**The Language of the Babylonian Exiles as Reflected in the Aramaic in Ezekiel**

1. Background

While many studies have analyzed the relationship between biblical texts and the Aramaic language, each period is unique,[[1]](#footnote-1) and every biblical book requires its own, independent study.[[2]](#footnote-2) The usage of Aramaic in the book of Ezekiel has yet to be comprehensively studied. This lacuna in research can be attributed to the sparse epigraphic evidence for Aramaic in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE,[[3]](#footnote-3) the period in which Ezekiel’s prophecies are believed to have been recorded.[[4]](#footnote-4) This paucity contrasts sharply with the abundance of extant Akkadian inscriptions, which have been extensively researched.[[5]](#footnote-5) Biblical literature and archaeological findings indicate that Paleo-Hebrew (ancient Hebrew script) was in use on a daily basis until the destruction of the First Temple.

It is fair to assume that during the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century, Aramaic, the official language of the Persian Empire and the spoken language in its Western regions, acquired status and influence among the Judean Babylonian Exiles.[[6]](#footnote-6) The impact of the exiles' Aramaic language is evident in the biblical books written in Aramaic as well as the increasing use of Aramaic for administrative purposes in Judah from the sixth-century.[[7]](#footnote-7)

However, scholars disagree on the extent to which Jews living in Babylonia knew how to read and write Aramaic and Akkadian, if at all.[[8]](#footnote-8) Beaulieu argued that only the elite were fluent in Akkadian, whereas Aramaic was the *lingua franca*, and perhaps even the written language, which became increasingly widespread amongst Jews in the fifth and sixth centuries BCE.[[9]](#footnote-9) Because we are unable to assess the extent of Aramaic's popularity among the Babylonian Jews,[[10]](#footnote-10) it is difficult to decisively determine the influence of Aramaic on biblical texts in general and in this period specifically. However, it is reasonable to assume that Babylonian Jews, like many other people who lived in Babylonia at that time, spoke, and possibly even wrote, Aramaic.[[11]](#footnote-11) Because of these limitations, as well as our inability to assess the interplay between Hebrew and Aramaic, or to discover if Semitic words known to us only from Aramaic existed also in Hebrew, it would be presumptuous to attempt to determine which language came first or whether a word known to us today as Aramaic was at that time Aramaic or Hebrew.

With these limitations in mind, this paper will discuss the scope of the distribution of Aramaic in the book of Ezekiel, its grammar, syntax, and vocabulary, in an attempt to assess the influence of the Aramaic language on the book of Ezekiel, especially in those passages connected to the Babylonian environment, such as the temple vision in the closing chapters.

2. The State of Research

A number of scholars have studied Aramaisms in Ezekiel. In the introduction to his commentary on Ezekiel, Walther Zimmerli[[12]](#footnote-12) surveys the state of research up to the end of the 1960s and notes that the presence of Aramaic in Ezekiel is a relatively limited phenomenon. He points out that in Emil Kautzsch’s pioneering study in 1902, only sixteen or seventeen out of a total of 153 Aramaic words in the Bible are found in Ezekiel.[[13]](#footnote-13) Wagner later found 371 Aramaic words in the entire Bible, twenty-eight of which appear in Ezekiel.[[14]](#footnote-14) Zimmerli accepts these findings, concluding that the distribution of Aramaic in Ezekiel is similar to that found in other prophetic books. In his own survey, he reduces the number of Aramaic words counted by his predecessors, based on a distinction between Akkadian and Aramaic influence.

In a comprehensive study of the language of Ezekiel published in 1990, Mark Rooker analyzes linguistic and syntactical influences on the language of Ezekiel. [[15]](#footnote-15) Rooker identifies thirty-seven grammatical and lexical features characteristic of Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH), fifteen of which he attributes to Aramaic influence. He concludes that Aramaic influence was prevalent primarily in the Persian period. Subsequently, Rimon Kasher, in the introduction to his commentary on Ezekiel, surveyed Aramaic influence on Ezekiel, concluding that the language of Ezekiel reflects only limited Aramaic influence.[[16]](#footnote-16) Similarly, Dalit Rom-Shiloni and Corrine Carvalho (in the introduction to a volume dedicated to Ezekiel in the Babylonian context) remarked that:

“Semitic customs and modes of speech are widely pervasive in Semitic lands; intercourse between Palestine and the cities of the lower Euphrates was lively and constant through many centuries; many Akkadian words must have gone over into the Aramaic lingua franca of Western Asia. Yet it is a striking fact that the author of Ezekiel shows hardly any interest in, or knowledge of, Babylonia. He is much more interested in Phoenicia and Egypt.”[[17]](#footnote-17)

Indeed, the lack of sufficient Aramaic texts from the time of Ezekiel as well as the need to make do with lists of words, and grammatical and syntactical influences, limit our ability to assess the influences of language on content.[[18]](#footnote-18) Nevertheless, with these limits in mind, we will address the question of the extent of Ezekiel’s familiarity with the Aramaic and Babylonian language and its implications.

3. Aramaic forms and syntax

Hebrew words appear in a grammatical form and syntax attributable to Aramaic influence in Ezekiel.[[19]](#footnote-19)

1. - ין form of plural is found in Aramaic, found twice in Ezekiel:

חיטין wheat (4:9) [[20]](#footnote-20) ; האין costlands (26:18) [[21]](#footnote-21)

2. הוא [רשע]- הקדמת הכינוי הרומז 'הוא' לשם the form “He…” found twice in Ezekiel:

הוא רשע He, wicked man (3:18; 33,8) [[22]](#footnote-22)

3. ובכתב (13:9) the form [[23]](#footnote-23) למילה [כתב] מעמד תחבירי של נסמך, על אף ניקודה בקמץ וקיום הקמץ

4.היה and Participle 'היה עומד' במקום 'עמד'found twice in Ezekiel, Aramaic syntax.

היה עומד was standing (34:2; 43:6) [[24]](#footnote-24)

5. The form ומ [...] ולמעלה may be influenced by the Aramaic מ(ן) ולעילא

מ[מראה מתניו] ולמעלה (1:27); מ[מראה מתניו] ולמטה....ומ[מתניו] ולמעלה (8:2); ומ[האריאל] ולמעלה (43:15) [[25]](#footnote-25)

6. The root ט is the Aramaic and postbiblical Hebrew replacement of the biblical ת.

הטעו misled (13:10) found only in Ezekiel in this writing [[26]](#footnote-26)

7. ל[...] - האות ל' שבתיבה משמעה יהיה, לפיכך

לפרחות (13:20) (like birds), found only in Ezekiel based on Aramaic parahta “bird” from prh “fly [[27]](#footnote-27); למשאות hoist (17:09) an Aramaic-like qal infinitive of ns with prefix *m* [[28]](#footnote-28);להשמעות let hear of (24:26) מקור עם סיומת 'ות' - שם הפועל בבנין הפעיל, על דרך הארמית [[29]](#footnote-29);למשפט to judge (44:24) [[30]](#footnote-30)

8. הוספת א'

שאט/ השאטות to despise שלושת המופעים של שאט, בא' מקורם בארמית [[31]](#footnote-31)

9. סיומת א' במקום ה'

לביא lioness (19:2) צורה יחידאית על דרך הארמית, תוך שימוש בא' במקום ה' כסימן הנקבה[[32]](#footnote-32)

קרחא bold spot (27:31); גבהא(31:5; 16:50); כלא all of (36:5)[[33]](#footnote-33); [[34]](#footnote-34) (41:15כתיב: ) אתיקא

9. סרעפתיו limbs (31:5) hapax legomenon, the form may be influenced by the Aramaic'סרעפתא' [[35]](#footnote-35)

10. כמבוא/ כמבואי as the coming, (26:10; 33:31) בוא - מקור עם תחילית 'מ' מבוא (כשם פועל),

11. נדני(ם) Dowry (16:33, 16:30) Aramaic form - *ndwny* (Imp. Arm) [[36]](#footnote-36)

12. צורת הבית Plan/ blueprint במקרא בנסמך is found in Aramaic, here found four times in Ezekiel 43:11 (4)[[37]](#footnote-37)

13. מלך מלכים king of king (26:7) סביר להניח כי צירוף יחידאי זה בעברית, המתאר את נבוכדנצר מושפע מצורתו הארמית מֶלֶךְ מַלְכַיָּא ((דניאל 2:37 ועזרא 7:12 [[38]](#footnote-38)

14. חד (חד את חד 33:30) one with the other (וכן נמצא 5 פעמים בדניאל בארמית:2:31; 3:19; 6:6; 7:5; 6:16) Ezekiel uses here the standard Aramaic form for ‘one’, instead of the Hebrew אחד.[[39]](#footnote-39)

15. שממו desolation (35:12) יתכן כי צורת קטלה לנסתרות משקפת השפעה ארמית[[40]](#footnote-40)

16. תמוז Tammuz (8:14) hapax legomenon, the Aramaic form of *Dumuzȗ*[[41]](#footnote-41)

17. טרף(טַרְפֵּי 17:09) ‘fresh leaf’[[42]](#footnote-42) This noun, a hapax legomenon is related to the later Aramaic טרף, טרפא, אטרפא, אטירפא ‘leaf’. [[43]](#footnote-43)

18. בריה Fat (birya) animals (34:20).[[44]](#footnote-44) The feminine form בריה is a variant of בריאה (note that הבריאה is with preservation of the א exists too (34:3). The apocope of the א (בְּרִיאָה>\*בְּרִיָּה>בִּרְיָה) in cases like this is typical for Mishnaic Hebrew (cf. צְבִיָה>צִבְיָה) and generally considered of Aramaic origin. It remains undecided whether Ezekiel was following a new development in Hebrew when writing בריה or took it from Aramaic. Another example for this phenomenon can be seen in: מלא(מָלוּ 28:16) The form מלו for מלאו, like נָשׂוּ for נָשׂאו (39:26), ‘shows assimilation of final-alef verbs to the final-he paradigm, a process much further advanced in Mishnaic Hebrew’. [[45]](#footnote-45)

4. Aramaic words whose vocabulary likely reflects an Aramaic influence throughout the book of Ezekiel:

**a. Probable Aramaic influence on Ezekiel**

**1. בָּזָק** (1:14) “spark, flash of lightening”. Kaddari,[[46]](#footnote-46) suggests to connect this hapax legomenon with the Aramaic verb ברק, which in the specific meaning "to shine (af'el)".[[47]](#footnote-47) It is attested once in the Babylonian Talmud (Baba Meṣia 78b) in connection with an eye that “shone” (אבזקת), being the Galilean Aramaic translation for the Mishnaic Hebrew הבריקה (Mishna BM 6:3).[[48]](#footnote-48) As noun בזק is not attested in any other Aramaic dialect, which uses ברק instead.[[49]](#footnote-49)

**2. בנין** structure or building (40:5; 41:12,13, 15; 42:1,5,10) found in Ezekiel (seven times). Is found in Aramaic texts: Ezra 4:5; in the Proverbs of Aḥiqar בִנְיָנָא בָּנַיִן. [[50]](#footnote-50)

**3. חדר** (**הַחֹדֶרֶת** 21:19) ‘to surround’. In this meaning, the verb is well known from Middle Hebrew and various later Aramaic dialects (חדר\הדר)[[51]](#footnote-51) which may have influenced Ezekiel.[[52]](#footnote-52)

**4. קוט** (נְקֹטֹתֶם 20:43) and **קטט** (נָקֹטּוּ 6:9; וּנְקֹטֹתֶם  36:31) “to loathe” .The verb **קוט** is a by

form of the common Hebrew קוץ “to loathe” attested here in the niph’al, and further also in the qal (Ps 95:10 אָקוּט) and the hitpol (Ps 119: 158 אֶתְקוֹטָטָה; 139:21 אֶתְקוֹטָט), unless the latter are derived from the variant verb קטט. Ezekiel uses it, presumably under Aramaic influence (thus using ט instead of צ), although it should be noted that Aramaic has קטט rather than קוט for “to loathe”. [[53]](#footnote-53) Ezekiel alternates between קוט (20:43) and קטט (36: 31; 6:9), which is found besides in Ezekiel also in Job (10:1 [ni.]; 8:14 [qal]). [[54]](#footnote-54)

**5. סִלּוֹן** (28:24; 2:6) “thorn” The meaning of this word, attested only in Ezekiel, is as certained by its parallelism קוץ and סרב. [[55]](#footnote-55) Similar words meaning “thorn”, all without final *nun* in the singular (סלוא, סילוא)*,* are attested in Syriac, Mandaic and Babylonian Aramaic,[[56]](#footnote-56) so that Aramaic may have been the source of its occurrence in Ezekiel.[[57]](#footnote-57) It is unlikely related to Akkadian *ṣillû* “thorn”.[[58]](#footnote-58)

**6. עתר** (הַעְתַּרְתֶּם 35:13) ‘to be abundant, be rich’ The hiph’il form here and the niph’al in Prov 27:6 (נַעְתָּרוֹת), as well as the noun עתרת ‘abundance’ in Jer 33:6 (עֲתֶרֶת שָׁלוֹם) are derived from this Aramaic verb, whose cognate in Hebrew is עשר [[59]](#footnote-59), and fits the context (// with תַּגְדִּילוּ in Ezekiel and נֶאֱמָנִים in Proverbs).[[60]](#footnote-60)

**7. פרשׁ** (נפרשׁות 34:12) “to set aside, separate This hapax legomenon is clearly a loan from Aramaic, [[61]](#footnote-61)where the verb is well-attested from Imperial Aramaic onwards, for instance in connection with reading מְפֹרָשׁ (Neh 8:8)/ מְפָרַשׁ קֱרִי(Ezra 4:18) “word by word, distinctively.”[[62]](#footnote-62)

**8. צרב** (נִצְרְבוּ 21:3) “to scorch”. This form has variously been interpreted as an Aramaic variant of the common Semitic root צרף “to burn, refine”,[[63]](#footnote-63) or as a variant of the Hebrew verb שרף “to burn”.[[64]](#footnote-64) In Aramaic צרב is only attested in Targum literature.[[65]](#footnote-65) In Biblical Hebrew the root is more widely attested in its derivated nominal forms צָרָב (Prov 16:27 כְּאֵ֣שׁ צָרָֽבֶת “scorching”) and צָרֶבֶת (Lev 13: 23, 28 “scar”), so that outside Aramaic influence on Ezekiel seems unnecessary. Moreover, the verb continues to be used in Qumran Hebrew,[[66]](#footnote-66) and the noun צרבה\צורבה “scar” is common/occurs in Mishnaic Hebrew.[[67]](#footnote-67)

**9.** **קַח** (17:5) “stalk, shoot”, or “willow-type plant” This noun,[[68]](#footnote-68) a hapax legomenon in the Bible, is well attested in the Semitic language group (e.g. Syriac קחוא) where it generally refers to a waterside plant, perhaps a kind of willow,[[69]](#footnote-69) and may therefore also have existed in Hebrew, at least at the time of Ezekiel.[[70]](#footnote-70) Otherwise, one may assume Aramaic influence, although the only cognate in Aramaic comes from Syriac where it has moreover the specific meaning of ‘stalk’.[[71]](#footnote-71) In Ezekiel קח occurs in connection with abundant waters and in parallel with צַפְצָפָ֖ה (17:5) and hence “willow-type plant”[[72]](#footnote-72) is more likely than “stalk, shoot”.[[73]](#footnote-73) A meaning “meadow; seed-field”[[74]](#footnote-74) is contextually difficult. [[75]](#footnote-75)

**10. קרם** (קָרַמְתִּי 37:6;  וַיִּקְרַם 37:8) “to cover, form a crust/skin”.The verb, firmly attested in various later Aramaic dialects[[76]](#footnote-76) as well as in Mishnaic Hebrew,[[77]](#footnote-77) occurs also in Late Biblical Hebrew as shown by the book of Ezekiel (qal or ni.) and Ben Sirach (43:20 [hi.]).[[78]](#footnote-78) Scholars rightly consider it an Aramaism in Biblical Hebrew.[[79]](#footnote-79)

**11. רבה** Pi. (רבּתה 19:2) “to rear, bring up (children)”.[[80]](#footnote-80) This meaning of the verb, in the pi’’el, is extremely rare in Biblical Hebrew, being attested here and once more in Lam 2:22,[[81]](#footnote-81) but is common in Aramaic from the Persian period onwards (e.g. Dan 2: 48).[[82]](#footnote-82) Note that it is also common usage in Akkadian.[[83]](#footnote-83)

**12. רמה** (רָמוּתֶךָ 32:5) “to throw” The derivation and explanation of וּמִלֵּאתִי הַגֵּאָיוֹת רָמוּתֶךָ are uncertain and basically three suggestions have been brought forward,[[84]](#footnote-84) including the root רמה “to throw”, רום “to be high” and an emendation to רִמָּתֶךָ from רימה “worm”. If derived from רמה “to throw”, i.e. “your thrown corpse”/”your refuse” Aramaic influence on Ezekiel is usually assumed.[[85]](#footnote-85) In any case, behind Ezekiel’s word choice is a rich word play at work, based on assonances between רמות on the one side and Hebrew and Aramaic words for “height” (רום), “valley” (גאי) , “pride” (גְאוֹן גַאֲוָה, Aramaic [[86]](#footnote-86)רמותא), and “worm” (רימה), together aimed at picturing a high pile of rotten corpses eaten by worms being cast down in the valley as punishment for Pharao’s haughtiness.[[87]](#footnote-87)

**13. שַׁלְהֶבֶת** (לַהֶבֶת שַׁלְהֶבֶת 21:3) “flame”. This noun is an alternate form of להבת (and להב) “flame” formed with a preformative שׁ that is characteristically found in Aramaic (but also in Akkadian and Ugaritic).[[88]](#footnote-88) The noun is also attested in Job 15: 30 (and cf. Song of Songs 8:6 אֵשׁ שַׁלְהֶבֶתְיָה)[[89]](#footnote-89) and continued to be used in Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew. It is common in various Aramaic dialects,[[90]](#footnote-90) and generally considered an Aramaism in Ezekiel.[[91]](#footnote-91)

This group consists of words that reflect Aramaic influence on Ezekiel’s language. These words do not have clear Akkadian formal correspondences, and there are often semantic difficulties when trying to connect them to Akkadian. Therefore, even though in some of these cases various scholars have suggested Akkadian parallels, to our understanding, it is wrong to conclude that the Hebrew borrowed from Akkadian.

**b. Possible Aramaic influence on Ezekiel**

In addition, there are words that scholars have a suggested Akkadian source for, but essentially may be Aramaic.[[92]](#footnote-92) In these cases there is a reasonable assumption that a word has been loaned or influenced be Aramaic, it is nevertheless difficult to discern the source of this loan. This difficulty, on more than one occasion, caused scholars to note Akkadian influence on Ezekiel’s language, when in fact the influence may have very well been Aramaic, which was, in our understanding, closer to the language of the exiles.[[93]](#footnote-93)

**1.איתון**[[94]](#footnote-94) (< את"א, 40:15) “entrance”. ביחזקאל יש כאן קרי וכתיב: הכתיב 'היאתון' והקרי 'האיתון', וההקשר הוא 'שער האיתון'. [[95]](#footnote-95) hapax legomenon. Even though the noun 'איתון' is not found in Aramaic, the verb אתא “to come” is widey used in Aramaic. For this reason, Kasher suggested to derive Ezekiel’s איתון from this verb meaning “entrance” and assume Aramaic influence.[[96]](#footnote-96)

**2. בּוּץ** (27:16) “fine linen”[[97]](#footnote-97)Whereas the common Hebrew word for “fine linen” is שש, its synonym בוץ is attested also in Esther (2), Chronicles (4) and Mishnaic Hebrew.[[98]](#footnote-98) Its etymology is not established but the word is also known in, amongst others, Akkadian and Later Aramaic.[[99]](#footnote-99) Whether Ezekiel borrowed it from either of these languages or relied on its existence in Late Biblical Hebrew cannot be established with certainty. ֹ

**3. דלח** (,וַתִּדְלַח תִדְלָחֵם 32:2; 32:13 only) "to stir up, disturb". Considering *ḥrb tdlḥ myn špyn* "a sword will trouble calm waters" in the Ahiqar story written in Imperial Aramaic[[100]](#footnote-100) and the many nominal derivates that exist in Aramaic, from Old Aramaic onwards,[[101]](#footnote-101) Aramaic influence on Ezekiel in his usage of the verb דלח is likely. There seems to be a direct link with the Akkadian verb *dalāhu* as the latter is used specifically with respect to water and the actions of Tiamat, the Mesopotamian primordial ocean dragon, in *Enūma Elish*. [[102]](#footnote-102)

**4. מַהֲלַךְ** (42:4) ‘journey, distance’ The way Ezekiel uses the Hebrew noun מהלך “journey” here, namely in the construct state before an expression of distance, has its closest parallels in Jonah (3:3), [[103]](#footnote-103) and to Dan. 4:26 (מְהַלֵּ֥ךְ הֲוָֽה) in Aramaic, in later Jewish Aramaic,[[104]](#footnote-104) and in Akkadian.[[105]](#footnote-105)

**5. מַלָֹּח** (מַלָּחֵיהֶם 27:09; מַלָּחַיִךְ 27:27; מַלָּחִים 27:29) ‘mariner, seaman’. This originally Sumerian word, was borrowed [into Akkadian (*mallāḫu*)] and into Aramaic,[[106]](#footnote-106) where it is attested from Imperial Aramaic onwards. In Hebrew מַלָֹּח is used three times in Ezekiel 27 and once in Jonah (1:5). It continued to be used in Middle Hebrew[[107]](#footnote-107) as well as in the later Aramaic dialects.[[108]](#footnote-108) Whether Ezekiel borrowed the word from Aramaic[[109]](#footnote-109) or directly from Akkadian remains an open question.[[110]](#footnote-110)

**6. מִמְשַׁח** measure (28:14) hapax legomenon. The combination כְּרוּב מִמְשַׁח remains obscure[[111]](#footnote-111), notwithstanding the various proposals that have been made, [[112]](#footnote-112) amongst them a derivation from the Aramaic root משח ‘to measure’, hence a ‘cherub of extension’ (i.e. with outstretched wings)[[113]](#footnote-113) or a ‘cherub of measure’ (i.e. virtuous[[114]](#footnote-114)). Other proposals include ‘anointed cherub’, ‘sparkling cherub’[[115]](#footnote-115), or a loan from Akkadian, from either the verb *mašāhu* “to measure”, [[116]](#footnote-116) or the noun *mišhu*, a still poorly understood literary term referring to a luminous phenomenon in the sky.[[117]](#footnote-117)

**7. פחה** (23:6, 12, 23) פַּחוֹת וּסְגָנִים governor קדרי: שאולה מאכדית, עמ' 854

הצירוף פחות וסגנים, מצוי בארמית בספר דניאל 3:2,3, 27 בסדר הפוך: סִגְנַיָּא וּפַחֲוָתָא -

Scholars have demonstrated that the relations between Ezekiel and Akkadian texts include mainly connections to literary texts,[[118]](#footnote-118) but this initial study suggests that this assumption does not present the full picture. For a comprehensive picture of the extent that different prophetic units are influenced by Ezekiel's Babylonian language-context, Aramaic and Akkadian, a supplemental research is needed, one that examines the Akkadian words throughout the book of Ezekiel that do not correspond with Aramaic.[[119]](#footnote-119) Only after completion of this additional research, we will be able to fully assess the impact of the Ezekiel's Babylonian context on the language of the book of Ezekiel.

**4. Vocabulary in Two Topics Demonstrating Particular Influence**

Examination of the distribution of Aramaic influence in Ezekiel reveals that it is pervasive and not limited to literary aspects alone. As a rule, words that reveal foreign influence appear throughout the book in all of the topics mentioned in the prophecy.

לא ניתן לצמצם את ההשפעה לתחומים ספרותיים בלבד. ככלל מילים שמשקפות השפעה זרה מצויות לאורך כל הספר, ובכל הנושאים שמצויים בנבואה.

אולם יתכן כי

It is however possible to identify two prophetic units in which the Aramaic influence is particularly notable. In these cases, the loaned vocabulary forms a literary genre containing vocabulary from different semantic fields.

1. **The Prophecy concerning Tyre (26-28)**[[120]](#footnote-120)

Collections of words and forms (all noted above) which can be attributed to Aramaic influence are found in this prophecy. Many studies have demonstrated Akkadian influences on these chapters from linguistic and literary perspectives.[[121]](#footnote-121) While the Aramaic influence on all of the following words and phrases is not entirely certain, the larger picture that emerges suggests influence specifically on this literary genre, found in the following words and forms (all noted above): (26:7) מֶלֶךְ מְלָכִים king of king; (26:9) מְחִי (קָבָלּוֹ) the storm of his warfare; (26:18) Aramaic plural form הָאִיִּן; (27:9) seamen, מַלָּח; (27:15) payment, tribute, gift אֶשְׁכָּרֵךְ; (27:16) byssis בוּץ; (27:17) type of bread פַנַּג ; (27:24) בלגומי garment; (27:24) בְגִנְזֵי carpet; (27:31) (*alef* rather than *he* suffix) קרחא; (28:14) luminosity מִמְשַׁח ; (28:24) thorn) סִלּוֹן

In the prophetic address to Tyre, we find the greatest concentration of words that appear to have been influenced by Aramaic, alongside Akkadian influences that have been addressed elsewhere. While it is possible that other languages common to Tyre, such as Phoenician (possibly the language spoken in Tyre), influenced these passages, we have no way to accurately assess this because contemporary sources, in both Phoenician and other languages, are either virtually absent or extremely scarce. It would appear that the content of the prophesy, which reflects Ezekiel’s cultural world both poetically and literally, resulted in this section containing more Aramaic influence than any other in the book of Ezekiel.

1. **The Future Temple** **(40-43)**

The vision of the architecture and construction of the future temple is conveyed in the following words and forms (all noted above) which can be attributed to Aramaic influence.[[122]](#footnote-122) (40:15) entrance היאתון (הָאִיתוֹן); (40:5; 41:12, 15; 42:1,5,10) בִּנְיָן (41:13); (41:15, 16; 42:3,5)- ambulatory, corridor אַתִּיק; (42:4) מַהֲלַך; (43:6) הָיָה עֹמֵד אֶצְלִי ; (43:11) וְכָל-צוּרֹתָו; (44:24) לשפט (לְמִשְׁפָּט) מקור עם תחילית מ ; (1:27; 8:2; 43:15) מ... וּלְמָעְלָה ; (28:12 (above); 43:10) תָּכְנִית. [[123]](#footnote-123)

In this case as well, these words coalesce to create a shared literary genre influenced by Ezekiel’s Babylonian environment. They are all found in the descriptions of the construction of the future temple. *בנין (binyan)* and בניה *(binyah)* are words found only in Ezekiel (eight times); the word *tsurah* is also only found in the Bible here (four appearances). We suggest that these words reflect local influence connected to the temples in Ezekiel’s surroundings and to the semantic field from which he drew.[[124]](#footnote-124)

**5. Methods of Influence**

As there are no verses written entirely in Aramaic in Ezekiel,[[125]](#footnote-125) this study depends on scant linguistic evidence. Although we have identified particular contexts in which we find a large concentration of loaned words from Aramaic, we cannot currently determine how these words were transferred. Were they found in Ezekiel because this was the language spoken in the prophet’s surroundings? To what extent was Ezekiel’s audience literate in Aramaic? Was this first-hand or second-hand knowledge?[[126]](#footnote-126) Moreover, investigation of the distribution of Aramaic in Ezekiel demonstrates that this is not a phenomenon limited to a particular subject matter, since there are signs of Aramaic influence throughout the entire book. Nor can we conclude, as has been suggested, that Ezekiel’s familiarity with Aramaic was limited to specific topics.[[127]](#footnote-127) The paucity of written testimonies in Aramaic from the fifth and sixth centuries BCE may be attributed not only to the fact that they were written on papyrus, which decomposed, but also to the use of Aramaic by the exiles as a spoken rather than written language.[[128]](#footnote-128) Our reinvestigation of the Aramaisms in Ezekiel has been conducted in light of the recent scholarship pointing to a growing number of Akkadianisms in Ezekiel.[[129]](#footnote-129) If Ezekiel was exposed to written and spoken Akkadian to the extent suggested by various scholars, there is room to reevaluate whether he borrowed from Akkadian or from Aramaic.[[130]](#footnote-130) Moreover, conclusions regarding the scope of Akkadianisms in Ezekiel depend on answers to the following questions: How much Akkadian did the Babylonian Jews, of all social strata, know? To what extend was Ezekiel interested in the Babylonian world? Assuming that scholars have correctly estimated the scope of the prophet's knowledge of the Akkadian language, what can be inferred from this regarding his knowledge of Aramaic? The Akkadian influence might be indicative of Aramaic influence because it could attest to Ezekiel’s Babylonian Sitz-im-Leben, a Babylonia where Akkadian and Aramaic existed side by side in a complex configuration. The complexity of Ezekiel terminology may reflect this crossroads of languages and cultures that included both Akkadian and Aramaic, the dialectic accepted by the Chaldean dynasty.[[131]](#footnote-131) Therefore, in light of the scope of research about Akkadian influences on Ezekiel, there is room to suggest that Aramaic, the common spoken language of the Babylonian exiles, had greater influence than scholars have previously concluded, and that the vocabulary in Ezekiel reflecting Aramaic influence, is not scant.[[132]](#footnote-132)

These initial conclusions help us reconsider the answers to the questions we presented at the beginning of our paper. Because the prophet lived in an Aramaic speaking environment, it is reasonable to assume that the Aramaic language did influence the language of the prophetic literature written in Babylonia. It may be even be suggested that the prophet himself spoke Aramaic while living in Babylonia.

We can also assume that the editor, or editors, of the book of Ezekiel were also familiar with Aramaic, a factor that can also account for its Aramaic influence.[[133]](#footnote-133) The question remaining unanswered is to what extent this Aramaic influence was a result of the book being written, by Ezekiel and/or his editor or editors, in the LBH dialect, itself significantly influenced by Aramaic?

**Summary**

Assessment of the extent of Aramaic influence on the book of Ezekiel has been overshadowed by the research devoted to Akkadian influence on the book. The conclusion presented in this article is that despite the sparse written evidence in Aramaic from the period in which Ezekiel was written, a relatively comprehensive Aramaic influence on Ezekiel’s vocabulary and grammatical form can be discerned. This influence is evident throughout the book, and is especially noticeable in prophetic units without clear-cut Babylonian settings, such as the prophecy concerning Tyre and the Temple vision. It is possible that a significant number of words became known to Ezekiel from Aramaic rather than Akkadian, in which case, these words cannot necessarily be regarded as evidence of Akkadian influence on Ezekiel.

יתכן שחלק משמעותי של המילים הגיע ליחזקאל דרך הארמית ולא דרך האכדית ואז אין להניח שניתן ללמוד ממילים אלו שזו עדות השפעה אכדית על יחזקאל

In addition, we have suggested that words and syntactical forms that had been ascribed to Akkadian could have been borrowed from or through Aramaic. In many of these cases, we lack the information necessary to determine which possibility is correct, because when words exist in both Akkadian and Aramaic it is difficult to determine which language influenced Ezekiel’s prophecy.[[134]](#footnote-134)

1. This article is part of research supported by ISF…, and was presented at Minerva…I would like to thank the attendees for their helpful comments.

   Avi Hurvitz, “Hebrew and Aramaic in the Biblical Period: The Problem of ‘Aramaisms’ in Linguistic Research on the Hebrew Bible,” in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology,* ed. Ian Young (London: T & T Clark International, 2003), 24–37. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. See Aaron D. Hornkohl, *Ancient Hebrew Periodization and the Language of the Book of Jeremiah: The Case for a Sixth-century Date of Composition* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 56–58 which dates Jeremiah to the 6th century BCE based on linguistic analysis. Hornkohl notes that the influence of Aramaic on Jeremiah’s language is not comprehensive, and brings examples of words ascribed to Aramaic influence throughout the Bible, indicating words that in fact were in use both in Hebrew and in Aramaic. See also: Noam Mizrahi, “A Matter of Choice: A Sociolinguistic Perspective on the Contact Between Hebrew and Aramaic, with Special Attention to Jeremiah 10.1-1,” in *Discourse, Dialogue, and Debate in the Bible; Essays in Honour of Frank H. Polak,* ed.Athalya Brenner-Idan (Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2014), 107–124, among others. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Regarding Aramaic texts from this period, see Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1999). These documents include letters, contracts, and a number of literary texts. The earliest extant Aramaic letter written on papyrus is the Adon Letter, from the end of the seventh century BCE. There is a collection of familial letters discovered in Hermopolos, from the end of the sixth century and beginning of the fifth century BCE, and subsequently the letters from Yebu, (the island of Elephantine) from the middle of the fifth to the beginning of the fourth century BCE, presumably later than the book of Ezekiel. Additionally, there are contracts dating from the following years including a leasing agreement from 515 BCE. The earliest Aramaic contract, was given by the possibly Philistine landowner Padi son of Daganmelech to the Egyptian farmer Aḥa son of Apion, giving him rights as a partner to the land. The Mibtahia Archive, from 471-410 BCE, probably postdates the writing of Ezekiel. Archaeological findings include administrative documents found in Arad, dating to the fourth century BCE and a sealed and signed Aramaic papyrus document found in Wadi Daliyeh, also dated to the fourth century BCE.  ~~indicate this.~~ {Indicate what?}

   The literary texts closest to Ezekiel’s time are the Aḥiqar Proverbs from the second half of the fifth century BCE, which demonstrate the existence of original Aramaic literature (at least in Assyria). Additionally, there is a late astronomical text in Aramaic found in Qumran, which attests to direct knowledge of the astronomical information found in Mesopotamia in Akkadian texts. Henryk Darawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book from Qumran. Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. The underlining assumption of this study is that the prophecies under discussion were written (and possibly edited) by a prophet in the sixth century BCE. Moshe Greenberg is among the foremost proponents of this approach. See Moshe Greenberg*, Ezekiel 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Doubleday: New-York, 1983), 18–27, and idem, “What are Valid Criteria for Determining Inauthentic Matter in Ezekiel?” in *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and Their Interrelation*, ed. Johan Lust (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 123–135. See also Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel, Chapters 1-24, 25-48*, NICOT 1 and 2 (Grand Rapids and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1997 1998), 17–23. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. On the use of Akkadian in Ezekiel, see especially, in order of publication: Raymond-Jacques Tournay, “A propos des babylonismes d’Ezéchiel,” *RB* 68 (1961): 388–93; Stephen P. Garfinkel, “*Studies in Akkadian Influences in the Book of Ezekiel*” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1983); Peter Kingsley, “Ezekiel by the Grand Canal: Between Jewish and Babylonian Tradition,” *JRAS* 2 (1992): 339–346; Isaac Gluska, “Akkadian Influences on the Book of Ezekiel,” in *An Experienced Scribe Who Neglects Nothing: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honor of Jacob Klein*, ed. Yitschak Sefati et al. (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2005), 718**–**737; Daniel Bodi, *The Book of Ezekiel and The Poem of Erra*, OBO 104 (1991); David S. Vanderhooft, “Ezekiel in and on Babylon,” in Bible et Proche-Orient. Mélanges André Lemaire III, eds. Josette Elayi and Jean-Marie Durand, Transeuphratène 46 (??2014), 99–119; Abraham Winitzer, “Assyriology and Jewish Studies in Tel Aviv: Ezekiel among the Babylonian Literati,” in *Encounters by the Rivers of Babylon: Scholarly Conversations between Jews, Iranians, and Babylonians*, ed. Uri Gabbay and Shai Secunda (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 163–216 ; Jonathan Stökl, “A Youth without Blemish, Handsome, Proficient in all Wisdom, Knowledgeable and Intelligent: Ezekiel’s Access to Babylonian Culture,” in *Exile and Return: The Babylonian Context*, eds. Caroline Waerzeggers and Jonthan Stökl (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 223–252. See in addition, more general studies of Akkadian loan words, especially: Heinrich Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss*,2nd ed. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1917); Paul V. Mankowski, *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*, HSS 47 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000); Hayim Tawil, *An Akkadian Lexical Companion for Biblical Hebrew* (Jersey City: Ktav, 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Ingo Kottsieper, “And They Did Not Care to Speak Yehudit”: On Linguistic Change in Judah during the Late Persian Era,” in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, eds. Oded Lipschits, Garry N. Knoppers, and Reiner Albertz (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 95–124. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. David S. Vanderhooft, "'El-mĕdînâ ûmĕdînâ kiktābāh': Scribes and Scripts in Yehud and in Achaemenid Transeuphratene, in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period Negotiating Identity in an International Context*,eds. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Manfred Oeming (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 532. Vanderhooft concludes that the Aramaic script was transmitted by the scribes, who emerged as functionaries associated with various officials at various levels throughout the empire. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. The answer to this question has ramifications for the way Babylonian Jews, including scribes and prophets, were exposed to Akkadian inscriptions. Among scholars who believed that it is unreasonable to assume that even an educated Jew living in Babylonia and Persia would know how to read Akkadian, the assumption was that certain well-known Akkadian texts were also available in some form in Aramaic, and in this way educated Babylonian Jews came to be familiar with them. Wilfred G. Lambert, “Some New Babylonian Wisdom Literature,” in *Wisdom in Ancient Israel. Essays in Honour of J.A. Emerton*, eds. John Day et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 30–42. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. See Paul-Alain Beaulieu, “Official andVernacular Languages: The Shifting Sands of Imperial and Cultural Identitiesin First-Millennium B.C. Mesopotamia,” in *Margins of Writing, Origins of Cultures*, ed. Seth L. Sanders (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2006), 194. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Note that the distinction between the elite and others in Babylonia does not precisely reflect what we know. The various groups appearing in the records may indicate complex social stratification among the Babylonian exiles. These groups include the Babylonian elite (Jehoiachin and his entourage); a family of merchants from Sippar involved in trade and urban life, who had connections both to the palace as well as to the temple; simple farmers near Nippur (Al-Yahudu and Murashu), and a number of Jewish clerks who apparently worked in the Persian administration. The discussion regarding the knowledge of Aramaic among the exiles should distinguish between each of these classes. See Kathleen Abraham, “An Inheritance Division among Judeans in Babylonia from the Early Persian Period,” in: *New Seals and Inscriptions: Hebrew, Idumean and Cuneiform*, ed. Meir Lubetsky, Hebrew Bible Monographs 8, (Sheffield: Phoenix, 2007), 206–221: Yigal Bloch, “Judeans in Sippar and Susa during the First Century of the Babylonian Exile: Assimilation and Perseverance under Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Rule,” *JANE* 2 (2014): 119–172: Ran Zadok, *The Earliest Diaspora: Israelites and Judeans in Pre-Hellenistic Mesopotamia*, Publications of the Diaspora Research Institute 151, (Tel Aviv: Diaspora Research Institute, 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Alison Salvesen, “Babylon and Nineveh in Aramaic Sources,” in *The Legacy of Mesopotamia*,eds. Stephanie Dalley et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 139–161. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: Ezekiel 1-24*, BKAT XIII, trans. [Ronald E. Clements](https://www.logos.com/products/search?Author=13178%7cR.+E.+Clements) (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983). [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Zimmerli, 21; Emil Kautzsch, *Die Aramaismen im Alten Testament.* I. Lexikalischer Teil(Halle: Niemeyer, 1902). [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Max Wagner, *Die lexikalischen und grammatikalischen Aramaismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*, BZAW 96 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1966). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Mark F. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel*, LHBOTS 90 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990). [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Rimon Kasher, *Ezekiel: Introduction and Commentary.* in *Mikra LeYisraʹel: A Bible Commentary for Israel* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004), I: 82–83. (in Hebrew) [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Dalit Rom-Shiloni and Corrine Carvalho, “Introduction,” in *Ezekiel in its Babylonian Context*,  Dalit Rom-Shiloni and Corrine Carvalho, eds. WO 45/1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015). {pages} [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. The fact that Ezekiel does not address a prophecy to Babylon, similar to the prophecies against Egypt and Tyre, does not necessarily imply that he has “hardly any interest in Babylonia”. {From where is the quotation?} [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. See additional examples in: Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew*, throughout the book, and concentrated in 179-181. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. See for example: חנטן ([IduOstr.1.64.2](http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/showachapter.php?fullcoord=20357106402)), חנטין ([XHev/Se 50.5),](http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/showachapter.php?fullcoord=5030350005) חִיטִין ([TgO Deut8:8),](http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/showachapter.php?fullcoord=5100508081)חיטין (BR 066:9(1)). On the distribution of'חנטן' see: Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon, Yardeni, *The Jeselsohn collection*, 632–633. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. See Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–*37, 538. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, 85, and should be compared with Dan 2:32 הוּא צַלְמָא. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 294, Aramaic loanword: Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew*, 139-141, Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 297–98. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Rooker, *Biblical Hebrew*, 108-110, Kasher, *Ezekiel 24–48*, 827. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Hurvitz et at, *A concise lexicon*, 640. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, 237, Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 298. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. *HALOT III*, 966b (פרח II), Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, 240, Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 304. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20*, 313, Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 353. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 512, Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 487. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Kasher, *Ezekiel 24–48*, 864. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Garfinkel, *Studies*, 72, בשונה מההצעה שהמקור באכדית *šâṭu*

    השורש שוט/שאט מצוי ביחזקאל 6 פעמים, בצורות ובמשמעויות שונות:

    שוט Iא: 16:57; 28:24 ,28:26 בז

    שאט Iב 25:6; 25:15; 36:5 בז

    שוט II 27:8; 27:6 חתר בכלי שיט [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 379. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 71. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. The pronominal ending with א (אַתִּיקֶיהָא) is likely due to Aramaic influence. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: Ezekiel* 25*-*48, BKAT XIII, trans. James D. Martin (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 150, Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 638, Kasher, *Ezekiel 24–48*, 600, Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 756. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Stökl, “A youth without Blemish,” 238**,**  Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 697. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 907. ויש שהציעו שמקורו בצירוף האכדי (*u)ṣurat bītī* וראו: גם *HALOT III*, 1017b. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 35–36 (Loan Word, not clear from where and when), Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-*37, 532 . [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. For the characteristically Aramaic expression חד את חד, see Ada Yardeni, *The Jeselsohn Collection of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2017), 631, Kutscher, “Aramaic Calque,” 400; Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 275 - Aramaic form. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 82. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. See Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20*, 171, Jonathan Stökl, Schoolboy Ezekiel: Remarks on the Transmission of Learning, in: *Ezekiel in its Babylonian Context*, WO 45/1, Dalit Rom-Shiloni and Corrine Carvalho eds. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 55, unlike Garfinkel, *Studies in Akkadian*, 77. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20*, 313: “the hapax **t**arpe is an aramaism. And appears here in the Peshitta and in the Aramaic Targum”. The root ט is the Aramaic see הטעו. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Whether the adjective טָרָף ‘freshly plucked (leaf)’ (Gen 8:11) is related to the noun in Ezekiel or rather to be derived from the root טרף ‘to prey, tear’ is a matter of dispute, see: Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20*, 313. Block, Ezekiel 1-24, 529, note 40. *HALOT II*, 380; [Further, note the denominative verb טרף ‘to bring forth leaves’ attested in CPA and SA]. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. The form of the adjective is common in Mishnaic Hebrew, Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 701; *HALOT I,* 156. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 585. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 93. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. וראו גם את דברי הבבלי חגיגה דף יג ע"ב: "מאי כמראה הבזק? ... כאור היוצא מבין החרסים". [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Sok Babalonian Aramaic Dict, 195 s.v. בזק vb. Cf. Blau, VT 6: 97f. and <http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/index.html>. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. E.g. Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Jewish Paistine Aramaic (third edition), 102. Note that the Vulgate and Targum to Ezek 1:14 read ברק, and an emendation of the Hebrew in this sense has been proposed HALOT, p. 118. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Cowley 5 pl. 2: זי בנה (הקיר בנוי),; *HALOT I*, 140b. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. According to HALOT, 293 the verb is known in MHb2, MHb, JAramg, Sam, Syr, Mnd,and Arb. For the Aramaic and Middle Hebrew attestations of the verb and nominal derivatives, see *Jastrow I*, 427. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–*24, 421, Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 296.

    Based on emendations of the Hebrew text the assumed attestations of חדר in Job 9:9 and Sir 50:11 (חֹדֶרֶת a sword ‘deeply penetrating’), thus contextually similar to Ezek 21:10 and similarly derived from the verb חדר ‘to surround’. (*HALOT I*, 293 s.v חדר II) it has been concluded that the occurrence in Ezekiel is not a hapax legomenon. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 219, Block, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 231. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Cf. Ugaritic which has both *qwṭ* and *qṭṭ* Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín, *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (Leidan, Boston: Brill, 2003), 719). Note that later Hebrew has a noun קטטה but does not seem to have continued the use of the related verbs. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. An Aramaic word meaning thorn, in Syriac and Late Aramaic; *ṣillu* Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 756. Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–*24, 170. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. <http://cal.huc.edu> s.v. *slw*, with literature. According to *HALOT II*, 756 s.v. סלון also attested in Arabic. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. For a rare occurrence in Middle Hebrew, see *Jastrow II*, 979 s.v. סילון. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. CAD Ṣ, 193 s.v. *ṣillû* A.

    Note that in Mishnaic Hebrew סילון is a – זרם של מים,: See: משנה מסכת כלאים פרק ז, משנה א: וכן גם במשנה מסכת שבת פרק ג [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–37*, 71; Kasher, *Ezekiel 24–48*, 685; Kaddari 843 . Differently, *HALOT II* , 906. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. יתכן כי המילה היחידאית ביחזקאל ח, יא: "ועתר ענן הקטרת עולה" גם משמעותה קשורה – והכוונה היא שענן הקטורת הוא עשיר ומלא. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Kasher, *Ezekiel 24–48*, 661 interprets the so-called “separated” sheep as “being far from town” מצויות הרחק מן העיר.

    פרס, פרש –אם כי קיים במשמעות בצע, חתך: בישעיהו נח, ז, ובירמיהו טז, ז. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. HALOT, p. 1959. DNWSI, 944 s.v. *prš*1.

    ומצויה פעם אחת בעברית המאוחרת: פסיקתא זוטרתא במדבר דף פד עמוד א: "החלה הנפרשת מן העיסה" [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. *HALOT III*, 1053. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 924. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 412: e.g. וִיהוֹן לְצָרָבָא for Hebrew וְהָיְתָה לְבָעֵר in [*TgJ Is6:13*](http://cal.huc.edu/showachapter.php?fullcoord=5101206131). More at <http://cal.huc.edu>. Note that according to CAL צר(י)ב “hardened (said of eggs)” is derived from the verb צרב, but Sokoloff (DJBA, 971) considers its etymology unclear. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. Clines, *Dictionary*, p. 157. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. *Jastrow II*, 1299. In the passage in Ezekiel צרב it is used in correlation with לַהֶבֶת שַׁלְהֶבֶת, for which see more below s.v.שלהבת [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. For a derivation from the verb לקח rather than a noun קח see Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 567f. and 942; cf. Clines, *Dictionary*, 238f. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. For קוח stalk see: Sokoloff, A Dictionary of Jewish Paistine Aramaic (third edition), 546; and perhaps also Akkadian *aû* ‘flax’(CAD Q, p. 286 s.v. *qû* A). [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. It did not continue to be used in later Hebrew. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. *Kasher, Ezekiel 1-24*, 351. *Jastrow II*, 1345. [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. Already recognized in the Babylonian Talmud (Sukkah 34a) כי קח מקביל במשמעותו לצפצפה. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. וראו גם את הדיון במשמעות הפסוק בבבלי, סוכה דף לד ע"א ואת ההכרעה. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. *HALOT III*, 1091; Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20*, 310. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Garfinkel, *Studies in Akkadian*, 127 (§ 67). [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. SokBabAramDict, p. 1043 s.v. *קרם* and the nouns *קרמא, קירמה*. Also in Syriac and Mandaic, see *HALOT III*, 1144. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. see *Jastrow II*, 1421. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)
78. Clines, *Dictionary*, 325 (incl. examples from Pesharim om Ezekiel from Qumran). [↑](#footnote-ref-78)
79. Wagner xxx; HALOT, p. 1144; Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 966 (contra other suggestions from *qarmū*). [↑](#footnote-ref-79)
80. משמע זה של השורש רב"י, המקביל לעברית גד"ל, בפיעל שכיח בארמית Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 379. [↑](#footnote-ref-80)
81. Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 984; *HALOT*, p. 1176; Clines, *Dictionary*, 395ff.; Cf. Kasher, *Ezekiel 1-24*, 379. [↑](#footnote-ref-81)
82. *HALOT (Aram. vol.)*, xxx s.v. רבה; SokBabAramDict, 1056f. s.v. רבי, pa. mng. 2, as well as several nominal derivates. [↑](#footnote-ref-82)
83. CAD R, s.v. *rabû* A, p. 45ff. mng. 7. [↑](#footnote-ref-83)
84. Kasher, *Ezekiel 1-24*, 609; *HALOT III*, 1242b s.v. רָמוּת\*; Clines, *Dictionary*, 497 s.v. רָמוּת II. [↑](#footnote-ref-84)
85. Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 1010; Kasher, *Ezekiel 1-24*, 609; but differently HALOT, p. 1239 s.v.רמה I, where the verb is considered common Biblical Hebrew, with reference to Ex 15:1, 12; Jer 4:29; and Ps 78:9; Cf. Clines, *Dictionary*, 494. Cf. Aramaic language dictionaries: SokBabAram, 1085ff. and SokJAramDict, 525 s.v. רמי “to throw”. [↑](#footnote-ref-85)
86. As pointed out by Kasher also Ezekiel’s usage of רמות “height” with its overtune of “haughtiness” is influenced by the Aramaic as the noun רמותא “height” can have this specific meaning, however, as is clear from SokBabAramDict, 1085, only so in the phrase רמות רוחא (a.o. with respect to Jer 48:29). [↑](#footnote-ref-86)
87. Greenberg *Ezekiel 21–*37, 652; Kasher, *Ezekiel 1-24*, p. 609 [↑](#footnote-ref-87)
88. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–*37, 418, flame of flame=blazing flame“; Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 1093f. [↑](#footnote-ref-88)
89. Clines, *Dictionary*, 364 s.v. שלהבת cites besides Ezekiel and Job, Song of Songs 8:6 (אֵשׁ שַׁלְהֶבֶתְיָה). In *HALOT IIII*, 1504 and Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 1094. In both cases שַׁלְהֶבֶתְיָה is listed separately. [↑](#footnote-ref-89)
90. See the etymological section in *HALOT IIII* 1504 s.v. שלהבת. [↑](#footnote-ref-90)
91. *HALOT III*, 1504 and Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 1093f.

    עשרות פעמים בתלמוד הבבלי . [↑](#footnote-ref-91)
92. Akkadian sources have been suggested to additional Hebrew words that may perhaps be Hebrew. [↑](#footnote-ref-92)
93. This is in addition to the words attributed Aramaic but may originate from Hebrew, such as: עשתי- עשר, סחור-סחור, מדינה , Kasher, *Ezekiel 1–24*, 82, Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, CahRB 20 (Paris: Gabalda, 1982), 84–87 [↑](#footnote-ref-93)
94. The LXX reads εξωθεν “exterior” (חיצון). Derived from the Aramaic root את"א which means entrance. [↑](#footnote-ref-94)
95. *HALOT I*, 44 considers the word “unexplained”. Kaddari, 36: maybe an entrance. The noun recurs later in the Copper Scroll from Qumran (3QTr8:2: מיד אתון “besides the entrance” of the temple court). [↑](#footnote-ref-95)
96. Rimon Kasher, *Ezekiel: Introduction and Commentary. Volume 2: Chapters 25–48*, Mikra LeYisraʹel: A Bible Commentary for Israel (Tel Aviv: Am Oved; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2004), 784. [↑](#footnote-ref-96)
97. Aramaic בּוּץ; Greenberg, *Ezekiel* *21–37*, 555, Avi Hurvitz et at, *A concise lexicon of late biblical Hebrew :linguistic innovations in the writings of the Second Temple period* (:Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014), 48. [↑](#footnote-ref-97)
98. Jastrow 1, 147 s.v. בוץ II.

    בגמרא, בבלי יב, ע"ב (3) – האבנט של הכהן; ל, ע"א, לא, ע"ב "סדין של בוץ"; וזבחים יח, ע"ב. [↑](#footnote-ref-98)
99. See *HALOT I*, 115 s.v בוץ; and Sok Dict. For its attestations in Phoenician and Punic, see DNWSI, 185 s.v. *bṣ*. [↑](#footnote-ref-99)
100. DNWSI, p. 249 s.v *dlḥ*. [↑](#footnote-ref-100)
101. <http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/index.html>. [↑](#footnote-ref-101)
102. Garfinkel, *Studies in Akkadian*,65 (§ 23) . [↑](#footnote-ref-102)
103. Kaddari, *Dictionary*,585. Differently, Clines xxx and HALOT xxx (“passage (in temple buildings)”, cf. Isa 35:8), [↑](#footnote-ref-103)
104. SokJAram xxx, esp. in targum literature. [↑](#footnote-ref-104)
105. CAD M1, 159 s.v. *malāku* mng. 4, in particular in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions. [↑](#footnote-ref-105)
106. Apparently also into Phoenician, DNSWI, 632. More at Stephen Kaufman, AIA CHECK [↑](#footnote-ref-106)
107. Jastrow, p. 788. [↑](#footnote-ref-107)
108. <http://cal.huc.edu/> s.v. *mlx*, with literature. [↑](#footnote-ref-108)
109. Wagner, *Aramaismen*, 168. See further: Kasher, *Ezekiel 24–48*, 532; Kaddari, *Dictionary*, 618.; HALOT, 588; Clines, *Dictionary*, 293. [↑](#footnote-ref-109)
110. On the Araramic *versus* Akkadian question, see Stökl, “A youth without Blemish,” 244. [↑](#footnote-ref-110)
111. Kaddari, *Dictionary*, p. 624 (סתום). [↑](#footnote-ref-111)
112. For a overview of the various proposals, see Clines *Dictionary*, 333. [↑](#footnote-ref-112)
113. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21–*37, 583. [↑](#footnote-ref-113)
114. Kaddari, *Dictionary*, p. 624. [↑](#footnote-ref-114)
115. For the proposal to link the Hebrew with putative Akkadian *nimšahu* ‘sparkle’, see CAD N1, 247 s.v. *namšahu* ‘(leather bag) OB’ (cf. AHw 729a s.v. *nemšahu, namšuhu*). [↑](#footnote-ref-115)
116. A similar root exists in Akkadian, from which are derived for instance the verb *mašāḫu* "to measure" and the *mašīhu* "measurement", but there is no nominal form with prefix m- in Akkadian, so that the specific Hebrew form ממשח was not borrowed from Akkadian. Differently, Garfinkel, *Studies in Akkadian*, 100 (§ 49). [↑](#footnote-ref-116)
117. CAD M2, p. 121 s.v. *mišhu* A. [↑](#footnote-ref-117)
118. See Winitzer, “Assyriology and Jewish Studies in Tel Aviv,” 163–216, among others. [↑](#footnote-ref-118)
119. This research is in progress by Kathleen Abraham and Yuval Levavi. The full discussion of additional words and combinations (many not found elsewhere) that have been attributed to Aramaic, and may preserve Aramaic influence alongside with Akkadian influence on Ezekiel will be done in their forthcoming article: אשכרך; אלגביש (payment, tribute); (ו)בגנזי carpet (27:24); בגלומי garmet (27:24); מחי קבלו battering ram (26:9) ; יָדִיחוּ )40:38) to wash; דחן ; דיק (4:2) siege-wall;חשמל;כחל; ; פנג (27:17) type of bread ;סוגר ;כסתות; תער הגלבים (5:1) barber;קפדה (7:25); אמלה ליבתך (16:30).

     אתיק, אתוק ואתוקיהא (וְאַתִּיקֶיהָא)(41:15; 41:16; 42:5; 42:3). [↑](#footnote-ref-119)
120. Kasher has already noted that the prophecies about Tyre later received a special status in the early translations of the Bible. Kasher dedicated an appendix in his commentary to this subject. (Kasher, 558). [↑](#footnote-ref-120)
121. Anthony J. Williams, “The Mythological Background of Ezekiel 28:12-19?,” BTB 6 (1976): 49–61, and see note 3 above. [↑](#footnote-ref-121)
122. Exceptional influence of a foreign culture revealed specifically in the chapters relating to the temple is already found in Solomon’s temple (among other places). The three months mentioned, *Bul, Ziv* and *Etanim*, are the only dates in all of Scripture of foreign origin, in this case, Phoenician. [↑](#footnote-ref-122)
123. To this list we may also add קְנֵה מִּדָּה *(kneh midah)* (40:5, 42:19)**, "**measuring rod"

     which Winitzer (“Assyriology and Jewish Studies in Tel Aviv,” 166) and Tawil (*An Akkadian Lexical*, 341) attributed to Akkadian origin, although it may be a word in Hebrew. The phrase is also found in Zechariah {Where?}. [↑](#footnote-ref-123)
124. In addition to the impact on vocabulary, an even deeper influence on non-lexical issues characterizes this passage, which will be discussed elsewhere. {where? below? or in another publication?} [↑](#footnote-ref-124)
125. As can be found in Jeremiah 10:10, and in various verses in Ezra, Nehemiah and Daniel. [↑](#footnote-ref-125)
126. Edward Yechezkel Kutscher, “Aramaic Calque in Hebrew,” *Tarbiz* 33 (1963–1964): 118-130 (also published as *Hebrew and Aramaic Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977), 394–406. [↑](#footnote-ref-126)
127. We see no textual basis for the argument made by J. Stökl that only the intelligentsia who received schooling were familiar with the language. see note ? [↑](#footnote-ref-127)
128. We should be careful not to conclude that the Jews in Babylonia wrote Aramaic simply on the basis of the Aramaic (and one Hebrew) epigraph found on the Al Yahudu tablets. These tablets belonged to a Babylonian administrative archive and the epigraphs may well have been added by the Babylonian archive holders rather than by the Jews of Al Yahudu mentioned in the tablets. [↑](#footnote-ref-128)
129. In both language and content (see note 4?). See, the following recent publications: Shawn Aster Zelig, “Ezekiel’s Adaptation of Mesopotamian melammu,” in *Ezekiel in its Babylonian Context*, WO 45/1, Dalit Rom-Shiloni and Corrine Carvalho, eds. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015),10–21; Daniel Bodi, “The Double Current and the Tree of Healing in Ezekiel 47:1–12 in Light of Babylonian Iconography and Texts,” in *Ezekiel in its Babylonian Context*, op. cit., 22–37; Dale Launderville, “The Threat of Syncretism to Ezekiel’s Exilic Audience in the Dry Bones Passage,” in *Ezekiel in its Babylonian Context*, op. cit., 38–49; Christoph Uehlinger, “Virtual Vision vs. Actual Show: Strategies of Visualization in the Book of Ezekiel,” in *Ezekiel in its Babylonian Context*, op. cit., 62–84; Martti Nissinen, “(How) Does the Book of Ezekiel Reveal Its Babylonian Context?” in *Ezekiel in its Babylonian Context*, op. cit. 85–98; Madhavi Nevader, “On Reading Ezekiel By the Rivers of Babylon,” in *Ezekiel in its Babylonian Context*, op. cit., 99–110. [↑](#footnote-ref-129)
130. Given that the relationship between Aramaic and Akkadian is not straightforward, in some cases it is difficult to determine the source of influence. See Kathleen Abraham and Michael Sokoloff, “Aramaic Loanwords in Akkadian – A Reassessment of the Proposals,” *AfO* 52 (2007-2008, published in 2012): 1–92. [↑](#footnote-ref-130)
131. רן צדוק על שמות כשדיים. [↑](#footnote-ref-131)
132. “Aramaic was, it seems, the language of most of the Babylonian population in the Neo-Babylonian period.” Bustenay Oded, *The Early History of the Babylonian Exile (8th-6th Centuries, B.C.E.* (Haifa: Pardes, 2010), 237. (in Hebrew) [↑](#footnote-ref-132)
133. (in casu, LBH; is LBH a literary language). {not clear} [↑](#footnote-ref-133)
134. We can tentatively suggest that this study’s findings may support the theory that Aramaic was a language spoken among Ezekiel’s Babylonian contacts. We are still in the process of evaluating the scope of Aramaic influence relative to Akkadian influence. [↑](#footnote-ref-134)