A COMPARATIVE LEXICAL STUDY OF GREEK AND LATIN WORDS IN LATE MIDRASHIM AND JUDEO-GREEK VOCABULARIES FROM BIBLICAL TRANSLATIONS AND GLOSSARIES*

RESUMEN: Los primeros contactos culturales entre Judea y Grecia comenzaron durante el período bíblico (siglos VIII-IX a.C.) Estos contactos se intensificaron después de las conquistas de Alejandro Magno, durante el período de los reinados Helenísticos, del imperio Romano y del Bizantino. El griego se transformó en la lengua común del Oriente helenístico y un gran caudal de palabras y de expresiones de esta lengua se incorporaron al hebreo y al arameo. Este rico vocabulario griego,

*The first version of this study was a presentation at the VII European Association of Jewish Studies Congress in Amsterdam, July 2002. The main ideas concerning the contacts between late rabbinical and Judeo-Greek came out of my work on Rabbinical Greek in the Project of the “Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language” of the Academy of the Hebrew Language. The aim of the address was to present a general view of the relations between the later rabbinical sources and early Judeo-Greek texts. However, we must stress that we are in the first steps of our study, and probably every one of the sources quoted, especially those in Judeo-Greek, deserves special linguistic and contextual study. The quotations in Greek letters are written in classical Greek according to the rules of H. G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, E. JONES, Greek English Lexicon, with a supplement ed. by E. A. BARBER, Oxford 1968, and the edition with a revised supplement edited by P. G. W. GLARE, 1996. The reader will find transcriptions of medieval Greek in the original Hebrew characters. Medieval Greek words from published texts were quoted as they were published by Hesseling, N. de Lange, and J. Starr. Transcription of Hebrew into Latin characters is according to the rules used in the Encyclopaedia Judaica, Jerusalem 1971-1972. English translations of Bible quotations are from The Complete Parallel Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments with Apocryphal and Deuterocanonical Books: New Revised Standard Version, Revised English Bible, New American Bible, New Jerusalem Bible, New York, Oxford University Press, 1993. I would like to take the pleasure of thanking the authorities of the Academy of the Hebrew Language who have given me the permission to publish material of the data base of the Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language. Special thanks to N. de Lange for his remarks during the EAJS Congress and to Sharon Rosenfelder and to Yohai Goell for their linguistic assistance in the preparation of this paper.
escrito en caracteres hebraicos es definido como el “griego rabínico”. Un nuevo dialecto griego, también escrito con caracteres hebreos, floreció en las comunidades judías de Grecia y en otros puntos del Mediterráneo durante el período bizantino; es el denominado “judeo-griego”. En este dialecto se vertió una nueva traducción de la Biblia y textos de liturgia y también sería una lengua de rica creación literaria hasta la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Este artículo está dedicado al estudio del vocabulario de los dos dialectos y a las relaciones entre ellos. Estas relaciones están bien testimoniadas en la literatura rabínica tardía y en las traducciones bíblicas en judeo-griego.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Griego rabínico, judeo-griego, literatura bíblica, literatura rabínica.

ABSTRACT: The linguistic and cultural contacts between Judea and Greece began during the late Biblical Period (circa 9th-8th cent. BCE). These contacts intensified after the conquest of Alexander the Great and especially during the rule of Hellenistic kingdoms and the Roman and Byzantine empires in Palestine. The Greek language became the common language of the Hellenistic Orient and many Greek words and expressions were adopted by the Hebrew and Aramaic languages. This rich vocabulary of Greek words written in Hebrew characters is called “Rabbinical Greek”. A new Greek dialect, also written in Hebrew characters, flourished in the Jewish communities in Greece and along the Mediterranean coast during the Byzantine period; it is called Judeo-Greek. Into this dialect the Bible was translated, and liturgy texts were written; it also served as the language of a rich secular literature until the Second World War. This article is devoted to the study of the vocabulary of both dialects and the relations between them, well documented in late rabbinical literature and Judeo-Greek biblical translations.

KEY-WORDS: Rabbinical Greek, Judeo-Greek, Biblical Literature, Rabbinical Literature.

Linguistic and cultural contacts between Judea and Greece began during the late biblical Period (circa 9th-8th centuries BCE). After the conquest of Alexander the Great and especially during the period of Hellenistic and Hasmonean rule in Palestine (4th-1st centuries BCE), these contacts intensified and influenced all aspects of daily life, as well as the cultural and religious literary creation of the Jews in Israel and in the Diaspora. This process continued during the periods of Roman and Byzantine rule in...
Judea (1st century BCE-7th century CE) until the Arab conquest in the seventh century.

A similar process occurred in the Hellenistic Diaspora, which flourished along the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, i.e., in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece. One of the most important results of these contacts was the creation of Jewish Hellenistic literature which included the Greek translation of the Bible, the Apocryphal and Pseudoepigraphical books, the New Testament, the writings of Philo Judaeus, of Josephus Flavius, and others. In Palestine and in the surrounding communities, Greek also became the predominant language of contact, along with Hebrew and Aramaic, the main languages of the Semitic population. Over a period of nearly two thousand years a large number of Greek words were adopted into Hebrew and Aramaic language and literature, becoming an integral part of the vocabulary of both. Although this vocabulary was written in Hebrew characters, it remained very close to the literal meanings of the Greek and reflected the features of the Mediterranean koine language.

This process of integrating elements of the Greek language continued during the Roman empire in the East (63 BCE-239 CE) and increased during Byzantine rule in Palestine and in the Mediterranean Jewish communities. Jewish communities grew in southern Italy, western Greece, and Asia Minor more or less during the early Middle Ages under the Byzantine rule and they developed a new Greek-Jewish Literature written in Hebrew characters. This process continued until the Second World War.

Jewish-Greek literature written in Greek characters achieved a unique place in Hellenistic literature and in European culture. However, the present study will concentrate mainly on Greek words, sentences, and literature in Hebrew characters. These Greek-Hebrew textual testimonies are of special interest not only from a linguistic point of view; they also contribute to a better understanding of social and cultural links between the Jewish culture of different periods and Greek language and literature.

There are two corpuses of Hebrew literature that use Greek words in Hebrew characters. The first corpus is called “Rabbinical Greek”1. It

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1 Rabbinical Greek was a definition coined for the first time by S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, Berlin 1898-1899, vol. I: *Die rabbinische Gräcitat*, p. 121, and adopted later by H. B. Rosen, *Palestinian koine in Rabbinic Illustration*, JSS 8 (1963) 56-72 and other researchers. This definition designates a full linguistic system. Other scholars prefer to describe this corpus as Greek and Latin loan words in Hebrew and Aramaic, for example D. Sperber, *Greek and Latin in the Rabbinic Literature*, Jerusalem 1962, etc.
belongs mainly to the tradition of rabbinical literature and is divided into two periods. The earlier period of this corpus dates from the second through the seventh centuries CE: the Bar Kokhba letters, Mishnah, Tosefta, Talmudim, and early Midrashim. Also from this period, there are a few Greek words in the Hebrew and Aramaic texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls and in inscriptions of various communities published by Frey2, Naveh3, and others, which may be included in the same corpus. The second period of Jewish rabbinical literature in Hebrew and Aramaic (geonic literature, late midrashim, poetry, early mysticism, and more) runs from the eighth through the eleventh centuries CE.

The second corpus, which began in the Middle Ages, includes complete texts written in Greek with Hebrew characters and punctuation, for example, new translations of the Bible, glossaries of biblical texts, personal documents, etc. To denote this corpus we use the term Judeo-Greek or Jewish Greek, which is considered a Jewish language. Some scholars, including D. Goldschmidt and N. de Lange4, see this literature as a branch of the Greek language related to Jewish culture, and not as a separate Jewish language.

Our study is devoted to the historical and cultural relations between both corpuses, i.e., Greek words in early and late rabbinical literature and in Judeo-Greek (biblical translations and glossaries) written in Hebrew characters, and sometimes using punctuation for vocalization.

Although the evidence reflects the language and literature of the Jewish communities in Israel and in the Diaspora, we use the word corpus because our study depends mainly on the evidence of manuscripts and on writers and copyists and their knowledge of the languages (Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek) and their understanding of the written transmission. A good example is the Cairo Genizah collection, which contains rabbinical and Judeo-Greek texts which at times appear to have been written by the same copyist.5

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2 J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, I-II, Rome & Paris 1936-1952; e. g. afyb, vita; swpf τάφος 569; afawrgwa ὀγδοίηντα 595; ἱμήν 595.
4 See, for example, D. Goldschmidt, "Judaean-Greek Bible Translations of the Sixteenth Century" (H), *Kiryat Sefer 33* (1958) 131-134; N. de Lange, *GTJ*, especially the preface, pp. [i-ii].
5 See for example G. Birnbaum, "Studies in the Phonology and Morphology of Mishnaic Hebrew according to Genizah Fragments", Ph.D dissertation, Ramat-Gan, Bar-Ilan University, 1994, especially pp. 135-141. Part of the dissertation was published as an article, "A Phonological and Morphological Description of Genizah Fragments T-S E 143-Mishnah Shabbat 9-17",.
The main data of the first corpus, that of Rabbinical Greek, consists mostly of single words (e.g. swaylys = βασιλεύς, ὥρων = δώρον, etc); there are also examples of full sentences (e.g. swprga swmwn wa swaylys bhp = παρά βασιλέως δο λός θράσος6). Talmud Yerushalmi, Rosh Hashanah I, 3, 57a; Lev. Rabbah 35, 3)7. The vocabulary of Rabbinical Greek comes mainly from rabbinical literature written in the Land of Israel (e.g., Mishnah, Talmud Yerushalmi, early midrashim). We may assume that Greek words quoted in the Babylonian Talmud and in Geonic literature were transmitted by a Palestinian source8. Rabbinical Greek shares a common vocabulary with Hellenistic and Koine Greek literature, in addition to inscriptions and papyri as well9. The vocabulary of Rabbinical Greek also has many words in common with Jewish Hellenistic literature, especially the biblical Greek translations: the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion10. A substantial number of Greek vocabulary items of Rabbinical Greek first appear in Hebrew as foreign words. After a while, some of them became loan words integrated into the language: for example ὑρδής = συνέδριον; rwgfg = κατήγορ, ῥγός = κυβαρός, etc. This linguistic process continues until today.

We use the term Judeo-Greek11 to refer to the language, written in Hebrew characters, which was used in the Middle Ages and later periods. The corpus of this written language, as noted above, includes mainly biblical translations12, glossaries and commentaries, poetry, etc.

We should point out that another genre of Greek vocabulary written in Hebrew characters appears in early mystic texts and especially in Karatite

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6 On the king the law is not binding.
8 Personal communication by E. Wajsberg.
9 For a detailed description of this language see n. 1.
10 Until today, there has not been published a detailed study of the Greek language of the early biblical translations quoted in rabbinical sources. However, we have to stress the pioneering work of A. KOHUT in his edition of Nathan ben Jehiel, Aruch Completum, Vienna 1926, I-VIII. In this edition Kohut quoted the language of the classical biblical translations (Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion) in his definitions of the rabbinical vocabulary.
literature\textsuperscript{13}. Our research, however, focuses on new Greek biblical translations and glossaries of rabbinical schools which share common linguistic characteristics. It is not our intention to provide a full linguistic description of this language and all the rules used in the transcription of Greek into Hebrew characters. In fact, each manuscript deserves its own description. In the framework of this paper we can only summarize the main features of this dialect.

For our description of Judeo-Greek, we have chosen texts\textsuperscript{14} from different periods (11th-17th centuries): Mishnaic glossaries, a fragment of the translation of the book of Isaiah, and a printed edition of the Constantinople Pentateuch (16th century). Despite the different periods, these sources reflect a common tradition of Greek transcription in Hebrew characters:

1. The texts are written in Hebrew characters and with punctuation. If the text is mixed, i.e., Hebrew and Greek, the Hebrew text is without punctuation\textsuperscript{15}. In general these texts are vocalized according to the Tiberian system and appear to reflect a Palestinian pronunciation used by Sephardic or Italian communities.

2. We have evidence that some writers or copyists knew Greek, including Greek characters. This may be seen in their transliteration swfgwq κοντοῦ (MG R 2, 19)\textsuperscript{16}, sGypwrfysa στροφίγας (MG V 2, 19)\textsuperscript{17} and even in their use of Greek characters in Hebrew texts\textsuperscript{18}.

3. These texts are written in Greek, which shared common features with the language of the Byzantine period in particular. D. S. Hesseyling concludes his introduction to the edition of the Constantinople

\textsuperscript{13} Karaism is a Jewish sect whose members recognized the Bible as the unique source of the Law.

\textsuperscript{14} For a full description see Bibliography and Abbreviations, pp. 10-11.

\textsuperscript{15} For a testimony in Rabbinical Greek, for example, see the manuscript of Midrash Tëbilim, Cambridge Or. 786 (Greek words with punctuation) and in Judeo-Greek texts see the Mishnaic Glossary T-S K 7.16 published by N. de Lange, GJT, pp. 295-305 and see Birnbaum, "A Phonological...", p. 28.

\textsuperscript{16} See the note by De Lange, GJT, p. 300.

\textsuperscript{17} Dagesh for double gamma.

\textsuperscript{18} A Mishnaic glossary written in Hebrew and Greek characters was found in the St. Petersburg Library and was published by A. Papadopoulos Kerameus, "Γλωσσάριον ἕβραικοκελληνικὸν", in: D. Günzburg-I. Markon (Eds.), Festschrift zu Ehren des Dr. A. Harkavy, St. Petersburg 1908, pp. 68-90, and later by Ph. Koukoules, Πλωσσάριον ἕβραιοκελληνικὸν, ByzZ 19 (1910) 422-429, and J. Starr, "A Fragment of a Greek Mishnaic Glossary", PAAJR 6 (1935) 353-367. Also in the Genizah texts, De Lange, GJT, n°. 11, pp. 99, 103, 105, 113.
Pentateuch\textsuperscript{19} with these features. N. Fernández Marcos\textsuperscript{20}, in his introduction to the Greek versions of the Bible, also points to the same phenomenon. To this statement we may add certain linguistic characteristics in common with the language of the Epirus, particularly of Ioannina\textsuperscript{21}.

4. The morphology and the vocabulary (for example κάνω, νερό) are of the medieval period, and sometime show the influence of late Latin or Italian (σικλα, βιλανζες, κούτζρο, cloaca, maxilaris). This influence may be explained by the contacts existing between the Jewish communities of southern Italy and the western coast of Greece.

In this study, we shall try to look at a comparative lexical study of Greek and Latin words in late midrashim and Judeo-Greek vocabularies, to examine the data from these sources, and to summarize the main common features and links between both corpuses.

For our study we have chosen words from late rabbinical texts and from other Hebrew and Aramaic texts edited between the 7th and 11th centuries. The chronology of these texts corresponds with the rules used for the project of the \textit{Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language} of the Academy of the Hebrew Language. The dating corresponds to the period during which the text was written, and not to the date of the manuscript\textsuperscript{22}. All examples of rabbinical sources are quoted from the computer data base of the Historical Hebrew Dictionary Project of the Academy of the Hebrew Language.

To these sources we add quotations of Greek words in Hebrew characters from the Hebrew and Aramaic liturgical poetry. These quotations are

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item For full details see the \textit{Sources Book of the Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language} (H), Jerusalem, The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1970, p. 9. This chronology was fixed after a scrupulous study conducted by several experts in rabbinical and medieval Hebrew literature (language, paleography, literature, etc.) For abbreviations see the main bibliography.
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from *Jewish Palestinian Aramaic Poetry from Late Antiquity*, edited by M. Sokoloff and J. Yahalom\(^{23}\), and from other texts on whose study J. Yahalom has been engaged\(^{24}\).

The examples from the new biblical translations and glossaries were chosen from these texts: Constantinople Pentateuch, Isaiah translation, and *Mishnaic* glossaries\(^{25}\).

I) GREEK VOCABULARY

There are Rabbinical Greek (1-599 CE) words quoted in medieval Hebrew literature: late *midrashim*, poetry, and books of early mysticism (600-1050 CE)\(^{26}\)

swlkwa ὑχλος, ylwb βουλή, hyyb βία, ὑρεώδρον, swmwn νομός, ὑρδόνς συνέδριον, wyflp παλάτιον, hyshrp παρρησία, π χειρ πρόσωπον.

There are new Greek words quoted in late antiquity and medieval Hebrew literature (late *midrashim*, poetry, and early mysticism 600-1050 CE). These words show the influence of the Byzantine environment and the development of the Greek language:

τηγμα ἐπίθετον (P), syrbp αὐβρις (P), ιγα αγγελος (P), swfsyrk Χριστός (P), swrplawρημ μακροέλαφρος (M), ἔγμς σαγμάτιον (P, M), amsys σύσσημον (M).

II) THE SEPTUAGINT AND ITS VERSIONS

There are Greek words from Aquila’s translation, quoted in rabbinical literature and in the New Greek biblical translations. These words demonstrate that there were links between the different biblical traditions from


\(^{24}\) I thank Professor J. Yahalom for the permission to quote them.

\(^{25}\) For a detailed bibliography and abbreviations see the main bibliography p.10.

\(^{26}\) For this group I chose very well known words from the early periods. The capital letters (M, Mag, P) refer to Medieval sources.
antiquity until the Middle Ages. Fragments of Aquila’s translation written in Hebrew characters and punctuation were found in the Genizah and published by H. P. Rüger and N. de Lange. These fragments are a clear testimony that the Aquila translation was a living tradition among the Jewish communities.

B. Blondheim pioneered research of a common Jewish tradition from the early (Septuagint, and others) to the later Greek and Latin biblical translations. In the last century this research was fruitfully continued by N. Fernández Marcos and N. de Lange.

“It is I whose Godhead outweighs the world and the fullness” (Gen 17: 3) thereof. Akila translated it: ἄξιος (incomparable) and ἰκανός (sufficient). (VII cent.) Genesis Rabbah 47, 3.

The translation of the verse “I am God Almighty” (Gen. 17: 1) is translated in the Constantinople Pentateuch as ἐγὼ θεός ἰκανός.

III) SHARED GREEK VOCABULARY IN TRANSLATION

1. Τένδα for “tent” instead of the common Greek word σκηνή.

“The dome of the heavens ascends upwards like a tub (that is to say) like a tent” (τένδα).

(VIII cent.) Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer.

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30 Midrash Rabbah translated into English with notes, glossary and indices under the editorship of H. Freedman and Maurice Simon; with a foreword by I. Epstein, London, Soncino Press, 1951, p. 391, and see n. 1.

The Isaiah verse “…spreads them out like a tent (Isaiah 40: 22)” is translated in the Judeo Greek translation as: καὶ τοὺς ἀπλῶσε σαν τέντα. Isaiah translation (ibid.)

In the Talmudic dictionary “Arubh”, the word t(e)nd(a)s (in Hebrew characters) is explained as: “tent and in laaz”32, “tienda”.
(XI century) Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome33.

2. Φόσσα, φοσσάτον for army, instead of the well-known word στρατός.

“How did the Holy One, blessed be He, requite them? Said R. Pinhas: When he went out to the battle a φοσσάτον (band) of enemies attacked him, and an angel descended and rescued him”.
(VIII cent.) Genesis Rabbah 46, 10.

The verse “leads out their army in order” (Isaiah 40: 26) is translated as ἐβγάλε μὲ μέτρο τὰ βόσσα in the new Greek translation. Isaiah translation (ibid.)

IV) Common Rabbinical commentaries

There are rabbinic and medieval commentaries and homilies (midrashim) quoted in the new biblical Greek translations and in the biblical glossaries, as well as in Misnnaic glossaries. These rabbinical quotations testify to the influence of a rabbinical tradition in the Greek-speaking Mediterranean Jewish communities.

1. The translation of the verse “make an opening” (Genesis 6: 16) is Φεγγίτη νὰ κάμης in the Constantinople Pentateuch (ibid.) This translation is influenced by the rabbinical tradition, for example:

“And God command to him (Noah) to take a pearl that he would enlighten like a sun in midday”.
(11 cent.) Aggadath Bereshith VI, 16.

32 Hebrew expression, the “language of the people” – Vulgar medieval Greek or Italian. 33 Nathan ben Jehiel (Rome 1035-1100), well known Italian lexicographer, author of the Arubh, the first Talmudic dictionary. This dictionary includes the etymology of Greek rabbinical words and sometimes even translations into medieval Greek.
“Some say this was a window, others say that is was a precious stone that gave life to them”.

*Rashi. (Solomon ben Isaac)*\(^{34}\) (ibid.)

2. The word “glutton” from the verse Deuteronomy 21: 20 is translated as κρατοφαξ in the *Constantinople Pentateuch* (ibid.) This interpretation is rooted in the rabbinical translation and commentaries, for example:

“... he his glutton with meat”.

(1st-3rd centuries) *Onqelos Aramaic translation*\(^{35}\) (ibid.)

3. The translation of the verse “Here (God) comes with power” (Isaiah 40: 10) is translated in the *Isaiah translation* (ibid.) as μὲ χέρα δυνατῆ (ibid.) according to the medieval rabbinical interpretation, for example:

The commentary of Radak to this passage “With a strong hand”.

*Radak* (David Kimhi)\(^{36}\) (ibid.)

The verse of the Mishnah\(^{37}\) “They can fulfill their obligation at Passover with hartstongue” (Eruvin 2, 6), is translated and commented on in the Genizah Mishnah glossary (MG) for the “γένος (for the commandment) of maror”\(^{38}\).

This commentary is well known in the rabbinical medieval tradition, as for example in the commentary of *Rabbi Obadiah of Bertinoro*\(^{39}\) (ibid.)

V) NEW TRANSLATIONS OF GREEK RABBINICAL WORDS

There are some Rabbinical Greek words which were translated back into Greek in *Mishanic* glossaries. From this evidence we may assume that

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\(^{34}\) Rashi (Solomon ben Isaac), France (11th-12th cent.), famous biblical and Talmudic commentator. *Chumash with targum Onkelos, Haphtaroth and Rashi’s commentary* translated into English and annotated by Rabbi A. M. Silbermann, Jerusalem 1985.

\(^{35}\) The Targum Onqelos to Deuteronomy, translated with apparatus and notes by B. Grossfeld, Edinburg 1988.

\(^{36}\) Radak (David Kimhi). Provence (12th-13th cent.). Hebrew philologist and Bible commentator.


\(^{38}\) Maror: the traditional ‘bitter herb’ which is eaten during the Passover ceremony. See *Ej*, XI, cols. 1014-1015.

\(^{39}\) Obadiah of Bertinoro (15th-16th cent.). Italian rabbi and Mishnah commentator.
for the medieval translator these Rabbinical Greek words were sometimes understood as Hebrew terms. These examples are quoted from two *Mishnaic* glossaries that have been published\(^{40}\): the rabbinical Greek term s/mrju (θερμός) is translated as λουπιναρί (MP), νησιτρα (περσικόν) is translated as ροδάκινα (MP), σωπ (napus) as ράσδον (MP) and μυδμώδ (διδύμων) as διπλά (MG).

We may summarize the following points:

1) There are links between both corpuses; that is, Hebrew characters, the use of punctuation for vocalization, and part of the Greek vocabulary.

2) The new Greek words which appear in the late *midrashim* (and other late Hebrew sources) and especially the use of special punctuation for Greek words show us not only the influence of the Byzantine world but also a common tradition of the Jewish Greek communities themselves.

3) The presence of rabbinical commentaries and *midrashim* in the new biblical Greek translations and in the *mishnaic* glossaries testify to the continuity and influence of the rabbinical tradition in the Mediterranean communities.

4) The new biblical translations after the Septuagint, especially that of Aquila and other Greek translations, played an important role in the development of cultural links between the Greek-speaking communities in the Mediterranean.

These textual testimonies are a clear indication of the influence of Byzantine culture on the Jewish communities and their integration in the Empire.

However, we are not certain that these linguistic links indicate an historical continuity among the Hellenistic communities and the Romaniotan communities. Some of the Hellenistic communities were destroyed during the War of Trajan (115-117) and some were converted to Christianity. The earliest evidence of the Romaniotan communities is from the ninth century\(^{41}\). Writing in the nineteenth century, P. F. Frankl\(^{42}\) pointed to the ques-

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\(^{40}\) See Bibliography and Abbreviations and n. 10.

\(^{41}\) S. Marcus, «Ioannina», *EJ*, VIII, col. 1435.

\(^{42}\) P. F. Frankl, *MGWJ* 24 (1875) 516.
tion of a gap of more than five hundred years\textsuperscript{43}, which we cannot dismiss. The textual evidence of the early Greek medieval communities (biblical translations, glossaries) has a greater connection to rabbinical tradition than to Jewish Hellenistic transmission. Until today, we have no more than traces of a textual translation which probably flowered in communities influenced by rabbinical traditions. However, there may have been Hellenistic communities, which survived and were influenced by early rabbinical settlements along the Mediterranean coast\textsuperscript{44}. This enigma can only be resolved by systematic historical research that would cover the period from antiquity to the Middle Ages among the Jewish Greek-speaking communities along the shores of the Mediterranean.

We must stress that our research has only just begun. There are still manuscripts in Judeo-Greek that must be deciphered and published. To make a comparative study of the new vocabulary of the late \textit{midrashim} and Judeo-Greek sources, we have to start the basic work of lexical study (data base), relating at least to the published texts. The especial character of this area of studies, which demands knowledge of and training in rabbinical sources as well as of the Byzantine Greek language and culture, requires active cooperation among different research centers and universities. What we offer here are only preliminary guidelines for this field of research. A great deal of work lies ahead of us.

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\textsuperscript{43} Quoted by N. Fernández Marcos, «El Pentateuco Griego…», p. 197, who does not agree with Frankl.

\textsuperscript{44} See S. B. Bowman, \textit{The Jews of Byzantium (1204-1453)}, foreword by Zvi Ankori, Alabama 1985, p. 129: «We find among Romaniote Jewry a rich blend of Hellenistic Jewish and Palestinian traditions, and both of these intellectual currents continued through the end of the empire». 
ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

For technical reasons we limited the Hebrew quotations (in Hebrew characters) to a very few, only those indispensable for a fuller understanding of the context. The reader interested in the original Hebrew sources can find these quotations through the bibliographical references.


GJT = N. DE LANGE, Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum, 51), Tübingen 1996.

H = Hebrew


M = Midrash

Mag = Magic

Mishnah Glossaries:


P = Poetry
A Judeo-Greek translation of Isaiah 40: 1-26 for the ‘Consolation Sabbath’

Ms. Ben Zvi Institute 3519 II verso