, & non videbit angelum mortis? What man is he that lives and will not see the angel of death?	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:84 (Psalm 89:49) Who is the man who will live and not see the angel of death (Stec 170)

Ps. 91:5	(so the Chalde paraphrase calls it there expresly, *Sagitta mortis*, The arrow of death) which every man knows to belong to every man; (Sermon on Psalm 38:2; *Sermons* 2:61)	*Vol. 3, sig. 2P2r, p. 447* sagitta angeli mortis The arrow of the angel of death	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:86 The arrow of the angel of death (Stec 175)
Prov. 8:17	butt the *Chaldee* Paraphrase better, *Qui mane consurgunt*, they that ryse betymes in the morning shall find mee (Sermon on Proverbs 8:17; *OESJD* 1:55)	*Vol. 3, sig. 2A5r, p. 560* Ego diligentes me diligo, qui manè consurgunt ad me, inuenient me I love them that love me, and they who in the morning rise up for me, shall find me	*Biblia Rabbinica* 4:145 And those who come early before me will find me
Hos. 4:2	And, another [prophet says], *blood toucheth blood*, whom the Chalde Paraphrase expresses aright, *Aggregant peccata peccatis*, blood toucheth blood, when sin induces sin (Sermon on Job 16:17–19; *OESJD* 3:218)	*Vol. 4, sig. 2R1r, p. 745* & aggregant peccata peccatis & they add sins to sins	*Biblia Rabbinica* 3:343 And sins upon sins accumulate

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Whether it is water transformed into tears (1 Samuel 7:6), death embodied as an angel or an arrow (Psalm 89:48, Psalm 91:5), the dawn light transformed into divine revelation (Proverbs 8:17), or blood transfigured into sin (Hosea 4:2)—Donne focuses on the ways in which the *Targum* intensifies the perceptual and religious dimensions of the biblical text. The embodiment of death in the citations of the *Targum* on Psalm 89:48 and Psalm 91:5 refers to a biblical figure, which is most vividly described in 1 Chronicles 21:16: "And David lift up his eyes, and saw the Angel of the Lord stand betweene the earth and the

heaven, having a drawen sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem."[33] Death is embodied as an act of physical, martial violence, symbolizing as well these aspects of divine power and retribution. On its part, the *Targum*'s introduction of this figure distinctly intensifies the two biblical verses—the rhetorical force of the question from Psalm 89:48 ("What man is he that liveth, and shall not see death?"),[34] as well as the verdictive force of the statement from Psalm 91:5 ("Thou shalt not be afraid . . . for the arrow that flieth by day").[35] In his 1619 sermon on Psalm 89:48, Donne's emphasis on the embodied image of death as a "messenger" and an "executioner" reinforces the biblical concern with the efficacy of sight as both a perceptual and a symbolic act, highly appropriate to his preaching at Whitehall on "*Easter-day, at the Communion*, The King [James I] being then dangerously sick at *New-Market*" (*OESJD* 1:125). This timely warning about death is thus a national as well as a personal one, to which Donne adds the religious consolation that the dying man will ultimately "see something with horror though not such as shall shake his morall, or his Christian constancy" (*OESJD* 1:128). Donne's additional reference to the violent, martial image of embodied death is found in his citation of the *Targum* on Psalm 91:5, embedded within his 1618 sermon on the Penitential Psalm 38:2. The image of the "arrow of death" develops the figurative meaning of an arrow as God's judgments[36]—seen for example in the divine declaration that "I will make mine arrowes drunke with blood."[37] Donne thereby foreshadows his subsequent discussion in this sermon of the literal verb *va-tinḥat*, "press down" or "press sore," thereby intensifying the divine violence and the penitential force of this Psalm.

Donne's citation of the *Targum* regarding 1 Samuel 7:6 (through the marginal note of "Nab. Oziel")[38] continues the Christian Hebraic

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[33]*KJ*, Pp 5[r].

[34]*KJ*, Fff 2[v].

[35]*KJ*, Fff 3[r].

[36]Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 346.

[37]Deuteronomy 32:42; KJ, U 2[r].

[38]The marginal note "Nab. Oziel" is a misprint for the name Rab(bi) Jonathan ben Uzziel (*Sermons* 10:366–67), who is considered to have authored the *Targum Jonathan* on the *Prophets*.

tradition of attentiveness to this source, as evidenced in the marginal note of the 1560 *Geneva Bible*:[39]

> And they gathered together to Mizpéh, and [d]drewe water and powred it out before the Lord.
>
> [d]The Chalde text hathe, that thei drewe water out of their heart: that is, wept abundantly for their sinnes.[40]

The semantic crux in the biblical text focuses on the meaning of the act of pouring out water and is thereby provided with a figurative explication, which transforms the water into a metaphor/symbol of emotional response and penitence. Donne's preaching on this verse is embedded in his sermon on the Penitential Psalm 6:67, "Preached to the King [Charles I] at Whitehall, *upon the occasion of the Fast*, April 5. 1628" (*OESJD* 3:105). Though the sermon is thereby marked as being part of national penitence over the disasters in England's war against France and Spain (*OESJD* 3:353), there is evidence that it was originally preached as part of an earlier liturgical series on the Penitential Psalm 6.[41] Joan Webber discusses this sermon as mostly "organized around the word 'tears,' which becomes the controlling symbol."[42] Most appropriately, then, Donne declares his exegetical principle that the water is to be understood as a "*symbolum lacrymarum*" (symbol of tears), taking the *Targum*'s interpretation from the notes of the *Bibliorum Sacrorum Glossa Ordinaria* (1601–1603).[43] He thus foregrounds his move from the literal reading of the word "water" to its figurative interpretation, "teares," as an expression of repentance.

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[39]The present discussion of this verse draws on *The Christian Hebraism of John Donne*, pp. 32–36.

[40]*The [Geneva] Bible and Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and New Testament* (Geneva: Rouland Hall, 1560), p. 123(v).

[41]See the discussion in *OESJD* 3:353–54.

[42]Joan Webber, *Contrary Music: The Prose Style of John Donne* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1963), p. 136.

[43]The note to the biblical text reads, in its English translation: "Jonathan son of Oziel, a man of great reputation among the Jews, expounds this as relating to the heart's turning to God, and thus by this water is understood the sorrowful tears shed by the soul" (*OESJD* 3:359, note 281).

Moreover, Donne's Latin explanation actually circumvents the *Targum*'s original use of simile, particularly as his explanation of the tears as "a type, and figure" is remarkable for its concurrence with the shift into metaphor found in the Genevan marginal note; in a similar manner, Donne integrates the various properties of water and human repentance (e.g., fluidity, the ability to expand and cover, the power to cleanse). Donne's citation of the *Targum* is thus used to inspire in his audience both a personal and national penitence.

An additional example, taken from the sermon "Preached in Lent, to the King [Charles I] April 20. 1630" (*OESJD* 3:211) at Whitehall, provides a highly instructive example of intertextuality among biblical and exegetical texts.[44] Donne's citation of the *Targum* is embedded within a biblical concern with revenge as voiced in Job 16:18 ("O earth, cover not thou my blood"),[45] a concern he transmutes into a more subtle concern with sin and penitence. The longer passage reads:

> Blood is not literally bodily blood . . . but spirituall blood, the blood of the soule, exhausted by many, and hanious sins, such as they insimulated Job of. . . . And, another [prophet says], *blood toucheth blood* [marginal note: Hosea 4.2], whom the Chalde Paraphrase expresses aright, *Aggregant peccata peccatis*, blood toucheth blood, when sin induces sin. Which place of *Hosea*, S. *Gregory* interprets too, then blood touches blood, *cum ante oculos Dei*, *adjunctis peccatis cruentatur anima*; Then God sees a soule in her blood, when she wounds and wounds her selfe againe, with variation of divers, or iteration of the same sins. (*OESJD* 3:217–18)

The vivid imagery of uncovered blood in Job's appeal evokes associations of death and violence, which has been explained as meaning that "blood not covered by the earth was understood to have been violently shed, and was regarded as calling for revenge on the murderer."[46] Donne seeks, however, to transmute the biblical concern

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[44]The present discussion of this verse draws on *The Christian Hebraism of John Donne*, pp. 40–45.

[45]*KJ*, Z3 6[r].

[46]Victor E. Reichert, *Job*. Hebrew Text and English Translation, with an

with revenge into a more subtle concern with sin and penitence, particularly appropriate to the Lenten season. This concern prompts his exegetical choice, in which he focuses on the figurative explication of the word "blood" as "the blood of the soule, exhausted by many, and hainous sins." His subsequent citation of the verse from Hosea comprises what Kintgen discusses as a "religious counterpart of intertextuality: intratextuality, the heaping up of references to other parts of the Bible."[47] What is more, Donne creates a scholarly intertextuality among his sermonic text, the *Targum* and Gregory's *Homiliarium in Ezechielem Prophetam*,[48] which further allows the preacher to adopt the figurative interpretation of "blood" as "sin." He thereby invests Job's appeal with a meaning appropriate for Lent—as he elides the violence and vengeance associated with the solely literal image of uncovered blood to emphasize instead the Jobian drama of suffering and sin.

Donne's display of scholarship in this passage thus accomplishes many things: creating a developing intensity that progresses from the *Targum's* statement of sin and consequence, to Gregory's vivid and violent description of God seeing a bloody, wounded and sinful soul; preserving Latin as the non-vernacular, authoritative language for both Jewish and Christian biblical commentary, thereby having it bear the weight of exegetical and religious dialogue; and establishing a reading of the biblical text that ultimately elides the vengeance (if not the violence) associated with the solely literal image of uncovered blood, so as to sever the connection between the biblical speaker's "hainous sinnes" and "these afflictions" visited upon him by God, and ultimately to emphasize instead the continued Jobian drama of suffering.

The final and most compelling example of a metaphoric/symbolic meaning generated by the *Targum* is in Donne's "A Sermon Preached to Queen Anne, at Denmarke-house. December. 14. 1617." (*OESJD* 1:43). Here he focuses his use of the *Targum* on the very verse on which the sermon is preached: Proverbs 8:17, "I love them that love

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Introduction and Commentary (London: Soncino, 1946), p. 84.

[47]Eugene R. Kintgen, *Reading in Tudor England* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996), p. 113.

[48]For the notation on this source, see *OESJD* 3:462, note 315.

me, and those that seeke me early, shall find me."[49] Preached to a "markedly female" auditory of the royal household—Queen Anne and the ladies of her Privy Chambers—in the late morning (*OESJD* 1:186), this is therefore a particularly fascinating sermon in which to study Donne's use of *Targum* within a wider textual context. Potter and Simpson write in their original 1953 edition of this sermon with much appreciation and intensity (likely attributable to Evelyn Simpson):

> Reading it is both a pleasant and a deeply moving experience. For sheer eloquence and appeal to a reader's feelings it is decidedly the best of these earliest sermons. It is a sermon on human and divine love, and hence by age-old convention was particularly well adapted to a congregation that included a queen and many of her feminine attendants, though Donne does not direct his remarks to them specifically. Also there unquestionably hovers over it the shadow of that other Anne, Donne's wife, whom he had lost four months earlier, though again she is not mentioned. Donne speaks of mankind, and not directly of himself, yet it is significant that his thoughts on sexual love are from a masculine rather than a feminine approach, and concern man's desire for woman rather than a woman's for man.
>
> (*Sermons* 1:134)

On his part, Peter McCullough has more recently drawn attention to the sermon's venue and audience when he writes:

> [This sermon] is characterized by a unique degree of both literary sophistication and particularized response to its audience—it is deservedly one of D's most admired sermons. . . . two further biographical facts about Queen Anne—her secretly practiced Roman Catholicism, and the fact that this sermon was preached two days after her forty-third birthday—should animate any contextualized study of this sermon. Returning to it many years after arguing these points, I remain convinced of their importance. However, I see them now as enriching rather than dominating what is a

[49] *KJ*, Iii 3[r].

> more generally personal and pastorally minded sermon, where Anne's (and her court's) femininity and age, rather than her Roman Catholicism, inspired the preacher most. (*OESJD* 1:185-86)

How, then, can Donne's citation of the *Targum* be construed within this sermon, charged as it with such emotion, and with such a particular awareness of the issue of gender? Donne's use of the *Targum* is found in Part 2 of the sermon, which focuses on the second part of the biblical passage, cited as: "they that seeke me earlie, shall finde mee," *meshaḥarai, yimtsa'uneni*.[50] Following upon his discussion of love—human, sexual, divine—in the first part, Donne very appropriately opens the second part with the figure of Mary Magdalene, who visits Christ's tomb *cum adhuc tenebræ essent*, "when it was yet darke" (John 20:1).[51] Whereupon finding Christ's empty tomb, she is cited directly by Donne in his sermon, as she says (John 20:13): "*Tulerunt Dominum meum*: They have taken awaie my lord" (*OESJD* 1:52).

As befitting a sermon preached to the Queen, it is a woman's intense emotion and subsequent revelation of Christ that together mark out Mary's insight. The use in this essay of such terms, which metaphorically extend visual perception into spiritual ones, connects directly to Donne's own use of the perceptual image to set out his theological argument:

> Hee [*Christ*] giues vs light to seeke him by, butt hee is not found till wee haue sought him. . . . the [*commaundement*] *Primum* [*first*][52] is that wee shoold seeke yt [*Kingdom of Heaven*] before wee seeke anie thing elce; that when the

[50]*Biblia Rabbinica*, 4:145.

[51]Cited from: *Biblia Sacra*, Vulgatæ Editionis, Sixti V Pont, Max, Jussu Recognita et Clementis VIII Auctoritate Edita, ed. Michael Hetzenauer (Rabistonæ: Friderici Pustet, 1914), p. 1063; *The [Rhemes] New Testament of Jesus Christ*. Translated Faithfully into English, out of the Authentical Latin (Rhemes: John Fogny, 1582), p. 274.

[52]Donne is here developing his previous citation from Matthew 6:33, which in the Bible reads: *Quærite ergo primum regnum Dei*, "Seeke therefore first the Kingdom of God." See: *Biblia Sacra*, p. 958; *The [Rhemes] New Testament,* p. 16.

> sunne of grace ys ryzen to vs, the first thing that wee doe, bee to seeke Christ Iesus. (*OESJD* 1:55)

It is Donne's position that one must actively seek the grace, initially offered by God, which impels him to adhere to the *Targum*'s interpretive explanation of the biblical term *meshaḥarai*, "seeke me earlie":

> The worde heere vsed for earlie signifies propperlie *Auroram,* the morning, and ys vsuallie transfered in scriptures to anie beginning [*of any action; F26*].[53] So in particular [*marginal note: Esay. 47.11*], Euill shall come vppon thee and thou shalt not knowe *shakrah*: the morning the begining of yt: And therfore this text is elegantlie translated by one *Aurorantes ad me*. They that haue their breake of daie towards mee, they that send forth their first morning beames towards me; their first thoughts, they shalbee sure to find mee, St. Ierome expresses this early dilligence requird in vs well in his translacion: *Qui mane vigilauerint*, they that wake betymes in the morning shall find mee; butt the *Chaldee* Paraphrase better, *Qui mane consurgunt*, they that ryse betymes in the morning shall find mee . . . To make haste, the circumstance onlie requird here ys that hee [*Christ*] bee sought earlie; and to invite thee to yt, consider how earlie hee sought thee. (*OESJD* 1:55–56)

There are two distinct semantic cruxes in the biblical text, which inform Donne's passage. The first is in the verse from Proverbs 8:17. This crux focuses on the word *meshaḥarai*, whose root *shaḥar* is a denominative verb formed from the noun *shaḥar*, "dawn"; it originally, literally meant "to dawn," "to look for dawn," and subsequently developed figuratively to mean "to be up early at any task," "to search for, to seek diligently early in the morning," to "seek with longing, long for."[54] The second crux is in the dire, prophetic warning from Isaiah 47:11: "And upon you will come evil, you will not know its meaning," *u-va ʻalayikh raʻah, lo tedʻi shaḥrah* (*Biblia Rabbinica* 3:75). In

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[53]This bracketed phrase is cited from: John Donne, *XXVI Sermons* (London: Thomas Newcomb, 1661), p. 267.

[54]Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 1007; Strong, p. 114, numbers 7835 and 7837.

this instance, the semantic crux is the word *shaḥrah*, literally meaning "her dawn"; for the Hebrew term *ra'ah*, "evil," is a feminine noun, and thus the word *shaḥar*, "dawn," is constructed with a prenomial suffix in order to assert possession.[55] "Dawn" therefore is understood metaphorically in this verse as: meaning, intent, "origin of calamity."[56]

Donne's particular reading of these biblical verses ultimately highlights a fascinating issue of opacity in the biblical text, in response to which he ultimately recovers the visual, perceptual aspect of language to preach about the way to grace and revelation. In the case of Proverbs 8:17, the original *Targum* responds to the semantic crux by explaining: "And those who come early before me will find me"—thereby extending the literal conception of time to include an early riser and eliding the perceptual image of the dawn with its play of light and darkness. The retention of this meaning as a specific time period, as well as the active verb "come" (rather than "wake"), is retained by the *Antwerp Polylgot* and cited by Donne, "rise in the morning," as well as providing Donne with an intertextual connection to another use of the same word in Isaiah 47:11: *shaḥrah* (literally, "her dawn"). Here the situation of dawn, with its play of shadows and visibility—i.e., visual confusion—is recognized and retained by the twelfth-century Spanish-Jewish exegete Abraham Ibn Ezra—like Donne, a poet himself—who explains that *shaḥrah* "will be like a night that has no dawn, and the meaning [of *shaḥar*] is light."[57]

What then is the purpose of Donne's etymological word game? First, the preservation of the perceptual aspect of the word in the play on light and dark, that strengthens the action either "rising early" or "understanding" as metaphorical revelation. In essence, this concrete situation of dawn is used by Donne metaphorically to create an image for the explanation of the abstract concept of spiritual sight and revelation. Secondly, this perceptual, metaphorical aspect is used specifically by Donne for a theological purpose, extending the literal meaning of the word *shaḥar*, "dawn" to a metaphorical, theological

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[55]This note on Hebrew grammar explains Donne's transcription of the term *shakrah* (as he writes it), which corrects the note in *OESJD* 1:201.

[56]Brown-Driver-Briggs, p.1007.

[57]*Biblia Rabbinica*, 3:75. See Chanita Goodblatt, "The Presence of Abraham Ibn Ezra in Seventeenth-Century England," *ANQ 22.2* (2009): 18–24.

sense. He skillfully plays, therefore, on the particular time—the late morning—and place—the Queen's residence—to preach about the valuable role of a woman in actively searching for Christ and His grace.

Yet there is a final point. Towards the end of the sermon, Donne says: "Yett yf, wee haue omitted our first earlie, our youth, there is yet one earlie left for vs, this minute, seeke Christ earlie now, now, as soone as his spiritt begins to shine vppon your hartes" (*OESJD* 1:57). This contemplation of one's youth is certainly appropriate, effectively reflecting the Hebrew term *shaḥarut*, "dawn of youth."[58] The image of the sun at dawn becomes, even if somewhat tentatively, a metaphor of the Queen's youth. Preaching before the Queen, two days after her birthday (*OESJD* 1:203), Donne offers her the opportunity to transform her chronological age into a time of spiritual rebirth and "daie of regeneracion" (*OESJD* 1:57). Thus, as McCullough proposes, Donne may well be alluding with this phrase "to the anniversary of her [Queen Anne's] christening" (*OESJD* 1:203).

Conclusion

Focusing on Donne's use of the *Targum* highlights his active participation in the intellectual heritage of Christian Hebraism, as he adapts the "Chalde Paraphrase" to fit the specific circumstances of reading and preaching on the Hebrew Bible. His use of three different methods of interpretation reveals a mind endeavoring to understand—and create—the literal and symbolic meanings of the biblical text. Spread over the many years and venues of his ministry, Donne's citing of the *Targum* demonstrates that he consistently takes great care to make the Hebrew biblical text accessible for his audience, duly preserving for them both its authority and meaning. Concomitantly, he also involves his audience in reading the biblical text as a process of interpretation, which involves a wide variety of Jewish and Christian sources. Donne's citation of the *Targum* is ultimately an eclectic one, revealing a multi-lingual palimpsest that bespeaks reading as interpretation.

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[58]Brown-Driver-Briggs, p. 1007; Strong, p. 115, number 7839.

Further studies would provide even more significance to Donne's use of this Jewish source, particularly within the context of 17th-century collections of translations and commentaries on the Hebrew Bible in England that included the *Targum* together with Greek and Latin notations. One can look at the *Hexapla* on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, 1 Samuel and 2 Samuel, published between 1603 and 1631, by the English clergyman Andrew Willet, with the volume on Leviticus published posthumously.[59] One can look in addition at the series of *Annotations* on the Pentateuch, Psalms and Song of Songs by the English clergyman Henry Ainsworth, originally published between 1616 and 1619, and then published posthumously in a single, collected volume.[60] Such a study would certainly enrich the discussion of Donne's use of Jewish and Christian exegetical sources, illuminating as well the reciprocal relationships between scholarly commentary and homiletic practice.

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[59]Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesin* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1605); *Hexapla in Exodum* (London: Thomas Man and John Norton, 1608); *Hexapla in Leviticum* (London: Robert Milbourne, 1631); *An Harmonie upon the First Booke of Samuel* (Cambridge: L. Greeene, 1607); *An Harmonie upon the Second Book of Samuel* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1614).

[60]Henry Ainsworth, *Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses, the Booke of the Psalmes and the Song of Songs, or, Canticles* (London: John Bellamie, 1627).