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Greek Loanwords in Targum Sheni: An analysis of the Greek loanwords in Targum Sheni

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Greek Loanwords in Targum

Sheni

*An analysis of the Greek loanwords in
Targum Sheni*

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Abstract

The occurrence of Greek loanwords in the second Targum to Esther (Targum Sheni) is one of the arguments for dating the text in the Byzantine Empire. Up until now these Greek loanwords have not been fully analyzed. The present research, following the methodology of Aaron Butt's study on Greek loanwords in Syriac, analyzes the origin and integration of the Greek loanwords to find whether these can be used in dating Targum Sheni. The supposed Greek loanwords will prove to be not always originating from Greek, but also from Latin. Two major categories for the loanwords can be distinguished: gem stones and administration. The first category consists of Wanderwörter and are not suitable for dating the text. The second category consists of both Latin and Greek loanwords which points at a Greco-Roman administration, such as in the Byzantine Empire. Lastly, a few reasons for borrowing the loanwords are distinguished. Loanwords are either used simply because of necessity, or because it transposes the story from the original Persian background, to the contemporary background of the audience. All in all, especially the combination between Greek and Latin loanwords can indeed support the argument for the dating in the Byzantine Empire.

Abbreviations

- DJBA** A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods, Michael Sokoloff (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002)
- DJPA** A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period, Michael Sokoloff (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990)
- Jastrow** A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature, Marcus Jastrow (London, W.C. and New York: Luzac & Co., G.P. Putnam's sons, 1904)
- LSJ** A Greek-English Lexicon, Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1940)
- MT** Masoretic Text
- OLD** Oxford Latin Dictionary, P.G.W. Glare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982)

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Introduction

According to Rav Hai Gaon (10-11th century): “there exist here in Babylonia various targums of Esther that are distinct from one another: one with many additional aggadic passages, and another without them.”¹ Currently there are two extant versions of the Targumim on Esther.² The two versions are generally referred to as Targum Rishon (first targum) and Targum Sheni (second targum).³ Both targumim are remarkable, because they often elaborate and expand on the book of Esther. Targum Sheni elaborates the most of these two, for example on king Solomon’s reign, rendering it the most expansive targum of all. Previously, there seemed to exist a more literal translation: Targum Shelishi (third targum). Following a discussion between Grelot and Goshen-Gottstein,⁴ however, it is now generally accepted that this third Targum tradition is in fact a corruption of Targum Rishon. The second Targum is especially interesting, because of the many expansions on the Hebrew text.

The present research will focus on the second Targum. Although a critical edition of the text was completed in 1994 by Grossfeld, no extensive grammatical and lexicographical research has been conducted on the text up to this point. Grossfeld points out that such research is facilitated by his critical edition and concordance of the text. He remarks that linguistic research is helpful to determine a more precise date for Targum Sheni than the date that has been established in the research until this point.⁵

In the discussion about the dating of Targum Sheni three avenues are helpful. First, determining the specific Aramaic dialect and grammatical features of the text can point at both a possible location of origin as well as a time period. Studying the Aramaic grammar, however, would far exceed the time and scope for this thesis. The general consensus up to now is that Targum Sheni is written in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.⁶

A second avenue is the study of the aggadic traditions that are present in the text. Many parallels with both Targum Rishon and midrashim on Esther might point towards a date of origin. One problem with such research, however, is that aggadic material can move freely from one text to the other. There is often no clear distinction between the text that provides the original aggadah and the

¹ This citation can be found in the responsa literature from Pumbedita. The translation is from Rimon Kasher and Michael L. Klein, “New Fragments of Targum to Esther from the Cairo Genizah,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 61 (1990): 89.

² Kasher and Klein, “New Fragments,” 89.

³ See for a short introduction: Alinda Damsma, “The Targums to Esther,” *European Judaism* 47, no. 1 (2014): 127–136.

⁴ Pierre Grelot, “Observations sur les Targums I et III d’Esther,” *Biblica* 56, no. 1 (1975): 53–73. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, “The ‘Third Targum’ on Esther and Ms. Neofiti 1,” *Biblica* 56, no. 3 (1975): 301–29.

⁵ Bernhard Grossfeld, *The Targum Sheni to the Book of Esther: A Critical Edition Based on MS. Sassoon 282 with Critical Apparatus* (Brooklyn, NY: Sepher-Hermon Press, 1994), x, xi.

⁶ Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*, xi.

text in which the aggadah is adopted. In other words, although studying these traditions might be helpful in determining the place and date of Targum Sheni, it is unlikely that findings of such a study are conclusive.

Last, scholars often mention that many Greek loanwords are present in the Aramaic text, which points at a date before the Arabic expansion in Palestine.⁷ Study of loanwords, as Aaron Butts demonstrated for the Syriac language, can provide valuable insight into the language contact that is behind the text.⁸ For example, the Greek language proficiency of Jewish writers indicates the milieu in which those writers lived. The present research will therefore focus on the Greek loanwords present in Targum Sheni. The main research goal is to find what the use of loanwords in Targum Sheni can tell us about the place, date and context of Targum Sheni. The existence of Greek loanwords is often cited in estimating the dating of Targum Sheni, but no elaborate study on those loanwords has been conducted. This thesis will therefore investigate whether these Greek loanwords in Targum Sheni do indeed strengthen the current consensus on the dating.

Before focusing on the loanwords, a short introduction on Targum Sheni is given, followed by an overview of the research on the origins of Targum Sheni so far. After the status quaestionis, the methodology for this research will be described. The methodology for this research is primarily derived from the previously mentioned study on language contact in Syriac texts by Aaron Butts. Notions such as the embedding of loanwords and the language proficiency of the writers will be further explored there.

Following the methodology, an overview of the loanwords in Targum Sheni will be given and the embedding of those loanwords in the text will be analyzed further. The list of loanwords is derived from the work of Bernhard Grossfeld in his critical edition.⁹

⁷ Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*, x, xi.

⁸ Aaron Michael Butts, *Language Change in the Wake of Empire: Syriac in its Greco-Roman Context* (Pennsylvania: Eisenbrauns, 2016).

⁹ Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*, 199–201.

1. Status Quaestionis Targum Sheni

1.1 Targum Sheni research

During the *Wissenschaft des Judentum* movement, which started in the early 19th century, scholars studied Jewish texts with contemporary scholarly methods, resulting in an interest in liturgical texts, as well as in textual criticism of these texts. The research on Targum Sheni at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century was primarily a German endeavor and fits into this movement. Scholars, such as Munk¹⁰ (1876), Reis¹¹ (1876), Gelbhaus¹² (1893), David¹³ (1898) and Sulzbach (1920)¹⁴ all produced critical editions of Targum Sheni. Later Sperber published the monumental *The Bible in Aramaic* (1959-1973).¹⁵ Unfortunately, the text of Targum Sheni in Sperber's edition is not a critical edition. Merino argues that "Sperber was lost when he had to start with the Targum of the Hagiographa: he never took account of the MSS for this part of the Aramaic Bible."¹⁶ A reason for this is that Sperber did not regard this Targum as a targum text but rather as midrash.¹⁷ The main editions of the text and commentary on Targum Sheni now are the works of Grossfeld (1991) who translated both targumim, provided them with notes and a text-critical reading.¹⁸ In 1994 Grossfeld published a critical edition of Targum Sheni.¹⁹ Ego (1993) also provided a text with commentary in both her Habilitationsschrift²⁰ and later in her monograph (1996)²¹. Both Grossfeld's edition and Ego's editions are based on MS Sassoon 282.

¹⁰ Leo Munk, *Targum Sheni zum Buche Esther Nebst Variar Lectiones nach handschriftlichen Quellen, erläutert und mit einer literarhistorischen Einleitung versehen* (in Hebrew) (Berlin, 1876).

¹¹ J. Reis, "Das Targum Scheni zu dem Buche Esther: Verhältniss des edirten Textes desselben zu dem eines handschriftlichen Codex," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 4 (1876): 161–9.

¹² S. Gelbhaus, *Das Targum II. zum Buche Esther* (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kaufmann, 1893).

¹³ M. David, "Das Targum Scheni zum Buche Esther: nach Handschriften Herausgegeben und mit einer Einleitung versehen" (Dissertation, Erlangen Universität, 1898).

¹⁴ A. Sulzbach, *Targum Scheni zum Buche Esther: übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen* (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kaufmann, 1920).

¹⁵ Targum Sheni can be found in: A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. Based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts. IV A. The Hagiographa: transition from translation to Midrash* (Leiden: Brill, 1968).

¹⁶ Díez Merino, "Targum Manuscripts and Critical Editions," in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context*, edited by D.R.G. Beattie and M.J. McNamara (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 73.

¹⁷ Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. IV A, viii*. Note the full title in which this opinion becomes clear as well.

¹⁸ Bernhard Grossfeld, *The Two Targums of Esther: Translated, with Apparatus and Notes* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1991).

¹⁹ Grossfeld, *The Targum Sheni*.

²⁰ Beate Ego, "Israel und Amalek. Übersetzung und Kommentierung von Targum Scheni als Beitrag zur Auslegung der Estherbuches" (Habilitationsschrift, Tübingen: Eberhard-Karls-Universität, 1993).

²¹ Beate Ego, *Targum Scheni zu Ester: Übersetzung, Kommentar und theologische Deutung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996).

Theological motives in Targum Sheni are also studied by Ego.²² Yaacov Deutsch published a social-historical article on the unique position of Targum Sheni in the Jewish-Christian polemic.²³ “[T]he author presented the Christian point of view based on his own experience as a practicing Jew.”²⁴ Through the words of Haman, who represents Rome and subsequently the Christians, this view is presented through Targum Sheni, according to Deutsch. This notion might shed more light on the provenance and date of Targum Sheni.

1.2 Language and provenance of Targum Sheni

The current consensus is that Targum Sheni is written in a sub-group of Western Aramaic, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, which was previously called Galilean Aramaic.²⁵ This term was abandoned when Aramaic text in the same dialect emerged from Judah.²⁶ Cook (1986) claims that the language of the hagiographic targum consists of different dialects of Aramaic which are combined in a somewhat unified manner.²⁷ Kaufman (2013) argues to use the term Late Jewish Literary Aramaic, which is a designation for the language for areas in which Aramaic was still in use.²⁸

²² Beate Ego, “Targumization as Theologization: Aggadic Traditions in the Targum Sheni of Esther,” in *The Aramaic Bible: Targums in their Historical Context*, edited by D.R.G. Beattie and M.J. McNamara (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 354–9. Beate Ego, “God as the Ruler of History: Main Thematic Motifs of the Interpretation of Megillat Esther in Targum Sheni,” *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 2, no. 2 (2000): 189–201. Beate Ego, “All Kingdoms and Kings Trembled before Him: the Image of King Solomon in Targum Sheni on Megillat Esther,” *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 3, no. 1/2 (2001): 57–73. Beate Ego, “Retelling the Story of Esther in Targum Sheni in Light of Septuagint Traditions – Main Outlines,” in *The Targums in the Light of Traditions of the Second Temple Period*, edited by Thierry Legrand and Jan Joosten (Brill: Leiden, 2014), 72–83. Beate Ego, “Das Exodusbild und die Estertradition – Vom masoretischen Text zur Targumüberlieferung,” in *Exodus: Rezeptionen in deuterokanonischer und frühjüdischer Literatur*, edited by Judith Gärtner and Barbara Schmitz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 101–16.

²³ Yaacov Deutsch, “And Their Laws Are Diverse from All People’. Haman’s Protest against the Jews in Targum Sheni to Esther,” in *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*, ed. by Alberdina Houtman, E. van Staaldune-Sulman, and Hans-Martin Kirn, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 289–301.

²⁴ Deutsch, “And their Laws,” 298.

²⁵ Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*, x, calls it Galilean Aramaic.

²⁶ Holger Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic: from the Beginnings to the Advent of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 300. For an overview of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic in Late Antique Palestine, see especially Gzella, *A Cultural History*, 281–310.

²⁷ E.M. Cook, “Rewriting the Bible: The Text and Language of the Pseudo-Jonathan Targum” (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1986), 269.

²⁸ Stephan A. Kaufman, “The Dialectology of Late Jewish Literary Aramaic,” *Aramaic Studies* 11 (2013): 145–148.

The scholarly consensus is that Targum Sheni originates in the area of Palestine, possibly in the Jewish centers in the Galilee.²⁹ Most scholars argue for a 7th or early 8th century date for the text.³⁰ Previously a 10th century or later was proposed.³¹ Grossfeld also takes the possibility of an earlier dating into account, as early as the 4th century.³² The following arguments are given for this tentative dating.

Firstly, the internal evidence in Targum Sheni suggest a date before the Islamic conquest of Palestine. The main argument is “the derisive attitude towards Jewish laws and customs”.³³ Deutsch writes more elaborately about the Jewish-Christian polemic that is represented in the Targum.³⁴ Shemesh (2020) recently writes about the social reality of the punishment methods that are proposed for Mordecai by Haman in Targum Rishon and in the Midrashic Traditions.³⁵ Although not explicitly mentioned, the findings that these punishments are influenced by “the common reality in the Roman-Byzantine world”,³⁶ are applicable to Targum Sheni, because Targum Rishon and Targum Sheni share many aggadic traditions.

Lastly, the content of Targum Sheni has been analyzed to find the date of Targum Sheni. Ego, for example, argues that Edom is mentioned, a parallel for the Roman Empire.³⁷ With this reference both the Western Roman empire and the Eastern Byzantine Empire could be meant. Either way, the references to Edom might point at a dating before the Arabian invasion in 634.³⁸ This dating can be supported by the anti-Christian tendencies that can be discovered in a close reading of the text of Targum Sheni.³⁹ Haman is sometimes portrayed as a Christian who oppresses the Jews. This line of thought is even stronger attested in the piyyutim that draw traditions from Targum Sheni. An example

²⁹ Damsma, “The Targums,” 133; Fassberg gives an overview of the three reasons scholars give for situating the targumim on the Writings in Palestine as opposed to Babylonia: (1) there are no early manuscripts from the Babylonian area, (2) the Jewish Palestinian Aramaic elements in the texts, and (3) the midrashic elements in the targumim on the Writings point at a Palestinian provenance, because in the extant targumim this only occurs in other targumim from Palestine. Steven E. Fassberg, “Jewish Palestinian Aramaic: Chronology, Geography, and Typology,” *Aramaic Studies* 19 (2021): 13–4.

³⁰ Damsma, “The Targums,” 133; Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 20; Ego argues from the reference to Edom for the Byzantine period: Ego, “Targumization as Theologization,” 359.

³¹ See for reference, Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 20.

³² Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 20.

³³ Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 20.

³⁴ Deutsch, “And their Laws.”

³⁵ A.O. Shemesh, “How Shall We Kill Him? By Sword, Fire or Lions?: The Aramaic Targum and the Midrashic Narrative on Haman’s gallows,” *HTS Theologese Studies/Theological Studies* 76, no. 4 (2020): 1–11.

³⁶ Shemesh, “How Shall We Kill Him?,” 3.

³⁷ Ego, “Targumization as Theologization,” 359.

³⁸ See for the position of Jews in the early Byzantine Empire: Oded Irshai, “Confronting a Christian Empire: Jewish Life and Culture in the World of Early Byzantium” in *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, ed. by Robert Bonfil et al. (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), 17–64.

³⁹ Eliav Grossman, “Three Aramaic Piyyutim for Purim: Text, Context, and Interpretation,” *Aramaic Studies* 17.2 (2019): 198-255.

is piyyut 'אישי המודות הז'.⁴⁰ In this piyyut Haman's death is compared to the death of Jesus. The dating of this piyyut must be later than Targum Sheni, but is otherwise uncertain.⁴¹

This 7th or early 8th century dating agrees with Fassberg's recent article on Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (2021).⁴² There he argues that most hagiographic targumim were composed before the Islamic conquest. As Grossfeld points out, a more precise dating of Targum Sheni "would require an exhaustive grammatical and lexicographical analysis of the total text."⁴³ Unfortunately, although facilitated by the concordance of the text by Grossfeld, this has not been done yet.

1.3 Targum or Midrash?

The discussion whether Targum Sheni is a Targum or Midrash is important for understanding its religious and cultural function as well as its *Sitz im Leben*. The language of the text is shaped by the intended audience. It does matter whether Targum Sheni can be regarded as Targum or Midrash for understanding the audience.

Simon Lasair describes (2012) the transition in Targum research from philological work towards research that is more based on perspectives from contemporary literary and linguistic theories.⁴⁴ Examples of this shift can be seen in the Manchester/Durham Project (2007-2012), which examines literary structures of Jewish literature from 160 BCE to 800 CE.⁴⁵ Hayward, one of the researchers involved in the project, describes the typology of Targum Sheni (2011).⁴⁶ Against scholars, such as Zunz⁴⁷, Sperber⁴⁸ and to a lesser degree Le Déaut,⁴⁹ Hayward argues that Targum Sheni is statistically closest to the typology of more conventional targumim. Targum Sheni retains a similar narrative structure as MT Esther, and therefore Hayward categorizes Targum Sheni as a Targum.⁵⁰ Before him, Grelot (1970) problematizes Sperber's designation of Targum Sheni as Midrash, According

⁴⁰ Grossman, "Piyyutim," 248–53.

⁴¹ Grossman, "Piyyutim," 254.

⁴² Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*, xi.

⁴³ Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*, xi.

⁴⁴ Simon G.D.A. Lasair, "Current Trends in Targum Research," *Currents in Biblical Research* 10, no. 3 (2012): 442–53.

⁴⁵ See for the database: <http://literarydatabase.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/> (last accessed December 2022).

⁴⁶ Robert Hayward, "Targum a Misnomer for Midrash? Towards a Typology for the Targum Sheni of Esther," *Aramaic Studies* 9.1 (2011): 47–63. Idem, "Profile Targum Esther Sheni," *Aramaic Studies* 9.1 (2011): 65–82.

⁴⁷ Leopold Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden* (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kaufmann, 1892²), 83.

⁴⁸ Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*. IV A, viii.

⁴⁹ See for reference to Zunz: R. le Déaut, *Introduction à la Littérature Targumique Première Partie* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1988), 141.

⁵⁰ Hayward, "Targum a Misnomer," 49.

to Grelot, the midrashic passages in Targum Sheni are not exceptional.⁵¹ In the Palestinian Targum on Pentateuch midrashic passages are also added in the Targum.⁵²

Although Hayward's typology of Targum Sheni seems convincing at first, a few remarks should be mentioned here. The total number of words of Targum Sheni is around 15.200, whereas MT Esther consists of around 3.200 words. The extra words can mostly be found in the several aggadot that are added in Targum Sheni. Those stories are mostly located at the beginning of the text. In some instances, similarities can be seen between the added passages in Targum Sheni and in the LXX versions of the story of Esther. In both 'translations' the added material gives a more theological interpretation in the text.⁵³

Targum Sheni is expansive in nature. This does not necessarily mean that it is a midrash and not a translation. Certain passages, however, do resemble midrashic text more closely than targumic translations. For example in Targum Sheni 1:4 the passage starts with: "it is not written: 'that he showed his wealth,' but what is written is: "when he showed the wealth of the glory of his kingdom".⁵⁴ Subsequently the meaning of those words is explained by citing Hagai 2:8. The Hebrew phrase is mentioned repeatedly in that passage.⁵⁵ Furthermore, there are Hebrew quotations from the Hebrew Bible that are not translated in the text and that are introduced with a fixed expression, such as 'as it is written'.⁵⁶

Furthermore, I do not fully agree with Hayward's statement that the narrative flow of MT is retained in Targum Sheni.⁵⁷ Targum Sheni does not only translate the MT, but also adds large narratives 'between' the verses of MT. Those stories, such as the description of Solomon's throne or the episode about which tree will be used for Haman's execution⁵⁸, are to a certain degree self-standing and therefore not translations but interpretations. These aggadic expansions are not foreign to Targumic texts, but can also be found and might in this case originate in other types of Jewish literature, such as Midrash Esther Rabbah. All in all, I would use the term Targum as a typology of the text of Targum Sheni but with reservation.

⁵¹ See Targum Sheni 1:4 for a midrashic passage in the Targum.

⁵² Pierre Grelot, "Remarques sur le Second Targum du Livre D'Esther," *Revue Biblique* 77, no. 2 (1970): 231–232. "Je ne disconviens pas de cette entrée massive des éléments midrashiques dans les Targums en cause. La seule chose qui me gêne un peu, c'est que le Targum palestinien du Pentateuque présente en nombre d'endroits un phénomène exacteme identique. (...) Cela ne montre-t-il pas que le Targum est *en lui-même* plus qu'une traduction, au sens moderne du terme?" (original cursive).

⁵³ Ego, "Targumization as Theologization," 354–9. The term 'king' for example does not only refer to king Ahasveros, but also to God, asserting God's divine kingship. Similar to LXX, prayers are also added in Targum Sheni.

⁵⁴ Translation Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*, 125.

⁵⁵ בְּהִרְאוֹתוֹ אֶת עֵשׂוֹ כְּבוֹי מֶלֶךְ.

⁵⁶ Hayward, "Profile Targum Esther Sheni," 70.

⁵⁷ Hayward, "Targum a Misnomer," 49.

⁵⁸ Targum Sheni 7:9.

1.4 Targum and liturgy

According to Fraade, the starting point for understanding translation strategies is recognizing “the positions and functions of translations within their target cultures”.⁵⁹ The question of what the liturgical and social function of the Targum is, goes far beyond the scope of this thesis. I will summarize a few possible uses for the Targum Sheni here.⁶⁰

The first possible use of the Targum is in the synagogue. According to Rabbinic tradition going back to the interpretation of Nehemiah 8, the targumim should be orally performed, not read, after the Hebrew text in order that everyone could understand its meaning.⁶¹ Translation was not restricted to Aramaic; Greek was used as well.⁶² The only evidence for this practice of the synagogal use of Targum can be found in Rabbinic texts.⁶³

There are two reasons for doubting the synagogal function of targumim as the sole purpose of targumim. Parts of the prophets and writings did not have a liturgical function in the synagogue, which would render full targumim unnecessary.⁶⁴ However, full translations of some of these targumim are extant, except for Daniel and Ezra-Nehemiah. The second reason to doubt that the targumim only functioned in the synagogue pertains to the later targumim, that are written at the time that the use of Aramaic was declining. The question for those targumim is, whether they could be used as translations for an audience that hardly used any Aramaic.⁶⁵

Smelik argues for the environment of the rabbinic schools as the cradle for Targum.⁶⁶ The targumim then functioned as written commentaries on the MT. This would explain why the parts that are not read in the synagogue also have Targumim as their Aramaic counterparts. The scholarly milieu then could have functioned as the starting point for the targumim.⁶⁷ According to Gottlieb, the use of Aramaic was inherent in the genre of Targum, which explains why Aramaic targumim from that period exist.⁶⁸ There is a distinction then between the written targumim, used for study, and the oral

⁵⁹ Steven D. Fraade, “Locating Targum in the Textual Polysystem of Rabbinic Pedagogy,” *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 39 (2006): 69.

⁶⁰ For an extensive discussion see, Fraade, “Locating Targum,” 69–92. See also Willem F. Smelik, *The Targum of Judges* (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 24–39.

⁶¹ Arie van der Kooij, “Nehemiah 8:8 and the Question of the 'Targum'-Tradition,” in *Tradition of the Text: Studies offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of his 70th Birthday*, ed. by Gerard J. Norton and Stephen Pisano (Freiburg and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 79. Kooij argues against the use of this text to argue for a targum-tradition.

⁶² For example the LXX. See Ze'ev Safrai, “The Origins of Reading the Aramaic Targum in Synagogue,” *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990): 187–9.

⁶³ Fraade, “Locating Targum,” 77.

⁶⁴ Smelik, *The Targum of Judges*, 26.

⁶⁵ Leeor Gottlieb, “Composition of Targums after the Decline of Aramaic as a Spoken Language,” *Aramaic studies* 12.1 (2014): 1–8.

⁶⁶ Smelik, *The Targum of Judges*, 28–39.

⁶⁷ Smelik, *The Targum of Judges*, 28–9.

⁶⁸ Gottlieb, “Targums after the Decline of Aramaic,” 1–8.

performance of targumim by the meturgeman. The latter were probably based on the written commentaries. The difference between the read MT and the orally performed Targum, determines its status. In contrast to for example the LXX, the targum does not substitute the original MT.⁶⁹

York indicates the connection between the school and synagogue.⁷⁰ Both were probably housed in the same building and in the school where the students would learn targum. According to York: "Thus, it seems to me that the Targum which had such an important role in the synagogue services was also employed within the school system *per se*."⁷¹ For this position, both the translation aspect, i.e. its primary use in the synagogue, as well as its commentary aspect, i.e. its primary use in the school, should be considered for determining the origin and use of the text.

Although much more can be said about the use of Targum, we will have to keep those both aspects in mind for Targum Sheni. Although a primary use in the synagogue seems unlikely because of the length of the text and the many aggadic expansions, Targum Sheni still can have functioned as the basis for the use in the synagogue.

⁶⁹ Smelik, *The Targum of Judges*, 11.

⁷⁰ Anthony D. York, "The Targum in the Synagogue and in the School," *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1979), 74–86.

⁷¹ York, "Targum in Synagogue and School," 83.

2. Methodology

An enlightening study in the field of language contact in Antiquity and Late Antiquity is Aaron Butts's study on language changes in Syriac due to contact with Greek.⁷² He writes elaborately on the methods for studying language contact, which is helpful for the present study. In order to look at the use of loanwords in Targum Sheni, a methodological framework is required. In this thesis I will follow Butts's methodology with regards to the study of loanwords and will present a few key authors and concepts he mentions here. I will use the term 'target language' to indicate the language that incorporates the loanword and 'source language' to indicate the donor language of the loanword.

2.1 Contact linguistics

One key concept in contact linguistics is generally known as Windisch's Law.⁷³ The premise of this law is that speakers introduce foreign features in their own language, rather than introducing features from their own language into a foreign language.⁷⁴ Lexical features, i.e. loanwords, are the easiest features that can be transferred from the source language to the recipient language. Grammatical features, such as syntax and phraseology are on the other end of the spectrum, because this requires a more fundamental change in the structure of the sentence.⁷⁵ Loanwords can simply replace a word from the recipient language. Grammatical features can be transferred because of imperfect learning.⁷⁶ For example, one does not fully master the secondary language and therefore incorporates familiar grammatical features into this language. In the present study we will focus on the foreign lexical features in the Aramaic of Targum Sheni.

Butts describes two important methodological studies in the field of contact linguistics: the study of Thomason and Kaufman's study⁷⁷ and the work of Van Coetsem.⁷⁸ Both studies distinguish types of language contact. Thomason and Kaufman distinguish between two types.⁷⁹ First there can be 'borrowing' in which mostly foreign lexemes are used in the recipient language. The second category

⁷² Butts, *Language Change*.

⁷³ E. Windisch, "Zur Theorie der Mischsprachen und Lehnwörter," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*: Philologisch-historische Classe 49, 104.

⁷⁴ "Nicht die erlernte fremde Sprache, sondern die eigene Sprache eines Volkes wird unter dem Einfluss der fremden Sprache zur Mischsprache" Windisch, "Mischsprachen," 104.

⁷⁵ Butts, *Language Change*, 16–9.

⁷⁶ Butts, *Language Change*, 20.

⁷⁷ S.G. Thomason and T. Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).

⁷⁸ F. Van Coetsem, *Loan Phonology and the Two Transfer Types in Language Contact* (Dordrecht: Foris Publications 1988). Idem, "Language Contact: Neutralization as the Missing Link in Language Transmission," *Leuvense Bijdragen* 86 (1997), 357–71. Idem, *A General and Unified Theory of the Transmission Process in Language Contact* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 2000).

⁷⁹ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact*, 37–9. Van Coetsem framework can account for bilingual settings, as well as dominant languages in a bilingual setting. See Butts, *Language Change*, 21–3 for differences.

they call 'interference through shift'.⁸⁰ In this category, grammatical features from the native language are incorporated in the target language through imperfect learning.⁸¹

Van Coetsem's work shows many similarities with the categories of Thomason and Kaufman. Van Coetsem distinguishes three categories.⁸² The first category is borrowing. This is also called recipient language agentivity.⁸³ The second type of language contact can be described as imposition or source language agentivity.⁸⁴ This means that grammatical features or pronunciation of the source language are introduced into the recipient language. Van Coetsem distinguishes between these two by arguing that certain language features are more resistant to change than others.⁸⁵ The last type of language contact is neutralization in which neither language is the dominant language. Any language feature can be transferred in this category. This especially occurs when speakers are fully bilingual.⁸⁶

Thomason and Kaufman's categories and Van Coetsem's categories are distinguished based on different criteria.⁸⁷ Van Coetsem takes his starting point in differences in "linguistic dominance".⁸⁸ In his first category, the recipient language is the dominant language, in the second category the source language, and in the third category neither language is dominant. Thomason and Kaufman distinguish categories by looking at language maintenance (category 1) and language shift (category 2). For this research we will mainly look at the first category, i.e. borrowing. In both studies these categories are almost similar.

One of the conclusions of both typologies is that there is a continuum of influence from the source language on the recipient language. If the recipient language is the speaker's first language, lexical features might be incorporated first. When the recipient language is not a first language, more features can shift from the source language to the recipient language on the basis of imperfect learning. The ranking for linguistic features that are more stable is however debated.⁸⁹ The end of the continuum of the degree of shift is when the speaker is bilingual and everything can be transferred which can result in code switching. The language can shift from one to the other without interruption

⁸⁰ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact*, 37–9.

⁸¹ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact*, 38–9.

⁸² Van Coetsem, *Theory of the Transmission Process*, 42–3.

⁸³ Van Coetsem, "Language Contact," 358–9.

⁸⁴ Van Coetsem "Language Contact," 358–9.

⁸⁵ Van Coetsem uses the term: *Stability gradient of language*. Van Coetsem, "Language Contact," 358–9. See also, Butts, *Language Change*, 18.

⁸⁶ Butts, *Language Change*, 20.

⁸⁷ See for an extensive description, Butts, *Language Change*, 21–4.

⁸⁸ Butts, *Language Change*, 21.

⁸⁹ See for examples of a hierarchy: Martin Haspelmath, "Loanword typology: Steps toward a systematic cross-linguistic study of lexical borrowability," in *Aspects of Language Contact: New Theoretical, Methodological and Empirical Findings with Special Focus on Romancisation Processes*, ed. by Thomas Stolz, Dik Bakker and Rosa Salas Palomo (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2008), 48–51.

in the conversation. The amount of transferable linguistic features, i.e. language contact, depends to a certain extent on the existence of proficiency in the recipient language.

2.2 *The incorporation of loanwords*

The present study focuses on the incorporation of loanwords in Targum Sheni. In a sense this interprets the language contact in Targum Sheni as borrowing by default. Because of the time and space for this thesis a full linguistic analysis of Targum Sheni is not feasible, hence findings of imposition must be excluded.

Although it is clear that transferring loanwords is part of the language contact between Aramaic and Greek in Targum Sheni, the use of loanwords is still interesting. Especially the way in which lexical features from Greek are incorporated into the Aramaic language will receive attention. In this study I will look at some features of the loanwords in particular.

First of all, the semantic range of all the loanwords combined is of interest for this study. The question is from which domains the loanwords originate. Certain administrative or political terms can give an insight into the political world behind the text and can point at a *post* or *ante quem* dating. Furthermore, these domains give insight into the areas that are most affected by language contact.

Secondly, we will look at the source of the loanwords. Many loanwords are adopted from Greek, but originate from Latin. The origin of loanwords can help find the world behind the text and behind the loanwords.

Lastly, the grammatical incorporation of the loanwords will receive attention as well.

2.3 *What is a loanword*

Before proceeding, we will have to establish what the criteria are for a word to be regarded as a loanword. Shai Heijmans' thesis on Greek and Latin loanwords in Mishnaic Hebrew will prove helpful.⁹⁰ Heijmans proposes three criteria for establishing that a word is a loanword.⁹¹ The first criterion is that the word exists in another language, for example Greek. Secondly, the borrowed word should be phonetically close to the word in the source language. Lastly, the meaning of the word in the source language and in the target language should overlap.

Although these criteria are clear, there are some instances where it can be debated whether a word is a loanword or not. First of all, toponyms can be transferred from one language to the other. These words can meet the requirements to be regarded as a loanword. One can argue, however, that geographical names are not fully loanwords, but simply transliterations of a word from the source

⁹⁰ Shay Heijmans, "Greek and Latin Loanwords in Mishnaic Hebrew: Lexicon and Phonology" (Thesis, Tel-Aviv University 2013). (in Hebrew)

⁹¹ Heijmans, "Loanwords in Mishnaic Hebrew," 1.

language. The difference between a loanword and a transliteration of a word is the degree in which they are incorporated in the Aramaic grammar. In the analysis of the loanwords, the integration of loanwords will be further discussed.

A second category that needs to receive further attention is the category of Wanderwörter. According to Trask, a Wanderwort is: “[a] word which has been borrowed from language to language to language, across a significant geographical area. Names of metals, artefacts, foodstuffs, and animals often exhibit this behaviour.”⁹² The original source of these words is not always known. One can argue that these words are transliterations as well, similar to place names. Because these words do meet the criteria, we will view them as proper loanwords.

⁹² Robert Lawrence Trask, *A Dictionary of Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000), 366.

3. Loanwords in Targum Sheni

3.1 Introduction

In the critical edition of Grossfeld of Targum Sheni, a list of Greek loanwords is provided in the appendix.⁹³ This list will form the basis of the overview of the loanwords in Targum Sheni below. In his translation written before his critical edition, the origin and translation of certain Greek loanwords is also indicated, although the list differs from his later list.⁹⁴ In the overview below, the loanwords are listed in alphabetical order. I divide the loanwords in different domains, which will help in analyzing why certain loanwords are used. The total number of loanwords here differs from the number that Grossfeld gives, because three loanwords are not attested in the version that Grossfeld published, but in other versions of Targum Sheni.⁹⁵

The aim of this chapter is to get an overview of what the source language of the loanwords is. We will also research how the loanwords are adapted to fit in the text, both grammatically and with regards to their meaning. Further we will identify if any domains can be distinguished that group certain loanwords together in one semantic field. We also note here that no Greek loanwords are found in the MT of Esther. There is, however, at least one loanword that resembles the LXX rendition of the Hebrew story of Esther.

3.2 Overview of the loanwords

In this paragraph each loanword is described separately. In appendix A an overview of all the loanwords and their occurrences in Targum Sheni can be found. The description of the loanwords is divided as follows: (1) indicates the source language of the loanword. (2) deals with the incorporation of the loanword. According to Butts there are four integration methods for Greek loanwords.⁹⁶

- (I) The case ending is removed and an Aramaic ending is added.
- (II) The case ending is removed and no Aramaic ending is attested.
- (III) The case ending is kept and an Aramaic ending is added.
- (IV) The case ending is kept without an Aramaic addition.

⁹³ Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*, appendix 1–2.

⁹⁴ Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 199–201. The most recent list forms the basis for this research, the first list of Greek loanwords contains a few toponyms that are not mentioned in his critical edition. Furthermore a few loanwords are left out, either because they seem to not be loanwords, such as כרו 'to announce', they are not from Greek, such as סרבליא 'trousers' or for further unknown reasons. The other loanwords can all but one be grouped as Wanderwörter: קיר, 'wax'; מילת, 'fine wool'. The only exception is הדיוט from Greek ἰδιώτης. This word is integrated by removing the Greek case ending. The Aramaic translations are from Jastrow.

⁹⁵ Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*, appendix 1–2.

⁹⁶ Butts, *Language Change*, 102–3.

Lastly, the context of the loanword will be briefly described, because this may help in determining its domain (3).

In the headings of each loanword, the dictionary form and the form in the text is given. Only one form is given when both forms are similar. An overview of the domain of each loanword can be found in Appendix A.

אובריזא - אובריזין

- (1) Greek ὄβριζα/ὄβριζον⁹⁷ or Latin *obrussa*. The Latin *obrussa* is a loanword from Greek. The Greek ὄβριζα is a Wanderwort that originates in Hurrian and via Hittite was adopted in Greek.⁹⁸
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I). The word is in absolute state following a construct.
- (3) This loanword can be found in an expansion on Esther's royal garment. Before this phrase, the Aramaic דהבא is used to refer to a golden crown.

אוכלוסא - אוכלוסין

- (1) Greek ὄχλος. This loanword is also attested in Samaritan Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic and Tannaitic Hebrew. Its first attestation can be found in the letters of Bar Kokhba.⁹⁹
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (III).
- (3) אוכלוסין is used in the description by the rooster in the fable to King Solomon of great crowds of people with crowns on their head; an aggadah in Targum Sheni 1:2.

אורי - אורי

- (1) Greek ὄρειον. This loanword originates from Latin *horreum* and was adopted in Aramaic via Greek.¹⁰⁰
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I). All occurrences are in the absolute state.
- (3) Haman has to take horses from the king's stable to honor Mordecai. In 6:11 אורי is one time used in a paraphrase for the Hebrew סוס: 'that which stood at the entrance of the stable'.¹⁰¹

איטימוס

⁹⁷ Samuel Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter in Talmud, Midrasch, und Targum* (Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1899), 15.

⁹⁸ Robert S. P. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*: Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series; 10 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 1043–4.

⁹⁹ Christian Stadel and Mor Shemesh, "Greek Loanwords in Samaritan Aramaic," *Aramaic Studies* (2018): 148.

¹⁰⁰ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 26.

¹⁰¹ Translation Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 173.

- (1) Greek ἔτοιμος or ἔτοιμους.
- (2) There is no inflection for this adverb. It is not possible to distinguish whether the input form is ἔτοιμος or ἔτοιμους. Note the use of ἔτοιμους in the LXX for the translation of the Hebrew עֲתָדִים. The form is preceded by a form of הוּהוּ.
- (3) This word is a translation for the Hebrew עֲתָדִים.

איפרך - אפרכו/איפרכיא

- (1) Greek ἔπαρχος¹⁰², ἐπαρχία or ὑπαρχία¹⁰³. Similar loanwords are often written with ה but not in this case, which would render either ἔπαρχος or ἐπαρχία the likely source. In Targum Sheni 1:3 the ו can best be explained by viewing this word as a plural noun. In that case the Greek plural nominative case ending is used here, i.e. ἔπαρχοι.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (IV).
- (3) The reason for the drinking feast organized by King Xerxes is given. The reason is that the prefects revolted.

איפרך - איפרכיא

- (1) Greek ἐπαρχία or ἔπαρχος. See the discussion above. In this case Krauss indicates ἐπαρχία as source.¹⁰⁴ There are two options here. Either the Aramaic is a singular noun derived from ἐπαρχία or a masculine plural noun in the emphatic state. The latter is the most likely. איפרכיא is preceded by מאה ועשרי' ושבע מדינן (one hundred twenty seven provinces) and then follows ואיפרכיא דדהון. Although it is preceded by a feminine noun in absolute state (מדינן) this word is in the emphatic state, because it is followed by דדהון. Therefore, I would argue that ἔπαρχος is also in this verse used as the source word, but this time (in the first occurrence in Targum Sheni) has an Aramaic plural ending.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I).
- (3) This is an addition to the statement that Xerxes ruled over 127 provinces.

אנגקי - אנגקי

- (1) Greek ἀνάγκη.¹⁰⁵ In Targum Sheni it is written with a ג, instead of the double נ.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (IV).
- (3) This word is in a prayer Esther, in which Esther says that whenever Isaac's descendants would

¹⁰² Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*, appendix 1 seems to assume this loanword as the origin. There this word is differentiated from the occurrence of איפרכיא in Targum Sheni 1:3.

¹⁰³ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 231.

¹⁰⁴ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 116.

¹⁰⁵ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 73.

go in distress, God would redeem them.

אספקלטור - איספקלטורי

- (1) Latin *speculator*, maybe adapted via Greek σπεκουλάτωρ in Aramaic.¹⁰⁶
- (2) The loanword is in construct state followed by דמלכא. For this singular masculine noun, one would not expect an ending on a vowel. This י can, however, not be explained as a case ending in either Greek or Latin, because one would expect a nominative case ending here. The integration of this loanword is not entirely clear.
- (3) This word is used as a title for Haman.¹⁰⁷

בירלא - בירולין

- (1) Greek βήρυλλος. This word might be a Wanderwort.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I). This word is both attested as a singular in the emphatic state and as a plural in absolute state.
- (3) This loanword is used in the description of the royal throne of Solomon and the apparel of Mordecai.

בנאה - בני

- (1) From Greek βαλανεύς. The Greek word may have been adapted from Latin *balnearius*. According to Kraus the Aramaic is an "Umbild von βαλανεύς."¹⁰⁸
- (2) This word is fully adapted to Aramaic and made into a three radical root.
- (3) The bathing attendant is mentioned in the entourage of Haman in Targum Sheni 6:12.

דיגטסיס / ברנגניסין

(*) There is a text critical issue with regards to determining the right word in this passage in the text. According to Sperber, one should read דיגטסיס here, with metathesis from the Greek διάταξις.¹⁰⁹ Krauss

¹⁰⁶ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 92. Aaron Michael Butts, 'Latin Words in Classical Syriac,' *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 19.1 (2016): 141.

¹⁰⁷ Jones mentions *speculatores* as one of the *officia* consisting of soldiers serving a legate. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 204-602: a Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, vol 1. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 563. In Christian jargon the same word is used for a clerical function. M.H. Hoeflich, "The Speculator in the Governmental Theory of the Early Church" *Vigiliae Christianae* 34(2) (1980): 120–9. Although in the Rabbinic tradition Haman sometimes is seen as a Christian, the latter interpretation seems unlikely in this case.

¹⁰⁸ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 159.

¹⁰⁹ Daniel Sperber, *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1984), 15.

reads דיגנוסיס.¹¹⁰ Grossfeld in his translation agrees with Sperber and refers to Levy for this reading.¹¹¹ In his critical edition, Grossfeld keeps ברגניסין in his text but refers to Sperber for his translation. The reason Sperber dismisses Kraus reading is that דיגטסיס is a common word in Rabbinic literature, whereas דיגנוסיס would need to “bear the (rare) meaning “decision”.”¹¹²

- (1) Probably Greek διάταξις or διάγνωσις.
- (2) If we would not use a conjecture here, the form can be parsed as a plural in absolute state. This, however, would be difficult because the king seems to write one order not multiple as the following line in the verse seems to indicate. In the second (דיגטסיס) and third (דיגנוסיס) option the loanword is a singular in absolute state. There are no visible Aramaic endings because of the absolute state, and no clear Greek nominative case endings.
- (3) The king writes a decree to execute every virgin that would hide for the decree of the king.

גולייך - גולייך

- (1) Latin *galearius*¹¹³ or via Greek γαλιάρως.¹¹⁴
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I) or (II). It does not have a visible Aramaic ending, because the loanword is in absolute state.
- (3) The *galearius* is part of Haman’s entourage. He leads Haman’s horse.

דיטגמא

- (1) Greek διάταγμα.
- (2) All occurrences of דיטגמא are in absolute state given the context of the word. The noun is feminine, but shows no ה but א. The plural form, not attested here, has an Aramaic ending after the א. The feminine absolute noun has the same ending as a Greek nominative on -a. The Greek case-ending is kept and an Aramaic ending can be added (method III).
- (3) This loanword is used for the decrees from the king. The royal communication occurs several times, for example for the execution of Haman, but also a decree is issued with laws against the Jews.

הגמוך - הגמוך

¹¹⁰ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 197–8.

¹¹¹ Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 200. Jacob Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim und einen grossen Theil des Rabbinischen Schriftthums* (Leipzig: Engel, 1866), 169.

¹¹² Sperber, *Legal Terms*, 82.

¹¹³ A *galearius* is a non-combatant soldier. See for an study on these and other non-combatant soldiers: Morris Silver, “Public Slaves in the Roman Army: an Exploratory Study,” *Ancient Society* 46 (2016): 203–40. This word is also attested in Syriac from the fifth century onwards. Butts, ‘Latin Words’, 148.

¹¹⁴ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 168.

- (1) Greek ἡγεμών.
- (2) The Aramaic plural is attached after the nominative form of the word. The word is integrated in Aramaic following method (I).
- (3) This word is part of a speech from the king to Esther and Mordecai. Governors are mentioned in parallel to this word.

זמרגד/זמרגז - בזמרגזין/זמרגדין

- (1) Greek σμάραγδος. This loanword is also attested in Syriac and several dialects of Aramaic: Samaritan Aramaic and Christian Palestinian Aramaic.¹¹⁵ זמרגד might be a Wanderwort with ultimately a Semitic origin.¹¹⁶ One would expect a ܘ instead of a ܙ. According to Butts the ܙ is used because the Greek σ before the μ assimilates in sound as a ζ, which is rendered as a ܙ.¹¹⁷ Furthermore the ܙ and ܙ can be used interchangeably.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I). An Aramaic plural ending is added in both instances.
- (3) This word is used in the description of the royal throne of Solomon. It is also used in describing the royal apparel (Parthian socks) of Mordechai as a gift from the king.

טכס - מטכס

- (1) Greek τάξις¹¹⁸. This is often used with the meaning 'arrangement' in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic and is also an inherited loanword in Syriac¹¹⁹
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I). מטכס is a pa'el participium. It has three root radicals and is adapted to the Aramaic morphology.
- (3) This word is three times used in the depiction of clothing.

טרקלין

- (1) Latin *triclinium*, probably via Greek τρικλίνιον. טרקלין is often used in Rabbinic literature. Baruch argues that there are two meanings of this word in Rabbinic literature: "a large room or hall, with no connection to the etymological meaning of triclinium, or indeed a room used for meals with guest or the extended family and for special social events similar to the Roman

¹¹⁵ Butts, *Language Change*, 72.

¹¹⁶ Stadel and Shemesh, "Greek Loanwords," 154.

¹¹⁷ Butts, *Language Change*, 72.

¹¹⁸ Stadel and Shemesh, "Greek Loanwords," 155.

¹¹⁹ Butts, *Language Change*, 221.

triclinium.”¹²⁰

- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I). The ending is erased and therefore it is unclear whether Latin or Greek was the source for the Aramaic borrowing of this word.
- (3) טרקלין is a translation of בית. It has the second meaning that Baruch determined, i.e. a room used for meals. In the story the king scolds Haman that he wants to seduce Esther in the room where they ate in the palace of the king.

כדבוד - כודכדנין

- (1) Greek καρκεδών. Both כרכוד and כדבוד exist.
- (2) The Aramaic plural is attached after the nominative form of the word. The word is integrated in Aramaic following method (I).
- (3) This word is used in the description of Solomon's throne.

ליגיון - ליגיונין

- (1) Greek λεγιών, original from Latin *legio*¹²¹. The final נ makes it clear that this word is borrowed via Greek in Aramaic.¹²² It is also attested in Syriac.
- (2) The Aramaic plural is attached after the nominative form of the word. The word is integrated in Aramaic following method (I).
- (3) This word is used in the letter of Solomon to queen Sheba. If she does not come to him, then legions will be sent to her.

מגיסטור-מגיסטרני¹²³

- (1) Latin *magister* or *magistrianos*.
- (2) From context it becomes clear that this word must be a plural noun in absolute state. If it is derived from *magister*, then the plural ending is spelled without a י and an extra י is added at the end of the word. This spelling of the masculine plural would be highly unusual. If *magisterianos* is the source, then the final י can be explained as a nominative plural case ending in Latin. This seems more likely than the first option, because the foreign case ending in plural also seems to occur for אפרכוי, be it in Greek. Both are positions in the foreign administration.
- (3) This is a translation of the Persian term האַסְוֶרְפָּנִים, the satraps.

¹²⁰ Eval Baruch, "Adapted Roman Rituals in Second Century CE Jewish Houses," in *Jews and Christians in the First and Second Centuries: The Interbellum 70-132 CE*, edited by Joshua J. Schwartz and Peter J. Tomson (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 58.

¹²¹ Butts, "Latin Loanwords," 132.

¹²² Butts, "Latin Loanwords," 135.

¹²³ This word is not in the list of loanwords in Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 199–201.

מקוק - מקוקים¹²⁴

- (1) This word is derived from Iranian and its translation is drinking cup.¹²⁵
- (2) This word is integrated in the Aramaic morphology. It receives an Aramaic possessive pronoun.
- (3) This word is used in the description of the custom that at the banquet one did not drink out of the same cup twice.

מקרון - מקרונא

(*) There are two possibilities. In the first list of loanwords and translation, this word is read as מוקדוני 'Macedonian' referring to Kraus.¹²⁶ In his critical edition, however, Grossfeld reads מקרונא which can originate from מקרון, a Macedonian. According to Krauss this is a 'Neubild' from Μακεδονία.¹²⁷ The reading מקרון coming from the Greek μακρος seems unlikely for two reasons. Firstly, the Greek loanword is preceded by רבא which carries a similar meaning as the Greek μακρος. A rendering with מקרונא would seem to be a double translation in which both refer to כלילי. Secondly, the word 'Macedonian' would fit well in the context. The clause forms part of a list in which each time an item is mentioned together with its origin. Examples are 'red Parthian socks', a Median sword and the clause in question would become 'a large golden Macedonian crown'.

מרגלי - מרגליין/מרגליתא

- (1) Greek μαργέλλιον. According to Krauss this loanword has a Greek origin.¹²⁸ Jastrow indicates a Semitic origin.¹²⁹ This word might be a Wanderwort which is borrowed from Greek.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I).
- (3) This loanword is used several times in the description of Solomon's throne and in the description of royal apparel.

מרמר - מרמיריא

- (1) Greek μάρμαρος. The first ם in the Aramaic word might be explained by vowel dissimilation after borrowing the Greek word.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I).
- (3) Note that most Targum Sheni manuscripts do not have this verse. Some manuscripts use the

¹²⁴ This word is not in the list of loanwords in Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 199–201.

¹²⁵ Stephen Kaufman, Joseph Fitzmyer and Michael Sokoloff (editors), 'mqwq', in *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project*, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, (last viewed, 19-1-2023).

¹²⁶ Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 200. Referring to Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 349.

¹²⁷ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 346.

¹²⁸ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 350.

¹²⁹ Jastrow, 836.

Targum Rishon translation here. In the version of Grossfeld this is the case. The Aramaic מרמיריא is a translation of שש in the clause וְעַמּוּדֵי שֵׁשׁ, 'and marble pillars'.

נימוס - נימוסא

- (1) Greek νόμος.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (III). The Aramaic ending follows the nominative Greek case ending. This word also receives several possessive pronouns.
- (3) In each case this loanword is used to describe a custom or law, for example the Persian drinking custom, or the Jewish customs according to Haman. The loanword can have both the meaning of custom and law, for example in Haman's plea to the king about the specific Jewish customs or laws.

נפטא - נפטא

- (1) Greek νάφθα. This is probably a Wanderwort.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I or III). It is not clear whether נפטא is in emphatic or absolute state. The former would mean an integration in which the nominative Greek case ending is removed and an Aramaic ending is added. The latter would indicate that the Greek case ending on -α is kept.
- (3) Naphtha is the answer to a riddle in the aggadah about the riddles from Sheba.

ספסיר - ספסירא

- (1) Krauss indicates a Greek origin from σαμψήρα. Ciancaglini convincingly argues that this word has an Iranian origin, from the Persian word *samsir*.¹³⁰ In the list of Greek loanwords in Samaritan Aramaic by Stadel and Shemesh a Persian origin is also assumed.¹³¹
- (2) The Aramaic emphatic ending is placed after the root of the word.
- (3) This loanword is used in the enumeration of the gifts that Mordecai receives as part of the honor that the king bestows upon him.

פולמרכא - פולמרכין

- (1) Greek πολέμαρχος.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I).
- (3) This word is used in a speech of the king to Esther and Mordecai. The king asks why Esther did not reveal her heritage, because the king does not know now over whom he might make them

¹³⁰ Claudia A. Ciancaglini, *Iranian Words in Syriac* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2008), 225

¹³¹ Stadel and Shemesh, "Greek Loanwords," 177.

“governors and rulers”.

פלטורין - פלטורין

- (1) Latin *praetorium*,¹³² via Greek *πραιτώριον*.¹³³ This loanword is also attested in Syriac but with the *resh* instead of the Aramaic *lamed*.
- (2) Integrated in Aramaic following method (I).
- (3) This is a translation of the Hebrew, *הַקֶּזֶר*, ‘the court’.

פלטין - פלטין

- (1) Latin *palatium*, via Greek *παλάτιον*.¹³⁴ This word is also attested in Syriac. The ending on *ן* indicates that Greek is the direct source.¹³⁵
- (2) For both occurrences of this loanword, one would expect the emphatic state, because the noun is determinate. However, no emphatic Aramaic ending is visible, but also no specific Greek case ending. Therefore, this loanword is integrated following method (IV).
- (3) This loanword refers to Vashti’s banquet for women in the palace and to the king’s palace.

פנקס - פנקסיה

- (1) Greek *πίναξ*.¹³⁶ According to Butts, this noun was borrowed twice in Aramaic. The last borrowing preserves the last Greek consonant rendered with *ק* and *ס*.¹³⁷
- (2) The possessive pronoun is placed directly after the Greek nominative ending *-ξ*. Integrated in Aramaic following method (I). The Greek nominative does not differ from the word root.
- (3) The king sends scribes with writing scrolls and tablets.

פרוסטגמא - פרוסטגמי

- (1) Greek *πρόσταγμα*.
- (2) The ending on *י* might indicate the plural emphatic form without a written *א*. Integrated in Aramaic following method (I).
- (3) The king writes decrees against the Jews.

¹³² Butts, “Latin Loanwords,” 140.

¹³³ Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, 455.

¹³⁴ Butts, “Latin Loanwords,” 144.

¹³⁵ Butts, “Latin Loanwords,” 128.

¹³⁶ Stadel and Shemesh, “Greek Loanwords,” 164.

¹³⁷ “Possibly, the Greek noun was loaned twice into Aramaic, first in the form and sense we noted and later as ‘writing tablet’, and with the final sibilant of the nominative preserved”. Butts, *Language Change*, 218. See also Stadel and Shemesh, “Greek Loanwords,” 164.

3.3 Source languages

3.3.1 Greek and Latin

The main source language for the loanwords is Greek. It is, however, not always clear whether the words are borrowed from Greek or Latin. From the work of Dickey on Latin influence on Greek, it becomes clear that there is no consensus on the degree of Latin influence on Greek.¹³⁸ In Targum Sheni, we see that some words are borrowed from Greek but are originally from Latin. According to Butts, “This suggests that these Latin words were used in the Koine Greek of the Eastern Roman Empire, and it is in this way that many of them entered Syriac.”¹³⁹ The same argument could apply for Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.

The second largest source language is Latin. Most of the loanwords from Latin are related to the military or civil administration. Some Greek words can be found in the same semantic domain.

3.3.2 Wanderwörter

The origin of some of the loanwords cannot easily be discovered because equivalents of the Greek forms are existent in several languages. These words are also called Wanderwörter: words that are attested in several languages.¹⁴⁰ Some of the loanwords in Targum Sheni can be classified as Wanderwörter. Besides the methodological problem of determining what the significance of the use of those words is for the degree of language contact, the initial problem is determining their origin. Here we will discuss those Wanderwörter and their possible origin.

The group of gemstones that is mentioned in Targum Sheni qualifies as Wanderwörter. Those words are often found both in Latin and Greek and often more languages. It is not clear whether they originate from Greek or other languages.

3.3.3 Persian

There are two loanwords that might be derived from Persian. The first word, *מקוק*, is also attested in Syriac and Arabic, but derives from Persian.¹⁴¹ As discussed above *ספסירא* probably derives from Persian as well.

¹³⁸ Eleanor Dickey, “Latin Loanwords in Greek: A preliminary Analysis,” in *Variation and Change in Greek and Latin*, ed. by M. Leiwo, H. Halla-aho, and M. Vierros (Helsinki: Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, 2012), , 57–70.

¹³⁹ Butts, “Latin Loanwords,” 128–9.

¹⁴⁰ Trask, *Dictionary*, 366.

¹⁴¹ Kaufman, Fitzmyer and Sokoloff (editors), ‘mqwq’, in *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project*, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, (last viewed, 19-1-2023).

3.4 Incorporation of loanwords in the text

Most of the Greek and Latin loanwords are incorporated in Aramaic by removing the original nominative case ending and adding an Aramaic ending (method I). These endings can either be the emphatic state or possessive pronouns. In some cases there is no Aramaic ending visible, because the word is in absolute state.

A few loanwords keep the nominative Greek ending transcribed as **-וס** and add the **א** as the marker for the emphatic state. Especially words that lack three radicals after the removal of the Greek nominative case ending, keep the Greek ending. Note for example the words **אוכלוס** or **נימוס**.

There are a three words that only receive Greek endings. The word **איפרך** is especially noteworthy because in Targum Sheni 1:1 it receives only a Greek plural ending and in Targum Sheni 1:3 it receives an Aramaic plural ending. These cases seem almost like transcriptions of the loanwords. In two cases these loanwords refer to functions in the civil or military administration.

A few words do not receive the Aramaic emphatic ending, although that would be expected. An example is **פלטין** for which both times one would expect to see an emphatic ending, but in both cases these are not visible.

Most loanwords are fully integrated in the Aramaic grammar and morphology. The input form seems to be the Greek singular nominative form. In plural loanwords where the Greek ending is removed and an Aramaic ending is attached, it is not always clear whether the plural Greek word could also be the input form.

3.5 Domain of loanwords

When looking at the loanwords in Targum Sheni a few semantic domains can be distinguished that categorize the use of loanwords. Here I will divide the loanwords into three categories and describe how and where these loanwords are used in the text. This might give an insight into the cultural background behind the text. The first semantic domain is the domain of precious stones, the second of civil and military administration and the last category consists of the remaining loanwords that cannot be grouped together.

3.5.1 Gemstones

The text contains eight loanwords that classify as precious stones. These loanwords have a few characteristics in common. First of all, many of those words are found clustered in the text in enumerations about decorations of clothing or the palace. Most of those words are attested in many languages, which makes it difficult to determine whether they really are loanwords in the strict sense

or that they are the only possible option in Aramaic to refer to them. This category of loanwords is not helpful in answering the question of the audience and background behind Targum Sheni.

3.5.2 Administration

The second semantic domain will prove far more valuable for assessing the cultural background and perhaps dating of Targum Sheni. Although this group is varied, referencing both administrative positions as well as titles in the army, the loanwords in this domain share many characteristics.

First of all, a distribution between Greek and Latin words is visible in this group. Although these words are part of the Greek loanwords, many of them have a background in the Roman administrative order. Examples are the use of *galearius* or *speculator* which both are borrowed in Greek and then adopted in Aramaic. Most of these words pertain to the civil and military administration. Some are used as translations of the Persian titles that are used in MT Esther. The loanwords that fall in the category of administration can be further divided in three groups.

Firstly, a group consists of officials in the Greco-Roman administration. Here we see a blend of Greek and Roman titles. The integration of the word *galearius*, 'soldier's servant', in the entourage of Haman in combination with the 'bathkeeper' shows this Greco-Roman context of the elite, who had these servants in their household.¹⁴²

The court is to a certain extent portrayed as a Greco-Roman court, in which several buildings are mentioned with Greek and Latin loanwords. These buildings are the second subgroup. All the words pertaining to buildings have a Latin origin, but are mostly borrowed via Greek. Mostly the palace and related buildings are mentioned.

Lastly, the words for the royal administration and decrees are especially borrowed from Greek. The edicts issued in the narrative are also transposed to Greco-Roman times in the translation and interpretation of Targum Sheni.

One could argue then that this fits particularly well with the Byzantine Empire, which ruled Palestine until the Arabian Invasion. In the Koine Greek of the Byzantine Empire and before, many words that are influenced by the Latin civil and military administration can be found.¹⁴³ This is the case in Targum Sheni as well, particularly with regards to administrative infrastructure and the entourage of the elite.

3.5.3 Other

There are a few loanwords that fall in the rest category. Especially notable here are the words that Grossfeld has accommodated in the list of Greek loanwords but are in fact not from Greek origin. The

¹⁴² Silver, "Public Slaves," 203–40.

¹⁴³ Butts, "Latin Words," 128–9.

two Persian words follow Aramaic morphology. The from Greek derived אנגקִי has a Greek ending and is not fully integrated in the Aramaic system. The use of these words do not particularly indicate a cultural background of Targum Sheni.

3.6 Conclusion

The overview of the loanwords shows that most loanwords in Targum Sheni are borrowed from Greek, but sometimes originally come from Latin. The integration of the loanwords shows that most words can in fact be seen as loanwords and not only as transcribed Latin or Greek titles.

The analysis also shows that a particular group of loanwords can be distinguished as *Wanderwörter*. Another group consists of the loanwords in the domain of administration. These loanwords seem to indicate a combination between a Greek and Roman background. This might fit well in language contact with Koine Greek from the Byzantine Empire.

4. Motivation for Borrowing

4.1 Introduction

From the status quaestionis it became clear that the occurrence of loanwords in Targum Sheni has been used as an argument to support a 6-7th century dating. From the overview and analysis in the last chapter, however, it became clear that not all loanwords are from Greek, but also from Latin, and that not all loanwords are in fact useful to support that dating. Yet, most loanwords do seem to support the consensus on the dating of Targum Sheni. In order to analyze these loanwords further, this chapter will focus on the motivation for the lexical borrowing. Secondly, we will look further at the possible audience of Targum Sheni, to see whether this can prove helpful in analyzing the statement that the use of loanwords supports the dating of Targum Sheni.

4.2 Motivation for lexical borrowing

According to Campbell, there are two main reasons for lexical borrowing. First, there can be simply a need for borrowing.¹⁴⁴ When there is no alternative in one's own language, one has to resort to other languages that have words to express, for example, objects. A good example is the *Wanderwörter*. The words for gemstones in Targum Sheni are integrated into the Aramaic lexicon, and there are no clear alternatives. The second reason for lexical borrowing is prestige.¹⁴⁵ Words can be borrowed because the foreign words have an esteemed association. There can also be a negative connotation with the foreign word, which constitutes a small reason for lexical borrowing.¹⁴⁶ The question is in which of these categories the lexical borrowings found in Targum Sheni, should be situated.

The most obvious reason for most of the borrowed words, seems to be that there is a need to borrow those words. Because there are many words that pertain to the administrative system, the way to refer to these titles or places is by mentioning the 'original' name, i.e. the foreign term. Because the story is transposed in the Targum to contemporary times for the writers and audience, the administrative terms are also made fitting for that context. The same argument can be made for the foreign titles, places and also for the borrowed words with regards to the servants of Haman.

Although the argument above can be convincing to explain the existence of the loanwords in the text, a different argument can be made. The anti-Roman and anti-Christian tendencies in Targum Sheni might point at a negative connotation that Greek or Roman loanwords have. Haman, for example, is associated with the Roman empire by emphasizing his connection to Edom, a synonym in

¹⁴⁴ Lyle Campbell, *Historical Linguistics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013³), 58.

¹⁴⁵ Campbell, *Historical Linguistics*, 58.

¹⁴⁶ Campbell, *Historical Linguistics*, 58.

the targumic tradition for Rome.¹⁴⁷ Haman is also portrayed as a Christian who oppresses and attacks the Jews in his speech to the king why the Jews are a different people than other peoples.¹⁴⁸ With these characteristics of the text in mind, it is possible that the loanwords are used to emphasize and evoke the foreign contemporary context to the Jewish audience. Rather than that words are used to portray Persia, as in MT Esther,¹⁴⁹ the new context of the Roman or Byzantine Empire is brought to mind by using the Greek words. The loanwords then aid in transposing the story to a new situation.

The difference between both theories is that for the latter, there is an added meaning by using the loanwords. It downplays the necessity for using the contextual words for civil and military administration. We would have to assume that those borrowed words are used deliberately instead of 'regular' Aramaic words. Although this 'added' negative connotation of the use of foreign words would fit into the larger theme of Targum Sheni, i.e. the Jewish-Christian polemics, this is also directly a downside of this theory. We might be reading too much into the use of certain words over others, and it seems that the discussion between those two theories needs to remain unresolved. Either way, it shows that loanwords portray a context that fits well with the Byzantine empire. Before coming to a full conclusion, we will look closer at the possible audience for this text, to analyze who had to be able to understand the references and borrowed words in the text of Targum Sheni.

4.3 Audience

One of the premises of the targumic translations is that it explains and adapts the Biblical text to the then contemporary times. Therefore, we can expect in its translation a reflection of the time in which it is written. As mentioned in the status quaestionis, the exact nature of Targum Sheni as a targum proper is debated. This does not matter for the establishment of its background, because it will reflect its time either way. I will follow the argument that Targum Sheni can be viewed as a Targum, but that it is most likely that it is firstly intended for the Rabbis for textual study or for the meturgeman as a preparation for the targum during the service in the synagogue.

The first audience of Targum Sheni were then the rabbis or meturgemanim, who were fully accustomed to the Greek culture around them in the cities. An example of this can be found in stories in the Mishna, for example the story of Rabi Gamliel in the bathhouse.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, we can assume that the loanwords that are used in the text are recognizable for this group and their meaning evident. Because most of the loanwords fall in the category of civil and military administration, we can suppose that the 'ordinary' people would have been familiar with these borrowed words as well and no

¹⁴⁷ Ego, "Targumization as Theologization," 359.

¹⁴⁸ Deutsch, "And their Laws," 298.

¹⁴⁹ For example the Persian loanwords such as satraps.

¹⁵⁰ Mishna Avoda Zarah 3:4.

alternatives were needed. Accordingly, the translators of the MT Esther could use these borrowed words to transpose the story from Persia to the Byzantine empire and fit it into the Jewish-Christian polemics prevalent especially during the 7th century.¹⁵¹

4.4 Conclusion

The motivation for using the loanwords consists of two parts. Firstly, for some words there is simply a need to use them, because there is no accurate Aramaic equivalent. Secondly, using these words transposes the story of Esther to contemporary times for the audience of this Targum. The Latin and Greek loanwords picture the Greco-Roman administration of the Byzantine Empire.

¹⁵¹ Robert Bonfil, "Continuity and Discontinuity (641-1204)," in *Jews in Byzantium. Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, ed. by Robert Bonfil, Oded Irshai, Guy G. Strousma and Rina Talgam (Boston-Leiden: Brill, 2012), 75–6.

Conclusion

The main question of this thesis was whether the Greek loanwords in Targum Sheni can support the argument a 7-8th century dating of the text. After analyzing the loanwords it became clear that some of the loanwords can support this dating, whilst other loanwords, the group of *Wanderwörter*, are not helpful, because there are no Aramaic alternatives.

The second observation is that in the list of Greek loanwords from Grossfeld, not all loanwords are in fact originating from Greek. There are also Latin loanwords, of which some are borrowed in Aramaic via Greek. Lastly there are two Persian loanwords listed under Greek loanwords.

Especially the words pertaining to the civil or military administration do point at a Greco-Roman background. These words are sometimes fully integrated in Aramaic but a few Greek case endings are also visible. The titles of officials and also buildings for which loanwords are used, can be part of the Byzantine administration.

There are several reasons for the use of loanwords in Targum Sheni. Firstly, loanwords can be used, because there is no clear Aramaic alternative. Secondly, the loanwords can be used to transpose the story into the social reality of the audience. Lastly, it is possible that those loanwords help in invoking a negative connotation to the foreign occupation.

The analysis of the Greek loanwords shows that some of the Greek loanwords do support a dating of the text within the Byzantine empire. Especially the use of both Greek and Latin loanwords shows that.

Further research could investigate whether the language contact between Aramaic and Greek goes beyond the lexical borrowing. It would be interesting to see if there are Greek grammatical features in the text as well. Secondly, a study of other foreign loanwords in the text would might aid in finding a dating of Targum Sheni. The present research focused only on Greek and Latin loanwords, but perhaps a more thorough analyses of Persian loanwords will prove useful as well.

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Appendix A

This table provides an overview of the loanwords adapted from the list of Grossfeld.¹⁵² The loanwords are listed as the dictionary entries. The translations are from Jastrow and DJPA.

| Loanword | Source | Meaning | Verse ¹⁵³ | Domain |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|----------------|
| אובריזא | ὄβρυζα/ὄβρυζος | pure gold | 5:1* | Gemstones |
| אוכלוסא | ὄχλος | group of people, soldiers | 1:2* | Other |
| אוריא | ὠρεῖον | stable | 6:10 (2)* 11 (2)* | Administration |
| איטמוס | ἔτοιμος/ἔτοιμους | ready, prepared | 3:14* | Other |
| איפרך | ἐπαρχος | prefect | 1:3* | Administration |
| איפרך | ἐπαρχος | prefecture | 1:1* | Administration |
| אננקי | ἀνάγκη | distress | 5:1* | Other |
| אספקטור | <i>speculator</i> / σπεκουλάτωρ | executioner | 5:2* | Administration |
| בירלא | βήρυλλος | beryll | 1:2 (2)* 8:15* | Gemstones |
| בנאה | βαλανεύς | bathing attendant | 6:12* | Administration |
| /ברגניס / דיגנוסיס | διάταξις/ διάγνωσις | decree | 2:8* | Administration |
| גולייך | <i>galearius</i> | soldier's servant | 6:12* | Administration |
| דיטגמא | διάταγμα | edict | 3:15; 4:2 (2),* 8; 8:13,* 14; 9:14 | Administration |
| הגמון | ἡγεμών | leader, general | 8:7* | Administration |
| זמרגדא | σμάραγδος | emerald, smaragd | 1:2* | Gemstones |

¹⁵² Grossfeld, *The Two Targums*, 199-201. Grossfeld, *Targum Sheni*

¹⁵³ The asterisk (*) indicates that these words do not have a counterpart in the MT and therefore are part of the expansions of Targum Sheni.

| | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|---|--|----------------|
| זמרגז | σμάραγδος | emerald, smaragd | 8:15* | Gemstones |
| טכס | τάξις/τάσσω | to fasten | 5:1 (2);* 6:10* | Other |
| ינקרלין | <i>triclinium</i> / τρικλίνιον | dining room, granary | 7:8 | Administration |
| ינדכדון | καρχεδών | chalcedony | 1:2* | Gemstones |
| ינגיון | λεγιών | legion | 1:2 (2)* | Administration |
| מגיסטור | <i>magister/magistrianos</i> | officials | 9:3 | Administration |
| מקוק | <i>makkūk</i> | goblet, or a measure of such a size | 1:7* | Other |
| מקרון | Μακεδονία | Macedonian | 8:15* | Other |
| מרגלית | μαργέλλιον | gem, jewel, pearl | 1:2 (3),* 5*,6* 5:1* 6:10 (2)* 8:15* | Gemstones |
| מרמרא | μάρμαρος | marble | 1:6* | Gemstones |
| נימוסא | νόμος | customary law | 1:7* 3:8 (2)*, 9* 4:1* | Administration |
| נפטא | νάφθα | naphtha | 1:2* | Gemstones |
| ספסירא | samsir | sword | 6:10* 8:15* | Administration |
| פולמרכא | πολέμαρχος | warrior | 8:7 | Administration |
| פלטורין | Πραιτώριον <i>/praetorium</i> | palace, praetorium | 2:16 4:2,11 | Administration |
| פלטין | Πάλατιον/ <i>Palation</i> | palace | 1:9* 2:19* | Administration |
| פנקס | πίναξ | board, tablet | 4:1* | Administration |

פרוסטאגמא פרוסטאגמא

edict

4:1*

Administration