

THE RECEPTION OF THE ARAMAIC OF THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD IN BIBLICAL TEXT

1. Introduction

Searching for theological literature on the topic of “Aramaic in the Bible” is not an easy task. One only finds a few useful references at first sight. In only one column this topic is treated in one of the more recent theological standard works, whereas the opposite topic of „Hellenism“ takes up more than five columns.¹ Yet we clearly know from the Aramaic parts of the Old Testament as well as from the Gospels that the Aramaic language exerted a formative influence during the Second Temple Period in the Middle East. Thus Jesus spoke Aramaic several times during his earthly life. For example in garden Gethsemane, when he pleaded in fear of death: „*Abba, my father*“ (αββα ὁ πατήρ)“ (Mk 14:36) or when he cried out on the cross: „*Why have you forsaken me?*“ (λεμμα σαβαχθανι)“ (Mk 15:34 par.). Despite this centrality of Aramaic in the Bible it rarely appears in theological literature, which in turn naturally affects the extent to which this topic is processed within the field of theology.

Nevertheless the question of “Aramaic in the Bible” has occupied previous generations of theologians. In older German research this question was investigated starting with the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament.² From Gustaf Dalman onward the perspective shifted in the direction of Rabbinic literature.³ Today I want to remind us of the important Aramaic Darius-correspondence in Ezra 5f in line with the example Emil Kautzsch has given, who stands for the older German research, and

whose approach (from the Aramaic in the OT to the Aramaic in the NT) basically has been reconfirmed through the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴

The Aramaic parts of the Old Testament are classified in the field of Semitic philology into the international context of the official Aramaic language of the Persian empire (= Official Aramaic⁵ or Reichsaramäisch⁶), which came to power in the Orient under Cyrus the Great in 539 BC with the conquest of Babylon. The name Cyrus is mentioned in the very beginning of the book of Ezra (Ezr 1:1f) in the defective spelling *krš* כרש which is also documented in extra-biblical sources.⁷ But the height of the Persian empire was reached only under Darius I. (522-486 BC), who at first was lance bearer of Cambyses during the conquest of Egypt (525 BC) and then, after the latter's death, carried out the restructuring of the Persian empire into satrapies (administration units).⁸ On the map below (Fig. 1) we can recognize the approximate dimensions of this empire with the help of selected Imperial Aramaic textual finds.⁹

2. The Aramaic Darius-Correspondence in Ezra 5f

Today we want to treat the Aramaic Darius-correspondence in Ezra 5f in detail. In the present theological debate¹¹ the authenticity of this correspondence is again increasingly doubted. While the retired Old Testament

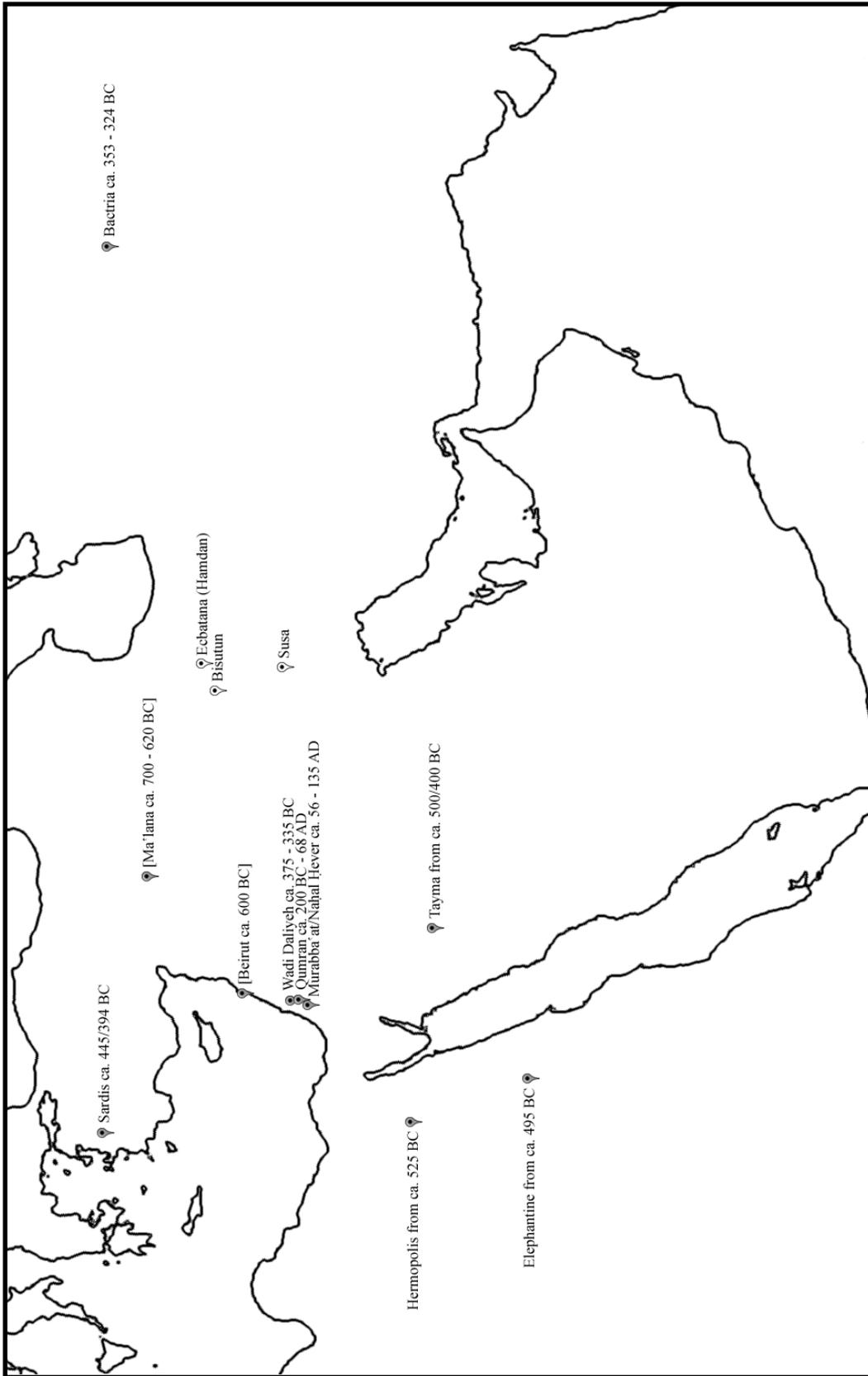


Fig. 1: Selection of Imperial Aramaic textual finds¹⁰ in geographic dispersion
 [] = no more to be classified as Imperial Aramaic

scholar Klaus Koch labels the wider context of the Aramaic Temple-Building-Chronicle in Ezra 4-6 still cautiously „amtliche Dokumente mit kurioser chronologischer Verkehrung der Folge der Perserkönige“¹² [translation: “official documents with a strange chronological reversal of the line of Persian kings”] the Old Testament scholar Dirk Schwiderski only speaks of fictional texts, „die lediglich für einen literarischen Kontext geschaffen wurden“¹³ [translation: “which only have been created for a literary context”]. Both scholars evaluate Ezra 4-6 according to the methodology of literary- and form-criticism which is established particularly in Germany.

2.1 Formal Parallels to the Letter Form

We want to try to follow this evaluation of Ezra 4-6 on the basis of Schwiderski’s form-critical study. After an extensive comparison with extra-biblical Hebrew and Aramaic letters Schwiderski comes to the following conclusion: „Die aramäischen Briefe des Esrabuches entsprechen in wesentlichen Punkten nicht dem reichsaramäischen Briefformular“¹⁴

[translation: “the Aramaic letters of the Book of Ezra do not match the Imperial Aramaic letter form in major points”].

After sampling the mentioned papyri this conclusion is in my opinion not mandatory, since often an alternative allocation of the Imperial Aramaic letter form to the Aramaic letters in the book of Ezra is possible. I would like to demonstrate this by means of the letter of Tattenai to Darius in Ezra 5. Schwiderski subdivides the beginning of the letter in Ezra 5:6-17 as seen in the table below.¹⁵

Basing himself on this sub-division of the letter Schwiderski argues: „die alt- und reichsaramäischen epigraphischen Briefe [markieren] in keinem einzigen Fall den Empfänger mit l-, sondern immer mit ’l oder ’l. Die Präposition l- begegnet dagegen in dieser Funktion inschriftlich erst in der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit, nachdem die älteren Formen bereits verdrängt worden waren“¹⁶ [translation: “the Old- and Imperial Aramaic epigraphic letters do not [mark] the addressee with l- in a single

<p>Opening of letter Ezra 5:6-7a</p>	<p>The copy of the letter that Tattenai, governor of trans-Euphratene, and Schetar-Bosnai and his colleagues, the 'prskj', who are in die in trans-Euphratene, sent to king Darius. This message they sent to him and thus was written on its' inside:</p>	<p>פְּרָשָׁן אֲגָרְתָא דִּי־שְׁלַח תַּתְּנִי פַּחַת עֵבֶר־נְהָרָה וְשִׁתְר בּוֹזְנִי וְכ־ נְתַתָּה אֲפָרְסָכִיא דִּי בְעֵבֶר נְהָרָה עַל־דְּרִיּוֹשׁ מְלָכָא פְּתַגְמָא שְׁלַחוּ עֲלוּהִי וְכַדְנָה כְּתִיב בְּגִינָה</p>
<p>Wording of letter [sender missing], addressee with l- [style of hellen. time?], [salutation too short], [transition marker missing], content Ezra 5:7bff</p>	<p>To (l-) king Darius. All peace!</p> <p>It shall be made known to the king ...</p>	<p>לְדְרִיּוֹשׁ מְלָכָא שְׁלָמָא כֻּלָּא</p> <p>יְדִיעַ לְהוּא לְמֶלֶכָא ...</p>

2.2. Parallels to the Tayma Stele as Regards Content

We now leave the form-critical perspective and move on to a comparison with the Tayma stele regarding content. While going through the Imperial Aramaic textual finds from Tayma I came across the following parallel between the already well known Tayma stele (Tayma 1) and the decree of Darius in Ezra 6:11 (see table below).

The basic point of comparison is the threat of eradication expressed with the root נסח. Even if this parallel does not become so obvious from the English translation, the Aramaic wording of Ezr 6:11 *his house* (ביתה) is ambiguous at least in the phrase „and his house shall be made a dunghill for this“, so that it could mean the eradication of the entire family of the transgressor beside the destruction of his house. The former is what is also mentioned in the following verse in the farthest possible meaning. From the internal, biblical point of view, it becomes clear that the decree of Darius with the repeated emphasis of house (בית) stands in close literary connection with the rebuilding of the *house of God* (בית-אלהא) up to Ezra 6:15, which according to the definition of the Artaxerxes-correspondence (Ezr 4)

and the mission of Ezra (Ezr 7ff) also includes the rebuilding of the city-walls of Jerusalem as well as the separation and sanctification of the covenant-people.²⁷

In consideration of this literary inter-dependence, whose middle is Ezra 6:11, it would therefore indeed be possible, that the root נסח together with *his house* (ביתה) signifies the eradication of a transgressor similarly to the eradication of a transgressor and *his descendants* (זרעה) in the Tayma stele. This is also hinted at by Ezra 6:12 with the term *people* (עם). But even if this parallel cannot be established in the text in the wider sense without doubt, still the use of the root נסח makes clear, that there exists a close overlap as regards content between the Darius decree in Ezra 6:11f and the Tayma stele which can be dated²⁸ into the Achaemenid period.²⁹

2.3. Grammatical Parallels to Old Persian

Finally we want to speak about a distinct Old Persian feature in the Aramaic Darius-correspondence in Ezra 5f. Already more than 100 years ago the historian Eduard Meyer concluded, based on his broad knowledge of Oriental languages, that „die Fülle persischer Fremdwörter ... ein günstiges Vorurtheil für

Tayma 1:13ff	[And] who damages this stele, may the gods of Tēmā eradicate him and his descendants and his name from Tēmā. ²⁶	וגבר זי יחבל סות[א] זא אלהי תימא ינסחיהי וזרעהו [ו] שמה מן אנפי תימא
Ezra 6:11f	Also it is ordered by me that: if anyone violates this decree, a beam shall be pulled out of his house, and he shall be impaled upon it, and <u>his house</u> shall be made a dunghill for this. And may the God who has caused his name to dwell there overthrow any king or people that shall put forth a hand to violate this, or to destroy this <u>house of God</u> which is in Jerusalem.	<p>וּמְנֵי שָׁיִם טָעַם דִּי כָּל-אַנְשֵׁי דִי יְהִשְׁנֵא פְתָגְמָא דְנָה יִתְנַסַּח אַע מִן-בֵּיתָהּ וּזְקִיף יִתְמַחַא עַלֶּהּ וּבֵיתָהּ נָגְלוּ יִתְעַבַּד עַל-דְּנָה וְאֵלֶּהָ דִי שְׁכֹן שְׁמָהּ תַּמָּה יִמְגַר כָּל-מְלָךְ וְעַם דִּי יִשְׁלַח יָדָהּ לְהַ- שְׁנִיָּה לְחַבְלָהּ בֵּית-אַלְהָא דְּדָהּ דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם</p>

die Aechtheit der Dokumente³⁰ im Esrabuch erweckt [translation: “the abundance of Persian foreign words ... raises a favorable bias for the genuineness of the documents” in the book of Ezra]. While occupying myself with the book of Ezra and especially with the Darius-correspondence I likewise noticed an unusual and quite frequent word order of *object + infinitive* at the end of the sentence:

For a German language feeling (and to some extent also for English) it seems to be normal to place the infinitive at the end of a sentence, but for West-Semitic languages like Hebrew or Aramaic this is very unusual. Typically the infinitive is placed more towards the beginning of the sentence. Also other researchers with a feeling for Semitic languages have noticed this peculiar phenomenon of the infinitive at the end of the sentence in the Aramaic of the Achaemenid period. Thus for example Stephen A. Kaufman, one of the responsible persons behind the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (CAL) on the Internet writes³¹: “The construction object-infinitive is ... standard in Old Persian [...]. It would seem, therefore,

that this element of Imperial Aramaic is due to Persian influence. [...] in pre-Achaemenid Imperial Aramaic the normal word order is subject-verb-object whereas subject-object-verb is only found later on...”³².

In contrast, in the later Hellenistic-Roman period, which is to the larger part covered by Qumran-Aramaic, the usual West-Semitic word order in the construction of the infinitive is dominant again. Muraoka describes this in his grammar of Qumran Aramaic as follows: “Complements which expand an infinitive [direct/indirect object or adverbial adjunct] mostly follow the latter”³³. This means that the Persian influence on the construction of the infinitive disappeared again in the Hellenistic-Roman period. So if we date the Darius-correspondence into the Hellenistic period, it becomes difficult to explain where the frequent word order of *object-infinitive* at the end of the sentence comes from. In my opinion we here see a far-reaching influence of Old Persian during the period of rebuilding, which can also be observed in the Hebrew text of Haggai³⁴ and Zechariah³⁵.

Ezra 5:9	But we asked the elders and said to them: Who gave you the decree this house <u>to build</u> and these walls <u>to make up</u> ?	אֲדִינוּ שְׂאֲלָנָא לְשִׁבְיָא אֱלֹהִי כְנֻמָּא אֲמַרְנָא לְהֵם מִן־שָׁם לְכֵם טַעַם בֵּיתָא דְנָה לְמִבְנֵיהּ וְאֲשֶׁרְנָא דְנָה לְשִׁכְלָלָהּ
Ezra 5:13	However in the first year of Cyrus, king of Babylon, Cyrus the king made a decree that this house of God should <u>be rebuilt</u> .	בָּרַם בְּשָׁנַת תְּדָה לְכוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶכָּא דִּי בָּבֶל כּוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶכָּא שָׁם טַעַם בֵּית־ אֱלֹהֵא דְנָה לְבִנָּא
Ezra 6:8	Moreover I made a decree regarding what you shall do for these elders of the Jews for the rebuilding of this house of God; the cost is to be paid to these men in full and without <u>delay</u> from the royal revenue, the tribute of the province from beyond the river.	וּמִנֵּי שִׁים טַעַם לְמָא דִּי־תַעֲבֹדוּן עִם־שְׁבִי יְהוּדֵיא אֱלֹהִי לְמִבְנָא בֵּית־אֱלֹהֵא דִּי וּמִנְכֶסִּי מֶלֶכָּא דִּי מִדַּת עֶבֶר נְהָרָה אֶסְפְּרָנָא נְפֻקְתָּא תְּהוּא מִתְּיַהֲבָא לְגַבְרֵיא אֱלֹהִי דִּי־ לָא לְבִטְלָא

3. Summary and Outlook

We have seen that the Darius-correspondence in Ezra is formally parallel to Imperial Aramaic letters from the same period in major points. In addition there exists a noticeable parallel to the Tayma stele as regards content and a grammatical parallel which point to the Persian period. Therefore I would like to follow the opinion of Margaretha Folmer, who - based on her extensive study of the Aramaic of the Achaemenid period³⁶ - reached the conclusion that „die offiziellen aramäischen Schriftstücke in Esra (Briefe und ein Königserlass) höchstwahrscheinlich auf Originale aus der Achämenidenzeit zurück[gehen]“³⁷ [translation: “that the official Aramaic documents in Ezra (letters and one decree of the king) most likely go back to originals from the Achaemenid period]. An origin in the Hellenistic period, as Schwiderski supposes, especially for the Darius-correspondence, is therefore very uncertain.

Nevertheless these Aramaic letters of the Persian period have a great significance for the Hellenistic-Roman period, since they show the linguistic point of departure in Judea which continued to be effective even in Hebrew up to the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132-135 AD).³⁸ There exists a greater linguistic connection between the Aramaic letters in the book of Ezra and the entire linguistic era of the Second Temple Period as was recently summarized very concisely by Avi Hurvitz: „This branch of Aramaic, which served as the standard vehicle for official communication at that time, played a decisive role in shaping the linguistic profile of contemporary LBH“³⁹. This means that the book of Ezra (-Nehemiah) especially with its Aramaic parts is a **very realistic textual collection for the investigation of the general language situation in Judea during the entire Second Temple Period and therefore also for the Semitic background of the Gospels.**

I would like to close with the question if we shouldn't also turn to the Aramaic salutation in Ezr 5:7, which the Septuagint translates with a corresponding dative (Δαρείω τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰρήνη πᾶσα), in order to correctly understand the salutation of Jesus: „Peace (be to) you!“ (εἰρήνη ὑμῖν) in Joh 20:19ff. Although םלן םלן is an indigenous Hebrew⁴⁰ salutation which corresponds exactly with εἰρήνη ὑμῖν in Joh 20:19ff, still the actual meaning of םלן in the sense of *for your possession* becomes clear best in comparison with the Imperial Aramaic salutation in Ezr 5:7 and the Imperial Aramaic annotations of ownership from Tayma. Also Jesus, after his death and resurrection, no more gives a simple salutation to his disciples. Rather he bears witness with „Peace (be to) you“ that he accomplished peace with God, the Father, by his wounds and that the power of the Holy Spirit is included in this accomplished peace, which turns everyone who believes in Jesus Christ into a **habitation of God through the Spirit.**⁴¹

Thank you!

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Appendix: List of Persian kings according to Ezra 4-7

Reference	Event	Name of Persian king (Western language context)			MT	Name of Persian king (Semitic language context)		
		Luther-Bible	Josephus	LXX		TAD/CAL	Syr. PES	Ar. SVD
Ezra 4:4ff	Hindrance of the rebuilding of the temple to Complaint (<i>šmḥ</i>) of the Samaritans (Book of Esther)	Cyrus (559-530 BC) to Ahasveros (=Xerxes, 486-465 BC)	Cyrus (559-530 BC) Ant 11:1ff -	Kῦρος Assουρος	כורש אֲחַשְׁוֵרוּשׁ	כורש אֲחַשְׁוֵרוּשׁ	כורש אֲחַשְׁוֵרוּשׁ	כורש אֲחַשְׁוֵרוּשׁ
Ezra 4:8ff (from Ezra 4:8 on in Aramaic)	Official writing (<i>štrwt</i> ⁴³) from the Samaritans to the king; Official decree (<i>ptgm</i> ⁴⁴) of the king and suspension of the rebuilding of the temple	Artahsastia (=Artaxerxes, 465-424 BC)	Cambyses, son of Cyrus (530-522 BC) Ant 11:21ff	Ἀρτασασθᾶ	אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא	אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא ?	אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא	אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא
Ezra 5:6ff (from Ezra 6:19 on in Hebrew)	Letter (<i>grt</i> ⁴⁵) from the satrap to the king after resumption of the rebuilding of the temple; Order (<i>t'm</i>) of the king to continue the rebuilding of the temple after finding a memorandum (<i>dkrwth</i>); Completion of the Second Temple and dedication; celebration of Passover	Darius (522-486 BC)	Darius, son of Hystaspes (522-486 BC) Ant 11:31ff	Δαρείος	דָּרְיוֹשׁ	דריווש דריווש דריווש דריווש	דריווש	דריווש
Ezra 7:1ff (Ezra 7:12-26 again in Aramaic)	Mission of Ezra Decree of king	Artahsastia (=Artaxerxes, 465-424 BC)	Xerxes, son [of Darius] (486-465 BC) Ant 11:120ff	Ἀρτασασθᾶ	אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא	אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא	אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא	אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ Cf. Ernst Axel Knauf und Georg Schelbert, „Aramäisches in der Bibel“, RGG⁴ 1 (1998): 676f as well as Dieter Timpe et al., „Hellenismus“, RGG⁴ 3 (2000): 1609-1615.
- ² As e.g. still E. Kautzsch, Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen: mit einer kritischen Erörterung der aramäischen Wörter im Neuen Testament (Leipzig: Vogel, 1884).
- ³ Cf. G. Dalman, Die Worte Jesu mit Berücksichtigung des nachkanonischen jüdischen Schrifttums und der Aramäischen Sprache erörtert (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1930).
- ⁴ Cf. my article „The Biblical-Semitic Background of the New Testament Part 2: Grammatical Semitisms, STT 7 (2012): 21-32.
- ⁵ Cf. Joseph Fitzmyer, „The Phases of the Aramaic Language“ In: A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays (Chico, Calif. [u.a.]: Scholars Press 1979), 58-84.
- ⁶ Cf. K. Beyer, ATTM, 59ff.
- ⁷ Cf. my list of Persian kings (appendix).
- ⁸ Cf. Bezalel Porten, Archives from Elephantine (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1968), 21-24.
- ⁹ Cf. Est 1,1: מְהַדְרוּ וְעַד-כּוּשׁ = „from India to Sudan/Ethiopia“.
- ¹⁰ Cf. for **Elephantine/Hermopolis**: Bezalel Porten, and Ada Yardeni, Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt 1-4 (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 1986-99); for **Tayma**: Peter Stein, Die reichsaramäischen Inschriften der Kampagnen 2005-2009 aus Tayma' (in preparation); for **Qumran/Murabba'at/Naḥal Ḥever**: Klaus Beyer, Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer, Hauptband, Ergänzungsband u. Bd. II (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984, 1994, 2004); for **Wadi Daliyeh**: Douglas M. Gropp, Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Paypri from Wadi Daliyeh (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001); for **Sardes**: CAL 28200 (LydBil) as well as Enno Littmann, Sardis: Publications of the American Society for the excavation of Sardis – Vol

IV: Lydian Inscriptions Part I (Leiden: Brill, 1916); for **Beirut**: CAL 21301 (Decree und LouvTab); for **Ma'lana**: E. Lipinski, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics III: Ma'lana* (Leuven [u.a.]: Peeters, 2010); for **Bactria**: Joseph Naveh, and Shaul Shaked (Ed.), *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century BCE)* (London: The Khalili Family Trust, 2012).

¹¹ Cf. H. G. M. Williamson, "The Aramaic Documents in Ezra Revisited", *Journal of Theological Studies* 59 (2008): 41-62.

¹² Klaus Koch, „Esra/Esrabücher“, *RGG*⁴ 2 (1999): 1582.

¹³ Dirk Schwiderski, *Handbuch des nordwest-semitischen Briefformulars: Ein Beitrag zur Echtheitsfrage der aramäischen Briefe des Esrabuches* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2000), 381.

¹⁴ Schwiderski, *Handbuch*, 381.

¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, 352.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 378f. But Schwiderski does not say here, that the addressee is quite frequently introduced with *l-* in the Hebrew-Canaanite letter form of pre-exilic times. Cf. for example ^{hk}(a1), ^{hk}(a2), ^{hk}(a3) or ^{hk}(b2), *ibid.*, 81-83.

¹⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 381.

¹⁸ Based on Driver 5 = TAD A 6.7 (5th century BC). Cf. also Khalili IA6 and IA4 (4th century BC), Joseph Naveh, and Shaul Shaked (Ed.), *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria (Fourth Century BCE)* (London: The Khalili Family Trust, 2012), 40-43, 64-67 and 76-79.

¹⁹ Cf. the frequent address form ^{ra}(d1) = *mn* [Absender] - 'l [Empfänger] (where *mn* in *Ezr* 5:6 might be missing due to context), *ibid.*, 220 and 225.

²⁰ Cf. for example ^{ra}(C1) = *šlm wšrrt šgj'hwšrt lk* or ^{ra}(C2) = *šlm whjn šlht lk(j)*, *ibid.*, 129f.

²¹ Cf. on this the overview in M. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation* (Leuven: Peeters 1995), 535f, in which Samaria stands out with frequent OVS word order (cf. for

example WDSP 2,7, in Douglas M. Gropp, *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Paypri from Wadi Daliyeh*, 45ff). Cf. also H. Gzella, "Imperial Aramaic" in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011), 575 and 582f. Also today's dialectal differences in Arabic urge more caution when comparing the language of Egypt with Palestine.

²² Cf. Peter Stein, *Die Reichsaramäischen Inschriften der Kampagnen 2005-2009 aus Taymā'* (in preparation), 278ff.

²³ Cf. Franz Rosenthal, *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 39: „^h is commonly used to indicate ownership“. A similar usage of *l-* is found for example in *Dan* 4,23 and 5,23, cf. *ATTM*, 612.

²⁴ Cf. for example H. G. M. Williamson, "The Aramaic Documents in Ezra Revisited", 54: "[...] the danger of relying on any specific detail becomes ever more precarious" or 59: "it needs to be realized in consequence that the evidence as a whole does not point univocally in a single direction".

²⁵ Cf. on this Dennis Pardee, David J. Whitehead, and Paul E. Dion, "An Overview of Ancient Hebrew Epistolography", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 97 (1978): 330.

²⁶ The translation follows Peter Stein, *Ein aramäischer Kudurru aus Taymā'?* (in preparation)

²⁷ For this literary interdependence cf. Tamara Cohn Eskenazi, *In an Age of Prose: A Literary Approach to Ezra-Nehemiah*, *SBL Monograph Series* (Atlanta GA: Scholars Press, 1988), 41 u. 55f.

²⁸ For the discussion of the dating cf. P. Stein, *ibid.*, 6f.

²⁹ Also the comparison of the usage of $\pi\sigma\eta$ in the Aramaic *Aḥiqar* (TAD C 1.1, l. 156 and 210) confirms in my opinion the close overlap between *Ezr* 6:11 and the Tayma stele.

³⁰ Eduard Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums: Eine historische Untersuchung* (1896; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965), 25.

³¹ <http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/> (25.09.2013).

³² Stephen A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 133.

³³ Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 250.

³⁴ Cf. for example Haggai 1:2: ..., *that the house of the LORD be built* בית יהוה להבנות

³⁵ Cf. for example Zechariah 4:7: ..., *who has to become straight before Zerubabel?* לפני זר-בבל למישר

³⁶ Cf. M. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995).

³⁷ M. Folmer, „Alt- und Reichsaramäisch” In *Sprachen aus der Welt des Alten Testaments*, hrsg. von Holger Gzella (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009), 106.

³⁸ E.g. in the formative Imperial Aramaic number syntax, cf. Magen Broshi, and Elisha Qimron, “A Hebrew I.O.U. Note from the Second Year of the Bar Kokhba Revolt”, *JJS* 45 (1994): 290 as well as Uri Mor, “Bar Kokhba Documents”, *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* 1 (2013), 257.

³⁹ Cf. Avi Hurvitz, “The Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts: Comments on Methodological Guidelines and Philological Procedures” In *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*, ed. by Cynthia Miller-Naudé, and Ziony Zevit (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 274f.

⁴⁰ Thus witnessed already in the Joseph story in Gen 43:23.

⁴¹ Cf. on this Joh 20:21f and Eph 2:17-22.

⁴² Only in the Cyrus-decree in Ezr 1:1f.

⁴³ From Old Persian, cf. Ellenbogen, *Foreign Words*, 116.

⁴⁴ From Old Persian, cf. *ibid.*, 142.

⁴⁵ From Akkadian, cf. *ibid.*, 12.