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which appears only once in the Mishna, for example). Similarly, words such as נֹכַח *noḳah* ‘one who is positioned before or opposite’, whence *Nuche* ‘mouth, face’ (see above), and שְׁבוּשׁ *šibbuš* ‘mistake’ (the root on which this noun is based also occurs only once in the Mishna), whence *Schibbusch* ‘mistake’ (again, see above), require quite an advanced knowledge of Hebrew texts and sources.

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GARY A. RENDSBURG
(Rutgers University)

ROBERT JÜTTE
(Institut für Geschichte der Medizin der
Robert Bosch Stiftung, Stuttgart)

Russia

This entry treats Jewish and Christian use of Hebrew in areas of Eurasia loosely and sometimes anachronistically termed ‘Russian’ due to the modern expansion of political boundaries. As throughout the world, Jews in Russia utilized Hebrew for prayer, study, and correspondence, while also adopting local languages. Medieval translations from Hebrew to Slavic influenced Russian Orthodox Christians and arguably the heretical ‘Judaizers’. Monks compiled Hebrew-Russian glossaries. In modern times, the renaissance of Hebrew emanated largely from within the Russian Empire.

I. FROM ANTIQUITY TO 1772

Beginning in the late centuries B.C.E., Jews settled along the southern fringes of the future Russian Empire. Ancient Jewish communities

existed throughout the northern Black and Azov Sea coastal territories, including Crimea and the Caucasus, and extended beyond the Caspian Sea along the Silk Road (present-day Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan). Linguistic reality in this region reflected Jewish life to the south: Black Sea Jews from Greek *poleis* communicated primarily in Greek; those living farther east communicated in dialects of Persian (including Hebrew-influenced ‘hybrid’ languages, such as Juhuri or Judeo-Tat and Bukhori or Judeo-Persian) (Cohn-Sherbok 1996:36, 63, 67, 69; Altshuler 2002:17; Barnavi et al. 2002:29, 57, 118). Yet one also finds evidence of Hebrew usage. In Chersonesus Taurica (southwestern Crimea), inscriptions bear witness to the presence of Jews or Jewish-Christians with a knowledge of Hebrew ca. 2nd–4th centuries C.E. Ancient gravestones with Jewish symbols (menorah, shofar, lulav, etrog) have been discovered in the Crimean and Taman peninsulas and in Georgia; several include Hebrew epitaphs (Garkavi 1865; Dubnow 1916:1.13–18; Brook 2006:88–90; Shapira 2010a:13–16, 33 n. 1, 34 n. 7). Part of the inscription on an ancient sarcophagus found near Merv reads: יֵעֻבֵּי בֶר יֵעֻבֵּי יוֹסֵף בֶּר יַעֲקֹב *yosef bar ya'aqob* ‘Joseph son of Jacob’. The Old Georgian Bible appears to have been edited with reference to a Hebrew text; arguably some portions may have been translated directly from Hebrew. Loan words also entered from Hebrew into classical Armenian (Shapira 2010c; Lerner 2010) (→ Armenian, Hebrew Loanwords in).

In the 8th–10th centuries, the Khazar khaganate dominated most of the northern Black and Caspian Sea region (Gilbert 1993:24–25; Cohn-Sherbok 1996:75, 92). Its Turkic ruling class and an indeterminate subset of the population converted to Judaism; immigrants fleeing Christian persecution in Byzantium further supplemented the region’s pre-existent Jewish communities. Khazaria nonetheless remained ethnically and religiously quite diverse: its legal system included Jewish, Muslim, Christian, and pagan judges in a set proportion (Dubnow 1916:1.19–29; Noonan 2001). Golb (2005:483) has noted: “The only internal (written) sources concerning the Khazars... are texts preserved in Hebrew”. This is currently true with the exception of a few Turkic runes within Hebrew documents and some coins with Arabic inscriptions. The most famous of the Hebrew sources is the 10th-century

‘Khazar Correspondence’ attributed to Hasdai ibn Shaprut of Spain and ‘King’ (מלך *melek*) Yosef of Khazaria (Kokovtsov 1932). Recent discoveries appear to confirm its authenticity. The 10th-century ‘Kievan Letter’ found in the Cairo Genizah came from Hebrew-educated Khazarian Jews living at the western edge of the steppe empire (קהל של קייוב *qahal šel qiyvob* ‘community of Kiev’) (according to the reading of Golb and Pritsak 1982). Khazarian Hebrew usage evidently influenced other peoples of the region: the Indo-Aryan Alani borrowed several Hebrew words into their language (e.g., קדוש *qadoš* ‘holy’) (Shapira 2010b:167–168). See further Pritsak 1988; Petrušin et al. 2005; Brook 2006; Golden et al. 2007; Golden 2010; Shapira 2010a:16–19; Petrušin and Fljorov 2010.

In the mid-9th century, the brothers Constantine (or Cyril) and Methodius of Thessaloniki travelled to Khazaria as Byzantine Christian missionaries. According to his *vita*, Constantine mastered and translated Hebrew while studying with apparently non-rabbinic Jews in Chersonesus Taurica (Brook 2006:68, 101; Shapira 2010a:16–17). The Glagolitic and Cyrillic alphabets, presumed results of the brothers’ subsequent Slavic missions, incorporated between two and five modified Hebrew letters (definitely צ and ש and possibly also נ, פ, and ק; Proxorov 1992; Schenker 1995). Constantine and Methodius began the process of translating biblical, apocryphal, liturgical, and patristic texts into (Old) Church Slavonic. Such translations include Hebraisms and borrowings, often indirectly via Judeo-Greek (Alekseev 1999; Vereščagin 2001) (→ Slavic Influence on Hebrew).

Following the decline of the Khazar state, Jews dwelled in some parts of Kyivan Rus’ (modern Ukraine, Belarus, and western Russia) during the 10th–13th centuries. The capital Kyiv (Kiev) and some towns of the southwest apparently had rabbis and concomitant Hebrew expertise. West European Jews referred to this East Slavic region as כנען יוון *kena’an yawan* ‘Greek Canaan’; its Jewish residents may have spoken a Judeo-Slavic dialect with Hebrew components (Kutscher 1982:182; Wexler 1987:88–89; Raba 2003:46–61; Kulik 2004; 2010a) (→ Judeo-Slavic, Hebrew Component in). Gippius et al. (2012) argue that 11th-century inscriptions in Novgorod’s St. Sophia Cathedral

derive from Hebrew (*kuni roni* < קומי | רני *qūmī rōnnī* ‘Arise, shout’; Lam. 2.19) and “should be regarded as the oldest tangible proof of contact with Jews and Hebrew in Rus’”. Medieval English documents bear witness to the presence, as early as the 13th century, of Jews from Rus’ who had both Hebrew and Cyrillic literacy (Kulik 2012). A considerable scholarly controversy exists over whether Jewish Hebrew originals underlay certain Slavonic translations of the period (preserved by Christians). Following Meščerskij (1964), Alekseev (1987) asserted that “no doubt could arise” about the existence of such translations. Following Lunt and Taube (1998), Kulik (2008) instead proposed that a “Jewish-Christian cultural partnership” may have enabled the transmission of (no longer extant) Judeo-Greek texts into Slavonic, explaining some apparent paradoxes. Noteworthy features of medieval East Slavic Pentateuchs include glosses on Hebrew words, corrections in accordance with the Masoretic text, and division into Jewish *paršiyot* (cyclical readings) (Arxipov 1995; Pičxadze 1996; Thomson 1998; Alekseev 1999; Lysén 2001; Pereswetoff-Morath 2002:vol. 2).

The Mongol conquest of Rus’ (ca. 1240) led eventually to the emergence of Moscow as a new political center. In contrast to neighboring Poland-Lithuania, Muscovy proscribed most Jews from living within its borders until the late 18th century (Dubnow 1916:1.29–35, 242–261). However, a tradition of investigating Hebrew words (especially names) persisted among Orthodox Christian bookmen. Glossaries of transliterated Hebrew words circulated in European Russia from the 13th to the 18th centuries; the earliest known version is entitled *Rěč’ židov’skago jazyka* ‘Speech of the Jewish language’. The accuracy of translation varied considerably; numerous theological (non-linguistic) interpretations were adopted from earlier onomastica and commentaries. Following a medieval Greek source, Hebrew אדם *’adam* ‘Adam, man, human’ was rendered as *zemlę voploščenna* ‘incarnated earth’; following a tradition traceable to Philo of Alexandria, ישראל *yišra’el* ‘Israel’ was taken to mean *zręi boga* ‘seeing God’; based on an early Slavic commentary, גת *gať* ‘Gath, winepress’ was given as *ōtpadenije židom* ‘the falling-away of the Jews’. The monks who compiled these

glossaries did not know Hebrew and mostly did not consult with Jews. By the 16th century, their texts had expanded to include entries in Greek, Latin, Arabic, and other languages; subsequently they developed into more systematic Russian dictionaries (Tsejtin 1958; Kovtun 1963; Kovtun 1975; Grabbe 1988:172–173; Pereswetoff-Morath 2002:2.21–29, 66–68, 80–82; Raba 2003:173; Gruber 2011).

In the 15th–16th centuries, ‘Ruthenian’ (Belorussian or Ukrainian) Jews translated a number of Hebrew texts into local Slavonic dialects. These included *inter alia* several biblical and apocryphal books and works by ‘Josippon’, al-Ghazālī, Maimonides, de Sacrobosco, and pseudo-Aristotle. Contemporaneously, a ‘Judaizing heresy’ sprang up in Novgorod and Moscow; its connection to the Jewish Slavonic translations has been fiercely contested, but seems likely (Luria 1960; Seebohm 1977; Altbauer 1992; Taube 1995; Luria 1995; Taube 2005; Taube 2010). Current research seems to indicate that Christian Hebraism developed with Jewish involvement during this period (Temčin 2011; Temčin 2012).

Russian sources sporadically mention other Hebrew usage. A Crimean Jewish diplomatic agent of Ivan III corresponded in Hebrew script, puzzling the Muscovite court (Dubnow 1916:1.35–36; Pereswetoff-Morath 2010:67). Elizabeth I of England reportedly sent a letter to Ivan IV in Latin, Italian, and Hebrew (Tolstoj 1875:14). In the 17th century, a Jew of the Ural Mountains wrote Russian in Hebrew letters (Kalik 2010:327; cf. Wexler 1987:96–99).

Outside of Muscovy, rabbinic Jews and Karaites continued to employ Hebrew for prayer and learning. Medieval gravestones from Crimea and the Caucasus, including Armenia, contain inscriptions in Hebrew or in local languages written with Hebrew letters (Shapira 2010a; 2010c). A remote village synagogue in Georgia preserved a unique Torah manuscript (the ‘Tbilisi Codex’) of ca. 11th–12th centuries (now housed in the Georgian Academy of Sciences; Weil and Guény 1976). Crimean Karaites moved to Troki in Lithuania ca. 13th–15th centuries, bringing their Judeo-Kypchak dialects (known as Karaim) and Hebrew knowledge. The famous 16th-century polemicist Yitshak ben Avraham of Troki wrote poems and essays in Hebrew as well as in Karaim (Barnavi et al. 2002:88; Axiezer 2010) (→ Karaim, Hebrew Component in). In the late

17th century, a Belorussian monastery owned a Hebrew-Aramaic grammar (Pereswetoff-Morath 2010:429, 448–449 n. 19). In Ukraine, the linguistically oriented Kiev-Mohyla Academy became interested in Hebrew learning by the 18th century (Pritsak and Ševčenko 1985).

2. 1772 TO THE PRESENT

In the Partitions of Poland (1772–1795), the Russian Empire acquired a large Jewish population—approximately one million, growing to about five million over the next century (Klier 1986). This dramatically altered the position of Hebrew within the country. Ubiquitous religious texts and commentaries would soon be supplemented by the new Hebrew literature of the *haskala* (Jewish Enlightenment) and, eventually, by a wide range of periodicals. According to Slouschz (1909:100–101 n. 2): “As early as 1780 a Hebrew ode was published on the occasion of Empress Catherine II’s passing through Shklow”. Imperial censorship of Jewish publications commenced in 1797 in Riga; Hebrew censors generally had to be recruited from the ranks of the *maskilim* (i.e., proponents of the *haskala*), converts to Christianity, or any Jews with connections to local bureaucrats (Ēl’jaševič 1999).

As Parush (2004:171) has noted, “One hundred and fifty years of arduous attempts to revive Hebrew as a modern literary language preceded its revival as a spoken language”. The *haskala* spread from Germany to Austrian Podolia and Galicia (former possessions of Poland-Lithuania), stimulating new Hebrew compositions and translations of Western works. David Samoscz published his original collection *רסיסי המליצה* *resise ha-meliša* ‘The droplets of verse’ in 1798; a decade later Mendel Lefin issued *ספר חשבון הנפש* *sefer xešbon ha-nefes* ‘Accounting of the soul’, an adaptive translation of Benjamin Franklin’s ‘Rules of conduct’ (Sinkoff 2000). Among other Hebrew works produced in Austrian Poland, Shlomo Rapoport wrote a description of Paris and produced translations of Racine and Schiller (Slouschz 1909:29–92).

In the Russian territories, it took longer for the new Hebrew literature to compete with religious works, such as those of R. Eliyahu Zalman (the Vilna Gaon, d. 1797), or *ספר הברית* *sefer ha-berit* ‘Book of the covenant’ (1797), a

popular compendium by another R. Eliyahu of Vilna. The famous *maskil* Avraham Lebensohn published his first Hebrew poetry in 1822. Later in the decade Yitshak Ber Levinzon (Levinsohn) issued a homegrown Enlightenment manifesto, *תעודה בישראל* *te'uda be-yisra'el* 'A witness in Israel (Ruth 4.7)'. Imperial political developments and the blossoming of Russian literature also helped produce a major renaissance of literary Hebrew in the Russian Empire beginning in the mid-19th century. In 1842 Lebensohn released his celebrated collection, *שירי שפת קודש* *šire šefat qodeš* 'Poems of the Holy Language' (Schloutz 1909:93–123). Within another five years, the brothers Leon (Aryeh Leib) and Binyamin Mandelshtam began issuing reformist Hebrew textbooks under the aegis of the Russian government. The prolific Leon included Hebrew translations of, e.g., Aesop and Pushkin; he also published Russian Bible translations, Hebrew-Russian dictionaries, and other works in both languages. Pushkin himself had studied the Hebrew alphabet and aspired to translate the book of Job from the original (Dudakov 1993:66).

The 1850s–1870s witnessed a flourishing of Hebrew (as well as Russian and Yiddish) novels, stimulated partly by an easing of official restrictions. Avraham Mapu's *אהבת ציון* *'ahavat šion* 'Love of Zion' appeared in 1853; it was the first of his many published Hebrew writings. In 1857 the equally productive Kalman Schulman translated Eugène Sue's *Mystères de Paris* into Hebrew. In the wake of Ivan Turgenev's Russian classic *Ottsy i deti* 'Fathers and children' (1862), Sholem Abramovich (Mendele Mokher-Seforim, often termed 'the creator of modern Hebrew') produced *האבות והבנים* *ha-ʾavot ve-ha-banim* 'The fathers and the sons' (1868). Even with the addition of Yehuda Leib Gordon (who wrote in Hebrew, but urged adoption of Russian), Mordekhai Gintsburg, and Moshe Lilienblum, the names mentioned above represent but a few of the Hebrew authors who emerged, especially in Vilna (Vilnius) and Odessa (→ Maskilic Hebrew).

Many Hebrew writers also published in Russian or Yiddish; some went abroad. Perets Smolenskin was born in the Pale of Settlement (current Belarus) but moved to Vienna and in 1868 established the leading Hebrew literary journal *השחר* *ha-shaḥar* 'The dawn'. Yitshak Zalkinson (Salkinson) left Vilna and in

Vienna published a number of poetic translations: Milton's *Paradise Lost* as *ויגרש את האדם* *va-ygareš 'et ha-'adam* 'And he expelled the human (Gen. 3.24)' (1871); Tiedge's *Urania* as *בן קהלת* *ben qohelet* 'Son of Ecclesiastes' (1876); Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* as *רם ויעל* *ram ve-ya'el* 'Ram and Yael' (1878). In Galicia, Naphtali Herz Imber composed his poem *תקוותנו* *tiqvatenu* 'Our hope (Ezek. 37.11)', which gave rise to the future national anthem of Israel. Hasidic Hebrew presses were also common; Gersoni (1882:115) unflatteringly characterized one journal as "amus(ing) its readers with Kabbalistic hyperbole and ungrammatical Hebrew".

As suggested by the above titles, most authors of the time strove to imitate Biblical Hebrew (sometimes dogmatically). Nonetheless, loanwords, neologisms, and expanded meanings could not be avoided; e.g., *חשמל* *ḡašmal* 'electricity', *משבר* *mašber* 'crisis', *תפוחי זהב* *tapuḡe zahav* 'oranges', *תלגרמה* *telegrama* 'telegram', *חולי רע* *ḡoli ra'* 'cholera', *ספה* *sapa* 'sofa' (Kutscher 1982:184–192; Sáenz-Badillos 1993:267–269; Parush 2004; → Neologism). A burgeoning historical literature complemented religious and literary publications. Miryam Markel-Mosessohn (Mozeson), one of a number of female Hebrew writers, translated *היהודים באנגליה* *ha-yehudim be-'angliya* 'The Jews in England' (1869) from German (Balin 2000; Cohen and Feiner 2006). Shlomo Mandelkern's *ימי רוסיה* *divre yeme rusiya* 'Chronicles of Russia' appeared in 1874. By the end of the century, Graetz's multivolume *Geschichte der Juden* would be translated into Hebrew by Shaul Rabinowitz and published in Warsaw as *ספר דברי ימי ישראל* *sefer divre yeme yišra'el* 'The book of the chronicles of Israel'. Moreover, throughout the 19th century collectors such as the Karaite Avraham Firkovich, the merchant Lev Friedland, and the professor Daniel Chwolson amassed enormous treasuries of ancient and medieval Hebrew manuscripts and incunabula (Iakerson 2003). In 1876, the (Christian) Russian Bible Society finally published its complete translation, based largely on the Masoretic Hebrew text.

Despite all this activity, a disillusionment with the potential of Hebrew had become evident by the time that Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (b. Perlman, 1858, in current Belarus) appeared on the literary scene (Mandel 1999; Domb

1999; Parush 2004). According to an autobiographical writing, *החלום ושבירו* *ha-xalom ve-šivro* ‘The dream and its deciphering (Judg. 7.15)’, his first exposure to modern Hebrew literature came via *כור עני* *kur ‘oni* ‘Furnace of torment (Isa. 48.10)’, the 1861 translation by Yitshak Rumsh of Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*. The defining moment of Ben-Yehuda’s life occurred during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1878:

ופתאום והנה כמו ברק הבריק לפני עיני, ומחשבתי עפה ממעברות שיפקה בבלקאן למעברות הירדן בארץ-ישראל וקול פנימי תמוה שמעתי קורא אלי: תחיית ישראל ולשונו על אדמת האבות!
...התרוצצו בקרבי שני גויים: הרוסי שבי והיהודי שבי התנגחו בחימה עזה... והיהודי גבר.

u-fit'om ve-hine kmo baraq hivriq lifne 'enay, u-maḥṣavti 'afa mi-má'abarot šipqa ba-balqan le-má'abarot ha-yarden be-eres-yiśra'el ve-qol pnimi tamuah šamá'ti qore 'elay: tḥiyat yiśra'el u-lšono 'al 'admat ha-'avot!

...*hitrošesu be-qirbi šne goyim: ha-rusi še-bi ve-ha-yehudi še-bi hitnagxu be-xema...ve-ha-yehudi gavar.*

Suddenly it was like lightning flashing before my eyes: my thoughts flew from the Shipka Pass in the Balkans to the fords of the Jordan in the Land of Israel, and I heard a startling inner voice calling to me: *The resurrection of Israel and her language on the land of the fathers!*

...(Then) two nations struggled within me (Gen. 25.22–23): the Russian in me and the Jew in me locked horns in mighty wrath... And the Jew prevailed’ (Ben-Yehuda 1978:60, 65).

The Russian Empire remained the chief cradle of written and spoken Hebrew in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A few years after Ben-Yehuda’s epiphany, the legendary Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy (1978:19.18) wrote to a friend that he had been studying Hebrew “very intently” with a local rabbi. Thinkers such as Ahad ha-Am (Asher Gintsberg) published pioneering essays in the journal *המליץ* *ha-meliš* ‘The advocate’. A new generation of Hebrew writers and critics grew up under the influence of Russian symbolism and other artistic currents: Mikha Berdichevsky, Shmuel Gordon, Haim Nahman Bialik, Yosef Klausner, Shaul Tchernichowsky, Yosef Brenner, Yitshak Dov Berkowitz, et al. (Bar-Yosef 1994; Bar-Yosef 1996; Domb 1999). Their output is often termed *ספרות התחייה* *sifrut ha-texiya* ‘revival literature’. About two dozen new Hebrew journals appeared (though most were short-lived). The widespread proto-Zionist movement

called *חיבת ציון* *ḥibat sion* ‘Affection for Zion’ stressed reclamation of Hebrew as the quotidian, spoken language of the Jewish nation; the members of *בית יעקב לבו ונלכה* *bet ya'aqov lexu ve-nelxa* ‘House of Jacob, come let us walk (Isa. 2.5)’ left for Palestine. In 1909, a ‘Society of Hebrew-lovers’ was formed in St. Petersburg. Meanwhile, Slouschz (1909:287–288) exulted that Hebrew was now gaining ground “also beyond the boundaries of the Slav countries”. Some Jews gained prominence as Russian writers, prime examples being Osip Mandelshtam (grandson of Binyamin) and Isaak Babel.

Bialik’s famously distressing response to the 1903 Kishinev pogrom, the long poem *בעיר בהריגה* *be-ir ha-harega* ‘In the city of slaughter’, helped to stimulate further *aliya* (immigration to Israel). Hebrew returned to its ancient home in the Middle East; but the Russian setting of its modern revival exerted a lasting impact on the language (Even-Zohar 1990; Lapidus 2003). Wexler (1990; 1995) has even argued that Modern Hebrew should be considered a Slavic rather than a Semitic language. In repudiating that theory (as do nearly all specialists), Paper (1995:451–452) conceded that both Russian and Yiddish “had a profound effect on every aspect of Hebrew structure: phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon” (→ Slavic Influence on Hebrew).

At the time of the Russian Revolutions of 1917, Hebrew and Zionism were still attracting the attention of much of the Jewish population. New Hebrew journals even appeared in Odessa, Moscow, and Warsaw during that fateful year. In 1918, Leib Jaffe edited several anthologies of Hebrew poetry in Russian translation (Horowitz 2006). The 1920s saw the publication of Hebrew-language avant-garde collections such as *בראשית* *be-rešit* ‘In the beginning (Gen. 1.1)’, which included several of Babel’s stories in translation. However, the Soviet Union associated Hebrew with the exploitative class and Yiddish with the ‘workers’; writing in Hebrew therefore became a potential criminal offense from the 1930s on. The poet Haim Lenski died in a Siberian labor camp; Tsvi (Grigorij) Prejgerzon also served time in the Gulag; other Hebrew authors suffered similar fates or went underground. At most, the regime permitted a Sovietized Yiddish culture, including in Birobidzhan (the Far Eastern Jewish Autonomous Region, Stalin’s

alternative to Zionism; Weinberg 1998). In newly independent Poland and Lithuania, by contrast, Hebrew publishing flourished.

Despite persecution, limited Hebrew literary activity persisted in the Soviet Union. The poet Marina Tsvetaeva made several translations from Hebrew into Russian. The Moscow Choral Synagogue obtained permission to issue a *siddur* in 1956. Some Hebrew literature and instructional materials circulated as *samizdat* (illegal self-publishing), especially among refuseniks (those who were denied permission to emigrate). In the late 20th century, the collapse of the U.S.S.R. opened the floodgates of Jewish emigration and allowed for the open resumption of religious pursuits and other avenues of Hebrew study. Synagogues, universities, and the Jewish Agency have offered Hebrew courses in many cities in the post-Soviet era. In Israel, the 'aliya of over one million 'repatriates' from the former Soviet republics has rekindled extensive cross-pollination between Russian and Hebrew.

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YESHAYAHU GRUBER

(The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Russian Influence on Hebrew see →
Slavic Influence on Hebrew

Russian Loanwords see → Slavic
Loanwords

Russian, Hebrew Loanwords in

The majority of Hebrew words that have been borrowed into standard Russian have come either from Biblicalisms that entered, mainly via Greek, into Old Church Slavonic, or from contact with Yiddish. There are also Hebrew loanwords in the argot of Russian thieves, and these have also been borrowed indirectly, mainly through Yiddish.

One of the major sources of Hebrew borrowings into Russian is the Bible. Words with a Hebrew origin entered Russian via translations of the Bible, mainly into Greek (Podolsky 1997). Some example are *messiya* 'Messiah' (< מָשִׁיחַ *mašīah*), *satana* 'devil' (< שָׂטָן *šāṭān*), *iudey* 'Jew' (< יהודי *yəhūdī*), and *evrey* 'Jew'