

Neubauer

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ON THE DIALECTS SPOKEN IN PALESTINE
IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

A. NEUBAUER, M.A.

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III.

ON THE DIALECTS SPOKEN IN PALESTINE
IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.[AD. NEUBAUER.]†

It has always been held that the language of the Jews in Palestine after their return from the Babylonian captivity, down to the conquest by the Arabs of Palestine, was partly the modernised Hebrew (as it is to be found in the Mishnah, in the Hebrew parts of the Talmud, and in the Midrashim), partly an Aramaic dialect intermixed with Hebrew words and forms. Were these two dialects spoken simultaneously by all classes and in all provinces of Palestine, or has one dialect given way to the other, and if so, at what epoch? It will be our endeavour in the course of the present essay to supply an answer to these questions. But before proceeding to our investigations with the help of the scanty documents at our disposal, we must allude to the opinions which have been held during the last hundred years on the language spoken by Jesus and his immediate disciples.

Isaac Voss¹ was the first to say that it was absurd to suppose that Judea alone could have escaped the fate of the provinces conquered by the armies of Alexander the Great, and have preserved its own language instead of adopting that of the conquerors; and he concluded accordingly that Greek was the only language spoken in Palestine since Alexander. Voss

¹ *De oracul. Sibyll.*, p. 290; *Resp. ad iterata P. Simon object.*, p. 375; *Besp. ad obj. theol. Leyd.*

was closely followed by Diodati¹, who sought to prove that the mother language of the Jews in the time of Jesus was Greek, known under the name of the Hellenistic language. Bernard De Rossi² devoted a special monograph to refute Diodati, in which he proves that the language of the Jews at the time of Jesus, which he himself and the apostles spoke, was no other than the mixed dialect which De Rossi calls Syro-Chaldee; according to him the Hellenistic language was not current in Palestine. De Rossi's dissertation was reproduced in German, with notes, by Pfannkuche³, who accepts its conclusions entirely. Of course the impossibility of the idea that Greek was the only language of the Jews in Palestine was ere long realized, and a compromise was proposed by Prof. Paulus⁴, of Jena, who held that the current language of the Jews in Palestine at the time of Jesus was indeed an Aramaic dialect, but that Greek was at the same time so familiar in Palestine, and more especially in Galilee and Jerusalem, that Jesus and his disciples had no difficulty in using it in their public speeches whenever they found it convenient. The arguments of Prof. Paulus, which we cannot reproduce in their entirety, but some of which we shall have to mention later on, were refuted by Silvestre de Sacy⁵ without great difficulty. The two dissertations of

¹ *Dominici Diodati J. C. Neapolitano de Christo graece loquente exercitatio*, Neap., 1767.

² *Della lingua propria di Cristo e degli Ebrei nazionali della Palestina da' tempi de' Maccabei*, Parma, 1772.

³ *Ueber die palästinische Landessprache in dem Zeitalter Christi und der Apostel, ein Versuch, zum Theil nach de Rossi entworfen*, von Heinrich Friederich Pfannkuche (in vol. viii. of Eichhorn's *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur*, pp. 365 to 480). *English translation*, by John Brown, D. D., in Clark's *Biblical Cabinet*, 1832, vol. ii. pp. 1 to 90.

⁴ *Verosimilia de Judaeis Palaestinensibus, Jesu atque etiam Apostolis non Aramaea dialecto sola, sed Graeca quoque Aramaizante locutis*. Particula prima et altera, Jena, 1803. These two dissertations have become very scarce. I have not been able to see them. The contents of them are known to us by De Sacy's dissertation. See the following note.

⁵ S. de S. (Silvestre de Sacy), *Littérature orientale*, in S. i. pp. 125 to 147 of *Magazin encyclopédique*, etc., rédigé par A. L. Millin, Paris, 1805.

Prof. Paulus and the remarks of Hug¹ on the Greek language in Palestine Dr. Roberts² elaborated into a volume, the first part of which is entitled, 'On the language employed by our Lord and his disciples;' Dr. Roberts' conclusion, which is summed up by Dr. Böhl³ in the following words, 'Christ spoke for the most part in Greek, and only now and then in Aramaic,' differs but slightly from that of Paulus. It would take us too far to recount the opinions of the various authors who have written 'Introductions' to the study of the New Testament, and who naturally allude to our subject; we can only draw attention to special monographs and articles. Of recent date may be mentioned the essays of M. Renan⁴, Dr. E. Böhl⁵, and Prof. Franz Delitzsch⁶ relating to the language of Jesus; they all range themselves beside De Rossi and De Sacy, maintaining that the language of the Jews in Palestine was a kind of Hebrew.

If it could be admitted that the Jews during the Babylonian exile had gradually forgotten, or willingly given up the *Jehudith* language (as Isaiah⁷ calls it, in opposition to the *Aramith* of the Assyrians) for the Babylonian Aramaic dialect⁸, the question about the language spoken by them in Palestine at the time of Hillel and Jesus could be settled

¹ *Einleitung in den Schriften des neuen Testaments*, von Joh. Leonhard Hug, 3te Aufl., Th. 2, p. 44 seqq.

² *Discussions on the Gospels, in two parts.* Part I. *On the language employed by our Lord and his disciples.* Part II. *On the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel, and on the origin and authenticity of the Gospels.* By Alexander Roberts, D. D., 2nd ed., 1864.

³ *Forschungen nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu und deren Zusammenhang mit der Septuaginta-übersetzung*, von Eduard Böhl, Wien, 1873, p. 3.

⁴ *Histoire générale et système comparé des Langues sémitiques, première partie, Histoire générale des Langues sémitiques*, 3rd ed., Par., 1863, p. 224 seqq.

⁵ See note 3.

⁶ *Saat auf Hoffnung*, Jahrg. xi, Heft 4, p. 195 seqq., von F. D. (Franz Delitzsch), and in *The Hebrew New Testament of the British and Foreign Bible Society. A contribution to Hebrew philology*, by Prof. Franz Delitzsch, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 30 and 31.

⁷ Isaiah xxxvi. 11; 2 Kings xviii. 26.

⁸ See *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, etc., ausgearbeitet von Dr. Georg Benedict Winer, article *Sprache* (3rd ed., 1848, Bd. ii. p. 499).

without difficulty: it would be of course a dialect approaching that of the *Targumim*. There are, however, objections to this view. In the first place, it is scarcely credible that the short period of the Babylonian exile would have been sufficient for a nation to completely change its dialect, even when both are of the same family of languages, as is undoubtedly the case with Hebrew and Aramaic. Had the Jews not brought back their own dialect to Palestine, and had they spoken Aramaic instead of *Jehudith*, there would have been no occasion for Nehemiah¹ to say, 'And their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod and could not speak in the Jews' (Jehudith) language, but according to the language of each people.' On the other hand, the language in which the prophets of the exile, as well as Ezra and Nehemiah, address themselves to the Jews is still good Hebrew, and in some respects even classical Hebrew. The greater part of those who returned to Jerusalem must have therefore spoken Hebrew, most likely intermixed more or less with Aramaic words, but not so transformed grammatically as to be termed Aramaic. It is therefore doubtful whether the words, 'So they read in the book in the Law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading²,' apply, as stated in the Talmud³, to the beginning of a Targum. As in many other instances, the Rabbis in so explaining had in view their own time, when the reading of the Targum was a general custom (first century B. C., or even later⁴). 'Giving the sense of the Law⁵' may mean, and probably does mean, 'giving an exegetical interpretation,' which at all events was necessary for the people in general. The Hebrew of the book of Esther,

¹ Nehemiah xiii. 24.

² *Ibidem*, viii. 8.

³ See for the passages, *Targum Onkelos*, herausgegeben und erläutert von Dr. A. Berliner, Berlin, 1884, Th. ii. p. 74.

⁴ See *ibidem*, p. 89, and *Die Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden, historisch entwickelt*, von Dr. Zunz, Berl., 1832, p. 8.

⁵ Nehemiah viii. 8.



which was beyond question written after the captivity, and very likely for general reading and not only for a few *litterati*, represents the language spoken by the Jews who returned to Jerusalem. The same language (though certainly deteriorated) we find also in the books of Chronicles. It is possible that a minority of the ten tribes who joined the exiles, on their return to Palestine, having been associated much longer with Aramaic-speaking populations, had forgotten the Hebrew tongue, if they had ever spoken it at all. The Ephraimitic Jews, who undoubtedly formed a majority of the Samaritans, knew but little Hebrew at the time when the exiles returned to Palestine¹. But for this Aramaic-speaking minority, Ezra and Nehemiah could have scarcely arranged a Targum in the busy time of re-establishing the Mosaic institutions amongst the new comers. Consequently, we must conclude that at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah the Hebrew was still spoken generally in Judea, and more especially in Jerusalem.

Although there is a great gap between the Old Testament (excepting Esther, Chronicles, and Ecclesiastes²) and the Mishnah (we mean the earliest parts³ of the Mishnah, which date from the second century B. C.) as regards documents in the spoken language by the Jews (none of the Apocryphal books existing in the original language), we may still affirm, following the best critics, that the book of Sirach was

¹ See *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, etc., ausgearbeitet von Dr. G. B. Winer, article *Samaritaner* (3rd ed., 1848, Bd. ii. p. 372), and *Fragments of the Samaritan Targum*, by J. W. Nutt, London, 1878.

² That Ecclesiastes is a work of the time of the second Temple is now generally admitted, e. g. by Prof. Delitzsch and Dean Plumptre.

³ Such is the early part of the tractate *Aboth* or sayings of the Jewish fathers (see Dr. Ch. Taylor's edition, Cambridge, 1877); a part of the tractate of *Yomâ* or the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement (see J. Derenbourg, *Essai de Restitution de l'ancienne rédaction de Masséchet Kippourim*, *Revue des Études juives*, t. vi. p. 41 seqq.); and many other parts (see the excellent dissertation by Dr. D. Hoffman, with the title of *Die erste Mischna und die Controversen der Tannaim*, Berlin, 1882; *Jahres-Bericht des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin pro 5642, 1881-1882.*)

written originally in Hebrew¹. The Talmud, it is true, quotes sayings from this book in Hebrew and in Aramaic², but it is beyond doubt that the latter are translations from the Hebrew, made at a later time, when Aramaic became the language of the majority. The same was the case with the book of Tobit, of which an Aramaic version has been published lately from an unique MS. in the Bodleian Library³. From the books of Maccabees we do not find a quotation in the Talmudical literature. The title 'Roll of the Hasmoneans,' given by a Rabbi of the tenth century A.D.⁴, may refer to a Hebrew or an Aramaic original. Indeed, the 'Rolls of Fasting Days' is the title of a treatise written in Aramaic⁵. Origen⁶ gives another title for the original of the book of Maccabees, viz. *Σαββῆθ Σαββανὲ ἔλ*, on the meaning of which critics do not agree. Some take it as Aramaic, meaning either the revolt of the rebels of God⁷ or 'genealogy or history' of the prince of the children of God⁸; others explain it from the Hebrew 'Book of the family of the prince of the sons of God'⁹. However, even if the title were Aramaic, it would not prove that the book itself was originally written in this dialect. The Aramaic, as in the case of Sirach, might be a later translation from the Hebrew. The few words to be found on the coins of the Hasmoneans are Hebrew¹⁰. We

¹ See *Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, etc., herausg. von Dr. J. J. Herzog und Dr. G. L. Plitt, Leipzig, 1877, article *Apo-cryphen* (by E. Schürer, Bd. i. p. 484 seqq.).

² See *Rabbinische Blumenlese*, von Leopold Dukes, Leipzig, 1844, pp. 67 to 84.

³ *The Book of Tobit, a Chaldee text*, etc., ed. by A. Neubauer, Oxford, 1878.

⁴ מגילת בית השמונאי. See הלכות גדולות (מ' סופרים), by Simeon of קייארא (Kayyar?), ed. Venice, 1548, fol. 141 d.

⁵ מגילת הענייה. See *Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine d'après les Thalmuds*, etc., par J. Derenbourg, partie i. p. 439 seqq.; *Geschichte der Juden*, von H. Graetz, vol. iii (3rd ed.), p. 597 seqq.

⁶ See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25.

⁷ סרבה סרבני אל. A. Geiger, *Urschrift*, etc., Breslau, 1857, p. 205.

⁸ שרבה. Jahn and Grimm (see Curtiss, *The name Maccabee*, Leipzig, 1876, p. 30).

⁹ ספר בית שר בני אל. See J. Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, p. 450 seqq.

¹⁰ See *Coins of the Jews*, by Frederic W. Madden (vol. ii. of *The International Numismata Orientalia*, London, 1881).



read on them לגאולת ירושלם, 'freedom of Jerusalem,' and not לפורקנא די or לגאולתא; but there are also words which are not biblical, such as חרות, 'freedom.' Had the spoken language been at that time an Aramaic dialect, and not the modernised Hebrew, the Maccabean princes would, according to our opinion, have put on their coins either pure biblical words or Aramaic words. As they have employed neither the one nor the other, we must take it for granted that the popular language in Jerusalem at least, and perhaps also in Judea, was the modernised Hebrew. This view is confirmed by the language in which the ethical sayings, which I believe may be considered as a popular literature, are written¹. In the collection known as the *Pirgê Aboth*, 'sayings of the fathers²,' in which every saying is recorded with the name of its author, we find that from the earliest, which is reported in the name of the men of the great synagogue, down to those connected with the name of Hillel, they are all written in the modernised Hebrew with a gradual increase of new words. In the case of Hillel only do we find sayings both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

Similarly the aggadico-homiletical literature on the Pentateuch and the prophetic lessons, to be found in the *Mekhilta*³, the *Pesiqta* of the Haftarothe⁴, and the

¹ When Moses desired to do miracles before Pharaoh, he, according to the Talmud, told him: 'Art thou going to bring straw to Aphraim, pottery to Kefar-Hanayah [now Kefar Anan; see our *Géographie du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, p. 179], wool to Damascus, magicians to Egypt [i. e. coals to Newcastle]?' חבן אתה מכניס לעפריים קדירות לכפר הנניח גוונין ברמשק הרשין במצרים (*Midrash Bereshith Rabbá*, ch. 86; *Bab. Talmud*, Menahoth, fol. 85 a. See Dukes, *Rabb. Blumenlese*, No. 650; Moïse Schuhl, *Sentences et Proverbes du Talmud et du Midrash*, Paris, 1878, No. 322).

² פרקי אבות. *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, etc., by Charles Taylor, M.A., Cambridge, 1877.

³ *Mekhilta* (מכילתא) de R. Ismael, herausgegeben mit Noten, Erklärungen, Indices und einer ausführlichen Einleitung versehen von M. Friedmann, Wien, 1870. This book contains expositions on Exodus.

⁴ The *Pesiqta* (פסיקתא, sections ?) seems to have been in the first instance composed for the prophetic lessons (Haftarothe) read on special Sabbaths before and after the 9th of Ab (the day of the destruction of Jerusalem). This redaction still exists in the MS. of the Bodleian Library, Opp. Add. No. 97

king Jannaeus gives to his queen Salome to make peace with the Pharisees is in Hebrew¹. The colloquial conversation in the schools was in modernised Hebrew². Popular songs in the Temple and outside are to be found in the same dialect³. It is told in the Talmud that the damsels who went out on the Day of Atonement in the vineyards, rejoicing to have passed the great feast, exclaimed in Hebrew: 'Young man, lift up thine eyes and see whom thou chooseth. Set not thine eyes on beauty, set them rather upon family and birth⁴.' Miriam, daughter of Bilgah, who was an adherent of the Greeks during the Maccabean wars, is reported to have apostrophised the altar in Hebrew, saying: 'Αύκος, Αύκος, thou hast destroyed the wealth of Israel, and hast not stood by them in the hour of their sorrow⁵!' The gallows on which Nicanor's⁶ head and feet were suspended, bore, according to the Talmud, a Hebrew inscription in the following terms⁷: 'The mouth which spoke in guilt, and the hand which stretched out

¹ *Bab. Talm.*, Sotah, fol. 22 b ולא ממי שאינם אל תתיראי מן הפרושים ומרי ומבסקים פרושים אלא מן הצבועים שדומים לפירושים שמעשיהן מעשה ומרי ומבסקים שבר כפנחס.

² It is said in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Pesahim*, vi. 1, fol. 33 a) that the elder of the family Betherah (at the time the presidents of the Sanhedrin; see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. p. 214) had forgotten the rule (*halakhah*) about the sacrifice of the Passover when it fell on a Sabbath. Some of the disciples reminded them that there was the Babylonian Hillel, who frequented the schools of Shemayah and Abtalyon, and who certainly would be able to tell them what was to be done. Then we read the following sentences: אמרו יש: כן בבל אהר והלל שמו ששימש את שמעיה ואבשליון ידע אם פסח דוחה את השבת אם לאו איפשר שיש ממנו תוחלת שלחו וקראו לו אמרו לו שמעת מימך כשהל ארבעה עשר להיות בשבת אם דוחה את השבת... יבוא עלי כך שמעתי משמעיה ואבשליון.

³ On the last day of the feast of the Tabernacles (the day of the water-drawing festival, St. John vii. 37), the priests not only recited prayers and psalms, but pronounced also the following words: אבותינו היו במקום הזה אהוריהם אל היכל יי ופניהם קדמה והמה משתחוים קדמה לשמש אנו ליה עינינו (*Mishnah*, Sukkan, v. 5).

⁴ *Mishnah*, Taanith, iv. 12 שא עיניך בבור וראה מי אתה בורר אל תהן עיניך בנוי תן עיניך במשפחה.

⁵ *Tosifta*, Sukkan, ch. 4 אתה ההרבת את נכסיהם של ישראל ולא העמדתה לקום לוקום עד מתי אתה; *Bab. Talm.*, Sukkan, fol. 56 b להם בשעת צער מכלה ממונן של ישראל ואי אתה עומד להם בשעת הדתה.

⁶ Josephus, *Antiquities*, XII. x. 5.

⁷ *Jer. Talm.*, Taanith, ii. 13 המה שדבר באשמה והיד שפשמה בגאווה.

with pride.' Deeds were also drawn up in modernised Hebrew¹. When Simeon the son of Shetaḥ recalled to the Sanhedrin his colleague, Judah son of Tabai, who took flight to Alexandria in the time of the persecution of the Pharisees under king Jannaeus, he wrote in Hebrew the following: 'From me Jerusalem, the holy town, to thee Alexandria, my sister. My husband dwells in thee, and I remain desolate².' No comparison can be drawn between the Latin of the middle ages and the modernised Hebrew, the Latin having never been read by the people, whereas the Talmudical literature contains popular elements from the earlier times.

That the Aramaic dialect was used simultaneously with the modernised Hebrew cannot be doubted. During the dominion of the Seleucidae, when Syriac became the official language in Asia³, many Jews made themselves acquainted with the ruling language, and technical terms were naturally borrowed by the Jews in general, as was later the case with Greek under the Romans. The Mishnah mentions vessels in the Temple⁴ with Aramaic inscriptions, but also with Greek inscriptions⁵. A tradition states that Johanan the high priest heard a voice of heaven (*Bath qol*) coming from the

¹ *Bab. Talm.*, Rosh hash-Shanah, fol. 18 b בשנת כך וכך לפלוני כהן גדול 18 b
בשנת כך וכך, referring to the time of the Maccabees.

² *Bab. Talm.*, Sotah, fol. 47 a מני ירושלים עיר הקדש ליכי אלכסנדריא
מני ירושלים עיר הקדש ליכי אלכסנדריא אהותי. בעלי שרוי בחוכך ואני יושבה שוממה
אהותי. Further illustrations could easily be adduced, but we think they would be superfluous. We shall quote only one other instance. Agrippa I. was known as a fervent observer of the ritual ceremonies, unlike his ancestors. It is said in the Mishnah (*Sotah*, vii. 8) when he read in the Temple the section of the king (Deut. xvii. 14 seqq.) and arrived at the passage (v. 15), 'Thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother,' he shed tears (he having been of the Idumean race). The wise men (הכמים) pacified him, saying, 'Do not fear, Agrippa, thou art our brother,' אל תחירא אגריפס אחינו אהה אחינו אהה אהה אחינו אהה. See also J. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition* (in Hebrew), Wien (1871), i. p. 113, a valuable work, of which three volumes have appeared.

³ *Les Apôtres*, by M. Renan, p. 228.

⁴ *Shegalim* vi. 6 תקלין חדתין הקלין עתיקין 'shekels of this year and of last year.'

⁵ *Ibidem*, iii. 2 אלפא בישא גמא, α, β, γ. The word Alpha is also often used in the Mishnah in the sense of *first*. Tekoa is the Alpha for oil (see *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 129). Michmash is Alpha for flour (*ibidem*, p. 154).

sanctuary, saying in Aramaic, 'The young men who waged war against Antiochus are victorious¹.' Immigrations from Babylonia and from the northern parts of Palestine, where Aramaic dialects were spoken, contributed most likely to the spread of Aramaic in Jerusalem. Judea seems to have preserved a purer Hebrew, as compared with Galilee². A striking instance is reported in the Talmud³, illustrating the dialect of Judea. The word *הרופה* was used in Judea in the sense of *ארוסה*, 'betrothed,' the root bearing the same sense in Leviticus xix. 20. At the same time, probably, the use of Targums became general, and Aramaic began to be employed in liturgical formulae, such as the *Qaddish*⁴, 'sanctificat,' and the first sentence of the introduction to the *Haggadah*, or the history of the exodus of Egypt, recited on the Passover evening⁵. Of course the precise date of the composition of these prayers cannot be given, but most likely they belong to the time when the Babylonian Hillel acquired his great influence in the schools. Letters which Gamaliel (the elder) addressed to the inhabitants of upper and lower Galilee, on the fixing of the new moon, are also in Aramaic⁶. A gradual immigration of Greek-speaking Jews from Egypt and Asia Minor introduced *Greek* to Jerusalem; and the use of it was further stimulated by contact with the Roman officials, and in an even greater degree by the Graeco-mania of Herod and his immediate successors.

We find accordingly, in the last century B. C., the following probable results concerning the languages spoken in the Holy Land: (1) In Jerusalem, and perhaps also in the greater part of Judea, the modernised Hebrew and a purer Aramaic

¹ נצחו מלייא דאנחו קרבו באנשוניא, *Jer. Talm.*, Sota ix. 13 (fol. 24 b).

² See p. 51.

³ *Bab. Talm.*, Qiddushin, fol. 6 a.

⁴ קדיש, used in daily and festival prayers.

⁵ הגדה, beginning *כהא לחמא עניא*, 'like that was the bread of affliction.' See, however, Lundshuth, *מגיד מראשית* (Berl., 1855), p. iii, who believes it to be of Babylonian origin.

⁶ לאחמא בני גלילאה עילאה ולאחמא בני גלילאה תתאה שלומכוון ישנא לעולם... מהודענא לכוון (Tosifia, Sanhedrin, chap. 2).

The Aramaic dialect, known as *Arami* in a general sense, is also called the language of Jerusalem¹ in opposition to the Babylonian dialect. We have already had an example of the name *Sursi*². The Galilean dialect is specially mentioned as having an indistinct pronunciation of the gutturals (which was, and still is, characteristic of the Samaritans), and also as a dialect in which syllables were swallowed in such a way that the meaning of words and phrases often became doubtful to a southern Jew. The Talmud has many amusing anecdotes about this dialect, of which we may quote a few³.

A Galilean went about calling out, 'Who has *mar* to sell?' Whereupon he was asked, 'Fool of a Galilean, what dost thou want; an ass (*hamor*) to ride upon; wine (*hemar*) to drink; wool (*'imar*) for a dress, or a sheep skin (*imar*) to cover thyself withal⁴?' This negligence in the pronunciation of gutturals we find also in other localities near Galilee. It is related in the Talmud that the inhabitants of Bethshean (Scythopolis), of Haipha and Tabaon (Tab'ain?) were not admitted to recite the prayers publicly in the synagogue, because they pronounced *aleph* like *ain*, and *vice versa*⁵. In Judea, it is said, the study of the law was preserved because care was taken there for the right pronunciation; whilst in Galilee, where the pronunciation was neglected, the study of law did not exist⁶. The Talmud refers most likely to the fact that there were no schools for casuistic discussion at an early period in Galilee. Another example given in the Talmud illustrates the contraction of several words into one, by which the meaning of a sentence was completely altered.

¹ See Dukes, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

² See above, p. 50, note 2.

³ *Bab. Talm.*, Erubin, fol. 53 b.

⁴ דהווא בי גליל דהוה קאויל ואמר להו אמר למאן אמר למאן אמר למאן אמרו ליה גלילאה שושה חמר למירכב או חמר למשתי עמר למילבש או אימר לאיתכסאה.

⁵ *Ibidem*, Meguillah, fol. 24 b אין מורידין לפני התיבה לא אנשי בית שאן ולא אנשי בית חיפה ולא אנשי טבעונין מפני שקורין לאלפין עיינין ולעיינין אלפין.

⁶ *Ibidem*, Erubin, fol. 53 b.

A Galilean woman inviting a friend to take a glass of milk with her, said to her, *tokhlikhlebî* (may a lion devour thee!), contracting in this fashion the three words *thei okhlik helba*¹. It is probable that Jesus, through better education, or by a personal effort, pronounced sounds more in accordance with the Judean manner, since we do not find any allusion in the Gospels to his having been mocked, as was the case with Peter, on account of his Galilean pronunciation. It may be of interest to allude here to two other particulars respecting Galilee, mentioned in the Talmudic writings. We are told, firstly, that persons sometimes have two names, the one as used in Judea, and the other in Galilee². In fact, we find that some of the Apostles had two names, a Hebrew one and a Galilean or a popular one, for instance, Simon and Cephas. The same was the case with the Maccabees, but what was exceptional in Judea was probably a general rule in Galilee. Secondly, it is stated in the Talmud, that Galileans were wandering preachers, and excelled especially in the aggadic or homiletic interpretation of the biblical texts, which was often expressed in the form of a parable³. This fact may partly explain how the popular teaching of Jesus had such success in Jerusalem, where this mode of interpretation seems to have been exceptional. The aggadic interpretations were individual interpretations, whilst the halakhah (dogmatic or casuistic rules) were mostly quoted as traditional. Jesus, however, spoke in his own name, even in his halakhic teaching, contrary to the practice of the schools. That is the meaning probably of what is said of him,

¹ *Come, I shall give thee to eat milk.* *Ibidem* תאי אוכלין לביא for חובלין לביא. See for other passages, *Winer's Chaldäische Grammatik für Bibel und Targum*, ed. Fischer, Leipzig, 1882, p. 32.

² *Tosifta*, Gittin, ch. 8.

³ See *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 185. We quote one instance only: כד דריש הקוה גלילאה... כד רגיו רעיה על ענה עביר לנגידא סמוחא. In allusion to bad administrators imposed as a punishment on a town, it is said, as a Galilean explained, when the shepherd gets angry with his flock he gives them a blind sheep as leader. Comp. Matt. xv. 14; Luke vi. 39.

that he taught 'with authority, and not as the scribes,' who appealed to traditions¹.

The Aramaic dialect of the north (Sursi and Galilean) was the popular language in the last century B. C. It is called the language of the *ιδιότης*² in opposition to the learned or Holy language. Proverbs written in it are introduced with the words 'proverb of the *ιδιότης*³,' or 'as people say⁴.' When Hillel gives an explanation in the popular language, it is said, 'Hillel explains in the language of the *common people*⁵.' In the New Testament it is called *Hebraisti*⁶, and in the Apocrypha and Josephus the language of the country⁷. It was in this dialect that the latter at first wrote his historical work. Although Josephus says that the Jews could understand the Syrians, the Jewish Aramaic was nevertheless a distinct dialect in some respects, as may be seen from the words *λαμά*⁸ (in Syriac *lemana*⁹), *Boaveργές*¹⁰ (in Syriac *bera'ra'ma*¹¹), and of the form *Ἐφφαθά*¹², recorded as having been uttered by Jesus, who, as is now generally admitted, addressed himself to his disciples and to his audience in the popular dialect. This appears not only from the Aramaic words left in the Gospels by the Greek translators (which will be enumerated below for completeness' sake), but more especially from his last words on the Cross¹³, which were spoken under circumstances of exhaustion and pain, when a person would naturally make use of his mother tongue,

¹ Matthew vii. 29.

² Dukes, *Die Sprache der Mishnah*, p. 11.

³ משל הדיוט.

⁴ אמרי אינשי very frequent.

⁵ *Bab. Talm.*, Baba Meziâ, fol. 104 a.

⁶ Ἑβραϊστί; τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ, John v. 2; Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2.

⁷ Ἡ πατριος φωνή, 2 Macc. vii. 21, 27; xii. 37; Josephus, *De Bello Jud.*, Proem. i; V. vi. 3; *Antiq.*, XVIII. vi. 40.

⁸ Matthew xxvii. 46.

⁹ ܠܡܢܐ.

¹⁰ Mark iii. 17. See also p. 56.

¹¹ ܩܒܘܘܚܐ.

¹² Mark vii. 34. See p. 56.

¹³ Matthew xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 34.



and from the fact that it is mentioned that he spoke to St. Paul in Hebrew¹. It is a weak argument to say that had Jesus always spoken in the popular dialect, viz. the Galileo-Aramean, there would have been no occasion for the author of the Acts to state that he spoke to St. Paul in Hebrew; and yet this is one of the chief arguments of writers on the other side². The contrary is the case: the author of the Acts, not remembering the Hebrew words spoken to St. Paul, or not being able to supply them from his own knowledge of Hebrew, was obliged, in order to be believed, to state that Jesus spoke to St. Paul in Hebrew. We shall see later on how little the Jews knew Greek, and how much less they cared to know it; so that St. Paul, in order to gain a hearing, was obliged to speak to them in their Aramaic dialects³. Would anyone venture seriously to maintain that St. Peter spoke Greek when he addresses himself to the 'men of Judea and all that dwell in Jerusalem⁴,' and that, too, at Pentecost, when all the prayers were offered in Hebrew? How would the Medes, Elamites, and Arabians have understood if he had spoken Greek? What else do the words 'are not all these which speak Galileans?' mean but that the Apostles usually spoke to the people in the Galilean dialect? Why should the men of Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphylia⁵, etc. be astonished that the Apostles spoke Greek, if it had been their usual language? Why should the chief captain⁶ wonder that St. Paul could speak Greek, if the Jews were generally known to be familiar with it? Is not the watchword *Μαρὰν ἀθά*⁷, which passed to the Greek-speaking populations of Asia Minor, a sufficient proof that the speech of the first

¹ Acts xxvi. 14.

² See Dr. Roberts' *Discussion*, etc. (full title, p. 41, note 2), p. 74 seqq.

³ Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 2.

⁴ Acts ii. 14.

⁵ Acts ii. 9 seqq.

⁶ Acts xxi. 37.

⁷ 1 Corinthians xvi. 22. See pp. 57 and 73.



Christians was Aramaic? Not to speak of the evident Semitic diction¹ contained in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, who, as is stated by the early fathers, and as is now generally admitted, made use of collections and sayings written in Palestine by the first Christians. What language did Jesus speak when he said², 'Whosoever shall say to his brother *raca*, shall be in danger of the council: but whosoever shall say *moreh*, shall be in danger of hell-fire,' but the popular dialect, in which *raca* (*rega*) was a weaker expression than *moreh*³, for it is no unusual phenomenon for a foreign word to have a stronger meaning than the native one?

The following is the list of the Semitic words preserved in the writings of the New Testament⁴:—

St. Matt. iii. 7 Φαρισαῖος = פְּרִישָׁא.

iv. 10, etc. σατανᾶς = סַטְנָא.

v. 22 ῥακά = רָקָא⁵.

v. 22 γέεννα = גְּהֵנִים.

vi. 24 μαμμωνᾶ = מְמוֹנָא.

xii. 24 Βεελζεβούλ = בְּעַל זְבוּל⁶.

xxi. 9 Ὠσαννά = אוֹשַׁע-נָא or אוֹשַׁע-נָא.

¹ It is impossible to quote the whole literature on that subject. It will be sufficient to refer to Lightfoot's *Horae Hebraicae*, and to Dr. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Christ*, London, 1884, 2nd edition.

² Matthew v. 22.

³ *Ibidem*. This word became a standing expression in the Midrash for 'fool.' See the *Athenaeum*, 1881, p. 779 (No. 2834), where Dean Stanley's suggestion that *moreh* is derived from the Hebrew is contradicted.

⁴ We give the list of these words according to the method of Pfannkuche, viz. according to their occurrence in the various books of the New Testament. Prof. E. Kautzsch in his *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, etc., Leipzig, 1884, gives an alphabetical list of the Aramaic words occurring in the New Testament writings. We have added from his list the words composed with *בַּר* (בר, p. 57).

⁵ ריקא is used in the Talmud as empty and stupid, just as בור, *pit*. See *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien in Talmud und Midrasch* von Aug. Wünsche, Leipzig, 1878, p. 47. The confusion of Tsere (Segol) and Pathah is possible. Qaraite MSS. point indifferently with the one or the other.

⁶ זבול seems to be a dialectal form of זבור (זבורא), *bee*. In some places there was a Baal of the flies and in others of the bee. Compare Isaiah vi. 18.

St. Matt. xxiii. 7 ῥαββί = רַבִּי.

xxvi. 2 πάσχα = פֶּסַחָא.

xxvii. 33 γολγοθά = גִּלְגֻלְתָּא¹.

xxvii. 46 Ἠλί, ἡλί², λαμὰ σαβαχθανί = אֱלִי אֱלִי
לְמָא שְׁבַקְתָּנִי.

St. Mark iii. 17 Βοανεργές = בְּנֵי רִנָּשׁ or בְּנֵי רַעַשׁ³.

v. 41 ταλιθα κουμι = קוּמִי טְלִיתָא.

vii. 11 κορβάν = קָרְבָּן.

vii. 34 ἐφθαθά = הִפְתָּח⁴.

x. 51 ῥαββουνί = רַבּוּנִי⁵.

xiv. 36 Ἀββά = אָבָא.

St. Luke i. 15 σίκερα = שִׁכְרָא.

St. John i. 43 Κηφᾶς = כִּיפָא.

iv. 25 Μεσσίας = מְשִׁיחָא.

v. 2 Βηθεσδά = בֵּית אֶשְׁדָּא⁶.

xix. 13 Γαββαθά = גַּבְתָּא.

Acts i. 19 Ἀκελ δάμα = דְּמָא דְּחַקְל⁷.

ix. 36 Ταβιθά = טַבִּיתָא⁸.

¹ On the omission of the second λ, see Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

² The variant Ἐλωί (Mark xv. 34) represents the Aramaic form אֱלֵהִי, which might be the original form pronounced by Jesus.

³ The guttural pronunciation of γ is represented by γ.

⁴ The aspiration of π was neglected by the Galileans.

⁵ This form is used in the prayers for God. The title of רבן is applied first to Gamaliel the elder.

⁶ אשדא is the possible original of 'pool.' Compare אשד, Numbers xxi. 15 and elsewhere.

⁷ The field of blood. The reading δαμάχ is analogous to Σειράχ for סירא (Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 8); δαμάχ scarcely represents the word דמך, to sleep, to die, since the substantive death is always expressed by the word מותא. For field of death (why not rely upon the translation of the time, which is to be found in the Acts?) ought to be δαμχά, דמנא. To suppose a participial form דמך (Kautzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 172) is forced.

⁸ Feminine form of טבי (טבִּי). Compare *Mishnah*, Berakhoth, ii. 7, and p. 60.

1 Cor. xvi. 22 Μαράν ἀθά = אָתָּא מָרְן¹.

Apoc. ix. 11 Ἀβαδδών = אַבְדִּין.

xvi. 16 Ἀρμαγεδών = הַר מְגִדוֹן.

Proper names compounded with the word bar (בר), 'son,' belong also to the vocabulary of Aramaic words in the New Testament. The following occur:—

Βαραββᾶς = בַּר אַבְנָא, St. Matthew xxvii. 16.

Βαρθολομαῖος = בַּר תְּלָמִי, *ibid.* x. 3.

Βαρισοῦς = בַּר יֵשׁוּ, Acts xiii. 6.

Βαριωνᾶ = בַּר יוֹנָה, St. Matthew xvi. 17.

Βαρνάβας = בַּר נְבָא, Acts iv. 36.

Βαρσαββᾶς = בַּר סָבְא, *ibid.* i. 23.

Βαρτιμαῖος = בַּר תִּימָא, St. Mark x. 46.

It is possible that the two passages quoted from a gospel in the following story in the Talmud might turn out to be original Aramaic words in the New Testament.

The passage seems to us of such importance for the New Testament literature, that we have thought it worth while to reproduce it in its entirety²: אימא שלום דביתהו דרבי: אליעזר אחתיה דרבן גמליאל הואי הוה ההוא פילוסופא בשיבבותיה דהוה שקול שמא דלא מקבל שוחדא בעו לאחוני ביה עיילא ליה שרגא דדהבא ואזול לקמיה אמרה ליה בעינא דניפלגו לי בנכסי דבי נשי אמר להו פלוגו לה א"ל כתיב בתורה דיהיב לן ק'ב'ה במקום ברא

¹ The words certainly mean, Our Lord come or has come (see p. 73). To take it as the transliteration of מוחרם אָתָּא (Lowe and others before him) is against the rules of transliteration. Besides, anathema would be חָרֵם or מוֹחָרֵם without the word אָתָּא.

² We give an eclectic text according to the variations reported in Rabbi Raphael Rabinovicz's *Variæ Lectiones in Mishnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*, etc., Shabbath, fol. 116a, b. See also *The Fragments of Talmud Babli Pesachim*, etc., edited with notes by W. H. Lowe, Cambridge, 1879, pp. 67 and 68, and *Religionsgeschichtliche Studien* von Dr. M. Güdemann, Leipzig, 1876, p. 67 (Die Logia des Matthäus als Gegenstand einer talmudischen Satyre).

ברתא לא תירות א"ל מן יומא דגליתון מארעכון איתנשלית
 אורייתא דמשה ואיתיהיבת ביה עון גליון¹ וכתוב ביה
 ברא וברתא כחדא ירתון למחר הדר עייל ליה איהו
 חמרא לובא אמר להו שפילי ליה לסיפיה דספרא²
 וכתוב ביה אנא לא למיפחת מן אורייתא דמשה אתיתי
 אלא לאוספי על אורייתא דמשה אתיתי וכתוב בה
 במקום ברא ברתא לא תירות אמרה ליה נהור נהורך
 בשרגא³ א"ל ר"ג אתא חמרא ובטש לשרגא.

'Emma Shalom, the wife of Rabbi Eliezer, was the sister of Rabban Gamaliel. There was a philosopher⁴ in the neighbourhood who had the reputation that he would not take a bribe. They wished to have a laugh at him, so she brought to him a golden candlestick, came before him, and said: "I wish to have a portion of the property of my father." The philosopher said: "Divide it." R. Gamaliel said to him: "It is written in the Law given to us by God, *Where there is a son, a daughter shall not inherit.*" The philosopher answered him: "From the day you were removed from your land the Law of Moses was taken away and the *Evangelion*⁵ given, and in it is written, *The son and the daughter will inherit alike.*" Next day, R. Gamaliel in his turn brought to him a Libyan ass. The philosopher said to him: "I came to the end of the book⁶, where it is written, *I am not come to take away*

¹ According to another reading, considered by Dr. Güdemann (*op. cit.*, p. 71) as the older one, אורייתא אחריתי.

² According to another reading דעון גליון.

³ In the editions כשרגא.

⁴ Philosopher is taken in controversial passages in the Talmud for a Christian doctor. By a corrupt reading of the Munich MS. we should read episcopus for philosopher (see Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

⁵ According to the other reading 'another Law.'

⁶ According to another reading of the *Evangelion*, Dr. Güdemann (*op. cit.*, p. 92) concludes from these words that the Logia ended with the passage following. We abstain from deciding one way or another. Anyhow, Dr. Güdemann's dissertation on the subject is worth consideration. Why no notice has been taken of it by Hilgenfeld (see p. 59, note 5), nor by Mr. Lowe, we do not know.

from the Law of Moses, but¹ to add to the Law of Moses as I come, and it is written in it, Where there is a son, a daughter shall not inherit." Emma said to him: "Let thy light shine in the candlestick²." R. Gamaliel said: "The ass has come and knocked down the candlestick."

This passage has all the appearance of genuineness. Gamaliel is the grandson of Gamaliel the elder, and Eliezer is the famous Eliezer, son of Hyrcanos, disciple of R. Johanan ben Zakkai, who was often in communication with Judaeo-Christians. Of course the passage, 'Where there is a son, a daughter shall not inherit,' refers to Numbers xxvii. 9, and may be the words of a halakhah, now lost. The words 'It is written in the Law' may thus introduce a tradition ascribed to Moses as part of the revelation given to him on Sinai³. The words ascribed to the Gospel (or, according to the other reading, 'to the other Law'), viz. 'The son and the daughter will inherit alike,' are compared with Luke xii. 13⁴; and 'I am not come to take away from the Law of Moses,' etc., is supposed to be taken either from the Gospel according to the Hebrews⁵, or from the Logia of St. Matthew⁶.

¹ Reading אלא, or even without it (see J. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition*, i. p. 233, note 1), if we take the word לאוסופי in the sense of completing, which is the meaning of adding to it, according to the notion of the Rabbinical schools; הוספתא, for instance, means the complete Mishnah with the additions, but not additions to the Mishnah. If we were allowed to translate למיפחה by 'to destroy,' lit. *to lessen*, which is possible, the Talmudical sentence would correspond to the words of St. Matthew v. 17 οὐκ ἤλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι. In the ordinary sense 'of taking away and adding' the reading of ולי, 'nor,' is justified by a Rabbinical authority of the seventeenth century (see Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

² We read כשרגא ובשרגא.

³ כשרגא ובשרגא הלכה למשה מסיני occurs often in the Talmudical literature. See Z. Frankel, *Hodegetica in Mishnam*, p. 20.

⁴ See Güdemann, *op. cit.*, p. 75, where the word *ris* is ingeniously explained.

⁵ See A. Hilgenfeld, *Evangeliorum secundum Hebraeos*, etc., ed. altera, Lipsiae, 1884, p. 15; E. B. Nicholson, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, London, 1879, p. 146 seqq., where the date 71-3 for the Talmudical story is arbitrary. Of course, according to the reading of the old edition which we have adopted in our translation (see above, p. 58, note 2), the saying is taken from the Logia, but it might have been also in the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

⁶ By Dr. Güdemann, see above, p. 57.

Adopting the following conjecture, Dr. Güdemann argues for the Logia. He takes the word **המרא** (ass) in the sense of 'bushel¹.' Gamaliel presented to the philosopher a bushel with gold or silver, which put out the light of the candle. This, according to Dr. Güdemann, would be an allusion to the passage 'Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick.' In fact, in another Talmudical passage we find an analogous story, where it is said that a man presented two bushels of gold (**מדורה** = *μόδιος*).

We have purposely abstained from any comparison of the *logia* and other of Jesus' sayings with those occurring in the Talmud, the dates of the latter being uncertain, and the wording mostly being different. We shall only quote one passage out of the *Midrash rabboth*², which represents the genuine language of that time. On the passage, Prov. xviii. 21, 'Death and life are in the power of the tongue,' the following history is applied: R. Simeon ben Gamaliel said to his servant Tabi, 'Go and buy for me in the market good provisions.' He went out and bought for him a tongue. Then Simeon told him, 'Go and buy for me bad provisions,' and Tabi bought again a tongue. Simeon said, 'When I tell you to buy good provisions, you buy a tongue; and when I tell you to buy bad provisions, you buy a tongue also.' Tabi answered, 'From the tongue cometh both, good and bad; it cannot be better when it is good, and it cannot be worse when it is bad.' **מות וחיים ביד לשון ר"ג אמר למבי עבדיה פוק זבין לי צדו טבא מן שוקא נפק זבין ליה לישן א"ל פוק זבין לי צדו בישא מן שוקא נפק זבין ליה לישן א"ל כד אנא אימא לך צדו טבא את זבין לי לישן וכד אנא**

¹ Hebrew **המרא** (*op. cit.*, p. 84), which stood in the Semitic text for the word *μόδιος*, and became **המרא** by some ignorant copyist. **לובא** Libyan is an addition, no doubt. In the Talmudical parallel passages we find instead of **המרא** the words **של זהב**, 'a young ass of gold,' which is a more impossible object to be presented. Dr. Güdemann notices also that the parallel passage has instead of **בטש**, 'knocked over,' the word **נפה** (כבה), 'extinguished.'

² On Leviticus, ch. xxxiii (according to the Bodl. MS., No. 2335).

אימא לך צדו¹ בישא את זבן לי לישן א"ל מיניה בתרי מיניה דטבא ומיניה דבישתא כד היא טבא לית טבא מיניה וכד בישתא לית בישתא מיניה. Compare the Epistle of St. James iii. 8-10.

The language of the Palestinian Talmud (or, as it is commonly called, the Talmud of Jerusalem), which consists of discussions by natives of Galilee, and which is really a Galilean composition, represents, according to our opinion, the language which the disciples of Jesus spoke and wrote. The gutturals are constantly in this dialect interchanged, ע is written for ה, א for ה, which is thus often not pronounced at all, as we have seen in the word 'Εφφαθά². Very often the א and the ה are omitted altogether: we find, for instance, מר for אמר; R. Ba for R. Abba (whence the name Rabba); Lazar for Eleazar, as in the name of Lazarus in the Gospels. The labial letters are pronounced in the Jerusalem Talmud more softly than in the Babylonian. Instead of ב and פ they use *va*; for כ the Galilean Rabbis have often *ḥ*. For כ we find ג; thus, the locality כויב is in the Jerusalem Talmud גויב. Even ל and נ are interchanged, as in Antolinus instead of Antoninus³. From this we may perhaps explain the name נקאי⁴, given to one of the disciples of Jesus in the Talmud, and usually regarded as = Nicodemus. This name, however, is written in the Talmud Naqdimon. It is more probable that by נקאי is meant St. Luke (Luqa), whom the Rabbis treated as a disciple of Jesus. Two words are often united into one in the dialect of the Jerusalem Talmud. For אית אינן, 'they are,' we read אתינן; הכיני for הכין היא, 'so it is;,' בישנין for בית שאנין, 'inhabitants of Beth Shean.' We have seen the same occur above in the mouth of a Galilean woman⁵. The vocabulary of the Jerusalem Talmud is peculiar as compared with that of the

¹ MS. thrice צבי.

² See above, p. 56.

³ See Z. Frankel, *Introductio in Talmud Hierosolymitanum* (in Hebrew), Vratislaviae, 1870, p. 8.

⁴ *Bab. Talm.*, Sanhedrin, fol. 43 a.

⁵ See above, p. 51.

Babylonian Talmud. If, therefore, any attempt be made to translate New Testament texts into their original idiom, the language chosen for the purpose must be the dialect of the Talmud of Jerusalem¹.

Josephus has also Aramaic words in his Greek work. Thus he remarks that the Hebrews call red, Ἀδωμά (אֲדוּמָא); priest, χαυάλας (כַּהֲנִיא); Pentecost, Ἀσπαθά (עֲצֵרְתָא); a lame man, χάγιερας (חֲגִירָא). He has also the words *Abba* and *φάσκα*². That he makes a distinction between the Hebrew (or rather Syro-Aramaic) and the Babylonian-Aramaic dialect results from the passage where he says concerning 'Abanet' (אֲבַנֵּט), *a belt*, 'we have learnt from the Babylonians to call it Ἐμύλαν,' which corresponds to הַמִּין in the Onqelos Targum, a word which occurs in the same sense in the Babylonian Talmud³.

As to the Greek spoken by the Jews in Palestine, in spite of the passage quoted above⁴, to the effect that in Palestine either the Holy language or the Greek should be spoken, few, we believe, had a substantial knowledge of it. Let us examine how, and at what period, Greek could have become universal (according to Dr. Roberts' view), or indeed, even prominent in Palestine.

If the Greeks are mentioned in the Old Testament under the name of *Yawan*, there was certainly no intercourse during the period of the first Temple between Ionians and Jews. At the time of Alexander the Great, Jews settled in Egypt, Asia Minor, and probably also in Greece. These we shall find mentioned under the name of Hellenists. Their connexion with the mother-land was maintained by their going to Jerusalem for feast-days, and by their sending offerings

¹ Contrary to Prof. Delitzsch's opinion, who says (*The Hebrew New Testament*, etc. [see p. 41, note 6], p. 31), 'The Shemitic woof of the New Testament Hellenism is Hebrew, not Aramaic. Our Lord and his apostles thought and spoke for the most part in Hebrew.'

² See Siegfried, *Zeitschr. für die Alttest. Wissenschaft* (by B. Stade, 1883, p. 32 seqq.); and Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, etc., p. 7.

³ הַמִּין, Erubin, fol. 104 b.

⁴ See above, p. 50.

and sacrifices to the Temple¹. But we may infer that they still all spoke, more or less, their native Hebrew dialect, for no mention is made of interpreters being required for them either in the Temple or outside of it. No doubt some of them settled later in Jerusalem, and at the time of Jesus, amongst the 480 synagogues which Jerusalem then possessed², there would naturally be a Hellenistic one. History does not record that Alexander or his immediate successors had constrained the conquered nations to adopt the Greek language. That in new towns like Alexandria, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and others, Greek was prevalent cannot be doubted, since the settlers were Greeks, but the lower class, representing labourers, servants, and even soldiers, could not have been all brought over from Greece, but were taken from the surrounding towns and villages; these would still continue to use their own dialects, and would acquire only a scanty knowledge of Greek. Such is the case now in Belgium with French and Flemish, in Alsace with French and German. To say that Greek was universally spoken, and that therefore Palestine could have been no exception to the rule, is at all events exaggerated. Antioch and other Syrian towns would not give up Syriac, as will be seen further on³. The Phœnician towns still knew Phœnician, as may be inferred from the coins with double inscriptions, Phœnician and Greek⁴. In Palmyra we find provisions for taxes payable to the Romans drawn up in Greek and Palmyrene⁵. In Egypt, Coptic survived till the twelfth century A. D. In Armenia, Armenian is even now spoken. From the Acts, ii. 9-12, we see that the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, Cappadocia, etc. spoke languages other than Greek. Indeed,

¹ See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii. p. 35.

² *Ibidem*, p. 391.

³ See below, p. 70.

⁴ Renan, *Histoire des Langues sémitiques*, p. 196.

⁵ M. de Vogüé, *Journal asiatique*, 1883, i. p. 231 seqq.; ii. p. 149 seqq. Sachau, *Zeitschr. der deutschen morg. Gesellschaft*, 1883, p. 562 seqq.



Bernhardy¹ states that the Greek spoken in Asia Minor was not more than a kind of jargon. Pfannkuche² observes rightly, 'A conquered nation suffers the deprivation of its national language, and the obtrusion of another *totally different* from its own, only when the conqueror overturns the previously existing organization of the state, transports the greater part of the inhabitants, and gives their former abodes to foreign colonists, who inundate the whole country, and must be far more numerous than the remaining original inhabitants. This is the only condition which makes the complete extinction of a national language possible, but that condition never existed under the mild sway of the Romans in Palestine.' To this the following note is appended by the translator of Pfannkuche: 'The translator does not recollect any instance in history where even that condition has proved effective. The political organization of the ancient Britons has been overturned over and over again, and still they preserve their ancient language in its different dialects; so the Basks theirs; Italy, at all events, suffered the obtrusion of no foreign tongue, although its own was modified. The Mantshu Tartars, I apprehend, entirely overturned the political organization of China; but the conquerors did not introduce their own language, although far preferable to that of the natives, and more apt to the adequate expression of thought . . . The political organization of Prussian Poland was completely overturned, and many efforts made to introduce German, and still the Poles preserve their language. In short, I must doubt whether any political measure, though ever so violent, can completely extirpate the national language of any country.' We may add in the case of Poland under Prussia that there is compulsory education and general military service, both of which are most powerful factors in extinguishing a language. Other not less striking

¹ Quoted by Dr. Böhl in his *Forschungen*, etc. (see full title above, p. 41, note 3), p. 64.

² English translation (see above, p. 40, note 3), p. 31.



examples, from modern times, may be quoted. How little have the Alsatians, especially the rural population, adopted the French language in the course of nearly two centuries of French rule, in spite of their being satisfied with the French government, in spite of the frequent intercourse between Alsatians and French, and the institution of High Schools where French was exclusively taught. It is natural, therefore, that the Jews with their general spirit of exclusiveness and with their contempt for pagan worship, manners and customs, should not have hastened to exchange their native and holy language for the Greek. That a number of Greek words were introduced into the vernacular Hebrew, cannot be doubted. But they consist of names of instruments, such as we find in Daniel¹, vessels used in the Temple or at home, and also some satirical expressions². What better proof can there be that Greek did not become familiar to the Jews in Palestine through their conquerors, than the fewness of the verbs which have been introduced in their vernacular, as far as we can judge, from the Mishnah, the Targumim, the Talmud of Jerusalem, and the early homiletical literature³? There are certainly more French words in German than Greek in the Hebrew vernacular, though it will hardly, we suppose, be imagined that the Germans adopted the French language during the occupation by Napoleon.

Such then is the conclusion which we reach from a consideration of the spoken language. The written literature suggests exactly the same inferences. No apocryphal book, as far as our knowledge goes, was composed in Greek by a Palestinian Jew. Very few sayings in Greek are quoted in the Midrashic literature, and the few which occur are referred to Rabbis who came from Greek-speaking towns, such as

¹ See Hartwig Derenbourg, *Les mots grecs dans le livre biblique de Daniel* (Mélanges Graux, Paris, 1883, pp. 235-244).

² See *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mischnah* von Dr. Abraham Geiger, Breslau, 1845, p. 20 seqq.

³ See *Beiträge zur Sprach- und Alterthums-Forschung aus jüdischen Quellen* von Dr. M. Sachs, 2 Hefte, Berlin, 1852-4, i. p. 4 seqq.



Cæsarea, Antioch, and elsewhere¹. Some Græcised names which Josephus mentions, such as Alkimos for Jehoiakim, Jason for Joshua, Antigonos and others do not indicate more than that some of the Jews affected Greek manners and customs; they prove nothing as to the bulk of the nation. Civil acts written in Greek, and Greek signatures², were declared valid by authority of the civil power. Did the Jews know Latin when they signed civil acts in Latin? Certainly not. However, even if we were to adopt the idea that under the friendly treatment which they received at the hands of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors, the Jews, in order to please their benefactors, endeavoured, like the other conquered tribes, to assimilate themselves to Greeks, the current in this direction would certainly have ceased with their persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes. Nor could such a short time as elapsed between Alexander the Great and Antiochus have been sufficient to introduce a foreign language amongst the mass of the nation. We may meet the suggestion by appealing to the continued existence of Welsh, in spite of the friendly rule of the English, to the imperfect Russification of Poland and Germanization of Posen and Silesia. All that the Jews in Palestine learned of Greek, so far as we can judge, was at most a few sentences, sufficient to enable them to carry on trade and to hold intercourse with the lower officials. And even this minimum certainly ceased after the Maccabean victory over Antiochus Epiphanes, for it was the interest of the Asmonean princes to keep the Jews aloof from the influence of the neighbouring dialects. The coins at that time were struck with Hebrew inscriptions³, the official language and that of the schools was exclusively

¹ See Dr. Lewy's essay, entitled *Ueber die Spuren des griechischen und römischen Alterthums im talmudischen Schriftthum* (Verhandlungen der dreiunddreissigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Gera vom 30 September bis 2 October, 1878), p. 77 seqq.

² *Tosifta*, Baba Bathra, ch. 9.

³ See above, p. 44.



the vernacular Hebrew¹. And what happened in Jerusalem was imitated also in Galilee, except in towns exclusively inhabited by Greeks, where the Jews, when in the minority, might have acquired a fair knowledge of conversational Greek, but not to such an extent as to enable them to speak in public, and still less to be able to interpret the Law in the synagogues. The inhabitants of Beth Shean or Scythopolis are mentioned as pronouncing Hebrew badly, and Scythopolis is considered an exclusively Greek town². In fact, we may boldly state that the Greek translation of the Bible was unknown in Palestine except to men of the schools and perhaps a few of the Hellenistic Jews. On the contrary, it is said in the Talmud that when the Greek translation of the Seventy appeared, there came darkness upon the earth, and the day was as unfortunate for Israel as that on which the golden calf was made³. We believe that all the quotations in the early Gospels are derived from a traditional and unwritten vernacular Targum. Hence many of the differences in reading. The dominion of Herod was too brief to introduce the Greek language, and the troubles with the Romans which arose subsequently were certainly no inducement to Jews to adopt Greek. Had Greek been generally spoken and taught, why should the Talmud record a general exception in favour of Gamaliel⁴, and later, in the second century, when the schools were already active in Galilee, in favour of the family of Judah the saint, the redactor of the Mishnah⁵, that they should be allowed to learn Greek, because they had to conduct negotiations with the government? The Hebrew inscription on the cross together with the Greek and the Latin⁶ is an evident proof that there were a great number of Jews who did not know Greek. If we are not mistaken, it is now

¹ See above, p. 47 seqq.

² See above, p. 51.

³ Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, ii. p. 78, note 3.

⁴ Lewy, *Ueber die Spuren des griechischen*, etc. (see p. 66, note 1), p. 79.

⁵ Duker, *Die Sprache der Mischnah*, p. 7.

⁶ St. John xix. 20.

generally admitted that the earliest writings of the Christians in Palestine and the neighbouring countries where they took refuge after the destruction of Jerusalem were uniformly in a vernacular Hebrew, and not in Greek¹. Had a majority of the Jews spoken this language, some of these records must have been composed in Greek. Josephus wrote his history in Hebrew for the benefit of the Jewish nation², and he acted as interpreter between the Jewish defenders of Jerusalem and the Roman generals³. And when he remarks that the Jews cannot pronounce Greek purely, his meaning, as it appears to us, is, that they did not learn it in a classical sense, but that their knowledge consisted of barbarous Greek, such as they would hear from foreigners who came from the Greek provinces, and which was only a kind of jargon. The Roman legions themselves at Jerusalem were mostly composed of Syrians⁴ whose Greek could by no means have been classical. Speaking of the Syrians, we may take them as an argument, how unready Semitic nations are in exchanging their own dialect for another not of the same family. The Syrian Christians, though likewise under the dominion of Rome, and employing a great number of Greek words in their translations of the Gospels and other writings, never gave up their own language, which is spoken to the present day⁵. The Arabs in Algeria have not yet learned much French, and the Arabs in Syria know not a sentence of Turkish, in spite of having been under Turkish rule for four centuries and professing the same religion as the Turks.

We must now briefly refer to the Jews in Egypt and Asia Minor. These had gradually forgotten their vernacular Hebrew. There were no schools to preserve the knowledge of it even amongst the better classes, and daily intercourse with the Greek population soon resulted in its being abandoned

¹ See Michel Nicolas, *Études sur les Évangiles apocryphes*, Paris, 1866.

² *Proœmium to the Antiquities*.

³ *Wars*, V. vi. 3.

⁴ *Ibidem*, V. ix. 2 ; VI. ii. 1. *Contra Apionem*, I. 9.

⁵ Renan, *Histoire des Langues sémitiques*, p. 268.



altogether. Indeed, tenacious as Jews were in their own land, and as they are now in the countries where they live together, yet they readily adapt themselves to the habit of a country where they are received as free citizens, and exchange their vernacular for the language spoken by the people amongst whom they dwell. Indeed, the second or at most the third generation of immigrating Jews know not a word of the language spoken by their parents. Take, for instance, the English Jews, who are either of Dutch-Spanish or of German-Polish extraction, very rarely of Italian, as was the case with the family of the late Prime Minister. They all speak English, none of them know Dutch or Spanish, and only a few German, unless they have learnt it as a foreign language. The same is the case with the French, Italian, and German Jews. Only where they are kept by themselves, as is the case in Russia and Turkey, and not admitted to offices, do they cling to the language of their ancestors. So the Russian Jews still speak the mediæval German, and the Jews at Salonica, Constantinople, and Smyrna speak the Spanish of the fourteenth century. But the Jews in Egypt, and more especially at Alexandria, had so soon forgotten their Hebrew that a Greek translation of the Pentateuch became a necessity for their synagogues before they had been settled there a single century. Possibly a Greek translation of the Pentateuch existed before it was written down (if there is any historical truth in this statement) for one of the kings of the Ptolemean dynasty. Here, to judge from the Greek style of an Aristeas, Aristobulus the author of the Sibyllines, and, above all, Philo, the Jews must have frequented Greek schools. Philo, it can be proved to demonstration, knew very little Hebrew, if indeed he knew any at all¹. In Asia Minor, Jewish congregations are mentioned in all parts, in Bithynia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Lydia, Galatia, and Pontus. Cyprus,

¹ See Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandrien*, p. 142 seqq.



Rhodes, and Crete had also many Jews. They are likewise mentioned in Greece itself, in Macedonia, Thessaly, Bœotia, Attica, and the Peloponnese¹. All these Jews, far away from Palestine, spoke only Greek, with the exception of the few who learnt Hebrew in the schools of Jerusalem, like St. Paul, or others who were but recent immigrants from Palestine and with whom the apostle conversed in vernacular Hebrew. Indeed, very few Rabbis are mentioned in the Talmud as coming from the Greek provinces². From inscriptions in the synagogues and epitaphs published by Stephanie in the memoirs of St. Petersburg³, we see that they used freely and exclusively the Greek language. Even the common word *shalom* found in the catacombs of Rome, Naples, and later even at Venosa⁴, is not met with in the inscriptions of Asia Minor. The same is the case with the tomb-inscription at Smyrna, discovered by Mr. Ramsay, and now edited by M. Reinach⁵. These Jews, no doubt, read the Old Testament in Greek, and through them the Bible became known, more or less, to the heathen, as may be seen from quotations made by the apostles in writings addressed to Gentile Christians. The Jews of Cæsarea and Antioch alone had a fair knowledge of Hebrew, so far as we can judge from the Talmud, and that was natural; Cæsarea was close to Palestine, and at Antioch Syriac was still spoken, a language which is so nearly related to the vernacular of Palestine. Those mentioned are mostly popular preachers (Aggadists), and they freely use Greek sentences, even in an absurd way⁶. The

¹ Acts ii. 8 seqq.

² See above, p. 66.

³ *Parerga Archaeologica*, St. Petersburg, 1859, p. 200 seqq. See also *Epigraphische Beiträge der Juden* von Dr. M. A. Levy (Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthum, Leipzig, 1861, Bd. ii, article v), p. 272 seqq.

⁴ See *Iscrizioni inedite o male note, greche, latine, ebraiche di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napolitano*, edite e illustrate da G. I. Ascoli (Atti del IV congresso internazionale degli orientalisti, Firenze, 1880, vol. i), p. 239 seqq.

⁵ See *Inscription grecque de Smyrne. La Juive Rufina*, by Salomon Reinach, *Revue des Études juives*, tom. vii. p. 161.

⁶ See Dr. Lewy's essay (full title, p. 66, note 1) and the Supplementary Notes.

Galilean Rabbis were no longer able to pronounce against the study of Greek, having seen and heard from travellers, such as R. Aqiba and R. Meir, how important, and how widely spread the Greek language was amongst the Jews in Asia Minor. Moreover, the Greek Jews undoubtedly contributed to the support of the Rabbis and their schools in Palestine, for the Jews here were by no means rich. They had very little to hope from Babylonia, since the schools of that country became rivals of the Palestinian or rather Galilean schools. We find, therefore, in the second century R. Simon ben Gamaliel¹ saying that the Law can only be adequately translated into Greek. Another Rabbi applies the words of Genesis ix. 27, 'Japhet shall dwell in the tents of Shem,' to the Greek language. R. Jehudah the saint, towards the end of the second century, says, 'Of what use is Syriac in Palestine? Let us use only either Hebrew or Greek².' Not only was it permitted at Cæsarea that the prayer *Shema*³ might be recited in Hellenistic, but a new Greek translation of the Bible was made under the auspices of R. Aqiba by Aquila. It will not be in place here to discuss who this Aquila was; the Talmud calls him a proselyte, and it is remarkable that Onqelos the Aramean translator⁴ is mentioned as having been a proselyte likewise. In any case, Aquila the translator cannot be identified with the Aquila mentioned in the Acts. Indeed, the Rabbis saw that the Jews in Asia Minor could only use the Greek translation of the Bible, which then became also current among Christians. A complete return to Hebrew being thus an impossibility, they caused a new translation to be made in the literal sense of the interpretations followed in the schools. R. Joshua and R. Eleazar⁵ praised Aquila for his translation, and applied to him the passage of the Psalms: 'Thou art

¹ *Jer. Talm.*, Meguillah, i. 11; Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, ii. p. 94.

² *Bab. Talm.*, Sotah, fol. 49 b.

³ Frankel, *Vorstudien zur Septuaginta*, p. 58.

⁴ See Berliner, *Targum Onkelos*, ii. p. 97 seqq.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

fairer than the children of men.' The Rabbis began to read Greek books, and some of them even busied themselves with Greek philosophy. It is said of Elishah ben Abhuyah (about 160 A.D.) that he preferred Greek studies to those of the law. Greek songs (Homer?) were always on his lips¹. In another passage, R. Aqiba explains the prohibition not to read 'outside' books by the books of Homer²; Aqiba, as well as Elishah, pursued mystic studies, and Homer was already in the time of Anaxagoras explained allegorically³. Epiphanius says⁴ that the Gnostics and other sects found support in Homer for all their arguments, and appealed to his writings as we appeal to the Bible. R. Meir frequently held conversations with a philosopher called in the Talmud Eunomos, of Gadarah⁵, a town of the Decapolis, where, according to Strabo⁶, many Greek philosophers were settled.

When the Galilean schools ceased to exist, and the Talmud of Jerusalem had been written down, we lose sight of the Jews in Palestine. Arabic takes the place of Greek, but we know from non-Jewish documents that in Byzantium the Jews used the Greek translation of the Bible in the synagogues⁷. We find Greek words in the exegetical and philosophical works of the Qaraites, who wrote on the Bosphorus in the eleventh century⁸. There exists a Greek translation of the Book of Jonah⁹, made at Corfu in the

¹ *Bab. Talm.*, Hagigah, fol. 15 b אחר מאי זמר יווני לא פסק מפומיה אמרו ספרי מינין נושרין בחיקו עליו על אחר בשעה שהיה עומד בבית המדרש הרבה ספרי מינין נושרין בחיקו Lewy, *Ueber die Spuren des griechischen*, etc., p. 80.

² המירס. *Jer. Talm.*, Heleq. x. Explained also (see Graetz) by daily reading from ἡμέρα.

³ See Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen* (4th ed.), vol. i. p. 931.

⁴ Haeres, i. 200.

⁵ הגרדי. See Graetz, *op. cit.*, s. iv. p. 469; identified with Οὐρόμαος Γαδαρῆς.

⁶ Syria, ii. 29. ⁷ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vol. v. p. 435.

⁸ See Steinschneider, *Catalogus Codicum Hebr. Bibl. Lugd. Batav.* (1858), MS. Warner, No. 41.

⁹ MS. Opp. Add. 8, 19 (our Catalogue, No. 1144). This is probably a remnant of the old use of translating the lessons of the prophets (Zunz, *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge*, Berlin, 1832, p. 8). This translation is, we believe, the earliest modern Greek text we possess in prose. We hope to publish it shortly.

twelfth century, in MSS. of the Bodleian Library and that of Bologna. This is the earliest example of modern Greek prose. In the prayer-book of the Greek rite a great number of hymns are to be found in Greek, or sometimes in Hebrew with the Greek translation¹. A version of the Pentateuch in Greek was printed as early as 1547, together with a Spanish translation, for the use of the Jews in Turkey². There are in existence documents enough for writing a grammar of Jewish Greek, which we believe would throw some light on the grammar of the Septuagint as well as of that of the New Testament writings.

¹ Sp. Pappageorgios, *Merkwürdige in den Synagogen von Corfu im Gebrauche befindlichen Hymnen* (Abhandlungen und Vorträge des fünften internationalen Orientalischen Congresses, Berlin, 1882, i. p. 226 seqq.). The Bodleian Library possesses several MSS. containing hymns in Greek.

² Constantinople, fol. 1547. See Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, 1852-1860, No. 122.

Supplementary Notes.

P. 50. M. Halévy (*Revue des Études juives*, t. ix. p. 10, note 2) thinks that the Talmudic *Sursi* means the language of Ashdod, or the Nabataean dialect. According to his conjecture, the word 'bastard' (במזור, Zach. ix. 6) refers to the Nabataeans (see below, p. 229).

P. 55 b. M. Rubens Duval in his review of Professor Kautzsch's Grammar (*Revue des Études juives*, t. ix. p. 144) finds Ewald's explanation of *páka* from ריקע, 'shabby' (in German, *Lump*), preferable to the ריקן suggested by Professor Kautzsch (see also Nöldeke, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1884, p. 1023). We do not remember a single instance where shabby in an Oriental language would be employed as a reproach. We believe that ריקא after all is the best explanation, since this occurs in the Talmud as a reproach.

P. 57. From the form מראנא, 'our master,' occurring in the Nabataean inscriptions discovered by Mr. Doughty, M. Halévy conjectures (*Revue des Études juives*, t. ix. p. 9) that Μαράν ἀθά represents מראנא תה, 'our Lord, come.' Cf. *vai* ἔρχου, Rev. xii. 20 (see also Nöldeke, *ibidem*).

Specimens to p. 70, note 6.

Jer. Talm., *Rosh hash-Shanah*, i. 3. R. Eleazar, arguing that God gives the first example of keeping the commandments, while a king of flesh and blood is arbitrary in this respect, uses the following Greek sentence: פרא בסליוס או נומוס או גרפוס, Πρὸ βασιλέως ὁ νόμος ἄγραφος (read אנרפוס). This was perhaps a current proverb.—Ibidem, *Shebuoth*, iii. 10, we read that R. Menahem stated in the name of Resh (R. Simeon ben) Laqish; if a man who sees rain coming down exclaims, קורי פלו בריכסון, Κύριε, πολλὸν ἔβρεξεν (according to another reading אברוכסים), he is guilty of a vain oath.—Ibidem, *Yebamoth*, iv. 2, we read that R. Abahu (of Cæsarea) having been asked whence he knew that a child born at seven months could live, answered, 'I know it from your own language.' ויטא אבטא, אכטא (read אטא ווטא Ζῆτα ἑπτὰ, ἦτα ὀκτώ, Ζῆτα is connected fancifully with ζῆν.—We read in the *Pesiqta Rabbathi*, xl, ויאמר יצחק אל, אברהם אביו הנה האש והעצים ואיה השם לעולה אמר לו אברהם אלהים יראה לו השם יזמן קרבנו ואם לא שם לעולה בני שם לעולה סי לעולה לשון יונת אתה הוא הקרבן, 'Isaac said unto Abraham his father, My father . . . Behold the fire and the wood: but where is the lamb for a burnt offering? And Abraham said, God will provide himself a lamb (Gen. xxii. 7, 8). God will provide for himself the sacrifice; and if not, thou (שם) shalt be the burnt offering, my son.' שם is explained as the accusative pronoun σέ (see Ed. Friedmann, p. 170 b and Dr. Gudemann's *vocabulary* of the Greek and Latin words occurring in this *Pesiqta*, a. v. שם).—Bab. Talm., *Shabbath*, fol. 31 a, the word הן (Job xxviii. 28), 'behold,' is connected with the Greek εἶ, and translated 'the fear of the Lord is the one thing which God asks from man.' הן is understood in the same sense in other passages.

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