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G–O

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lary was generally employed with reference to items for which a Hebrew term was lacking. Sometimes the authors first describe the item in question with a nonspecific Hebrew word and then give the Yiddish gloss for greater accuracy of expression, e.g., והביאו דג גדול שקורין העכט, *we-heb'u dag gadol šeq-qor'in hekt* 'and they brought a big fish, which is called a pike' (*Šibhe hab-Bešt* 1814:179), in which the generic Hebrew word דג *dag* 'fish' is supplemented with the more specific Yiddish term העכט *hekt* 'pike'. However, Yiddish lexical items are often treated as native elements, inserted into the text without introduction and incorporated into Hebrew grammatical structure, e.g., המה באו אל הקרעצמי, *hema ba'u 'el haq-qrešmi* 'they arrived at the inn' (Bodek 1865b:212), in which the Yiddish word קרעצמי *qrešmi* (Standard Yiddish: קרעטשמע *krešme*) 'inn' is prefixed by the Hebrew definite article.

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Hasidism

Hasidism, the spiritual revivalist movement that began in 18th-century Eastern Europe, drew on earlier kabbalistic perspectives for its conceptions of language. In particular, since Genesis describes divine 'speech' as the origin of creation, language as a tool of the divine creative process features in the ancient ספר יצירה *sefer yešira* 'The Book of Creation'. This opens by depicting "Thirty two wondrous paths of wisdom", comprising the ten ספירות *sefirot* 'divine attributes' and the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The Kabbala, in general, sought to reveal divine processes which are the source of and interface with tangible reality, and thus divine language, expressed in divine thought and speech, functions as an important aspect of those processes. Hasidism emphasized the link between these divine processes and human psychology, hence bringing further prominence to the concept of language.

I. MAKING A WINDOW FOR THE WORD

A central preoccupation of early Hasidism was the quest to inject more spirituality into typical Jewish activities, such as prayer, which it saw as having been routinized, and Torah study, which it considered in danger of being rendered a dry intellectualist preoccupation contributing to social status rather than intimacy with the divine. Both these activities utilize language.

Hence a famous dictum attributed to Rabbi Yisrael Baal Shem Tov (1698–1760), founder of Hasidism, played on the verse concerning Noah's Ark: *שָׁחַר תַּעֲשֶׂה לְתֵבָה* *šōhar ta'ase lat-tēbā* 'make a window for the ark' (Gen. 6.16). The biblical term for the 'ark', *תֵּבָה* *tēbā*, also means (in Rabbinic Hebrew) 'word'. He interpreted this phrase as a timeless instruction to make a window for the word, meaning to make the word 'shine', to be sensitive to the radiant spirituality within the letters and words of prayer and Torah study. The next step is *בְּאֵלֶיךָ אֵלֵי תֵבָה וְכָל־בֵּיתְךָ אֵלֵי תֵבָה* *bō-attā wə-kāl-bēt-kā 'el-hat-tēbā* 'come into the Ark, you and all your household' (Gen. 7.1), meaning to enter the word, with one's entire body and all aspects of one's being, and to feel the joy of the radiant word as one utters it (*שׂוּאֵת הַרִיב"ש* *šawwa'at ha-ribaš* 'The Testament of the Ribaš' 12a–b).

The delineation of how this is to be achieved is found in a remarkable letter by the Baal Shem Tov, probably written in 1751, which was intended for his brother-in-law Rabbi Gershon of Kutu (d. 1761), a kabbalist of note. The letter is a rare autobiographical account of a highly mystical 'ascent of the soul', in which, among other remarkable experiences, the Baal Shem Tov was informed by the Messiah that the redemption would come when the Baal Shem's own spiritual wellsprings, his mystical teachings, burst forth to the outside. In what can be seen as an attempt to encapsulate the essence of these teachings, the Baal Shem Tov wrote:

At the time of your prayer and Torah study, and every word which comes from your lips, have the intention to achieve a 'unification' [*יְחוד* *yihud*] [with the divine]. For in every single letter there are worlds, and souls and godliness. They rise up, and join together and are unified one with the other, and then the letters join and are unified and become a word. They achieve a true unification with the divine. You should include your own soul with them at every stage. All the worlds are unified together and rise [towards the divine] and there is an immense joy and delight, as you might imagine the joy of a groom and bride in miniscule, physical form, how much more so on such an exalted plane (end of Rabbi Yakov Yosef of Polonoye [1954], *בן פורת יוסף* *ben porat yosef* 'Joseph is a Fruitful Vine' 128a).

We thus see a spiritual perspective on Hebrew letters and language as an important kernel in early Hasidic thought. Further, the early Hasi-

dim often interpreted the divine *sefirot* in terms of language. Favorite topics are the divine 'World of Thought' and 'World of Speech', which represent the *sefirot* *בִּינָה* *bina* 'understanding' and *מַלְכוּת* *malkut* 'kingship', the 'divine presence' or *שְׁכִינָה* *šekina*, respectively, and can also be seen as the letters *he* in the Tetragrammaton.

2. THE WORLD OF SPEECH

This leads to the idea that during prayer the 'World of Speech' is speaking through the individual. Hence, wrote Rabbi Efraim of Sudilkov (1748–1800), grandson of the Baal Shem Tov, the *עֲמִידָה* *'amida* prayer is prefaced with the words 'Lord, open my lips so that my mouth shall declare Thy praise', because the *Šekina* itself speaks through the person's throat (*דגל מחנה אפרים* *degel mahane eḥrayim* 'The Standard of the Camp of Ephraim', end of *עֲקֵב* *'eqeb* 'If, in consequence of [the weekly Torah portion beginning at Deut. 7.12]'). The same theme is applied to the inspired Torah teachings delivered by the Hasidic leaders. The following is reported in the name of Rabbi Dov Ber, the Maggid of Mezeritch (d. 1772), leader of Hasidism in the second generation:

I will teach you how to pronounce Torah, which is as follows—not to be aware of oneself, but as an ear hearkening to the way in which the 'World of Speech' speaks within one. It is not he himself who speaks. As soon as he hears his own words, let him stop! (Rabbi Ze'ev Wolf of Zhitomir, *אור המאיר* *'or ham-me'ir* 'The Illuminating Light', *רמזי* *rimze way-yiqra* 'Notes on Leviticus' 2b, translated in Weiss 1985:79).

One of the main functions of a Hasidic leader was and remains to this day his prayer on behalf of those who request it. The same Maggid of Mezeritch explained the mystical mechanism of this process: the prayer of the Hasidic leader, the *צדיק* *šaddiq* 'righteous', elevates the words of the prayer, conceived as the World of Speech, *Malkut*, the tenth *ספירה* *seḥira* 'divine attribute', to their root in supernal Wisdom, *חכמה* *hokma* 'wisdom', which is the first *seḥira*, representing humility or even 'non-being', Hebrew *אין* *'ayin*. From this exalted level, a realm of delight, divine blessing is elicited, appropriate to the supplication expressed in the prayer (Rabbi Dov Ber, *מגיד*

דבריו ליעקב *maggid debaraw le-ya'akov* 'He Tells His Words to Jacob' 94–95).

3. LANGUAGE, CREATION AND CONTEMPLATION

A mystical theory of the Hebrew language was expounded by Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi (1745–1813) in the opening chapter of *שער היחוד והאמונה* *š'ar hay-yihud we-ha-'emuna* 'The Gate of Unity and Faith', the second section of his *לקוטי אמרים-תניא* *liqūṭe 'amarim-tanya* 'Selected teachings [beginning] "We have learnt"'. The starting point is again the account of creation in Genesis. Ten divine 'utterances' brought the universe into being: 'Let there be light', 'Let there be a firmament', and so on. In fact there are only nine, but the Mishna states there are ten (*'Avot* 5.1) and the Talmud (Babylonian Talmud Rosh ha-Shana 32a) suggests that the word *בְּרֵאשִׁית* *ba-rēšit* 'In the beginning' is also to be counted. Rabbi Shneur Zalman states in the name of the Baal Shem Tov the idea that, not only did these Ten Utterances create the world in the remote past, but they also give constant input of a flow of spiritual energy in order to maintain the world in existence in the present. The energy is described as taking the form of a stream of letters. The text of the Ten Utterances in the opening chapter of the Torah constitutes a very high level of energy, which gives life to the grand phenomena described in that chapter, such as the firmament. The existence of the firmament is totally dependent on the continued flow of this energy: "If the letters were to disappear for a moment...and return to their source, all the heavens would be naught, as if they had never existed" (Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi, 1981b:288, fol.76b).

In order to create and maintain the less grand specific details of existence, the energy has to be 'stepped down' through a series of transformations and substitutions. The above mentioned *Sefer Yešira* (2.4–5) provides a system of '231 gates' whereby one letter can be changed into any other (231 is the number of *different* pairs of letters which can be formed from the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet, which is half the total number of pairs, namely, 22×21). This spiritual mechanism, together with the concept of *גמטריה* *gematria*, the numerical values of words, generates a series of substitutions

and transformations, whereby the spiritual energy for everything in existence flows at its various energy levels from the Ten Utterances and thus gives life to all.

Citing the 16th-century Kabbalist Rabbi Isaac Luria (1534–1572), R. Shneur Zalman states that this means that everything, including a stone, has a spiritual life-force which is delineated by the Hebrew name for that object. The Hebrew language is thus seen as expressing the down-chaining of life-force from the highest levels into every detail of existence. Through the transpositions of the '231 gates' any Hebrew noun can be derived from the text of the Ten Utterances, and this Hebrew word is 'encloded' in the object it defines and is its 'soul' giving it continued existence.

These ideas in their context are the basis of a system of spiritual contemplation before prayer in which the mind's eye perceives the divine dimension of all existence. The key to this process of perception is the Kabbalistic-Hasidic perspective on the role of the Hebrew language, the sacred tongue, in maintaining existence from moment to moment.

4. SYMBOLIC INTERPRETATION OF LANGUAGE

Throughout the rabbinic tradition there are examples of symbolic interpretations of words, including *gematria* 'linking words or phrases with equivalent numerical values', *נוטריקון* *notoriqon* 'treating a word as an acronym for a significant phrase', and other methods in order to expound religiously edifying teachings. The numinous oral communications by Hasidic leaders often employed such devices as well as simply dividing words, re-arranging their letters or pointing them in a new way. A famous, spiritually daring teaching by Rabbi Dov Ber of Mezeritch comments on the word *הַצֹּפְרֹת* *ḥāšōšrōt* 'trumpets' in *עֲשֵׂה לָךְ שְׁתֵּי הַצֹּפְרֹת כְּסֶפֶף* *'āšē lakā šatē ḥāšōšrōt keseḥ* 'make for yourself two silver trumpets' (Num. 10.2). The word *ḥāšōšrōt* is interpreted as *חצי צורות* *ḥaši šurot* 'half forms'. The Divine and man are, so to speak, two half forms. Man is described as *ד"מ* *daled mem*, representing *דיבור* *dibbur* 'speech', which is identified with *Malkut*, the tenth *Seḥira* (described above as the 'World of Speech'). The divine is *אלוהים* *'aluḥim* *של עולם* *'aluḥo šel 'olam* 'the Master of the

world'. 'Master' is expressed by a word similar to the letter א 'alef'. The divine אין סוף 'en sof' 'Infinity' has 'contracted' His radiance in order to be able to join with man (and thus is, in a sense, incomplete until this is achieved). When the 'alef' of the divine comes together with *daled mem*, the full word אדם 'adam' 'man' is formed. Thus man and the divine are two half forms and when man dedicates himself to the divine they become whole (Rabbi Dov Ber of Mezeritch, אור תורה 'or tora 'Light of Torah', § בְּהַעֲלֹתְךָ *bə-ha'ālōtkā* 'In your setting up, i.e., the weekly Torah section beginning at Num. 8.2', 45d-46a).

Another teaching by R. Dov Ber points out that הטבע *haṭ-ṭeba'* 'nature' and the divine name אֱלֹהִים *ēlōhīm* 'God', have the same *gematria*, 86 (ibid., § נִשְׁבָּבִים *niššābīm* 'Standing [the weekly Torah portion beginning at Deut. 29.9]' 59b). This idea is found in earlier works, such as the 16th century Kabbalist Rabbi Moshe Cordovero's פרדס רמונים *pardes rimmonim* 'Orchard of Pomegranate Trees' (שער *šā'ar* 'gate' 12, ch. 2, 66b), but since it relates to the Hasidic 'immanentist' theme of perception of the divine within all existence, it became an important theme in Hasidic thought.

A Hasidic teaching based simply on changing the pointing is expressed in the idea that the word מצרים *mišrayim* 'Egypt', can be pointed to read *mēšārim*, meaning 'straits' or 'limitations', and thus the Exodus story can be read as the release of each individual from their own spiritual limitations (R. Shneur Zalman, לקוטי תורה *liqquṭe tora* 'Gleanings from Torah', צו *šaw* 'command! [the weekly Torah portion beginning at Lev. 6.1]', 18a).

There are also somewhat complicated expositions of the Hasidic understanding of grammatical niceties of Hebrew, and also the forms of the letters. Rabbi Levi Yitzhak of Berditchew (1740-1809) focuses on the word אורה *orā* 'light' (Est. 8.16) which, he states, is feminine. He then combines this with the concept of the locative *he*, as defined in the rabbinic phrase 'any word which needs a *lamed* at the beginning...adds a *he* at the end' (Babylonian Talmud Yevamot 13b). He says that the *lamed* represents the divine life-force which flows down to the lowest level of existence. Hence the graphic form of a *lamed* (ל) is a *kaf* (כ) with a *waw* (ו) perched on its top; *kaf* (20) and *waw* (6) have *gematria* 26, like the

Tetragrammaton, which is the original source of the life-force of all existence. The identical *gematria* emphasizes the steep descent of this life-force, for 'the *gematria* is always the lowest level'. The feminine word *orā*, in which, he declares, the *he* at the end is the equivalent of a *lamed* at the beginning (!) therefore depicts the world which is maintained by the flow of divine radiance streaming down to the lowest level. Viewing the feminine as the recipient, its feminine gender expresses its desire and need for the life-giving flow. Citing the idea that a person should cleave to and imitate the divine attributes (cf. Babylonian Talmud Soṭa 14a), the reader is enjoined to imitate the divine quality of 'giving', like a male, of pouring beneficence to the world, through the Torah which he studies, which is the flow of divine speech, rather than having desires for worldly pleasures, which would render him 'female', like *orā*, the world, which needs input in order to be sustained (Rabbi Levi Yitzhak of Berditchew, שמועה טובה *šmu'a toba* 'Good Report', printed with the same author's לוי קדושת לוי *qedušet lewi* 'Sanctity of Levi' 66b-67a.)

Hasidic symbolic and mystical interpretation of language continues to the present. A 20th-century text discusses the idea that the planks of the Sanctuary described in Exodus (26.15ff) are made of עצי שטים 'עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים' *āṣe šittim* 'acacia wood' and the Hebrew word for plank is קרשׁ *qereš*. The word *šittim* is declared to be related to שטות *šetut* 'folly', which signifies transgression ('a person only sins if there enters into them a spirit of folly' [Babylonian Talmud Soṭa 3a]) while *qereš* is an anagram of שקר *šeqer* 'falsehood'. Through transforming the negative folly which leads to sin into a 'sacred folly' of dedication to the divine, one can reorganize the falsehood of *šeqer* into the plank(s) *qereš* of the Sanctuary, enabling the divine to dwell in this world (Rabbi Yosef Yitzhak Schneersohn, באתי לגני *bati le-gani* 'I Came to My Garden' chs. 3-5, in ספר המאמרים באתי לגני *sefer hamma'amarim bati le-gani* 'The Book of Treatises I Came to My Garden' 4-8).

5. HEBREW AND OTHER LANGUAGES

The interplay of Yiddish with Hebrew was a feature of Hasidism from its earliest generations: oral teachings delivered in Yiddish were translated into Hebrew for publication.

There were also a number of Hasidic books printed more or less simultaneously in Hebrew and Yiddish, such as the collection of stories about the Baal Shem Tov, שבחי הבעש"ט *šibḥe hab-bešṭ* 'Praises for the Baal Shem Tov' (published in Hebrew in Kopyś in 1815 and in Yiddish in Ostraho in the same year), or with Yiddish translation on the same page, such as Rabbi Nahman of Braslav's famous mystical tales סיפורי מעשיות *sippure ma'asiyot* 'Stories' (Berdichev, 1815). In 20th-century Habad, both before and after World War II, there were extensive publications in Yiddish, with the idea that they would be accessible to women who, at that time, were generally more familiar with Yiddish than with Hebrew.

Glinert and Shilhav (1991) have shown the way 20th-century Ultra-orthodoxy, including Hasidism, tends to create a sacred enclave based on the sacred language, Hebrew, to which can sometimes be added Yiddish, which is written in the sacred Hebrew alphabet. Other languages, the culture of the gentiles, remain outside this sacred domain. This raises the question of Hasidic ideas about the relationship between Hebrew and other languages.

A teaching by Rabbi Nahman of Braslav may be seen as one of the sources of the 'enclave model'. It delineates a clear divide between the sanctity of Hebrew and the profanity of other languages. As in the Lurianic Kabbala, where the קליפות *qelipot* lit. 'shells', but metaphorically 'impure forces' are described as illicitly 'suckling' the life-force which characterizes the realm of the sacred, so too the gentile languages, described as licentious women, feed on Hebrew. The intermediary which enables them to do this is the תרגום *targum* 'Aramaic translation of the Bible', depicted as an ambiguous domain, with both good and evil features. The task of the *šaddiq* is to rescue the positive aspects of the *targum* and draw them back into Hebrew, so as to bring the sacred tongue to a higher stage of completion. However, in this teaching, the gentile languages themselves are not redeemed (Rabbi Nahman of Braslav, לקוטי מוהר"ן *liqquṭe muharan* 'Selected [teachings of] our Teacher Rabbi Nahman' I, §19).

A rather different view is expressed in a teaching by Rabbi Nahman's contemporary, Rabbi Shneur Zalman, taught in 1808. This starts with the idea that the divinely revealed Hebrew letters can be compared to אבנים

'abanim 'stones', as used in building, an image drawn from *sefer yešira*, which describes the 'stones' of letters combining to form 'houses'. By contrast the 'letters' of gentile languages, and indeed those of idle talk of the Jews, are not stones but לבנים *lebenim* 'bricks'. They do not derive from the divine but are constructed by man, as are bricks. The gentile languages are thus on a lower level than Hebrew. However, Rabbi Shneur Zalman explains that the gentile languages are elevated to holiness by the religious devotion of the Jews. Scattered in exile, they speak the gentile languages and use them for their daily affairs and for earning their livelihood. The gentile languages therefore have a role in physically sustaining the Jew. Consequently, when the Jew prays with intense feeling, the gentile language is elevated. The heat of the intense feeling in the prayer 'bakes' the bricks of the gentile languages and makes them comparable to the hard stones of the sacred language Hebrew. A comparable effect is achieved more directly, when the gentile language is employed for discussion of Torah, as Aramaic is used in the Talmud. Through such processes the combinations of letters in the gentile languages are elevated to a level of sanctity, described as "the profane which is prepared with the purity of the sacred" (see Babylonian Talmud Ḥagigah 19b).

This delineation of the spiritual potential in languages other than Hebrew leads to a further step. Rabbi Shneur Zalman explains that the five kinds of consonant found in Hebrew, as described in *sefer yešira* (2.1)—gutturals, velars, dentals, sibilants, labials—are also the basis of all other languages. Hence Hebrew can be seen as the spiritual source of all other languages.

... the five types of consonant are the source of the division [of the letters] in all languages equally. Therefore the seventy languages have a spiritual source above, in the spiritual source of speech, which is the divine attribute of Kingship... For this reason the combinations of letters [of the profane languages] can be transformed into the Sacred Tongue. (R. Shneur Zalman, מאמרי אדמו"ר *ma'amare 'admur haz-zaqen* 'Treatises of our Master the Elder 5568, 68, and תורה אור *tora 'or* 'Torah of Light' 78a.)

In the second half of the 20th century the seventh generation Habad leader, Rabbi Menachem Schneerson (1902–1994) developed

these ideas of his predecessor and ancestor Rabbi Shneur Zalman to emphasize the positive possibilities of secular languages, linking this theme with the religious activism of the Habad movement. Thus in 1962 Rabbi Schneerson discussed the first word of the Ten Commandments, אֲנֹכִי 'anōki 'I (Exod. 20.2). According to the Midrash (ילקוט שמעוני) *yalqut šimoni*, יֵתְרוֹ *yitrō* 'Jethro [the weekly Torah portion beginning at Exod. 18.1], 286) this is an Egyptian word, presumably the Egyptian *ynk* or Coptic *anok*. This word is taken to signify the very Essence of the divine.

In the very first word which God said at the Giving of the Torah, He hinted at the intention of the Giving of the Torah. Why was 'anoki..., the very Essence of the divine, revealed? For the sake of the Egyptian language. The purpose of Torah is to transmit holiness not only to...the sacred tongue...[but to] descend into the seventy languages, indeed, into the Egyptian language...and to transmit holiness on that level. And this is so also from below to above: when and how can one reach the 'anoki [ie: the Essence of the divine]? Through the Egyptian language... (Rabbi Menachem Schneerson, לקוטי שיחות *liqqute šihot* 'Selected Talks', vol. 3, 893–894).

In this talk this idea is explained in activist terms: "One cannot be satisfied just with one's own aspects of holiness; one also has to be active in the world". Rabbi Schneerson was urging his followers to reach out into society around them. But he employed a similar theme to explain the importance of translation of sacred texts into other languages. In his preface to the first volume of the English translation of *Liqqute 'amarim-tanya*, published in 1962, he wrote:

...any of the 'seventy tongues', when used as an instrument to disseminate the Torah and Mitzvoth, is itself 'elevated' thereby from its earthly domain into the sphere of holiness, while at the same time serving as a vehicle to draw the Torah and Mitzvoth, from above downwards, to those who read and understand this language (Shneur Zalman of Liadi 1981:768).

In another talk, citing Midrash שמות רבה *šemot rabba* (end of ch. 28), which states that the divine voice at the Theophany 'divided into the seventy languages', i.e., of the 'seventy nations of the world', a common rabbinic theme, he made the point that a translation of Torah has holiness in its own right. The divine

voice has descended and clothed itself in the 'lowly garments' of the profane language, but the inwardness of the voice is the same, and in some ways is even higher: for that which is higher, descends lower (*Liqqute šihot* vol. 4, 1095).

As well as encouraging his followers to engage in the task of translating Torah teachings into the languages understood by Jews round the world, this may also have been intended to bolster the self-image of the contemporary returnees to Judaism and others who were studying Torah teachings in translation. Thus socio-religious developments in Hasidism were being affirmed and ratified through developing conceptions of language.

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Hebraisms in Arabic Versions of the Hebrew Bible

Hebraisms in Arabic versions of the Bible result from the interference of the Hebrew source text in the translational language. They consist of a transfer of characteristic linguistic features from the source language to that of the target language, in which they are, by definition, unidiomatic, alien, or artificial. Manifestations of this interference can be seen in the fields of syntax, lexicon, and morphology. Given the relative closeness of the two languages, they occur abundantly and play a functional role in the translation technique of Arabic versions as a means to create imitative resemblance of the biblical text.

1. BACKGROUND

It is commonly accepted practice to divide Judeo-Arabic (hereafter JA) translations of the Bible into early (9th–10th centuries), classical (10th–14th centuries), and late periods (15th century onwards). Our knowledge of early traditions emerges from the various Geniza texts

and is therefore fragmentary. These traditions may be referred to as early non-Saadianic translations. The classic period is epitomized by the monumental translation enterprises of Saadiah Gaon (882–942), known as *tafsīr*, for Rabbanite Jewry, and of Yefet ben 'Elī (10th century) and Yeshu'ah ben Yehudah (middle of the 11th century) for the Karaites (see Polliack 1997). In regard to later translations, which are habitually recapitulated under the term *šurūḥ* (singular *šarḥ* 'translation [lit. "interpretation"]'), it proves useful to classify them according to their geographical provenance, namely, North-African, Egyptian, and Eastern (Iraqi and Syrian) traditions. In addition, the Samaritans had their own tradition of rendering the Pentateuch into Arabic. Two versions can be distinguished, an old Samaritan translation of the Pentateuch that emerged in the 11th century and a later, revised version accomplished by Abū Sa'īd b. Abī al-Ḥusain (13th century, Egypt; cf. Sheḥadeh 1977).

Hebraisms occur in all traditions to varying degrees. They are an intrinsic element of JA translational language, a fact that did not escape the attention of Jewish scholars in the Middle Ages. For example, the famous Karaite lexicographer David al-Fāsi states in a discussion of the Hebrew object marker תַּעֲרֶיךָ *'et* and its artificial JA translation equivalent *iyyā* (see below): "If someone would say in Arabic '*iyyā* this' and '*iyyā* that', it would be awkward" (ed. Skoss 1936–1945:246). Also Ibn Janāḥ, in his treatment of *נִלְבְּנָה לְבָנִים* *nillbānā labēnim* 'let us make bricks' (Gen. 11.3) (*Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, ed. Neubauer 1875:344), tellingly furnishes additional evidence of that awareness. Rejecting the employment of the denominative verb *labbana* 'to make bricks', which imitates the Hebrew form and is found in Saadiah's translation of the phrase, he explains: "And its meaning is 'let us make bricks' (Arab. *nattabīd labinan*). [...] It would, however, be unsound and incorrect if I translated it by *nulabbin labinan* [i.e., Saadiah's translation], since in the language of the Arabs [...] I have not found this verb used as a derivation from a noun in the way [the language of] the Hebrews does".

Hebraisms are particularly common in early JA translations, to which Yefet ben 'Elī's and the earlier Samaritan translations are typologically related. An outstanding feature of these traditions is their deliberate attempt to