

The Integration of Greek and Latin Loanwords in Post-Biblical Hebrew

Nurit Shoal-Dudai

In its *Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language*, the Academy of the Hebrew Language recently completed a study of words that entered ancient literature from Greek and Latin. As early as the beginning of the 1960s, the text database of the historical dictionary was digitized, and each entry that was found to be derived from the Greek or Latin received an index number marking its association to the list of foreign words from these languages.

Works of ancient literature, that is, treatises written between 200 BCE and 1050 CE, were encoded in the *Historical Dictionary* fully excerpted, and based on the best available manuscripts. Both of these facts led to the creation of a full digital database which can be continuously updated and constitutes the entire corpus of extant writings.¹

Each entry is treated independently in a separate document in a manner that combines a record of the Hebrew historical lexicography of the word, and commentaries that were written through the ages, with the Greek and Latin lexicographical attestations. The document also has a comprehensive bibliography, which includes scientific editions, secondary literature which deals with the various texts, commentaries and studies aimed at identifying the word, its form, grammar and development. The borrowed words were implanted into Hebrew, Aramaic or mixed contexts and did not always enter the Hebrew directly from the Greek and Latin. The appearance of the word in lexicons of rabbinic language is documented according to type of dictionaries and in chronological order,² and the final portion of the document presents the results of word identification in different dictionaries for Greek and Latin.³ Samuel Krauss estimated a proportion of 100

¹ <http://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/Pages/PMain.aspx>. For a historical summary of the project see A. Tal, 'The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language: Fifty Years', *Lešonenu* 72 (2010), 239-247.

² Nathan ben Yehiel, Aruch, Pizarro 1517; A. Kohut (ed.), *Aruch Completum*, Vienna 1928²; S. Krauss et alii (eds.), *Addimenta ad Librum Aruch Completum*, Vienna 1937; S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, II, mit Bemerkungen von I. Löw, Berlin 1899; J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*², nebst Beiträgen von H. Fleischer, mit Nachträgen und Berichtigungen von Lazarus Goldschmidt, Berlin und Wien 1924; G.H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch*², Frankfurt am Main 1922; M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, New York 1903; M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*, Jerusalem 1990; idem, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods*, Jerusalem, Baltimore and London 2002.

³ The principal ones are LSJ = H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996; E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100*, New York 1900; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, recensuit et

to 1 between words borrowed from Greek and those borrowed from Latin.⁴ I would estimate the existence of more Latin words, even though many of them entered the Hebrew language by way of the Greek. The material compiled in the text regarding each entry was collected for the purpose of determining the identification and the meaning of the borrowed word, and constitutes, alongside the quotations, a guideline for writing the entry in the future.

With the completion of the identification of the entries, I summarized the history of the research of words borrowed from Greek and Latin into Hebrew, and I presented the method of dealing with these entries within the *Historical Dictionary*.⁵ In addition, I proposed to classify the words according to patterns of linguistic importation and substitution, through the application of linguistic terminology of models of borrowing from one language to another.⁶ This investigation revealed that the majority of the words that entered Hebrew within the framework of ancient literature entered either as loan words, or as hybrids, and less often, as translations, which are also more difficult to identify and more often found in the transmission of writings, for instance, 'שולחנים לעסקי' on the model *τραπέζιται*.⁷

Many words were borrowed "as is" in their foreign form, and most of these are incompatible with the rules of the Hebrew language and thus cannot be analyzed according to the rules of grammatical structure. Examples include, אנדרוגינוס (*ἀνδρογυνος*), דסקפלינא (*disciplina*), קתדרא (*καθέδρα*), אספרגוס (*ἀσπάραγος*), קונכי (*κόγχη*), אסטנס (*ἀσθενής*), קסטרא (*castra*), אפיטרופוס (*ἐπίτροπος*).

Yet many other words underwent different kinds of changes which rendered them compatible with Hebrew usage. The term "hybrid word" signifies the integration of an imported part of the original phonetic form and a local substitutional component. In a compound word, it is possible to have partial substitution of one of its components. For

emendavit K. Latte et P.A. Hansen, Copenhagen 1953-2009; *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, ab Henrico Stephano constructus, eds., C.B. Hase, G. Dindorf, L. Dindorf, Paris 1831-1865; Ch. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae & infimae Graecitatis*, Paris 1905 (repr. of 1688); G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961 for Greek, and Ch.T. Lewis, Ch. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879; P.G. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1996; Ch. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, Editio nova aucta pluribus verbis aliorum scriptorum a Léopold Favre, Niort 1883-1887; J.F. Niermeyer and C. van de Kieft (eds.), *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, revised by J.W.J. Burgers, Leiden 2002 for Latin.

⁴ S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter in Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, I, mit Bemerkungen von I. Löw, Berlin 1898, 231.

⁵ N. Shoval-Dudai, 'Greek and Latin Loanwords in the Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language', *Lešonenu* 76 (2014), 27-31, 35-41 (Hebrew). See there on the major contribution of D. Sperber in the last decades.

⁶ Ibid. 31-35.

⁷ H.B. Rosén, 'Die Sprachsituation im römischen Palästina', *East and West: Selected Writings in Linguistics by Haiim B. Rosén Edited for the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday by a Group of Friends and Disciples*, München 1982, 489-513, esp. 508 [= G. Neumann J. Untermann, G. Bauchhenss edd. *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit* (= Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher, Band 40), 1980, 215-239.]

example, ארכי דיינים meaning the chief of the judges, on the model ἀρχιδικαστής.⁸ Alteration of original suffixes, that is, dropping them or adding others to enable the integration of declensions of gender, number and attribute: פרקליט (παράκλητος), אספלינית (σπληνίον), סופסטה (σοφιστής), ספוג (σπόγγος). In a few cases the change in the word resulted in its becoming consistent with the rules of Hebrew grammar: נימוס (νόμος), הוגן (εὐγενής), דוגמא (δειγμα).

Inasmuch as hybrid words are defined as grafted from elements from different languages, I propose to list beside them other sets of foreign integrated and adapted words that underwent various processes of Hebraization in order to fit the rules of the borrowing language.

Due to dissimilar rules and disparate pronunciations of consonants and vowel combinations, a significant number of the words underwent phonemic change to ease pronunciation: אנדרולומוסיה (ἀνδρολημψία), קפנדריא (*compendiaria*); the addition of prosthetic א"ל to facilitate the pronunciation of words beginning with successive consonants: אצטרבל (στρόβιλος), אכסניה (ξενία) אצטדין (στάδιον); metathesis or change of liquids פסנטרין (ψαλτήριον), נמל (λιμήν).

I shall demonstrate two words, one from the Greek and one from the Latin, which underwent different processes in the transition from one language to another and received an identical form in Hebrew. The word 'טירון' appears in six contexts of ancient literature and is documented in the singular form of טירון, in the plural טירונים, and usually plural טירונין, and in the construct form טירוני כהונה.⁹

ר' חלבו ר' חונה בשם רב, כת' "ויאמר אליהו התשבי" וגו', והלא אליהו טירונין לנביאים היה, אלא מלמד שכל עמידות שעמד לפני אחיה השילוני רבו כילו עמד לפני השכינה. (ירושלמי, עירובין ה, א, כב ע"ב)

"בימינו היה הקיסם ירושלם", ניראין הוא קיסמא על ירושלם. "לשום כרים" פרי לימרסום. "לפתוח פה" ספקלטורים. "להרים קול בתרועה" סלפינגם. "לשום כרים על שערים" טירונים. "לשפוך סוללה" אבני בליסרטא. ו"לבנות דיק" כבשים וכו' להם. (איכה רבה, פתיחה כג)

והוא משיבן שתי תשובות וא' להם, אחד מכם גלה לבר בריה ואחד מכם לסרמטי, כגון שגליתם כולכם. ולא עוד אלא שהמלכות הרשעה הזאת מכתבת טירונין/טירונים מכל אומה ואומה. כותי אחד בא ומשעבד. כגון ששיעבדה כל אומתו. וכותי אחד בא ומשעבד, כגון ששיעבדה כל אומתו. ובחדש הזה אתם נגאלין, "החדש הזה לכם ראש חדשים". (פסיקתא דרב כהנא, החדש ז <89>)

א"ר יהושע הכהן בר' נחמיה, כשנגלה הקב"ה על משה טירון היה לנבואה. אמ' הקב"ה, אם אני נגלה עליו בקול גדול לנבואה אני מבעתו, אם אני נגלה עליו בקול נמוך בוטר על הנבואה. (שמות רבה, מה, ה ~ ג, א)

טירוני כהונה כמבין עם תלמיד. (שלמה הבבלי, סדר עבודה ליום הכיפורים, אדרת תלבשת, י"כ, ש' 317)

"דרך עצל" זה עשו. מהו "כמסוכת חדק", אלא כשם שהסוכה הזוה של קוצים מתחדקת בגדיו של אדם, והוא מפשר אותה מצד זה והיא מתחדקת מצד אחד. כך היא מלכותו של עשו, גובה את הארנון מישר' ועד שלא יגבה הארנון הרי הגולגולת באה עליהן, ועד שזאת נגבת באין עליהן לעסק טירונים. (פסיקתא רבת, י, לג ע"ב)

⁸ *Mishnah*, Abot 1, 8; *Genesis Rabbah* 50, 3 (J. Theodor ed., 519); *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*, Eicha 9 (D. Mandelbaum, ed., 260).

⁹ The sources are quoted from the 'Maagarim database' editions, see n. 1 above.

In the context of *Midrash Exodus Rabbah* 'Moses was a טירון to prophecy', and in the liturgical text 'טירוני כהונה', it is possible to easily identify the word with the Latin noun *tiro*, *-onis*, *m.* meaning 'new soldier' in the narrowest sense, or a 'beginner, lacking experience' in a broad sense, and with its Greek form *τίρω*, *-ωνος*, *ὁ* which is documented as borrowed from Latin into Greek.¹⁰

However, with respect to the *Jerusalem Talmud* and in the other midrashim, the commentators disagree about the identification of the word.

In the earliest appearance of the word in the *Yerushalmi* in *Eruvin*, which is close in its type of context to the description of Moses in *Exodus Rabbah*, Moshe Margalit explained in his commentary *Pnei Moshe* 'Eliahu was טירונין to the prophets; meaning that he was not accustomed to prophecy as he had not yet prophesied, as far as we know'. Rabbi Akiva Eiger, in his *Gilyon Ha Shas*, similarly explained the term as indicating a novice prophet, as in *Exodus Rabbah*.

However, David Frankel in his commentary *Korban Ha'edah* wrote, 'טירונין to the prophets meant the greatest of the prophets... טירונין having the implication of dominance, so it is explained by the *Aruch*'. In the same manner טירונין is understood in the commentary *Shirei Korban*: '... he was the greatest of the prophets and most famous in prophecy.' Saul Lieberman in the *Yerushalmi Kiphshuto* referred to the entry in the *Aruch* 'טרן ג' where it is said that '*Yerushalmi Eruvin*... and the scroll of *Lamentations*... they are a matter of rulers = שרים'.¹¹

Kohut had already in the *Aruch Completum* proposed to identify this word with the Greek noun *τύραννος*, *ὁ* meaning 'absolute ruler', 'chief' or 'tyrant'.¹²

The military meaning of these two nouns, both *τύραννος* in the sense of 'ruler = שר', and *tiro* in the sense of 'soldier', accords well with the context in *Lamentations Rabbah*, *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*, and *Pesiqta Rabbati*, so that it is impossible to clearly distinguish between them.

Pesiqta Rabbati suggested another interpretation of the word which is already in the *Aruch*, entry 'טרן ב'': 'טירונין coming to the business, it is a matter of taxes.' Kohut in the *Aruch Completum* identified this with the word *τιρονακόν* = *τίρωνα* 'tax needs of the new recruits... and it was borrowed to apply to tax (issues) in general'.¹³

Lexicons of rabbinic language are unanimous regarding the identification of two words, *τύραννος* and *tiro*, with the entry טירון, but disagree as to the attribution of the sources.

¹⁰ Lewis – Short s.v. *tiro*, *-onis*, *m.*, 'in milit. language, a newly levied soldier, a young soldier, recruit *PSI* 9.1063.5, 25 (ii A.D.) II transf. in gen., a beginner, in anything.' LSJ s.v. *τίρω*, *-ωνος*, *ὁ*, = Lat. *tiro*, 'recruit' ... written *τείρων*, dat. pl. *τιρόνας* *BGU* 21 ii 11, iii 4 (iv A.D.) points to nom. sgl. *τιρόνης* (*τιρόνης*).

¹¹ S. Liebermann, *Hayerushalmi Kiphshuto. A Commentary Based on Manuscripts of the Yerushalmi and Works of the Rishonim and Midrashim in Mss. And Rare Editions*, Jerusalem 1934, 290.

¹² Kohut 1928, n. 2 supra, vol. 4, 86, s.v. 'טרן ג'; LSJ s.v. *τύραννος*, *ὁ*, *ἡ* 'an absolute ruler, unlimited by law or constitution ... later, chief, princeling ... II *τύραννος*, *-ov* as adj. kingly, royal. 2 imperious, despotic'.

¹³ Kohut 1928, n. 2 supra, vol. 4, 85-86, s.v. 'טרן ב'; Sophocles s.v. *τιρονακός*, *-ῆ*, *-όν* pertaining to the *τίρωνα*s. Synesius 1445, *χρυσίον*.

טירון in the singular form appears in *Exodus Rabbah* only, where the identification of *tiro* in Latin, or in its Greek form *τίρων*, 'inexperienced', accords well. It is reasonable to think that the noun, like many others from the Latin, was borrowed in its Greek form, considering its morphology as well, as it includes the נו"ן also in the nominative case of the singular masculine form. Nevertheless, many words were borrowed in their absolute grammatical stem form, rather than in their nominative form.

In places where there is no definitive decision, the plural form טירונים or טירונין appears. The plural suffix in Hebrew or Aramaic for Greek or Roman names became commonly used as an addition to the nominative case: נימוסין (νόμος), אסתנסין (ἀσθενής), or as additions to the stem אזמרגדין (σμάραγδος), בולין, בולין, אנדרטאות, (ἀνδριάς, -άντος) (βῶλος).

From the two words, *tύραννος* and *tiro*, we get a similar plural form, טירנין, 'טירנים' and 'טירונים, טירונין'.

In the identification of טירונים, טירונין with *tύραννος* or with the Greek plural *tύραννοι*, there was a replacement of the vowel *a* with the vowel *o*, which is common next to liquids or to the consonant קו"ף. For example: from *μάλαγμα* to מלוגמא and from *ἀγκύλη* to אונקלי.¹⁴ Even though the changes of the vowels are common in transition from one language to another, especially regarding words written without *matres lectionis*, the forms טירונים, טירונין reached us with *plene* spelling.

In Egyptian papyri dating to the second and fourth centuries CE, the word *τίρων* is documented in different declensions and spellings. A dative plural form indicates the nominative singular form of טירונס (τιρόνης), which is similar to *tύραννος*, 'ruler = שר', when the order of the syllables' vowels is changed.¹⁵

Morphological and semantic similarity apparently caused the change, and the exchange took place between the two borrowed words in such a way that it is impossible to distinguish between them.

The work done in the *Historical Dictionary* regarding words borrowed from Greek and Latin into Hebrew has significantly advanced the research related to the revision of Krauss's dictionary. Encoding texts into the dictionary using the full-excerpt method has established an entire corpus based on the best manuscripts available. Locating the borrowed words and identifying their meaning will allow for the creation of an initial glossary, even in the near future. However, I have given examples showing the utmost importance of checking the manuscripts for the transmission of Greek and Latin words.¹⁶ Foreign words often appear with variations in spelling caused by differences in pronunciation, or which are distorted because of the copyists' lack of familiarity with those words. In these cases it is not enough to be satisfied with the version of manuscripts that were used as the basis for encoding these works, and it is critical to check the versions against other manuscripts.

The inclusion of the words from Greek and Latin as entries in the computerized database of the *Historical Dictionary* allows the checking of data and processing of

¹⁴ See Sh. Heijmans, 'Greek and Latin Loanwords in Mishnaic Hebrew: Lexicon and Phonology', Ph.D. Diss. Tel-Aviv 2012, 260-261, no. 74 and n. 83.

¹⁵ See n. 10 supra in LSJ s.v. *τίρων*.

¹⁶ N. Shoval-Dudai, ' "Make Your Ear Like an Afarkeset" ', *Lešonenu* 72 (2010), 346-350 (Hebrew); 'Loanwords' (n. 5 supra), 36-41.

information for research purposes in a way that was previously nearly impossible. Research according to entry, form or collocation; queries by treatise, literary genre or period; and obtaining statistical data or selecting quotations according to various sections: all these are possible with the press of a button. These data will be used by scholars for purposes of linguistic, literary, historical and cultural investigation. The dissemination of their first appearances and occurrences of these entries over this long period and their distribution among the various works can teach us a great deal about their reach, reception and integration, and about their transmission and filtering into the Hebrew language. The concentration of the quotations for each entry allows an examination of the different spelling in selected manuscripts. The appearance of the entry in its excerpt preserves its transmission in both its limited and broader textual context, according to the choice of the reader.

Approximately 15,474 sources from works of ancient literature were preserved, ranging from coins, inscriptions, and liturgical fragments to broad essays. In 851 of these appear words from Greek and Latin. The total of Greek and Latin occurrences in these works is 29,571, and the total number of entries comes to 1598.

The greater part of the Greek and Latin words is documented, as could be assumed, in the treatises of the Tannaim and Amoraim, which coincide roughly with the period in which Palestine was ruled by Greek and Roman speakers. In the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, Greek and Latin words are documented in fifteen works in total. Eighty-one treatises are dated to around 600, in which Greek and Latin words appear in many literary genres: inscriptions and charm texts, liturgical texts, letters and esoteric works, and midrashim. Many of these were the products of earlier works that by the seventh century were collected and edited. Greek and Latin words are also documented in treatises dating after the Muslim conquest, whether written in Palestine or in the Diaspora. In order to provide an idea of the statistical data, I hereby refer to the works with the greatest number of occurrences or entries in chronological order, and to the entries with the highest occurrences in each work.

Frequency	Entries	Occurrences	Date	Treatise
דינר (ἀήρ) x53, אויר (denarius) x79, הדיוט (ιδιώτης) x45	238	1294	c. 225	Mishnah
אויר x32, הדיוט x49	99	302	#300	Sipra
דינר x12, הדיוט x12, מיל (mille) x13	120	256		Sipre Deuteronomy
אויר x92, דינר x161, הדיוט x97	398	2146		Tosefta
	725	3841	c. 425	Jerusalem Talmud
אויר x18, סנדל (σάνδαλον) x19, טבלא (tabula) x9	170	359		Šabbat

Frequency	Entries	Occurrences	Date	Treatise
דרקון (<i>virus</i>) x7, ארס (δράκων) x11, קנקל (κικλίς) x10	107	207		Abodah Zarah
	611	6275	c. 500	Babylonian Talmud
23x מיל, 33x סנדל, 22x אויר	190	677		Šabbat
29x אויר, אכסדרא (ἐξέδρα) x24, זוג (ζυγόν) x17	73	307		‘Erubin
35x סנהדרין, הדיוט 48x קנס (<i>census</i>) 15x	99	355		Sanhedrin
20x דינר, מריס (<i>muria</i>) x14, הדיוט 12x	128	400		Abodah Zarah
אנדרוניוס (ἀνδρόγυνος) x24, 29x סנדל	149	184		Yebamot
18x אויר, 41x דינר, 14x לטרא (<i>λίτρα</i>)	115	380		Baba Batra
מטרונה (<i>matrona</i>), מרגלית (<i>μαργαρίτης</i>) 19x, פלטין (<i>palatium</i>) x45	343	1030	#600	Genesis Rabbah
22x דינר, סנהדרין 15x, לגיון (<i>legio</i>) x9	216	487		Leviticus Rabbah
20x מטרונה, 21x	190	585		Pesiqta de Rab Kahana
אפטרופוס (ἐπίτροπος) x35, 46x דינר	114	356	761	Halachot Pesuqot
23x אכלוס (<i>ὄχλος</i>), סנהדרין, פלטרין (<i>praetorium</i>) x39	230	843	#800	Tanḥuma
איקונין (<i>εἰκότιον</i>) 17x, מרגלית, 19x	163	457		Exodus Rabbah
3x מיל, טכס (<i>τάξις</i>), זוג, קלפי (<i>μαγίς</i>), מגס, זוג, קלפי (<i>κάλλις</i>) x2		singles	850-1000	Liturgy
רגיון, מרגלית, זוג, (<i>ρύάκιον</i>) x2	15	18	c. 875	Yoṣrot

Frequency	Entries	Occurences	Date	Treatise
פרצוף (πρόσωπον) x2	9	10		Kedushta
	13	13	942	Sidrei
דינר x15, הדיוט x26	126	355	c. 950	Sefer vehizhir
קיסר (Caesar) x114, אוגוסטוס (Augustus) x61, אוקינוס (Ὠκεανός) [=201]	16	231	before 953	Josippon
אור x4	32	34	c. 975	Seder Abodah
אלפס x3, טכס, אור (λοπάς), אספקלריא (specularis), לגיון, פנס (νῆμα) נימא, זוג (φανός), פנקס (πίναξ) x2	98	110	c. 1000	Yosrot X4
אסטומכא x30, אור (στομάχος) x4	9	47	982	Sefer Chachmoni
אנקיא (uncia) x22, פגם (ἴρις) x8, ארוס (πήγανον) x15	18	75		Medical Practice
פטרון, סנהדרין (patronus) x17, פלטיין x15	191	624	#1050	Midrash Psalms
סנהדרין, אוקינוס x11, פלטיין x13	130	306		Pesiqta Rabbati
סנהדרין x8, דיחיקי (διαθήκη) x6, דמוס (dimissus) x5	43	105		Midrash Legend Gen.
הגמון (ἡγεμών) x17, קסטנר x23, קיסר (quaestionarius) x11	32	156		Midr. X Harug. Mal.
	10	10	c. 1060	Adat Deborim
דייוט x26, לגיון x24	165	403	c. 1125	Numeri Rabbah

The data point to some general conclusions:

1) The proportion of the entries in the treatises from the era of the Tannaim and Amoraim until the Muslim conquest is 88%. The proportion of the occurrences in this period is 68%.

2) One sees that the balance between the number of occurrences and number of entries or the size of the work and number of occurrences or entries in it varies between treatises even within the same era and literary genre. See for example tractates *Sanhedrin* and *Yebamot* in the *Babylonian Talmud*, or *Genesis Rabbah* and *Leviticus Rabbah*.

3) From the perspective of number of treatises and their distribution in the literary genres, we see a clear increase throughout the period examined.

One hundred and seventy new entries have been added dating after the Muslim conquest, and it is interesting to note the specific entries, eras, works and locales, i.e. whether in Palestine or in the Diaspora.

In the first period under Greek and Roman rule, a subdivision is possible:

Into works that are dated in the database after the Babylonian Talmud until the year 650, especially *Midrashei Rabbah* and *Pesiqta de Rab Kahana*, about 20% of the new entries were added.

The number of occurrences of each entry in ancient literature in general or the number of occurrences of specific entries in works, tell us about the distribution of various words and attest the semantic fields that were common. The vast majority of words were realia which pertained to the authorities: officials, technical forensic terms of justice, coins, weights and measures, and architecture, or victuals, tools, and clothing. I refer here to entries whose number of occurrences in the literature exceeds 100.

Over 1000 דינר, הדיוט

Over 800 אויר

Over 500 סנהדרין, מיל

Over 400 סנדל, קנס, מרגלית

Over 300 זוג, אפטרופוס, לסטס (λήστεις)

Over 200 קיסר, לטרא, אנדרוגינוס, פלטין, אסר (*as*), נימא

Over 100 אכלוס, ספסל (*τύπος*), טפס, לגיון, פרהסיה (*παρησία*), מטרונה, טבלא, גמטריא, גמטריא (*πραγματεία*), פרקמטיא, אכסדרא, אוקינוס, אפרכוס, פלטרין, דורון (*δῶρον*), סודר, איקונין, פרצוף, ארו (*ὄρυζα*), קלמוס, דגמא, אסטרטא (*strata*), אוקינוס (*γεωμετρία*), טרקלין, תרמוס (*θερμός*), קיתון, הגמון, פנקס, פנדק, אלפס (*sudarium*), טריאלינון (*τρίλινον*)

These words came from neutral areas of culture and thus did not usually pose a problem among the Jews, similarly to the study of “external wisdom literature”. Sometimes, it was more difficult to explain the replacement of Hebrew words for their foreign parallels, such as דורון, זוג, אוקינוס or פרצוף.

I can try to explain some of the data with respect to the history of literature, but only a combination of the total information about the work: author, place of composition, and the time of writing or editing, literary genre in which it was written, content and objectives, along with these numerical data, allows for a reliable assessment.

In the following I will demonstrate a selection of excerpts on various topics, from different periods and from a variety of literary genres:

Of the terms denoting realia, groups of words that deal with victuals and clothing far outweigh the others:

For instance, a well-known inscription from a synagogue in a small town called רחוב dating to the sixth or the seventh century, including lists of victuals, especially fruits and vegetables, of which some are Greek and Latin names. These names are also mentioned in many other treatises. Of the twenty-one products specified in the first list, seven names, one-third, are Greek.

שלום, הפירות הללו אסורין בבית שאן בשביעית ובשאר שבוע מתאסרין דמי, הקישואין, והאבטיחין והממלפפונות (μηλοπέπων) והאסטפליני (σταφυλίνος) והמינתה (μίνθα) הנאגדת בפני עצמה ופול המצרי הנאגד, בשיפה והקפלוטות (κεφαλωτόν) מן העצרת עד החנוכה והזירעונין והקצע והשמשימין והחרדל והאורז (ὄρυζα) והכמן והתורמסין (θήρμος), היבישין והאפונין הגמלונין הנמכרין במידה והשום ובצלין בני מדינה הנמכרין במידה והבולבסין (βολβός), והתמרין אפסיות והיין והשמן. בשביעית שביעית שני שבוע דמי. והפת חלה לעולם. (כתובת רחוב, ש' 1-5)

Of the eighteen clothing items one may take in case of fire bursting on Shabbat, nine items, half, are Greek and Latin names. At least six of them are Latin in origin.

"ר' יוסי אר', שמונה עשר כלי", ואילו הן, מקטורין (amictorium) ניקלי (ἀνάκωλος) ופונדא (funda) ופיליון (pallium) ומעפורת וקולבין (κολόβιον) שלפשתן והלוק שלצמר ושתי אמפלויות (ἐμπύλια) שני סבריקין (superaria) ושני אבריקין (bracae) שני מנעילין וכובע שבראשו והגור שבמתניו וסודרין (sudarium) שעל זרועותיו. (ירושלמי, שבת טז, ד, טו, ע"ד)

I shall demonstrate in the midrashim the use of Greek and Latin words in the framework of parables and with regard to Biblical antiquities. In the parables 'to a king', 'to a son of a king' or 'to a matron' appear many words for terms related to governmental institutions.

A parable that shows up in early midrashim, includes in its later version in *Numeri Rabbah* an especially large number of Greek words:

אמרו רבותי, למה הדבר דומה, לטריפטיס (τραπέζιτης) שלמדינה שנמצא אחריו דבר שליטימא (ζήτημα). ידע המלך ואמר לאפרוכוס (ἐπαρχος) שלו, הוצא אותו והכנס אחר תחתיו. אעפ"כ נמצא אותו השולחני חייב קטלבטון (κατάβλημα). אמ' המלך, מי שירש מקומו יפרע עליו מה שהוא חייב. (במדבר רבה, ד, ח)

Words such as פירט (πειρατής), פדגוג (παιδαγωγός) and פרודור (πρόθυρον) occur mostly in the framework of parables and metaphorically.

The use of words and technical terms from Greek and Latin is especially common in relation to Biblical antiquities. The use in relation to Egypt, Assyria, or Persia, creates an anachronism, and probably highlights from a literary angle the parallel between past and present, between ancient rulership and the rulership of Greece and Rome. Many words are used in relation to Biblical stories from the Creation to the days of the prophets.

ד'-א, "מי אנכי", אמ' משה לאלים, ריטורס (ρήτωρ) שעומדים לפני פר' יודעין שבעים לשון, שאם יבוא פרוזפיוטיס (προσβευτής) מכל מקום יהוא יודעין להסיח עימו. ואני עור לשון אחד שאני יודע שאינו יוצא ידיו, אלא "כי כבד פה וכבד לשון אנכי". (תנחומא-ילמדנו, קטעים, פרשות שמות-וארא, בשלח, וארא <2,102>)

"ויקרא" "להכמים ולמכשפים", באותה עשה התחיל פרעה משחק עליהם ומקרקר אחריהם כתרנגולת, ואמ' להם, כך היא אומנותו של אלהיכם, בנוהג שבעולם בני אדם מוליכין פרקמטיא (πραγματεία) למקום שצריכין לה', כלום מביאין מוריאס (muria) לאספמיא, דגים לעכו, אי אתם יודעים שכל הכשפים ברשותי. (שמות רבה, ט, 1)

In conclusion, I shall present examples of a cross-section of the uses of an entry in different periods:

The word *קלמוס* (*κάλαμος*) first appears in the Mishnah in a context of realia as a writing instrument. In the midrashim, the term first appears in the context of sayings and parables. In liturgical texts it is used both in a new way as well as in allusions to earlier works.

לא יצא החייט במחטו סמוך לחשיכה שמא ישכח ויצא. ולא הליבלר (*librarius*) בקולמוסו... (משנה, שבת א, ג)

"לאברהם למקנה" וגו', אמ' ר' לעזר, כמה דיות משתפכות, כמה קולמוסין משתברין, כדי לכתוב "בני חת"... (בראשית רבה, נח, ח <629>)

ואם כל הימים דיו ואגמים קולמוסים, ובני אדם לבלרין ויריעות ארצות פרוסים, וכל שערות אדם ולשונות מקלסין, אינן מספיקים לחקור פלאות וניסים, אחת מאלף אלפי אלפים וריבי רבבות הנעשים, אשר פעל אדון לעם מבטן עמוסים. (שמעון בר יצחק, קרובה לו' פסח, אותותיך ראינו, ח <ש' 94>)

והקולמוס חגור, ופיו סגור, יצפצף כעגור. אלם וצחות ידבר, ונפלאות יחבר. דובר מבלי לשון, וחווה מבלי אישון. וכותב מבלי אצבע, ורץ מאין ארבע. ואולם דרך עוף דרכו, ברוצו לרהטים כיבוש חכו. כי יתנהל כמעט, ויתהלך לאט, על ערוגות הספר. ויתן אמרי שפר, כלי השיר כליו. ומי בעל דברים יגש אליו. רעיונים קבץ, וענינים רבץ, ומכתב שבץ. ויעש לו עלית שיר קטנה ובתים מלאים כל טוב. (יצחק אבן עזרא, אשירה נא לידידי ואזכרה אל דודי)

The word תריס already appears in the *Mishnah* in lists of weapons as part of the collocation 'הגפת תריסים ושיפעת הקלגסים' and as part of the metaphor 'כרתיס לפני הפורענות'. The three uses, realistic, collocational, and metaphoric reappear in later works in various literary genres.¹⁷

הוא היה אומ', כל בני אדם כנתונים באסורים. המהלך בשוק כמסור לאסטרטיוס (*στρατιώτης*). החושש בראשו כנתון בקולר (*collarium*). העולה למטה כעולה לגרדון (*gradus*). והעולה לגרדון צריך להביא פרקליטין (*παράκλητος*). והרי דברים קל וחומר. ומה אם העולה לגרדון שלמלך בשר ודם צריך להביא לו פרקליטין. העולה לגרדון שלמלך מלכי המלכים ברוך הוא על אחת כמה וכמה. ומה הם פרקליטין שאדם צריך להביא. תשובה ומעשים טובים שהם כרתיס (*θυρεός*) לפני הפורענות. (מסכת שמחות דרבי חייא, א, ה <214>)

The above cross-sectional analyses demonstrate that completely technical foreign names were also used in a figurative sense and in phrases which achieved idiomatic status. Sometimes, it was precisely by dint of their unfamiliar nature that they received this status and were again used ornamentally in later writings and in literary references to earlier works.

The Academy of the Hebrew Language and Ben-Gurion University

¹⁷ N. Shoval-Dudai, "Hagafat Trisim": the Metamorphoses of the term from Early Literature to Modern Hebrew', (Hebrew) [forthcoming in *Ha'Ivrit A Journal for the Hebrew Language*].