

'All explained', The Trilingual Hebrew/Aramaic/ Judeo-Greek Glossary from MS Vat. ebr. 423¹

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The primary objective of this article is to present the first edition of the trilingual glossary (Hebrew - Aramaic - Judeo-Greek) of MS *Vat. ebr. 423*, ff. 1^r-8^r, which has been mentioned in relevant literature but has not been edited before.² All three columns are written in Hebrew characters. As I will briefly argue below, the glossary is connected to a longer tradition of Judeo-Greek glossaries, yet a number of important traits make it exceptional: its trilingual nature, and the alphabetical order of the lemmata.³

The glossary in MS Vat. ebr. 423

Manuscript Vat. ebr. 423 consists of 114 folia, all paper. It is a collection of five different units written in different scripts bound together and has been dated to the fifteenth century. Dimensions are 146 x 108mm, 92 x 70 mm, and various other sizes.⁴ The contents of the manuscript overall betray an interest in language and lexicography.⁵ The second section for example, which contains difficult words from Moshe ben Maimon's *Mishneh Torah* in Italian, hints at an origin within an educational context. We might imagine this manuscript to have been used as a dictionary or reference work,⁶ either in an educational context or for personal study.

The first unit (ff. 1-8), contains, in Sephardi semi-cursive script, a Hebrew - Aramaic - Greek glossary, titled לְשׁוֹן קֹדֶשׁ וְיוֹנֵי וְאֲרָמִי מְבוֹאָרִים כֻּלָּם (*The holy tongue [Hebrew], Greek and Aramaic, all explained*). Modern descriptions have turned this rather vague identification into a 'dictionary' or 'a list of divine names or epithets for God'. In fact it is a glossary that belongs to the BJJ tradition, and is a valuable addition to that corpus.⁷ It closes with the laudatory formula

¹ I owe many thanks to all those who helped me in various stages of this research, to Reinhart Ceulemans and Joachim Yeshaya for supervising and correcting previous iterations of this paper, to Shifra Sznol for helpful advice in the early stages of decipherment of Judeo-Greek, and to Benjamin Suchard for correcting the edition of the Aramaic column. I am very grateful to Jannis Niehoff-Panagiotidis for providing insightful feedback on this paper, and to the anonymous reviewers for their helpful remarks and suggestions.

² J. Krivoruchko, 'Judeo-Greek', in L. Kahn & A. D. Rubin (eds), *Handbook of Jewish Languages*. Brill's Handbooks in Linguistics 2 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 204.

³ One other trilingual alphabetically arranged Hebrew/Judeo-Greek/Judeo-Spanish dictionary has recently been published online January 2021 at <https://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/departments/taylor-schechter-genizah-research-unit/fragment-month/fotm-2021/fragment>, consulted 04/02/2021).

⁴ The description of the manuscript is based on B. Richler, M. Beit-Arié and N. Pasternak, *Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library. Catalogue*, Studi e testi 438 (Vatican city: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), pp. 363-364, available at <https://web.nli.org.il/sites/nli/english/infochannels/catalogs/library%20catalogs/pages/vatican.aspx>.

⁵ The second part contains Italian and Hebrew explanations of difficult words from Rashi's commentary on the Torah, and the fifth part provides a supercommentary on Rashi's commentary. The only exception is the third unit, which contains an unrelated assembly of texts such as a few chapters on the Jewish calendar and an account of the ascension of Ezra 'the prophet' of Montcontour, calendars and fourteen gates.

⁶ S. Debenedetti Stow, *La chiarificazione in volgare delle 'espressioni difficili' ricorrenti nel Mišneh Toràh di Mosè Maimonide. Glossario inedito del XIV secolo*, Centro ricerche e studi delle testimonianze medievali e moderne del giudaismo italiano 2 (Roma: Carruci editore, 1990), 2 vols, pp. 21-22. This work in two volumes contains an edition of the explanations of difficult words from Moshe ben Maimon's *Mishneh Torah* from the same manuscript.

⁷ Shifra Sznol brought to my attention that in N. Allony & D. S. Loewinger, *List of Photocopies in the Institute. Part 3: Hebrew Manuscripts in the Vatican Library* (Jerusalem: Institute of Hebrew Manuscripts, 1968) the text

תמו המלות תהלה לנורא תהלות אמן (*The words are finished, praise to Him who is 'fearful in praises', amen, f.8^r*).⁸

The presence of words from all stages of development of the Greek language, from classical to early modern, strongly suggests that the author was drawing on some kind of written lexicographical source.

Edition

Here follows a diplomatic edition of the glossary as it appears in the manuscript.⁹ Barring some exceptions, the Hebrew and Aramaic columns are not vocalized in the manuscript. The Judeo-Greek column is vocalized and uses at different instances both the *dagesh* and the *rafeh*. To the three columns of the glossary I add on the left a column with numbers for ease of reference.

is described as a 'Hebrew, Aramaic, Dictionary'; other identifications were made by Krivoruchko, *Judeo-Greek*, p. 204 ('a list of about 300 divine names') and Richler, Beit-Arié & Pasternak, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, p. 364 ('about 290 epithets for God').

⁸ I owe many thanks to Ilona Steimann and Zsófi Buda, who helped me decipher the closing formula.

⁹ The author consulted a digital reproduction of the manuscript available at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.ebr.423.

לשון קדש ויוני וארמי מבוארים כולם

1	פְּטִיר	אבא	אב
2	פְּטִיר אֵיאֹנִיאֹשׁ	רבון עלמא	אביעד
3	אֶפְיִדְיוֹשׁ	רבא	אדון
4	קְרִיאָמוּ	רבוני	אדוני
5	דִּינְטוֹשׁ	גברא	אדיר
6	אֶפְיִמִינוֹשׁ	רחימא	אהוב
7	אֶשׁוּמִי	אהיה	אהיה
8	זוֹןְמִינוֹשׁ	חגירא	אזור
9	מוֹנוֹשׁ	יחידא	אחד
10	אֵיסִירוֹשׁ	בתר כולא	אחרון
11	קֶטְפְּלִיֶּכְטִיאֶקוֹשׁ	מיגבר	איום
12	אֵישְׁקִירוֹשׁ שִׁנְיִסוֹן	אל מדע	אל דיעות
13	דִּינְטוֹשׁ	תקיף	אמיץ
14	אֶלִיתִינוֹשׁ	קשוט	אמת
15	תֵּיאֹשׁ	אלה	אלוה
16	אוֹתֵיאֹשׁ	אלהא	אלהים
17	אֵיפִיסוֹשׁ	קשוטא ¹⁰	אמונה
18	לִיאֹן	אריא	אריה
19	מְקִרִיתִימוֹשׁ	מרחק רגז	ארך אפים
20	בּוֹטְרִינְדִין	אתכלא	אשכול
21	אָנִיר	גבר	איש
		אות בֵּית	
22	אֶגְלִיֶּכְטוֹשׁ	נקיא	בהיר
23	אֵיפִילְכְטוֹשׁ	בחירא	בחור

¹⁰ This gloss is vocalized in the manuscript.

24	כְּטִישׁ	בני	בונה
25	כְּשִׁילְפוֹן	מבקר	בוקר
26	אֲשֶׁפְרוֹשׁ	לבינא	בר
27	כְּטִיזוֹן	בארי	בורא
28	קַתְאֲרִיאֹשׁ	ברירא	ברור
29	אִיפְלִזוֹן	מבחר	בוחר
30	דְּוִקִּמְזוֹן	מבחן	בוחר
אות הגימל			
31	פִּירִיפְנוֹשׁ	גאי	גאה
32	אֲכִיסְפִּגוֹן	פריק	גואל
33	מִיטִיַּרְיאֹשׁ	רמא	גבוה
34	דִּינְטוֹשׁ	גברא	גבור
35	מִיגֶשׁ	רבא	גדול
36	פֶּרְשׁוֹן	מתקיף	גודר
37	פְּרוֹסוֹן	אמיר	גוזר
38	פְּגִירוֹנוֹן	מגלי	גלוי
39	אֲפוֹדִידוֹן	משלים	גומל
40	אֲנֶסְרִינוֹן	מנזף	גוער
אות דלת			
41	רְאזוֹן	מפרח	דואה
42	פּוֹתוֹן	מיחבב	דוכב
43	תְּמִטִּיאֲמָנוֹשׁ	מתוכס	דגול
44	לְלוֹן	מדבר	דובר
45	קְרִינוֹן	דאין	דן
46	קְרִישׁ	דינא	דיין
47	גְּדוֹתוֹן	דחי	דופק

48	אַנשׂירָנוֹן	דלי	דולה
49	פֿירֿפֿטוֹן	מפסע	דורך
50	אַיגזיטוֹן	מתבע	דורש
		אות הא	
51	אַיקשימולוגֿמינוש	הודא	הוד
52	דֿיאָפֿרֿפֿיזמנוש	מהודר	הדור
53	דֿיאָפֿרֿיניאַה	מהדר	הדר
54	מיליטוֹן	יהגה	הוגה
		אות ואו	
55	אַאָרטוֹש	מתוה	וה
56	קיריאָמינוש	עקרי	ודאי
57	קטקרוֹמינוש	עלימא	ותיק
58	אַפֿלירוטוֹש	חי עלמא	ועד
		אות זיין	
59	קתריאָש	דכיא	זך
60	תֿרֿיפֿוֹן	מפרנס	זן
61	אַישֿפֿירָנוֹן	מזרע	זורע
62	אַנטילָנוֹן	מדנח	זורח
63	אַימָנישקוֹן	דכיר	זוכר
64	אַגֿליגורוֹש	מהירא	זריז
65	אַנשֿיקוֹנוֹן	מתמך	זוקף
		אות חית	
66	פּוֹתֿיתֿיקוֹש	חביבא	חביב
67	פּוֹתֿוֹן	מחבב	חובב
68	אַיבֿלֿסֿדוֹנוֹן	מסי	חובש
69	דֿינטוֹש	תקיפא	חזק

70	פּיריזון־מינוש	מאוזר	חגור
71	אַליאָמונון	חסי	חומל
72	קיליאָפּונון	מדחק	חולל
73	אַקְתִּי־מוֹן	רחים	חנון
74	אַליאָן	רחם	חונן
75	שופּוש	חכים	חכם
76	אַוּשִׁיאָוּשׁ	חסידא	חסיד
77	פּשִׁילפּון	מבלש	חופש
78	אַילִיטוֹמוֹן	מחצב	חוצב
79	דוֹנָנוּשׁ	חי	חי
אות טית			
80	קלוש	טייב	טוב
81	קֶתֶר־יאָוּשׁ	דכי	טהור
82	קֶתֶר־יאָוּפֶטֶל־אַוּשׁ	דכי עינין	טהור עינים
83	אַרְפּוֹזון	טריף	טורף
84	תְּרִיפּוֹן	זן	טורף
85	אַבְפִּיטוֹן	דאי	טס
אות היוד			
86	אַכֶּרֶדוּשׁ	יה	יה
87	פִּילוּשׁ	ידידא	ידיד
88	יְנוּשְׁקוֹן	ידע	יודע
89	מוֹנְכוּשׁ	יחידא	יחיד
90	אַמוֹרְפּוּשׁ	יפי	יפה
91	פֶּלזוֹן	ברי	יוצר
92	אַלִּיתִישׁ	אמונא	יציב
93	אַדִּימוּשׁ	יקירא	יקיר

94	אַיפְתִּיאֹשׁ	תקין	ישר
		אות הכף	
95	אַיְדִימוֹשׁ	יקרא	כבוד
96	פְּכֻלְתֹּשׁ	סגיא	כביר
97	מְזוֹנוֹן	מכלל	כולל
98	קִטְסִיטוֹן	מכוון	כונן
99	קִטְקִיפּוֹנוֹן	מכנע	כופף
100	דן דנא ¹¹	כמו	כופה
101	קִפּוֹרָא	כופרא	כופר
		אות למד	
102	פוֹרְיִנוֹן	לביש	לובש
103	פְּלוֹגָא	להבא	להבה
104	אַיְגְלִמְרוֹנוֹן	להט	לוהט
105	קִטְלִבּוֹנוֹן	מכבש	לוכד
106	פוֹלִימוֹן	אגח כרב	לוחם
		אות מים	
107	אוֹטִיזוֹן	מקשיב	מאזין
108	פְּלִפּוֹן	צפי	מביט
109	אַבְלוֹיִמְנוֹשׁ	מברך	מבורך
110	תְּרוֹשׁ	מחסי	מבטח
111	פְּלִיאֹנוֹן	מבלי	מבלה
112	פִּיךְגוֹשׁ	מגדלא	מגדל
113	מִיגְלָנוֹן	מרבי	מגדיל
114	פְּנִירוֹנוֹן	גלי	מגלה
115	מְטָרוֹן	מני	מודד

¹¹ This Aramaic note ('the same'), indicates that the Greek gloss here is the same as the one preceding it.

116	אלאשון	מהשנה	משנה
117	בִּירְנוֹן	מחי	מוחה
118	אִי־פִּימִיזְמִנוֹשׁ	משבח	מהולל
119	פֶּטְשׁוֹן	מניגד	מוחץ
120	אֵלִיאֹן	מחל	מוחל
121	אֹלְפִיאָדָא	מגן	מחסה
122	זוֹגְוִנוֹן	מקיים	מחיה
123	קִילִיאֹנוֹנוֹן	מפצר	מחולל
124	אַגְתִּינוֹן	מטיבא	מטיב
125	דִּירְנוֹן	מחי	מייסר
126	שִׁבְתוֹן	מחיל	מכפר
127	פְּלִישׁוֹן	מחה	מכה
128	אַפּוֹפִירְנוֹן	משצי	מכלה
129	דִּיאַתְרִיפּוֹן	מפרנס	מכלכל
130	אַיִדִּיאֹן	מכסי	מלביש
131	אַשְׁפְּרִיזוֹן	מחורר	מלבין
132	בִּשְׁלִיאֹשׁ	מלכא	מלך
133	בְּשִׁילוֹפִיאֹן	ממלך	ממליך
134	פְּטוֹכִיגְוִן	מעני	ממידך
135	תְּנִיטוֹנוֹן	ממיתא	ממית
136	פְּשִׁפּוֹן	ספר	מונה
137	קֶטְאַפִּיאֹן	ממלאט	מנוס
138	פְּרִינִיקוֹן	מנצח	מנצח
139	אַנְגוֹמוֹזוֹן	ממלי	ממלא
140	אַפּוֹלִינוֹן	מאבד	מאביד
141	אַפּוֹקְרוֹפּוֹשׁ	טמיר	מסתתיר

142	אַטְרִיבְּגוֹן	מסי	מרפא
143	דינמוֹנוֹן	מחזק	מעודד
144	פלוטינוֹן ¹²	מעתר	מעשיר
145	קיטִיריאֹן	אתר מתקן	מעונה
146	פֶּאָרְדִיאַבְּזוֹן	מעבר	מעביר
147	אַנְבְּזוּמִינוֹשׁ	מרומם	מעולה
148	אַקִירוֹנוֹן	מכפר	מיפר
149	אַפְקִיאֹמְטִיזְמִנוֹשׁ	משובח	מפואר
150	תֵּאוּמִסוֹנוֹן	מפלא	מפליא
151	דיאַשוֹנוֹן	מפליט	מפלט
152	פֶּטְרוֹנוֹן	מצמח	מצמיח
153	אַגְלִיטוֹנוֹן	משזיב	מציל
154	אַיקְשֶׁלִיפוֹן	מסכי	מצמית
155	קְסוֹלוּמָא	מגינה	מצודה
156	פֶּלִיבָא	מקורא	מקור
157	סִיגְזוֹן	משלי	מקרה
158	מזוֹנוֹן	מכנף	מקבץ
159	אַפְדוֹכִי	מבטח	מקוה
160	אַנְסִינוֹן	מקים	מקיים
161	אַיקְשֶׁיפֹּנוֹן	מנעיר	מקיץ
162	דִיכּוּמִינוֹשׁ	מוסכר	מקובל
163	אַיִזוּמִינוֹשׁ	קדיש	מקודש
164	מוֹשְׁקוֹשׁ	מורא	מור
165	פּטְשׁוֹן	מרקע	מרדד
166	אַיִכְטִירִיזוֹן	מרחמא	מרחם

¹² This gloss is not vocalized in the manuscript.

167	אַיִפֿשׂילױש	מרמא	מרום
168	לימױפֿיאַױן	מכפנא	מרעיב
169	שיזון	מגדד	מרעיש
170	אַיִפֿשׂױמנױש	מרמם	מרומם
171	טֶרױמזון	מגעיש	מרעיד
172	אַילאַקױנױן	מתקין	מרביץ
173	שוזון	פריקן	מושיע
174	אַיִפֿיניטױש	מפאר	משובח
175	ריפֿטױן	מכנע	משביח
176	ריפֿטױן	רמי	משליך
177	אַפֿױריפֿטױן	מרמי	משפיל
178	אַנײַריזון	מסבב	משוטט
179	אַיִבֿליזון	משבע	משביע
180	שיפֿרױנױן	מחכם	משכיל
181	קטסמינױש	מתקן	מתוקן
182	אַיקשיזיאַזון	רבי	מושל
183	אַפֿױליאַזון	מתירא	מתיר
אות נון			
184	דײַנטױש	חזק	נאדר
185	פֿױבֿירױש	דחילא	נאור
186	זױןמינױש	חגור	נאזר
187	אַליתײַנױש	הימן	נאמן
188	קתריאַױש	זכייא	נבר
189	שױטיקױש	קבלתן	נבון
190	פֿױתײַטיקױש	אירוג	נחמד
191	תאומסױש	סתר	נפלא

192	קטסמינוש	מתקן	נכון
193	איסיקמנוש	קיימא	נצב
194	פּיריאַפּרמינוש	רבי	נשגב
195	פּוּכּירוש	דחילא	נורא
196	אנבזמינוש	מסולק	נעלה
197	איפּילקטוש	בחירא	נבחר
198	פּירניקון	נצח	נוצח
199	בסון	סבר	נושא
200	שיבתון	שביק	נושא
201	איפּריפּוש	נעימא	נעים
202	תימאוש	יקירא	נכבד
203	סימינוש	מעוטף	נכתר
204	איגדיקון	קנאי	נוקם
205	פּילטון דיאַטירון	נוטר	נוצר
206	קתריאוש	בר	נקי
207	קרטירומינוש	מתקף	נערץ
208	אינזומינוש	קדישא	נקדש
209	פּיריאַפּרמינוש	מרומם	נשא
210	דידון	יהב	נותן
אות סמך			
211	אפּקוביזון	משעינא	סומך
212	בסזון	מסבר	סובל
213	מיגש	רבא	סגי
214	איליאון	שביק	סולח
215	דיאומטיזון	מתקיף	סועד
216	פּשיפּון	כתיב	סופר

217	קרוּמְיִנּוּשׁ	סתירא	ספון
		אות עין	
218	פּרְדִיאַבְזוֹן	מכפר	עובר
219	בּוּיִתּוֹן	מסעד	עוזר
220	דִינְמוּמֶן	תוקפא	עוז
221	דִינְמוּמְנָמוּ	תוקפי	עוזי
222	אַיְפָסִיסוּשׁ	עלאה	עליון
223	אַפְקוּאוֹן	מאזין	עונה
224	פֶּרְאַיִאוּשׁ	עָנּוֹן	ענו ¹³
225	פּוּלֶן	עופרא	עופר
226	קוּלִיאוֹן	ממנע	עוצר
227	פִּיאוֹן	עבוד	עושה
228	אַיְקִשִׁפְנִיטוּשׁ	ויעוד	ער
229	פֶּלִיאוּשׁ	עתיקא	עתיק
		אות פא	
230	אַפּוּלִיטְדוֹנוֹן	פריק	פודה
231	גִיבְגוֹן	מצדד	פונה
232	קִטְרֶגְזוֹן	עביד	פועל
233	אַיְגֶלִיטוֹנוֹן	מציל	פוצה
234	אַנְגֶּר־פּוֹן	מסער	פוקד
235	אַנְיִזְגוֹן	מפתח	פוקח
236	שִׁתְרִיבְגוֹן	מבתר	פורר
237	אַנְיִזְגוֹן	מפתח	פותח
		אות צדי	
238	פּדוּקְרִטוֹר	רב חילא	צבאות

¹³ The Hebrew lemma and Aramaic gloss are vocalized in the manuscript, respectively as ענו and עָנּוֹן.

239	דיקיאוש	זכאי	צדיק
240	בליפון	סכי	צופה
241	סיראומן	תקיף	צור
242	קשנתוש	מלובן	צה
243	פולין	טביא	צבי
244	דיכון	קשר	צורר
		אות קוף	
245	אייאוש	קדיש	קדוש
246	אנסיקון	קיימא	קיים
247	פרזילונון	קנאי	קנא
249	איפוכטיאון	קני	קונה
250	קרזון	קרי	קורא
251	אוגיש	קריבא	קרוב
252	פרזילבגון	מקנא	קנוא
253	פרופיאון	קדים	קדם
		אות ריש	
254	מיגש	רמא	רב
255	דירנן	מתבר	רוגע
256	איפשילוש	רמא	רם
257	נומיאוש	רעי	רועה
258	שיבטון	מרקע	רוקע
259	איכטידמון	מרחמא	רחמן
260	כמו כן דנא ¹⁴	רחימא	רחום
261	תילון	רעי	רצה
262	תריכון	מחי	רודה

¹⁴ On this Aramaic note, see my footnote 13 on entry 100.

263	קַבְּלִיקָגֹן	רכב	רוכב
264	יֵאֲטָרְבָּגֹן	מסי	רופא
		אות שין	
265	כְּרוֹכֹן	הומה	שואג
266	שִׁתְּרִיגֹן	מתבר	שובר
267	פְּכִלִיתוֹשׁ	רבא	שגיא
268	פִּילטוֹן	נטר	שומר
269	קַבְּנִיזוֹן	מתקל	שוקל
270	אַרִיכֹן	עתיר	שר ¹⁵
271	טִירוֹן	חזי	שר
272	אַרְכוֹתְגֹן	מעתר	שורר
273	אַיְקָנוֹשׁ	תקיף	שדי
274	קְרִינֹן	דיין	שופט
275	אַקוּאוֹן	קשב	שומע
276	אַרִינִין	שלים	שלם
		אות תיו	
277	תִּילִיאֹשׁ	שלים	תם
278	תִּילִיאֹמְנוֹשׁ	שלם	תמים
279	קְרִימִזוֹן	מתלי	תולה
280	דִּינְטוֹשׁ	גיברא	תקיף
281	אַדִּילפִּנוֹן	מסעד	תומך
282	מִילוֹן	תיפחא	תפוח
283	אַיְבִלְסֹדֶן	רטיא	תרופה

¹⁵ The Hebrew lemmata 270, 271 and 272 are the only cases in which the difference between *sin/shin* is marked in the manuscript.

תמו המולות תהלה
לנורא תהלות אמן

Commentary

Spelling¹⁶

The spelling of consonants in the manuscript is reliable. Inconsistencies are rare and mostly limited to the confusion of similar-looking Hebrew characters (such as *resh/nun/dalet*). At times, the probably Sephardi author does not distinguish between ן/ב and θ/τ.

The author did not standardize his orthography of Judeo-Greek vocalization and diacritics. Both *tsere* and *chireq* are used to represent a range of Greek vowels. In general the spelling is *plene*, both in Hebrew and Judeo-Greek. Articles and pronouns are often attached to the nouns. The use of the *rafeh* and *dagesh* is highly inconsistent, reflecting a combination of Tiberian and Pseudo-Tiberian punctuation.

The spelling is highly phonetic, providing more evidence for the late medieval/early modern origin of the text. The phonetic spelling is also extended to classical vocabulary.

A few peculiar features appear in the text. One is a further development of the historically attested transition from /ek/ to /(e)g/¹⁷ to /ey/ in compounds with ἐκ-.¹⁸ Very remarkable is the use of the grapheme <ד> for the representation of Greek <στ>, suggesting a pronunciation as /s/, with elision of the /t/ sound. This phenomenon is attested in Early Modern Greek but is very rare and mostly associated with the Old Athenian dialect attested since the sixteenth century.¹⁹

The following tables below summarize common equivalences between Hebrew and Greek spelling.²⁰

Consonants					
Judeo-Greek (MS)	Greek transcription	Judeo-Greek (MS)	Greek transcription	Judeo-Greek (MS)	Greek transcription
א	/	י	ζ = /z/ σ = /s/ ξ = /ks/	פ פ פ	π = /p/ φ = /f/
ב ב ב	β = /v/ β = /b/ μπ = /b/	ת	n/a		

¹⁶ For some of the observations on spelling I am indebted to Jannis Niehoff-Panagiotidis.

¹⁷ D. Holton, G. Horrocks, M. Janssen, T. Lendari, I. Manolossou and N. Toufexis, *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 210-211.

¹⁸ This phenomenon can be witnessed in glosses such as 68 and 172.

¹⁹ Note that some koine papyri also contain early traces of this process. Holton et al. 2019, p. 219.

²⁰ For an interesting comparison see the overview of Judeo-Greek spelling in Hadassi's Eshkol ha-Kofer in D. J. Lasker, J. Niehoff-Panagiotidis and D. Sklare, *Theological Encounters at a Crossroads. An Edition and Translation of Judah Hadassi's Eshkol ha-kofer, First Commandment and Studies of the Book's Judaeo-Arabic and Byzantine Contexts*, Karaite Texts and Studies 11, (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018), p. 724; this comparison shows that, despite some differences, both texts use a number of similar ways to represent Greek in Hebrew characters, such as <״״> for <γ> = /y/ and <׳׳> for /vʔ/.

		ט	τ = /t/ θ = /th/		
		׳ or ״	γ = /y/	פּס	ψ = /ps/
λ λ̄	γ = /g/ κ = /k/	כּ	χ = /ch/ κ = /k/	צ	n/a
		כ	n/a	ק	κ = /k/
ד ד̄ ד	δ = /d/ ντ = /nt/ ντ = /d/ ζ = /dz/ δ = /d/ δ = /d/	ל	λ = /l/	שק	ξ = /ks/
		מ	μ = /m/	ר	ρ = /r/
		נ	ν = /n/	ש	σ = /s/
א	α = /a/	ס	σ = /s/ στ = /s/	ת ת̄	τ = /t/ θ = /th/ θ = /th/ τ = /t/
׀	/	ע	n/a		

Vowels			
Judeo-Greek (MS)	Greek transcription	Judeo-Greek (MS)	Greek transcription
◌ֹ	α = /a/	◌ֹ	n/a.
◌ֻ	n/a	י	ο = /o/ ω = /o/
◌ֵ	ε = /e/ αι = /e/ η = /e/ α = /e/ υ = /e/ of /i/	י	ου = /u/
◌ֶ	ε = /e/	◌ֶ	ε = /e/ αι = /e/

◦	η = /i/ ει = /i/ ι = /i/ οι = /i/ υ = /i/
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Commentary on individual lemmata²¹

While not providing a complete analysis of the glossary, which transcends the scope of this article, I here comment on a number of glosses. The following notes focus on the Judeo-Greek column.²² This diversity in age of the Judeo-Greek glosses is reflected in the transcriptions of the Judeo-Greek column into Greek characters found in the commentary. In this commentary I present attested or classicized Greek words related to the Judeo-Greek glosses to aid the reader in their interpretation of the text.

- 2 πατήρ αἰώνιος] עַדְבֵּי אֵל, a compound of אֵל and עַד, 'eternal father', occurs only in Isa 9:5. The Judeo-Greek formally resembles the LXX and Symmachus, who both translate that occurrence as πατήρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος, meaning 'father of the time to come' rather than 'eternal father'.
 - 3 ἀφέντης] later form of classical ἀθένης 'lord, ruler'.
 - 4 κύριέ μου] the first person possessive suffix of the Hebrew lemma is translated with Greek μου, attached to the Greek noun as a suffix.
- 3, 5, 6 These glosses show an interesting parallel with the trilingual dictionary from the Cairo Genizah recently published by Krivoruchko. In the Genizah dictionary we find the glosses אֶפְנֵי (ἀφέντη) as a translation of אֵל, אֵלֶיךָ (δύναμη) for אֵל and אֶפְנֵי (ἀγάπη) for אֵל. The latter two glosses differ from those in the Vatican glossary, because of their being a noun instead of an adjective, yet the root of both the Hebrew lemma and the Greek gloss is the same in both texts. Unfortunately the fragmented nature of the Genizah fragment does not allow a more extensive comparison.²³

²¹ For Hexaplaric readings I consulted F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt, Sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in Totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta* (Oxford: 1875), except for readings from the Song of Songs, for which I consulted R. Ceulemans, *A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of the Book of Canticles with Emphasis on the Reception in Greek Christian Exegesis* (Leuven: KU Leuven, 2009). The concordances I used are E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek versions of the Old Testament (including the Apocryphal books)* (Grand Rapids (Mich.): Baker Book House, 1889) and G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum hebräischen Alten Testament nach dem von Paul Kahle in der Biblia Hebraica edidit Rudolf Kittel besorgten Masoretischen Text* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1958); additionally I have used the online resources of M. Pantelia (ed), *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Digital Library* (Irvine: University of California) for the dating of Greek readings, and the online database Shebanq, published by the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen on the basis of the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (<https://shebanq.ancientdata.org/>) as a tool to look up occurrences of Hebrew words.

²² Both the Hebrew and Aramaic columns merit a close examination in their own right. As Benjamin Suchard pointed out, the translation of the Aramaic column is very 'mechanical' and contains many Hebraisms. Vice versa, the Hebrew column shows signs of Aramaic influence.

²³ Krivoruchko, *A Sixteenth-Century Trilingual Dictionary of Hebrew*.

- 7 ἔσομαι] 'I will be'. אהיה אשר אהיה, 'I am who will be', is God's answer when Moses asks for his name in Exod 3:14. The Judeo-Greek entry mirrors Aquila and Theodotion's translation of Exod 3:14, who both translate as ἔσομαι (ὄς) ἔσομαι.
- 10 ὕ<στ>ερος] with elision of the <τ>.
- 11 καταπληκτικός] In the Hebrew Bible מִמְלֵא occurs only three times: Cant 6:4, Cant 6:10 and Hab 1:7. The only parallel to the glossary is καταπληκτικός in the Sexta translation of Cant 6:10.
- 12 ἰσχυρὸς συνέσεων Plural forms of σύνεσις are not attested elsewhere. It may have been constructed to render the plural מְעֻנִים in Greek. This aim at accuracy is typical of medieval BJG.²⁴
- 16 ὁ θεός] In the Greek column the article is prefixed to the noun.
- 17 εὐπι<στ>ος. Cf. 10.
- 19 μακρόθυμος, later form of μακρόθυμος 'patient, self-controlled'.
- 20 βοτρυδίν, through βοτρυδίων a later form of βοτρυς 'grapevine'. Grapes, אשכול, are mentioned three times in the Song of Songs (1:14; 7:8 and 7:9). Every time the LXX translates with βότρυς; no readings from the Three are preserved.
- 22 The manuscript reads בהיר ('bright, brilliant') instead of בהיר, which would be more appropriate to translate Greek ἐκλεχτός ('elect, chosen'). Probably a spelling error is to blame.
- 23 The adjective ἐπίλεχτος, a younger variant of ἐπίλεκτος, occurs only here. The *rafeh* in the manuscript indicates a soft pronunciation of the *kaf*.
- 24 Here it is more appropriate to read χτί<στ>ης, later variant of κτίστης 'builder' than χτίσις 'building/foundation' as translation of the Hebrew masculine singular participle בונה 'he who builds'.
- 32 ἀχι<στ>εύων] a later variant of ἀγγιστεύω 'to be next of kin'. This Greek verb translates Hebrew גאל 'to redeem, to perform a levirate marriage'.
- 35 The adjective μέγας here appears as a 'fossilized' form. In the late Byzantine period, starting in the fourteenth century, the variant μέγανος was more common.²⁵
- 38 The Hebrew adjective גלי does not occur in the Bible, with גלוי first appearing in the Rabbinic period. The related verb גלה is attested 188 times across the Hebrew Bible.
- 40 ἀνασύρνων] later version of ἀνασύρω 'to pull up'.
- 42 The Hebrew lemma דרבב is a biblical hapax, occurring only in Cant 7:10 and of uncertain meaning.²⁶ One suggested translation is 'dripping' or 'gliding (of a beverage)'. In this

²⁴ Julia Krivoruchko, 'Medieval and Early Modern Judaeo-Greek Biblical Translations. A Linguistic Perspective' in James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget eds, *The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 161-164.

²⁵ Holton et al., *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, pp. 794 - 795.

²⁶ The meaning of this verse is discussed in E. Assis, *Flashes of Fire. A Literary Analysis of the Song of Songs* (New York-London: T&T Clark, 2009), pp. 214-215.

light, the Judeo-Greek can be interpreted either as ποθῶν 'he who desires' following the Aramaic ('to love/desire') or as ποτόν 'drink (wine)/the act of drinking' following the Hebrew.²⁷

- 43 τάγματι ἡγεμόνος, 'in the order/command of the leader'] is the most suitable interpretation of this gloss, which most literally transcribed reads ταγματιαγμανος. The lemma לגל is the passive participle of the root לגל. This verb is attested four times in the Hebrew Bible (Ps 19(20):6; Cant 5:10; Cant 6:4 and Cant 6:10)²⁸ but the passive participle only in Cant 5:10.
- 47 γδουπῶ] poetic variant of δουπέω 'to make a deep noise'.
- 52 διαπρεπισμένος] participle of διαπρερίζω, a later variant of διαπρέπω with suffix -ίζω. In Isa 63:1 Aquila translates ררה with a form of διαπρέπω.
- 53 διαπρέπεια 'magnificence'] Decipherment of this gloss is uncertain. The word διοφρεια is unattested. Parallels for the translation of ררה with διαπρέπεια can be found in Aquila's translation of Isa 35:2 and Ps 29(28):4. In these verses Symmachus translates with the related but distinct εὐπρέπεια. This transcription differs significantly from the Judeo-Greek entry but is perhaps justified on the basis of the parallel with gloss 52, and the tendency, observable throughout the glossary, to translate Hebrew roots consistently with related Greek words.
- 55 Hebrew ה is probably a variation on the tetragrammaton.
- 56 The adjective καιριόμηνος is not attested elsewhere. It may be a new compound coined to render the Hebrew lemma which is first attested in the Rabbinic period (ידידי 'certainty/God').
- 57 κατακρούμενος 'beaten/battered'] The adjective קתי 'veteran' first appears in the Rabbinic period.
- 58 ἀπλέρωτος] first appears as a later variant of ἀπλήρωτος in the fifteenth century (George Chumnus, *De opificio mundi*).
- 61 εἰ<σ>σπέρνων] later variant of σπείρω, 'to sow'.
- 62 ἀνατέλων] later variant of ἀνατέλλω.
- 63 ἐμνήσκων] variant of μμνήσκομαι, 'to remember'.
- 64 ἐγλήγορος] later variant of ἐγρήγορος, 'wakeful, vigilant'.
- 65 ἀνασηκόνων] later variant of ἀνασηκώω, 'to compensate'.
- 66 רבב is a Rabbinic word.
- 68 ἐ<γ>βλαστῶνων, later variant of βλαστῶω 'to shoot forth, bud, sprout'. The prefix ἐκ- assimilated to ἐγ-, and subsequently the pronunciation of <γ> shifted to /y/.

²⁷ P. W. T Stoop – van Paridon, *The Song of Songs. A Philological analysis of the Hebrew Book שיר השירים*, *Ancient Near Eastern Studies 17* (Leuven-Paris-Dudley: Peeters, 2005), p. 401.

²⁸ Note also the noun לגל in Cant 2:4. It further occurs in Num 1:52; 2:2; 2:3; 2:10; 2:17; 2:18; 2:25; 2:31; 2:34; 10:14; 10:18; 10:22 and 10:25.

- 72 Reading unclear, perhaps κοιλιοπονῶν, from κοιλιοπονέω 'to struggle in childbirth' to translate ללח 'he who pierces/wounds'.
- 78 ἐ<γ>λατομῶν] variant of ἐκλατομέω, 'to carve out'. Cf. 68.
- 79 ζωντανός, 'alive'.
- 82 The expression עיני טהור only occurs once in the Hebrew Bible: in Hab 1:13, where LXX translates with καθαρὸς ὁ ὀφθαλμός and Symmachus with καθαρὸς εἶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. The adjective καθαριοφθαλμός is not attested elsewhere. It closely matches the corresponding Hebrew and Aramaic entries. The Greek adjective might be a neologism created to translate the Hebrew phrase in an expressive way.
- 85 ἄβαπτον 'untempered'] The Hebrew טז, 'glittering foil/plate' is first attested in the Rabbinic period.
- 86 ἄχραντος 'undefiled'] This adjective is often used in Christian writings to describe the Virgin Mary.²⁹
- 88 γινώσκων] later form of γιγνώσκω Cf. 68.
- 90 ὁμορφος] a later form of εὐμορφος 'fair of form, comely, goodly'.
- 93 ἔντιμος 'honored, honorable'. The Hebrew adjective יקר is a hapax, only occurring in Jer 31(38):20. Aquila translates it with ἔντιμος, while LXX has ἀγαπητός.
- 94 εὐθειος 'right, direct, true'.
- 95 Cf. 93.
- 96 πά<μπ>ληθος 'in great number'] The adjective כביר ('great') occurs eleven times throughout the Hebrew Bible, only in Isaiah and Job. Remarkably, Aquila translates it with πᾶν πλήθος.
- 97 μαζώνων, 'to gather'.
- 98 Reading unclear, perhaps κατα<στ>αίνων 'to found, to place'? In any case it seems likely to be a form ultimately derived from καθίστημι
- 100 κατακυπῶνω is a later variant of κυπῶω 'to overthrow' with the added prefix κατα- and suffix -ώνω.
- 101 The lemma כופר has several possible translations. Here it means 'henna', as in three verses of the Bible: Cant 1:14; 4:13 and 7:12.
- 102 φοραίνω is a later variant of φέρω.
- 103 In the Byzantine period nominal paradigms underwent a convergence of grammatical cases. In feminine nouns such as φλόξ, here φλόγα, nominative, accusative and vocative singular tended to converge.³⁰

²⁹ 'The relationship of LXX and the Three in Exodus 1–24 to the readings of Fb', in *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions* (eds. N. de Lange, J. Krivoruchko, and C. Boyd-Taylor ; Tübingen: Mohr, 2009), pp. 103–127

³⁰ Holton et al., *Cambridge Grammar and Early Modern Greek*, pp. 253 - 254.

- 104 ἐκλαμ<π>ρώνων, 'to shine'.
- 109 ἐβλογήμενος] later variant of εὐλογῶ, in later periods also spelled as βλόγω.
- 111 παλαιώνων] later version of παλαιῶ 'to be old/long-lasting'.
- 113 Read μεγαλύνων or later variant μεγαλαίνων 'to make great'.
- 113 Later variant of φανερῶ. Cf. 111.
- 117 Reading uncertain.
- 118 εὐφημίσμενος 'praised, acclaimed'.
- 121 Greek ὀλπίδα as a variant of ἐλπίζ first appears in the fourteenth century (*Chronicle of the Morea*). Cf. 103.
- 124 Either ἀγαθύνω or the less common variant ἀγαθαίνω 'to make/do/be good'.
- 122 The Greek verb ζωγονῶ 'to give/create life' matches the meaning of *hif'il* חייתג.
- 126 Reading unclear, perhaps συμπαθῶν, 'to feel sympathy, to sympathize', as a translation of Hebrew נכפר, 'atonement, pardon'.
- 128 ἀποφέρων] later variant of ἀποφέρω 'to carry away'.
- 131 This Greek verb meaning 'to whiten' is first attested in the thirteenth/fourteenth century (*Bellum Troianum*).
- 133 The compound verb βασιλοποιῶ is not attested elsewhere. It articulates well the meaning of the Hebrew *hif'il* גלמח, 'to make a king' and might be neologism coined to this end.
- 134 This variant of πτωχεύω, 'to be poor', is not attested elsewhere.
- 135 Later variant of θανατῶ. Cf. 111.
- 137 καταφύγιον 'refuge'] pronunciation of <γ> has shifted to /y/.
- 139 Variant of ἀναγέμιζω, 'to fill'.
- 140 ἀπολλαίνων] later variant of ἀπόλλυμι 'to destroy/ruin'.
- 142 γιατρεύγων] later variant of ιατρεύω 'to treat medically, cure', with the pronunciation of <γ> having shifted to /y/.
- 143 Later variant of δυναμῶ. Cf. 111.
- 144 πλουταίνων] late form derived from πλουτῶ 'to be/become rich'.
- 145 This Hebrew verb, that can mean 'to pass judgement' is not attested before the Rabbinic period. The Greek should be read as κ<ρ>ιτήριον.
- 148 The verb ἀκυρώνω is a later variant of ἀκυρόω, 'to cancel, set aside, reject'. The Hebrew lemma מפר (*hif'il* participle of the root פרה) occurs twice in the Bible, in Isa 44:25 and Job 5:12. Aquila is the only translator to have opted for ἀκυρόω, in Job 5:12; the others Greek versions attest a variety of translations.

- 149 Reading uncertain, literal transcription αφκιοματιζμενος is unattested. Perhaps we should read ἀπαγαυματισμένος, a verbal form derived from the adjective ἀγαυός, 'noble, illustrious'.
- 150 θαυμα<στ>όνων] from θαυμαστώνω later variant of θαυμαστώ, 'magnify, declare wonderful, be admired'.
- 151 διασώνων] variant of διασώζω.
- 153 ἐγλυτώνων] variant of ἐκλυτώνω 'to liberate'.
- 155 κα<στ>έλλωμα, 'castle-like structure', or a variant of this word, would fit the meaning of the Hebrew פּוֹרְצִים, 'fortress'.
- 156 φλέβα] later variant of φλέψ, 'vein/spring'. Cf. 103.
- 157 Read <στ>εγάζων.
- 159 ἐπαντοχή] variant of ἀντοχή 'adhesion, attachment'.
- 160 ἀνα<στ>αίνων] from ἀνασταίνω 'to raise, make to stand up'.
- 161 ἐξυπνῶν] from ἐξυπνῶ, 'to be awake'.
- 164 μόσκος, 'musk'] The Hebrew lemma מוֹר (alternatively spelled as מֶר) occurs twelve times in the Bible: seven of those occurrences are in the Song of Songs (1:13; 3:6; 4:6; 4:14; 5:1; 5:5 and 5:13). In all of these seven cases, the preserved Greek versions agree on the translation σμύρνη, against the glossary.
- 166 οἰκτιρίζων] later variant of classical οἰκτεῖρω 'to have compassion for, to lament'.
- 168 The Greek λιμοποιῶ is not attested elsewhere. It probably is a neologism coined to translate Hebrew רַעֲבָה, 'he who brings hunger', in a process similar to 133 βασιλοποιῶ.
- 172 ἐ<γ>λακ<τ>όνων] later variant of ἐκλακτίζω 'to hit/beat'. Cf. 68.
- 175 ῥύπτων 'to clean'] the most appropriate interpretation of the gloss, in contrast to 176 ῥίπτων, 'to throw'.
- 178 ἀναγυρίζων] later variant of ἀναγυρῶ 'to move in circles'.
- 179 ἐγβλύζων] later variant of ἐκβλύζω. Cf. 68.
- 181 κατα<στ>άμενος] participle of κατασταίνω. Cf. 98.
- 182 ἐξισιάζων] as a translation of the Hebrew lemma, לִשׁוֹב, this gloss offers an interesting parallel with the translation of Qohelet (2:19) found in the Cairo Genizah. In the Genizah document the form פִּשְׁפִּישְׁפִּישְׁקִשְׁ, interpreted as ἐξισιάζω (according to Nicholas de Lange a form resulting from confusion with ἐξισιάζω 'to restore balance') is used to render Hebrew שָׁלַט, 'to rule'.³¹ In both instances the verb ἐξισιάζω is used to translate a related Hebrew word, therefore it seems less likely that the vocalization can be attributed to a mistake, and more likely to a deliberate choice.

³¹ Verso col. 1 v.6; N. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 51 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1996), p. 76-78. I owe this parallel Jannis Niehoff-Panagiotidis.

- 191 θαυμα<στ>ός.
- 192 Cf. 181.
- 193 έσκαμμένος] participle of σκάπτω, 'to dig in, to bury'.
- 194 περιεπαρμένος] from περιεπαίρω, 'to lift up/raise'.
- 197 Cf. 23.
- 200 συμπατῶν] 'to tread together, to trample under foot'.
- 201 εὔπρεπος] later form of εὐπρεπής 'beautiful'. An alternative reading is ἔκπρεπος, a later (unattested) variant of ευπρεπής, 'distinguished, extraordinary'.
- 203 <στ>εμμένος] participle of στέφω 'to crown'.
- 205 φυλάττων and διατηρῶν] both Greek words match the Hebrew, 'to guard'.
- 208 ἀ<γ>ιασμένος] from ἀγιάζω 'to sanctify'. Cf. 68.
- 209 Cf. 194.
- 211 ἀπακου<μ>βίζων] later variant of ἀκουμβω 'to lay down'.
- 212 βα<στ>άζων, 'to bear, carry'.
- 215 Reading uncertain. Perhaps διομματίζων, a later variant of διομματῶ, 'to make see'. Alternatively it could be διωγματίζων, a verb derived from δίωγμα 'pursuit, chase'.
- 220 δυνάμωμαν] later variant of δυνάμωμα 'force'. Neuter nouns ending in -μα were expanded with an extra final -v in the Late Byzantine period across the entire language area. They are particularly common in the south-east (Cyprus, Rhodes).³²
- 221 δυνάμωμαν μου] -μου is added to translate the Hebrew possessive suffix.
- 224 πρᾶος, 'mild'.
- 225 ποῦλιν] later variant of πῶλος 'foal'. The lemma עופר 'gazelle' occurs five times in the Song of Songs, and in no other book of the Hebrew Bible (Cant 2:9; 2:17; 4:5; 7:4 and 8:14). Aquila translates in Cant 2:9 with πῶλος. Similarly, lemma 243 contains the Hebrew noun צבי 'gazelle', which is prominently featured as a metaphor throughout the Song of Songs in verses Cant 2:9; 2:17 and 8:14.
- 230 ἀπολυτρῶνων 'redeemer'] matches Hebrew פודה. The manuscript however reads *dalet* instead of *resh*, most likely due to a scribal error.
- 231 νεύγων] later variant of νεύω 'to incline'
- 235 Variant of ἀνοίξω, a verb derived from ἀνοιξις 'opening'.
- 236 συ<v>τρίβων] later variant of συντρίβω 'to grind, to crush', with elision of the <v> and with infix -γ-.

³² Holton et al. 2019, 644-656.

- 238 παντοκράτωρ, 'all-sovereign'.
- 241 <στ>ερέωμαν] later variant of στερέωμα 'firmness, steadfastness of faith'. Cf. 220.
- 242 The Hebrew adjective נָצַח 'bright, clear' appears four times in the Hebrew Bible, including once in the Song of Songs (5:10). From this verse no preserved translation matches the glossary.
- 245 ἅγιος, 'holy'.
- 246 ἀνασηκῶν, 'moving up and down'.
- 249 ὑποχτῶν] later variant of ὑποκτάομαι 'to acquire'.
- 252 This Greek verb is not attested elsewhere. Perhaps it is a variant of παραζηλεύω.
- 259 οἰκτί<ρ>μων, 'merciful'] matches Hebrew נָחַם. The scribe appears to have mistaken *resh* for *dalet*.
- 263 καββαλικεύων] later variant of καββαλικεύω 'to ride a horse'.
- 265 This gloss is a variant of κηρυκεύω 'to herald, to proclaim'.
- 267 πά<μπ>ληθος, 'in great number'.
- 269 κα<μπ>ανίζω, 'to measure'.
- 272 ἀρχο<ν>τεύγων] late variant of ἀρχοντεύω 'to rule (over)'.
- 276 εἰρήνην] late variant of εἰρήνη 'peace'. Cf. 103.
- 277 The adjective ὅλος 'complete' has sixteen occurrences throughout the Hebrew Bible, and appears twice in the Song of Songs (5:2 and 6:9). In both verses the LXX translates with τέλειος (against the minor versions).
- 279 κρεμάζων] later variant of κρεμάννυμι, 'to hang'.
- 281 The Judeo-Greek gloss is some form of ἀντιλαμβάνω, 'to help, to receive in exchange'.
- 282 The apple is a prominent metaphor in the Song of Songs. This lemma, תַּפְּחָה, 'apple(-tree)', appears four times in the Song of Songs (2:3; 2:5; 7:9 and 8:5). All preserved translations opt for μήλον in all of these cases.³³
- 283 ἔ<μπ>λαστρον 'salve, medicine'.
- 22/23/29/197, 45/46, 52/53, 66/67, 81/82, 99/100, 132/133, 220/221, 277/278 Throughout the glossary, there is a clear trend to translate related Hebrew roots consistently with stem-related Greek words. This is a typical feature of BJG.³⁴
- 22, 23, 24, 27, 197 These glosses show the transition of κτ/χθ > χτ, which was a part of the historic development of consonant clusters from stop + stop or fricative + fricative to a cluster consisting of fricative + stop. Some evidence hints at this transition starting in the eighth or ninth

³³ Except for Symmachus in Cant 8:5, where μηλέα is preferred.

³⁴ See below and Krivoruchko, *Medieval and Early Modern Judaeo-Greek Biblical Translations*, pp. 161-164.

centuries, and later it became widespread throughout all Greek dialects towards the later Byzantine period.³⁵

103, 164, 225, 228, 237 The glossary shares a number of readings with the section on the Song of Songs in a 19th century Judeo-Greek glossary to the Megillot written by Mordecai Yosef Habdala and published by Altbauer and Shiby.³⁶ These parallels are *πουλάρι* for עפר (twice), *μόσκο* for מור, *ἔξυπνη* for ער, *ἄσπρος* for צה, *ἄνοιξε* for פתח and *φλόγα* for להבה. Given that both texts are separated by over four centuries, a direct link is improbable (a more extensive discussion of the dating follows below).

Link with the Biblical Judeo-Greek tradition

In our identification of the glossary, we need to turn to the tradition of Biblical Judeo-Greek lexicography

'Biblical Judeo-Greek' (BJG) is one of many varieties of Greek that were spoken and/or written by Greek Jews or *Romaniotim* from antiquity to the present day and that are covered by the umbrella term 'Judeo-Greek'.³⁷ BJG is found in a corpus of Biblical translations and related texts, which have surfaced across the medieval and Byzantine Greek-speaking world.³⁸ Although their origins are diverse, the fragmentary remains of the BJG corpus have much in common in terms of their approach to translation and their idiom.³⁹

This BJG register has four main characteristics. (1) Translations often appear to be ad hoc and improvised. This explains the variation between the texts, and the absence of large scale translations of the entire Bible. (2) Despite the lack of standardization, there was a great respect for the older translations.⁴⁰ The LXX remained a constant presence, alongside the many revisions that followed it, which can be further divided into those that follow Aquila's rigidity, and those that follow Symmachus.⁴¹ (3) The most important characteristic of BJG is the desire to translate very literally, not only word for word, but also 'morpheme for morpheme', in order to consistently translate (perceived) etymological pairs.⁴² (4) Additionally, BJG is heavily

³⁵ Holton et al., *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, p. 125.

³⁶ M. Altbauer and Y. Shiby, *A Judeo-Greek Glossary of the 'Hamesh Megillot' in Sefunot 15* (1971-81).

³⁷ I borrow this term from linguist Julia Krivoruchko, who introduced it to describe a specific segment of the Judeo-Greek corpus (*Judaeo-Greek Biblical Translations*, p. 155). An excellent overview of the Judeo-Greek language and its literature can be found in J. Krivoruchko, *Judeo-Greek*.

³⁸ C. Aslanov, 'Judeo-Greek or Greek Spoken by Jews?', in R. Bonfil, O. Irshai, G. Stroumsa & R. Talgam (eds), *Jews in Byzantium. Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*. Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 14 (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 397-398.

³⁹ A recent overview of these biblical translations from late antiquity to the early modern period was published by N. de Lange, *Japhet in the Tents of Shem. Greek Bible Translations in Byzantine Judaism*, Text and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism 30 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015). The corpus remains open to new additions as pointed out by R. Ceulemans, 'Review of *Japhet in the Tents of Shem*' in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 93/3 (2017), pp. 518 - 521.

⁴⁰ Krivoruchko, *Medieval and Early Modern Judaeo-Greek Biblical Translations*, pp. 152-158.

⁴¹ N. Fernández Marcos, 'Non placet Septuaginta: Revisions and New Greek Versions of the Bible in Byzantium' in N. de Lange, J. G. Krivoruchko and C. Boyd-Taylor (eds), *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions. Studies in Their Use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism 23 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), p. 48; N. de Lange, 'The Greek Bible Translations of the Byzantine Jews' in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (eds), *The Old Testament in Byzantium* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), pp. 52-54.

⁴² Krivoruchko, *Medieval and Early Modern Judaeo-Greek Biblical Translations*, pp. 161-164.

influenced by contemporary medieval language. A typical example, present in the glossary published here, is word ending on -tv instead of -iov.⁴³ This phenomenon can be explained by the partially improvised nature of the translations and glossaries.⁴⁴ Some borrowings from the vernacular that were picked up in an earlier stadium remained part of BJG as ‘fossilized’ forms.⁴⁵

The BJG idiom is also found in a number of Judeo-Greek glossaries. Like the language of the translations, that of the glossaries is influenced by Hebrew or Aramaic. These glossaries are an important source for our knowledge of the Judeo-Greek language in general and BJG in particular.⁴⁶ Depending on their nature, some glossaries use didactic BJG (more rigid and formal) and others, liturgical BJG (freer, with more attention to euphony).⁴⁷ The prototypical glossary in the didactic genre is divided in two columns: one in Hebrew/Aramaic, and one in Greek (written in Hebrew characters).⁴⁸

BJG glossaries have been found throughout the Greek-speaking world. The corpus ranges from specimens from the ninth to twelfth centuries found in the Cairo Genizah to a list from the Black Sea region (possibly around Trebizond) in the fourteenth century.⁴⁹ In addition, individual glosses have been identified in the margins of several manuscripts (or as interlinear notes), from Hebrew codices to a Christian Hexateuch.⁵⁰

The glossary published here belongs to the long BJG didactic lexicographical tradition, exhibiting several traits of this tradition, such as a strong influence of the vernacular language, mixed with a remarkable presence of readings borrowed from older traditions, most notably Aquila. Hebrew words with related roots are consistently translated with related Greek words.

The glossary cannot be traced back to one single source text. The continuing tradition of translations from Hebrew to Judeo-Greek was transmitted mainly orally, adopting in the process many grammatical elements and lexical innovations from the contemporary vernacular.⁵¹ Many traces of this can be found throughout the glossary, from demotic vocabulary such as ἀφέντης (3) and καβαλικεύγω (263) to morphological innovations typical of the vernacular register, such as verb forms ending in -ώνω or featuring the verbal infix -v-.⁵²

The glossary contains traces from different translations, such as the LXX and Symmachus. It features Aquila most prominently. Glosses containing traces of Aquila are 7 and 96. Strong

⁴³ See for example gloss 20 βοτρύδι. Cf. de Lange, *Japhet in the Tents of Shem*, p. 148.

⁴⁴ Sznol, *Text and Glossary*, p. 226.

⁴⁵ de Lange, *Japhet in the Tents of Shem*, p. 148.

⁴⁶ In addition to Greek, medieval Jewish glossaries were made in French, German, Italian and Spanish. Their aim was primarily didactic, wanting to facilitate the study of the Hebrew and Aramaic Bible (or other literature, such as the Talmud). Like the Greek ones, many of these glossaries are written in Hebrew characters. See Debenedetti Stow, *La chiarificazione* pp. 7-10.

⁴⁷ J. Krivoruchko, *Medieval and Early Modern Judaeo-Greek Biblical Translations*, pp. 152-158.

⁴⁸ S. Sznol, ‘Text and Glossary: Between Written Text and Oral Tradition’ in Timothy Michael Law and Alison Salvesen (eds.), *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 66* (Leuven-Paris-Walpole MA: Peeters, 2012), pp. 223-226.

⁴⁹ See de Lange, *Japhet in the Tents of Shem*, pp. 99-100 and 126-129.

⁵⁰ See de Lange, *Japhet in the Tents of Shem*, pp. 100-107 (with references) and M. Fincati, *The Medieval Revision of the Ambrosian Hexateuch. Critical Editing between Septuagint and Hebraica Veritas in MS Ambrosianus A 147 inf.* De Septuaginta Investigationes 5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016) Worthy of mention is furthermore a nineteenth-century Judeo-Greek glossary published by Altbauer and Shiby, *A Judeo-Greek Glossary*, pp. 369-421.

⁵¹ Sznol, *Text and Glossary*, p. 226.

⁵² Holton et al., *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, III:1267-1268.

evidence comes from glosses 52, 53 and 148, which contain a clear parallel with Aquila. This might be due to Aquila's recognizable style, but also because Aquila's translation was most used by the Medieval translators.⁵³

Date and provenance

The Judeo-Greek glosses in the glossary betray many late Byzantine and early modern features, for example (but not restricted to) phonology and morphology.

The language of several glosses is of a late date, offering lexemes that are not attested before the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As a *terminus post quem* this suggests that the glossary was composed in the fifteenth century. The *terminus ante quem* is the production of the manuscript. The codex has been dated to the fifteenth century, and its writing identified as Sephardi. The small window between the dates *post* and *ante quem*, and the absence of other witnesses suggest that the glossary in Vat. ebr. 423 is the autograph. The migration of Sephardi Jews across the Mediterranean started after their expulsion from the Iberian kingdoms in 1492.⁵⁴ These facts support the fifteenth-century dating of the text.

The geographic provenance of the glossary is difficult to identify, since it showcases a mixed dialectal profile. Some clues can be found in the morphology of the Greek glosses. During the late Byzantine period, the final -v disappeared from demotic Greek and was only preserved in the dialects of Cyprus, the Dodecanese Islands and, interestingly, Southern Italy.⁵⁵ The general tendency of the glossary to completely assimilate the -v- before consonants is typical of vernacular Greek in Southern Italy.⁵⁶ The Sephardi script, in which the glossary is written, appeared in Italy in the late fourteenth century.⁵⁷ External evidence for an Italian origin are the Judeo-Italian explanations of difficult words in the second unit of the manuscript. However, the text also contains glosses exhibiting traits of the Northern Greek dialects, such as the pronunciation of /d/ for ντ/νδ and /b/ for μπ/μβ (glosses 86 and 211),⁵⁸ and the occurrence of the allophone /i/ for /e/ when unstressed.⁵⁹ Further research is needed to decide on the geographic origins of the glossary.

General conclusion

The glossary can be dated to the fifteenth Century. It is part of the broader BJK tradition, but it is important to emphasize the individuality of this glossary. The alphabetical order in which it

⁵³ de Lange, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem*, pp. 143-144.

⁵⁴ J. Phillips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 1-2. The transition from a dominant Romaniote to a Sephardi culture was a gradual process, see S. Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium (1204-1453)*, Judaic Studies Series (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1985), pp. 171-172.

⁵⁵ Holton et al., *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, p. 174. Southern Italy remained a home to Greek-speaking communities long after it was lost to Byzantium in the eleventh century. See R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983* (second edition, first published 1969), pp. 75-76..

⁵⁶ Holton et al., *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, p. 176.

⁵⁷ M. Beit-Arié, *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book : Studies in Palaeography and Codicology* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), p. 34.

⁵⁸ Lasker, Niehoff-Panagiotidis and Sklare, *Theological Encounters at a Crossroads*, pp. 720-723. The generally consistent rendering of η for θ and υ for τ (barring some scribal errors) matches the spelling of the Constantinopolitan Judah Hadassi.

⁵⁹ Holton et al., *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, p. 9.

is organized is unusual, though not unique. Furthermore, it is a challenge to define the focus of the glossary. It is neither an explanation of difficult Hebrew words (witness the many very basic Hebrew lexemes: 1, 21, 80, 132, 210 etc.) nor an elementary glossary (as evidenced by the many Hebrew hapaxes and obscure vocabulary: glosses 25, 42, 148, and 267 etc.). The interest in the Song of Songs is remarkable, yet is accompanied by Hebrew lemmata and hapax legomena from other biblical books (such as 2, 12, 15, 267 and 283). Neither the vague title 'Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic, all explained', nor the laudatory closing formula provides us with any more information. Therefore we must recognize that this glossary is a text *sui generis*. The earlier identification of this text as a list of names for God covers much, but not all of its contents. It is true that the glossary contains a large number of such epithets, witness the large number of adjectives and participles, many of which belong to the typical vocabulary used to describe God (glosses 1, 15, 245, 254 etc.), however many others are very basic vocabulary, require some imagination, or a particular metaphorical interpretation to be related to God, such as 20, 101, 225, 282 etc.⁶⁰ It seems that the composer of the glossary collected from a corpus of Judeo-Greek glossaries and Biblical versions, translations of a selection of entries that follow their interest in the various ways one can describe God, and with a particular emphasis on the Song of Songs.

A number of important questions about this glossary remain. A study of the sources of the Hebrew and Aramaic columns is necessary, in order to better understand the composition of the text. Specifically, it would be valuable to know on which post-Biblical Hebrew sources the author relied, and if a link with a specific Aramaic Targum can be discerned. A full dialectal analysis of the Judeo-Greek glosses would allow to gain more insights into the geographic origins of the glossary. The publication of this fascinating work makes it available for further research of this kind.

⁶⁰ Many of these entries feature prominently within the Song of Songs. Perhaps this shows an attempt to reinterpret the Song of Songs as an allegory of the love between God and Israel. In Jewish traditions the book was often interpreted this way, see M. Fishbane, *The JPS Bible Commentary. Song of Songs* שיר השירים . *The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation Commentary* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society – University of Nebraska, 2015) pp. xix-xxiv.

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Additional information

- (1) 'All explained', The Trilingual Hebrew/Aramaic/ Judeo-Greek Glossary from MS Vat. ebr. 423
- (2) The Judeo-Greek Glossary from MS Vat. ebr. 423
- (3) Niels De Ridder
- (4) KU Leuven, Belgium
- (5) <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5036-1088>
- (6) Judeo-Greek / glossary / Hebrew / Aramaic / edition / Biblical translations / Jewish languages / Septuagint / Symmachus / Aquila
- (7) This article contains the first edition and commentary of the trilingual Hebrew/Aramaic/Judeo-Greek glossary found in MS Vat. ebr. 423. The glossary is arranged in three columns, in alphabetical order following the Hebrew lemmata. This alphabetical order is unusual. The focus of the glossary is not entirely clear, containing both basic and rare vocabulary, with a marked interest in names and epithets for God and in the Song of Songs. An analysis of the language of the glossary points to an origin in the fifteenth century. The dialectical profile is mixed, and does not allow for a clear identification. The glossary contains many parallels with the LXX and with the translations of Aquila and Symmachus. A number of formal and linguistic characteristics link the glossary to other glossaries in the Biblical Judeo-Greek tradition.