

TAL ILAN

Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity

Part I

Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism*

91

Mohr Siebeck

Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum

Edited by
Martin Hengel und Peter Schäfer

91



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Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity

Part I
Palestine 330 BCE – 200 CE

Mohr Siebeck

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Dedicated to Yossi Garfinkel
– my best friend

Acknowledgement

This project began as a seminar paper in Prof. Lee Levine's archaeological-historical class on the Herodian period at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1982. Levine was interested in investigating the use of Greek names by Jewish aristocrats during the Herodian period. To this end he urged us to read the works of Josephus. I, however, was fascinated by a completely different onomastic aspect that seemed to crop up on literally every page of Josephus' work – the repeated appearance of the Hebrew names of the Hasmoneans. I asked permission to devote my seminary paper to investigating this topic, and thus I started collecting the names that form the foundation of this corpus. I began very modestly, documenting the data on cards, as these things were still done in the early 1980s. Thus I first wrote down my thesis on the predominance and importance of the Hasmonean names for Palestinian Jews during the Second Temple period a thesis that still lays at the basis of this corpus.

Realizing that the issue was too big to be fully treated in a seminary paper, I decided to write my MA thesis on the names of Jews in Palestine in the Second Temple period. The late Prof. Menahem Stern took it upon himself to guide me in my work. We both realized that in order to profitably catalogue all persons known by name, the project should be computerized. Thus, already in 1984 I wrote my MA thesis on the mainframe Hebrew University computer, a couple of years before PCs came into use. I still remember with gratitude Prof. Stern's many invaluable contributions to my corpus, including allusions to two most obscure persons (Digaios, mentioned in the Byzantine chronographer Syncellus, and Menippus of Rhodes mentioned on an obscure inscription in *IG*). Even after his untimely assassination the computer at the university continued to greet me when I opened it with the words: "Hello Menahem Stern."

A complete break with onomastics followed when I undertook graduate work that was devoted to the study of Second Temple Jewish women, and with the arrival of my children (in 1986 and 1992), my budding name collection was left to collect dust on "stone-age" software. The name catalogue I collected in 1984 was incomplete in any number of ways, but most significantly it lacked the large body of names borne by Jews documented on scrolls, papyri and ostraca discovered in the Judaean Desert, which was still largely unpublished. Over the last twenty years literally all these documents have been published, making it possible to present to the public a near comprehensive corpus of all the names known to us that Jews

bore between 300 BCE and 200 CE. As the publications came out I continued to update my catalogue, and eventually (with the help of my brother Yaron Ilan, who belongs to the generation of computer wiz-kids) I also updated my software, making it Bill-Gates compatible.

I returned to a full-time preoccupation with this name corpus in 1998. Several factors made this move possible, and several persons and institutions have helped bring it about. It began with a semester at the theology faculty in the Johann Wolfgang Goethe-University at Frankfurt/Main, Germany, where I served as Martin-Buber Gastprofessor in the spring semester of 1998. The position allowed me three months away from my family, as well as the assistance of two very bright co-workers – Thomas Lotz and Angela Rascher, to whom I am most grateful. The project ended in another guest professorship semester in the winter of 2000-1, in the Carl von Ossietzky University at Oldenburg, Germany, where I put the finishing touches to my corpus and wrote the introduction that accompanies it. Both these semesters were made possible first and foremost by my partner in life, and best friend, Yossi Garfinkel who kept the fort while I was away, serving as both father and mother to our two adorable children. It is for this reason that I dedicate this book to him. I am sure he and the boys feel a great relief knowing that what we had fondly come to designate “the telephone book” is now finished.

Between Frankfurt and Oldenburg, others deserve thanks for their contribution to this project. Prof. Martin Goodman of Oxford University and the Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies at Yarnton enabled me to work throughout the academic year of 1999-2000 in the marvelous academic atmosphere that Oxford University creates. Prof. Martin Hengel of Tübingen University, Germany, has continually supported my onomastic project over the years, and always encouraged me to bring it to fruition. I must also thank Herr Georg Siebeck of the Mohr Siebeck publishing house, who is without doubt the most patient and pleasant publisher one could hope for.

Last but not least I wish to thank the librarians of the Judaica Reading Room in the National Library in Jerusalem for their tireless efforts. I have worked in the best libraries in the world (and I will not name them so as not to bring anyone to shame) but there is none like this one anywhere. As one colleague had once described it, it is the experience of heaven on earth.

This project is, sadly, incomplete. It ends at 200 CE. However, Greco-Roman domination and rule in Palestine was to last another 450 years. A second volume, documenting Palestinian Jews of these times is a desideratum. Also, Jews did not reside only in Palestine. Another necessary companion to this volume is a complimentary Diaspora volume. It has taken me twenty years to complete this volume. Perhaps if I live another forty years I will be able to complete these other projects as well.

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Abbreviations List

(Includes two kinds of abbreviations: 1. Abbreviations of references from the body of the corpus; 2. Abbreviations of works cited more than once).

1 Chr	1 Chronicles
1 Kgs	1 Kings
1 Macc	1 Maccabees
1QpHab	Peshar Hababuq of Cave 1 in Qumran, in M. Burrows, <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery</i> 1 (New Haven 1950) Plates LV–LXI.
1 Sam	1 Samuel
2 Chr	Chronicles
2 Kgs	2 Kings
2 Macc	2 Maccabees
2 Sam	2 Samuel
3Q15	The Copper Scroll in J.T. Milik, "Le rouleau de cuivre provenant de la grotte 3Q (3Q15)," in <i>DJD</i> 3 (Oxford 1962) 200–302.
4Q	Documents from Cave 4 in Qumran
4Q234; 4Q360	A. Yardeni, <i>DJD</i> 36 (Oxford 2000) 185, 297.
4Q331–2	J. Fitzmyer, <i>DJD</i> 36 (Oxford 2000) 275–86.
4Q342–6; 348;	A. Yardeni, <i>DJD</i> 27 (Oxford 1997) 285–317.
351–4; 356–60	
4Q448	E. Eshel, H. Eshel & A. Yardeni, <i>DJD</i> 11 (Oxford 1998) 403–25.
4Q468g	M. Broshi, <i>DJD</i> 36 (Oxford 2000) 406–11.
4Q477	E. Eshel, <i>DJD</i> 36 (Oxford 2000) 474–83.
4Q520	M. Baillet, <i>DJD</i> 7 (Oxford 1982) 309–12.
4Q523	É. Puech, <i>DJD</i> 25 (Oxford 1998) 75–83.
4Q551	in J. T. Milik, "Daniel et Susanne à Qumrân?" in M. Carrez, J. Dore and P. Grelot (eds.), <i>De la Tôrah au Messie: Études d'exégèse et hermèneutique bibliques offertes à Henri Cazelles</i> (Paris 1979) 337–59.
<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual of the American Society for Oriental Research</i>
<i>Ab</i>	<i>Abot</i>
Abel, <i>RB</i> 10 (1913)	F.-M. Abel, "Tombeau et ossuaires juifs récemment découverts," <i>RB</i> 10 (1913) 262–77.
Abu Raya, <i>ESI</i> 16 (1997)	R. Abu Raya, "Jerusalem, Mount of Olives," <i>ESI</i> 16 (1997) 109–10.
Act of Peter	The Act of Peter, in <i>NHC</i> , 743–93.
Acta Phil	Acta Philippi, in Tischendorf, <i>AA</i> , 141–56.

- Acta Pilati Acta Pilati in Tischendorf, *EA*, 210–322.
- Acts Acts of the Apostles
- AdRN* *Avot de Rabbi Nathan*
- Aharoni, *IEJ* 12 (1962) Y. Aharoni, "Expedition B – Cave of Horror," *IEJ* 12 (1962) 186–99.
- AJ* Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*.
- AJC* Y. Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage* (2 vols.; New York 1982).
- Alon, *Jews in their Land* G. Alon, *The Jews in their Land in the Talmudic Age* (2 vol; Jerusalem 1984).
- Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* G. Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World* (Jerusalem 1977).
- AMB* J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem and Leiden 1985).
- AOFCI* I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem 1996).
- Applebaum, *Hermon* S. Applebaum, "A Selection of Inscriptions from Mount Hermon's Temples and Villages," in S. Darr (ed.), *Settlements of the Hermon in Antiquity* (Tel Aviv, 1988) 33–53 (Hebrew).
- App/M Appendix / Male
- Arabic Infancy Gospel Arabic Infancy Gospel, in Sike, *Evangelium Infantiae*.
- Arak* *Arakkin*
- Arist.* *Letter of Aristeas* in M. Hadas (ed.), *Aristeas to Philocrates* (Jewish Apocryphal Literature; New York 1951).
- Aruk* A. Kohut, *Aruch Completum (Lexicon Vocabula et Res, qua in Libris Targumicis, Talmudicis et Midraschicis Continentur, explicans Auctore Nathane filio Jechielis)* (8 vols; Viennae 1878).
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- Avigad, *EI* 16 (1982) N. Avigad, "The Seal of Elienai," *EI* 16 (1982) 1–2 (Hebrew).
- Avigad, *IEJ* 7 (1957) M. Avi-Yonah, N. Avigad, Y. Aharoni, I Dunayevsky and S. Gutman, "Archaeological Survey of Masada, 1955–1956," *IEJ* 7 (1957) 1–60.
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- Avigad, *IEJ* 17 (1967) N. Avigad, "Aramaic Inscriptions in the Tomb of Jason," *IEJ* 17 (1967) 101–11.
- Avigad, *IEJ* 20 (1970) N. Avigad, "Excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, 1969/70 (Preliminary Report)," *IEJ* 20 (1970) 1–17.
- Avigad, *IEJ* 21 (1971) N. Avigad, "The Burial Vault of a Nazirite Family on Mount Scopus," *IEJ* 21 (1971) 185–200.
- Avigad, *IEJ* 25 (1975) N. Avigad, "A Bulla of King Jonathan the High Priest," *IEJ* 25 (1975) 8–12.
- AZ* *Avodah Zarah*
- b* BT
- B/F Biblical / Female

- B/M Biblical / Male
- Bar-Adon, *BASOR* 227 (1977) P. Bar-Adon, "Another Settlement of the Judaeen Desert Sect at 'En el-Ghuweir on the Shores of the Dead Sea," *BASOR* 227 (1977) 1–25.
- Bar-Adon, *Cave of Treasure* P. Bar-Adon, *The Cave of the Treasure: The Finds of the Caves in Nahal Mishmar* (Jerusalem 1980).
- Barhebraeus, *Chron. Ec.* (Abbeloos) J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy, *Georgii Barhebraei, Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* 2 (Paris 1877).
- BASOR* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
- Bauckham, *Jude* R. Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church* (Edinburgh 1990).
- BB* *Bava Batra*
- BCE Before the Common Era
- Bek* *Bekhorot*
- Ber* *Berakhot*
- Beth She'arim* 1, 2, 3 B. Mazar, *Beth She'arim I: Report on the Excavations During 1936–1940* (Jerusalem 1973); B. Lifschitz and M. Schwabe, *Beth She'arim II: The Greek Inscriptions* (Jerusalem 1976); N. Avigad, *Beth She'arim III: Report on the Excavations During 1953–1958* (Jerusalem 1976).
- Bickerman, "Colophon" E. Bickerman, "The Colophon of the Greek Book of Esther," in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* 1 (Leiden 1976) 225–45.
- BIES* *Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society* (Hebrew)
- Bik* *Bikkurim*
- BJ* Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum*
- BM* *Bava Metzia*
- BQ* *Bava Qama*
- Brody "Caiaphas and Cantheras" R. Brody "Appendix IV: Caiaphas and Cantheras," in D. R. Schwartz, *Agrippa I* (Tübingen 1990) 190–5.
- Broshi, *JJS* 49 (1998) M. Broshi, "Ptolas and the Archelaus Massacre (4Q468g = 4Qhistorical text B)," *JJS* 49 (1998) 341–5.
- BT Babylonian Talmud (=Bavli)
- Budge, *Copt. Apoc.* E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London 1913).
- C Century
- CA Josephus, *Contra Apionem*
- Campbell, *BASOR* 161 (1961) E. F. Campbell, "The Third Campaign at Balâta (Shechem): Field VII. The Stratification," *BASOR* 161 (1961) 40–53.
- Cassuto-Salzmänn, *EI* 3 (1954) M. Cassuto-Salzmänn, "Greek Names among the Jews," *EI* 3 (1954) 186–90 (Hebrew).
- CBQ* *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
- CD* Cairo Document in M. Broshi, *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem 1992).
- CE Common Era
- Chase, *HSCP* 8 (1897) G. D. Chase, "The Origin of Roman Praenomina," *HSCP* 8 (1897) 103–84.
- CIJ* J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* (2 vols.; Rome 1936–52).
- CIS* *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*

- CJO* L. Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem 1994).
- Clementine Homilies in A. R. Dressel, *PG* 2 (1857) 58–467.
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- Conder *PEFQS* 17 (1883) R. C. Conder, “Hebrew Inscriptions,” *PEFQS* 17 (1883) 170–4.
- Coptic Bartholomew The Book of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle, in Budge, *Copt. Apoc.* 1–48.
- Cotton & Geiger, H. M. Cotton and J. Geiger, *Masada II: The Latin and Greek Documents* (Jerusalem 1989).
- CPJ* V. Tcherikover, A. Fuks and M. Stern (eds.) *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (3 vols.; Cambridge MA, 1957–64).
- CWSSS* N. Avigad and B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem 1997).
- Dalman, *MNDPV* (1903) D. Dalman, “Epigraphisches und Pseudepigraphisches,” *MNDPV* (1903) 2–32.
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- Dan Daniel
- Dec. Christi Decensus Christi ad Inferos, in Tischendorf, *EA*, 417–34.
- Derenbourg, *Essai* J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l’histoire et la géographie de la Palestine d’après les thalmonds et les autres sources rabbiniques* (Paris 1867).
- Deut Deuteronomy
- DF* P. B. Bagatti and J. T. Milik, *Gli scavi del “Dominus Flevit” (Monte Oliveto Gerusalemme)* 1 (Jerusalem 1958).
- DJ* N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Jerusalem 1980).
- DJD* *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert*
- DJO* P. Figueras, *Decorated Jewish Ossuaries* (Leiden 1983).
- Dor. Mar. Iohannis Liber de Dormitione Mariae, in Tischendorf, *AA*, 95–112.
- DS* R. Rabbinovicz, *Varia Lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum (=Diquduqei Sofrim)* (12 vols; Munich 1875).
- EBTHPN* M. Heltzer and M Ohana, *The Extra-Biblical Tradition of Hebrew*

- Personal Names (From the First Temple Period to the End of the Talmudic Period)* (Haifa 1978) (Hebrew).
- Eccles Rab* *Ecclesiastes Rabbah*
Ed *Eduyot*
EI *Eretz Israel*
Epiph. Anc. Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, in G. Dindorf (ed.), *Epiphanius Episcopi Constantiae Opera I–III* (Lipsiae 1862).
Epiph. De Mens. Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* in G. Dindorf (ed.), *Epiphanius Episcopi Constantiae Opera IV* (Lipsiae 1862) 3–140.
Epiph. Pan. Epiphanius, *Panarium* in G. Dindorf (ed.), *Epiphanius Episcopi Constantiae Opera I–III* (Lipsiae 1862).
Epist. Pilati et Herodis *Epistolae Pilati et Herodis*, in James, AA 2, 66–75.
Erub *Erubin*
Eshel, Zion 64 (1999) H. Eshel, “Some Notes Concerning High Priests in the First Century CE,” *Zion 64* (1999) 495–504 (Hebrew).
ESI *Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
Esth *Esther*
Esth Rab *Esther Rabbah*
Eus. EH Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*
Eus. PE Eusebius, *Praeparationis Evangelicae*
Ev. Thom. Evangelium Thomae Graece, in Thischendorf, EA, 140–63.
Exod *Exodus*
Exod Rab *Exodus Rabbah*
Ezek *Ezekiel*
- Feldman, *JQR* 49 (1958–9) L. H. Feldman, “The Identity of Pollio, the Pharisee in Josephus,” *JQR* 49 (1958–9) 53–62.
Foraboschi, *Onomasticon* D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum (Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Priesigke)* (Milano 1967).
Fritz & Deines, *IEJ* 49 (1999) V. Fritz and R. Deines, “Catalogue of the Jewish Ossuaries in the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology,” *IEJ* 49 (1999) 222–41.
Fuks, *IEJ* 31 (1981) G. Fuks, “Antiochus Son of Phallion,” *IEJ* 31 (1981) 237–8.
- G/F Greek / Female
G/M Greek / Male
Gabalda, *RB* 6 (1909) J. Gabalda, “Bulletin,” *RB* 6 (1909) 291–336.
Gen *Genesis*
Gen Rab *Genesis Rabbah (Bereshit Rabbah)*.
Gershuny & Zissu, *Atiqot* 30 (1997) L. Gershuny and B. Zissu, “Tombs of the Second Temple Period at Giv’at Shapira, Jerusalem,” *Atiqot* 30 (1997) 45*–59* (Hebrew).
Gibson & Avni, *RB* 105 (1998) S. Gibson and G. Avni, “The ‘Jewish-Christian’ Tomb from the Mount of Offence (Batn Al-Hawa’) in Jerusalem Re-considered,” *RB* 105 (1998) 161–75.
- Git* *Gittin*
GLAJJ M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (3 vols.; Jerusalem 1974–84).
Goldsmith, *II Maccabees* J.A. Goldsmith, *II Maccabees* (The Anchor Bible; New York 1983).
Goodblatt, *JJS* 38 D. Goodblatt, “A Contribution to the Prosopography of the

- (1987) Second Revolt: Yehudah bar Menasheh," *JJS* 38 (1987) 38–55.
 Goodblatt, *Monarchic Principle* D. Goodblatt, *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self Government in Antiquity* (Tübingen 1994).
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Hadashot Archeologiot (Hebrew).
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 Hachlili, *IAAR* 7 R. Hachlili, *Jericho: The Jewish Cemetery of the Second Temple Period* (*IAAR* 7; Jerusalem 1999).
- Hag* *Hagigah*
Hal *Hallah*
- Harding, *ICPIANI* G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto 1971).
- Harduf, *Biblical Names* D. M. Harduf, *Biblical Proper Names* (Tel Aviv 1964).
 Hengel, *Zealots* M. Hengel, *The Zealots: Investigations into the Jewish Freedom Movement in the Period from Herod I until 70 AD* (Edinburgh 1989).
HGGO E. Testa, *Herodion IV: I graffiti e gli ostraka* (Jerusalem 1972).
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 (1975)
 Hist. Ioseph Historia Iosephi Fabri Lignarii, in Tischendorf, *EA*, 122–39.
 Holladay, *Fragments* C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (2 vols.; Atlanta 1989).
 Hölscher *Quellen* G. Hölscher, *Die Quellen des Josephus für die Zeit vom Exil bis zum jüdischen Krieg* (Leipzig 1904).
- Hor* *Horayot*
Horbury, *PEQ* 126 W. Horbury, "The 'Caiaphas' Ossuaries and Joseph Caiaphas," *PEQ* 126 (1994) 32–48.
 (1994)
- Hos* *Hosea*
HSCP *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HTR *Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual*
Hul *Hullin*
- Hyman, *Toldoth* A. Hyman, *Toldoth tannaim ve-amoraim* (3 vols.; London 1910) (Hebrew).
- IAAR* *Israel Antiquities Authority Reports*
IEJ *Israel Exploration Journal*
IG XII F. H. de Gärtingen, *Inscriptiones Graecae XII: Inscriptiones Insularum Maris Aegaei* (Berlin 1898).
- Ilan, *Atiqot*, in press T. Ilan, "The Names: Onomastic Notes," *Atiqot*, in press (Hebrew).
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 Ilan, *IAAR* 1 (1996) T. Ilan, "The Ossuary and Sarcophagus Inscriptions" in G. Avni and Z. Greenhut, *The Akeldama Tombs: Three Burial*

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- Ilan, *Jewish Women* T. Ilan, *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine* (Tübingen 1995).
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- JJS* *Journal of Jewish Studies*
- Joshua
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- JQR* *Jewish Quarterly Review*
- JRS* *Journal of Roman Studies*
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- m* Mishnah
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- MQ* *Moed Qatan*
- MS* *Measer Sheni*
- Ms. Manuscript

ms.	manuscript
mss	manuscripts
Mun. Ms.	Munich Manuscript of BT
Mur	Muraba'at documents, in J. T. Milik and P. Benoit, <i>DJD</i> 2 (Oxford 1961).
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<i>Ned</i>	<i>Nedarim</i>
<i>Neg</i>	<i>Negaim</i>
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<i>Nid</i>	<i>Niddah</i>
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<i>Nov Test</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NT	New Testament
Num	Numbers
O.S.	Old Series
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> (2 vols; Lipsiae 1903).

<i>Ohil</i>	<i>Ohilot</i>
Oren & Rappaport, <i>IEJ</i> 34 (1984)	E. D. Oren and U. Rappaport, "The Necropolis of Maresha-Beth Govrin," <i>IEJ</i> 34 (1984) 114–53.
P/F	Persian / Female
P/M	Persian / Male
Pap. Ber.	Papyrus Berlionensis, in <i>NHC</i> , 453–93.
<i>Par</i>	<i>Parah</i>
par.	parashah (in <i>Sifra</i>)
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<i>PE Jacobi</i>	<i>Proto-Evangelium Jacobi</i> , in Tischendorf, <i>EA</i> , 1–50.
<i>PEF</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund</i>
<i>PEFQS</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>Pes</i>	<i>Pesahim</i>
<i>Pesiq Rab</i>	<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i> in M. Friedmann (ed.), <i>Pesikta Rabbati Midrasch für den Fest-Cyclus und die ausgezeichneten Sabbathe</i> (Wien 1880) (Hebrew).
<i>PESSI</i> 4	E. Littmann, <i>The Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions in Syria 1904–5 and 1909 IVA: Semitic Inscriptions. Nabatean</i> (Leiden 1914).
<i>PG</i>	J.-P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae Graeca</i>
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Prov	Proverbs
Pseud-Matt	Pseudo-Matthaei Evangelium Epistulae, in Tischendorf, <i>EA</i> , 51–112.
PT	Palestinian Talmud (=Yerushalmi)
Puech, <i>LA</i> 32 (1982) 358	É. Puech, "Ossuaries inscrits d'une tombe du Mont des Oliviers," <i>LA</i> 32 (1982) 355–72.
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PYadin 5; 11–35	in Lewis, <i>JDS</i> 2.
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<i>Qid</i>	<i>Qiddushin</i>
<i>Qin</i>	<i>Qinnim</i>

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- S of S Zuta* *Song of Songs Zuta*
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- S-H/M Semitic-Hebrew (characters) / Male
- S-G/F Semitic-Greek (characters) / Female
- S-G/M Semitic-Greek (characters) / Male
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Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Palestine 330 BCE – 200 CE

Introduction

Chronology: This study is a collection of the information on names of Jews in Palestine and the people who bore them between 330 BCE (the Hellenistic conquest of Palestine) and 200 CE (the date usually assigned to the close of the mishnaic period, and the early Roman Empire). The former date is of significance, politically as well as culturally, since it marks the beginnings of the influence of a new, non-Semitic culture and language on the Jews of Palestine. With the arrival of Greek, the Jewish onomasticon of Palestine underwent a significant change, which this study traces. The date marking the end of this study is much more artificial, and is dictated by the sources, rather than by historical events. This study collects all the names documented in “tannaitic” (i.e. early rabbinic) sources, which all stem from Palestine. It allows us to include in this corpus all the tannaitic sources and all the documentary materials from the Judaeen Desert. A choice of a more historically significant date, such as the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE or the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135 CE would have required an artificial division within the sources themselves, which would have detracted from the unity of this work. Obviously, this lexicon is in need of two complementary volumes: one that records names of Jews from Palestine from 200 CE until 650 CE (end of the period of Greek influence in Palestine) and the other that records the names of Jews in the Greco-Roman-Byzantine Diaspora. I hope I will be able to master such enormous projects in the future.

Onomasticon: This study is both an onomasticon and a prosopography. It is an onomasticon in as far as it is a collection of all the recorded names used by the Jews of Palestine in the above-mentioned period. It discusses the provenance of the names and attempts to explain them etymologically, given the many possible sources of influence for names at the time: the Bible, Hebrew, Aramaic, Nabatean, Idumean, Egyptian, Persian, Greek and Latin.

Prosopography: It is a prosopography, in as far as it collects not just names but also the people who bore the names. In this respect it bears the character of a modern telephone book. It is organized alphabetically according to names. Unlike a tele-

phone book, however, it is not organized under family names, but rather under personal names, because family names were usually not in use at the time, and are basically very rare. Under every name are listed all the persons we know who bore it. As such, the lexicon is, more than a linguistic tool; it is a historical record.

Statistics: The most important results that can be arrived at from such a lexicon are of a statistical nature. This is a large corpus, with 3595 entries (see Table 2). However, not all entries are clearly of personal names. Because this lexicon strives to be all encompassing, doubtful names of all sorts (see below section 6) each receives a line. With many doubtful entries, the statistical results one may arrive at can be gravely distorted. Thus, after a careful analysis, only 2826 names were found to conform to all statistical criteria and only these names are used in statistical calculations (see Table 2). Since even so, this is a large corpus, it is assumed, on the basis of the statistical theory of probability that such a record adequately demonstrates the patterns of name-giving that prevailed among Greco-Roman Palestinian Jews. A study of these patterns shows that the principles that guided Jews in name giving at this time were irredeemably changed compared to what we know or imagine about the Hebrew Bible period. I hope to show that the meaning of the name played only a small role in the considerations of the name givers (and thus we may assume that sounds became more important), that the biblical heroes were not necessarily the models for name giving and that new (particularly Hebrew) names were not being invented. Instead we see the following tendencies: the pool of names in use was very limited and, as a result, an enormous portion of the population used only a few specific names. These names are principally Hebrew-biblical, but they are not the names of important biblical heroes but rather names of secondary characters. Most of them do, however, have in common their provenance in the Second Temple family of leaders – the Hasmoneans. This is true for male as well as female names. Foreign names were also adopted, but their influence on the onomasticon is much greater than on the prosopography. By this I mean that we encounter many foreign, particularly Greek but later also Latin names, but they did not have a lasting effect and none of them was ever as popular as the biblical-Hasmonean names.

Index: The documents surveyed in this lexicon are varied and composed in different alphabets. Hebrew and Greek are the principal ones but some names have been preserved in Latin, Cyrillic, Coptic and Arabic. Nevertheless, because of the nature of this lexicon, I chose not to arrange it according to alphabets, but rather according to the origin of the name. Thus if a name such as Joseph is recorded both in Hebrew and Greek and even Latin, all persons by this name are recorded together under the Hebrew characters יִסְחַרְפֵּי , because the name is originally biblical. However, certainly in Greek, but even in Hebrew, many forms were used in transcribing this name. Thus for example, in the epigraphic material the name is

usually recorded as יהוסי. In some of the written documents the short form יוסי is recorded. Both obviously refer to the same name, as can be clearly demonstrated in some case. All these forms are, listed under the same name. Thus the corpus is intensely analytical. Many decisions were made about various forms as to which original name they represent. These decisions, are, of course all defended in footnotes. However, an alphabetical index is appended to this study so that when searching for a specific form, a consultation of the index will reveal immediately what decision was taken with regard to it. The index is arranged alphabetically – Greek, Latin, other languages written from left to right and then Hebrew and other languages written from right to left.

Languages: The corpus is arranged according to the various languages in use at the time. Language does not necessarily mean alphabets. For example, a Greek name can be written in Hebrew letters, and vice versa. Thus the Greek name Δοσυμένης is recorded twice in the lexicon, both in Hebrew – דוּסוּמֵנִס. Also, hardly any of the Latin names are ever recorded in Latin letters. The names are arranged alphabetically, according to the classic spelling in each language. There are, therefore, six lists altogether: 1. Biblical names, 2. Greek names, 3. Latin names, 4. Persian names, 5. Other Semitic names in the Hebrew alphabet 6. Other Semitic names in the Greek alphabet. The rationale for this arrangement will be discussed below.

Gender: In each language a separate alphabetical list for women's name is presented at the end. This is because women's names are documented in different ways from men's names, different tendencies govern women's name giving, and statistically the two do not belong to the same pool. When a daughter is born a completely different pool of names is consulted in her naming. Furthermore, women are greatly underrepresented in this corpus. Thus, with 2509 named men against 317 named women, they constitute only 11.2% of all the persons mentioned in the corpus (see Table 4). Thus, the popularity of a female name should be tested against the corpus of women's names rather than against the complete corpus, since in the latter case the significance of the results will be lost. For example, the third most popular female name in this corpus is Shelamzion (see Table 6). It is documented 25 times. There are twenty-one male names that are documented at least the same number of times, and often more (see Table 7). Thus in a general count it would only come as the twenty-second most popular name. This would distort the picture indicating the extent of its popularity for women.

Entries: Each person is represented by one entry. Each entry is divided into six rubrics: 1. Orthography, 2. Description, 3. Find, 4. Source, 5. Exceptions, 6. Dating. The rubrics are intended to supply information about each person. In some cases, however, no information about a certain person is available. In such cases, the rubric is left empty.

The remainder of the introduction is divided into seven parts. Part one deals with the names – the onomasticon – and details which sort of names are recorded under which language and why. The next six parts are divided according to the rubrics under each name and explain in detail why certain information is recorded under each rubric.

1. The Names

1.1 Biblical names: are only names expressly mentioned in the Hebrew Bible, or forms that clearly derive from these names. Various abbreviated forms of biblical names developed during the Hellenistic Roman period. Thus, for example, the Hasmonean king "נְּ" (Jonathan no. 14) is recorded thus in rabbinic literature, and Josephus retains the equivalent Greek form of this name Ἰανναῖος. However, on his own coins, and perhaps also in a document from Qumran, this King is designated יהונתן. Obviously the one is a variation of the other.

It has not always been easy to decide whether a name is biblical or not. The name שַׁמְלָא is biblical and is recorded three times in documents from the period under study. Yet there are several problems with it. First of all, the biblical figure who bears this name is a foreign Edomite king. Secondly, the name is punctuated so that it would be transliterated into Latin letters: Samla. In LXX it is transliterated Σαμαλά. Yet in one of the documents, the transliteration of the name into Greek looks very different – Σωμαλα. Despite the fact that it is not certain whether this name is biblical at all, given the foreign character of the biblical figure who bore it, and despite the different transliteration, my inclusive policy instructed me to include this name under biblical ones. A similar problem arose with the female Shapira, documented often in this corpus (and also in the NT as Σάπφιρα). This name could be readily understood in Aramaic as “beautiful,” a word used in many languages as a female name, for example Jamila in Arabic, or Yafa in modern Hebrew). However, the biblical name שַׁפְּרָה, which means more or less the same, is also a probability, and even though most of the occurrences of this name in Hebrew characters have an additional vowel in them (שַׁפְּרָה), at least in one case the biblical spelling is retained. Thus, in this case too, I decided to place this name under biblical names. The inclusive approach was almost always adopted. There is only one name mentioned in the Hebrew Bible that I have decided not to include under this category – Darius. This name is reserved in the Hebrew Bible for a Persian monarch, and is clearly Persian. Thus, it is recorded under Persian names.

Biblical names are usually Hebrew names, but not always. The character and morphology of the biblical name has been extensively researched.¹ Thus we know

¹ Noth, *IPRGN*; and see more recently R. Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography* (Leuven 1988).

how they were formed and what they looked like. Jews also used many non-biblical Hebrew names, similar to the biblical ones, at the time.² However, these names have been recorded here under “other Semitic names” rather than under biblical names. I concluded that once an attempt is made to differentiate between Hebrew non-biblical, or alternatively Aramaic-biblical names the confusion becomes too great. Thus, even when the name is clearly Hebrew, like אבִי־אֹר, or פֶּרְחִיה, since it is not recorded in the Bible, it is found under the Semitic listing.

One additional note should be made, about one type of biblical name and its development at the time under discussion: The Bible usually retains a long form (חֹזְקִיה) and a short form (חֹזְקִיה) of most names with the theophoric Yahavistic element as a suffix. During the Second Temple the suffix ך always falls. This entire corpus does not record even one example to the contrary. On the other hand, it records all the following examples of the demise of the ultimate ך: בְּנִיָּה (בְּנִיָּהוּ); שׁוֹבִיָּה (שׁוֹבִיָּהוּ); יֵאֻזְנִיָּה (יֵאֻזְנִיָּהוּ); חֲנַנְיָה (חֲנַנְיָהוּ); חֲלֻקְיָה (חֲלֻקְיָהוּ); חֲזַקְיָה (חֲזַקְיָהוּ); עֲזַרְיָה (עֲזַרְיָהוּ); מַתְתִּיָּה (מַתְתִּיָּהוּ); יִשְׁעִיָּה (יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ); יִרְמִיָּה (יִרְמִיָּהוּ); יֵאֻשִׁיָּה (יֵאֻשִׁיָּהוּ); שְׁמַעִיָּה (שְׁמַעִיָּהוּ); צַדְקִיָּה (צַדְקִיָּהוּ).

1.1.1 Male Biblical names: As mentioned above, in this corpus male names are listed separately from female names because of the different social customs which created one and the other. There are 150 male biblical names in this corpus (see Table 1). This means that biblical names constituted only 20.7% of the name pool used by Jewish males at the time. But this information is misleading. 1842 men used these 150 names (see Table 2). That means that 20.7% of the name pool served 73.4% of the male population (see Table 3). This phenomenon requires explanation. What made the biblical names popular and which names in particular fared better than others? In the following lines I will attempt to answer this question.

1.1.1.1 The Biblical Heroes – The biblical names most commonly used were not the ones we would have expected. The greatest biblical heroes Abraham the first Patriarch, Moses the Exodus leader, Aaron, his brother and the first priest, David the beloved king, founder of the eternal dynasty, Solomon his son and Elijah, the mystical prophet did not lend their names to Jews of the Second Temple period. In this corpus there are recorded four persons by the name of Abraham, but they were all apparently fictional. David is recorded on a tomb inscription of a family that probably claimed decent from King David. The inscription reads בֵּית־דָּוִד, i.e. “house of David.” All these are doubtful cases, which are not included in any statistics based on this lexicon. The name Moses, on the other hand, is recorded once in Greek, and since it bears no other unusual characteristics, was included in the statistical corpus. Yet it was recorded on a fragmentary papyrus, that could probably be read otherwise.³ Aaron, Solomon and Elijah are never recorded.

² On such names already documented from the biblical period, see *EBTHPN*, and also *CWSSS*.

³ Further on this topic see T. Derda, “Did the Jews Use the Name Moses in Antiquity?” *ZPE*

On the other hand, names of biblical characters of doubtful credentials, are all quite well documented. These include Simon and Levi (Jacobs sons who earned their fathers scorn), Saul (the first king who fell out of God's grace), Abshalom (David's son, who rebelled against his father), Manaseh (Joseph's son, but also the most disgraced king of Judah), and Menahem (the one before last king of Israel, whose lose of the realm was seen as God's punishment). Most unusual is the popularity of the name Ishmael (recorded no less than 31 times in this lexicon), the biblical person by this name being Abraham's son the forefather of the Arab people, who were destined to become mortal enemies of Israel.

Names of secondary characters of no particular negative aspects such as Isaac and Jacob, the two next patriarchs, Judah, Joseph and Benjamin, Jacob's sons, Joshua, Moses' heir, Samuel and Elisha, the prophets, Jonathan, King Saul's son, were also in use.

We may only guess that the mechanism at work in this choice of names is a belief that a use (or misuse) of a name may dishonor its original bearer. The magical significance of names may also have been at work here. The fear that a name that is too powerful may be dangerous to its bearer may have played a role in the avoidance of certain names. Interestingly, this pattern has been taken over by Christianity, in which it is unusual for a child to be named "Jesus." The exception to this rule is Spain, in which the name Jesus is quite common. Perhaps the Spanish display, in this case, a later, Muslim influence, since Spain was under Muslim rule for several centuries. In Islam a completely other name-giving mechanism was at work. The name Muhammad is most popular among Muslims. The Arabic form for Jesus – Isa – is also a common name (since the Muslims too consider Jesus a prophet). So too they readily use the names of the biblical figures (whom they view as prophets) Abraham – Ibrahim, Moyses – Musa, Aaron – Harun, and David – Daud. Perhaps the use of these names by Jews also only began after a large part of the Jewish population came under Muslim rule.

This is all true for male names. As we shall see below, the mechanisms governing the bestowal of female names were somewhat different.

1.1.1.2 The Hasmoneans – Of the biblical names, the one group that can be isolated as the most popular by far is that of the names of the Hasmoneans (see Table 5).⁴ The initiator of the Hasmonean rebellion was the priest from Modi'in, Mattathias (מַתַּתִּיָּהוּ). In this corpus the name (in various forms) is recorded in 63 entries. The five sons of Mattathias were the heroes of the Hasmonean revolt against the Seleucid rule in Palestine between 168 and 140 BCE. They were also the founders of the Hasmonean royal dynasty, which ruled an independent Judaea for almost 100 years (down to 63 BCE). Their names were Yohanan (=John),

115 (1997) 257–60; M.H. Williams, "Jewish Use of Moses as a Personal Name in Graeco-Roman Antiquity: A Note," *ZPE* 118 (1997) 274.

⁴ See Ilan, *EI* 19 (1987). See also Hachlili, *EI* 17 (1984) 191–2.

Simon, Judah, Eleazar and Jonathan. Each of these names is recorded often in the corpus: Yohanan – 128; Simon – 257; Judah – 179; Eleazar – 177; Jonathan – 75. Together this adds up to 879 people. These numbers, however, may be distorted. In order to assess the real impact of Hasmonean names on the population, the following measures need to be taken:

1.1.1.2.1 The normal procedure of removing doubtful persons mentioned in the list should be followed, see below, 6). There are 51 such bearers of Hasmonean names in this corpus.

1.1.1.2.2 People designated by Hasmonean names from the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BCE cannot be conceived as having received these names under Hasmonean influence, and should therefore also be removed. There are 21 such bearers of Hasmonean names in this corpus.

1.1.1.2.3 Obviously, persons within the Hasmonean family who gave their offspring Hasmonean names did so not because of the special impact of the Hasmonean family but due to a phenomenon designated patronymy or paponymy (see below, 3.1.1 and 3.1.2). In order to assess statistically the Hasmonean impact on name giving, it is essential to isolate *heros eponymi* of the Hasmonean names, or others of these names, themselves of the Hasmonean family. These persons are also removed from the count. There are 15 such bearers of Hasmonean names in this corpus.

With the deduction of these persons we are left with 792 persons bearing Hasmonean names. In terms of the entire population, this means that 31.5% of the male population (792, out of 2509) bore the six names of the Hasmoneans. This is a glaring indication of the popularity of and the widespread support for the Hasmonean revolt. But it is not all. The names of the Hasmoneans, as popular as they are, do not include the second most popular male name – Joseph – with 231 representatives in this corpus. It is interesting to note that in 2 Macc 8:22 another Hasmonean brother is mentioned – Joseph. Many attempts have been made to explain away this phenomenon, since it contradicts the data from 1 Macc of the five sons of Mattathias, information preserved also in Josephus. Yet Josephus clearly derives this information from 1 Macc, and thus, since rabbinic literature preserves none of the names of the first Hasmoneans, we have here the information of one source pitted against data in another, and there is no reason to prefer one to the other. If we include Joseph as a fifth Hasmonean brother we encounter the following details. After removing invalid, early and Hasmonean persons bearing the name we are left with 210 persons of this name. Adding these to the Hasmonean total, we come up with 1002 persons, who constitute 39.9% of the entire male population. If Joseph was indeed a Hasmonean name, the family was even more popular than I suggested with a conservative estimate.

1.1.1.2.4 Given this data, it is interesting to note that, despite the widespread use of Hasmonean names among the sages, the first generation Hasmoneans, those responsible for the drama of the Hasmonean revolt, are nowhere mentioned in

rabbinic literature. Rabbinic literature mentions Mattathias, the father of the Hasmonean brothers (כהן גדול), and mentions all the later Hasmonean monarchs (Yohanan Hyrcanus – יוחנן כהן גדול, Alexander Yannai – נא' המלך, Queen Shelamzion with various names, e.g. שלמזו, and her sons Aristobulus and Hyrcanus – הורקנוס ואריסטובולוס). It skips over all those responsible for the Hasmonean revolution. This may be telling us something about another, probably much later Jewish attitude to the rebellion.⁵

1.1.1.3 Priestly Clans – Finally, another point of interest relates specifically to biblical names – the priestly clans. Although there were, as a rule, no family names in the Greco-Roman period, priests are a special instance, and the priestly clans a case in point. The priestly clans, mentioned in 1 Chr 24, constituted an important group within Second Temple society in Palestine. For example, it was important for the Hasmonians to point out, in their official history (1 Macc 2.1) that they belonged to the foremost priestly clan יהויריב / Ἰωαριβος mentioned first in the 1 Chr list. Further importance of the priestly clans can be adduced from their prominence in lists found in Qumran⁶; in the inscription fragments discovered in various ancient synagogues in Palestine and the Diaspora which list them⁷; in the traditions associated with them in the Talmud (e.g. *yTaan* 4:5, 68d), and even in the prominent position they take up in the Byzantine *piyut* tradition.⁸ In the record of Second Temple times the following examples of persons associated with the priestly clans are recorded: Ἀβιά (אביה); Ἀλῆσιβ; Βεργᾶς (בלגה); Δάλαιος (דליה); Ἀκῶς (הקין); Ἰωαρεῖβ (יהויריב); Ἰωαρεῖβ (יהויריב); יכים; יכין; יכין; ישבאב; ישבאב.

Priestly families, it seems, not only followed the pattern of the clans from 1 Chr 24 but also invented names for smaller family units, which were neither biblical, nor even Hebrew, see e.g. ביתוס; קתרוס etc.

1.1.2 Biblical Women's names: Of the 166 biblical names recorded in this corpus, only 16 are female (see Table 1), constituting only 9.7%. The percentage of women is not very different. Out of the 2004 persons bearing biblical names in this corpus, only 162 are female (see Table 2), i.e. 8.2%. Within the corpus itself, biblical female names constitute a significantly lower percentage than male biblical names. Out of a total of 317 women the 162 bearing female names constitute only 51.1% (see Table 3). Compared to the 73.4% of males bearing biblical names. 51.1% of female is smaller by almost a third. This may indicate that, as in later times, foreign names were more easily adopted for women than for men.⁹ Like

⁵ Against Alon, *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World*, 1–17.

⁶ 4Q331–3 (=DJD 36, 275–86).

⁷ M. Avi-Yonah, “The Caesarea Inscription of the 24 Priestly Courses,” *EI* 7 (1964) 24–8 (Hebrew); E. E. Urbach, “*Mishmarot* and *Ma'amadot*,” *Tarbiz* 42 (1973) 304–27 (Hebrew) especially pp. 304–13

⁸ S. Klein, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas* (Leipzig 1907), and more recently e.g. E. Fleischer, “A Piyut of Yanai on the Priestly Courses,” *Sinai* 64 (1969) 176–84 (Hebrew).

⁹ See e.g. R. Levine-Melammed, “Sephardi Women in Medieval and Early Modern Periods,” in J. Baskin (ed.), *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective* (Detroit 1998) 129.

male names, however, women's names too concentrated particularly on three, of which only two are recorded here under biblical names. The names מרים and its derivative מריה and the similar names שלום which in the Bible is a male name, and שלמציין, which is not biblical, and is therefore listed in this corpus under other Semitic names.

1.1.2.1 The Most Popular Names – The names מרים / Μαριάμη, שלום / Σαλώμη and שלמציין were the most popular female name at the time. They appear in the corpus 152 times, and constitute roughly 48% of the female population.¹⁰ This means that three names, two of them quite similar,¹¹ were used for almost half of the female population. Why this was so is not absolutely clear, but it may be of interest to note that the only two Hasmonean women that we know by their Hebrew name were the Queen – שלמציין – and Herod's wife – Μαριάμη. Whether the names were so popular because they too were Hasmonean, or whether they were in use in the Hasmonean family because they were so popular is not absolutely certain.

1.1.2.2 Unnamed Women – Another point of observation on the rarity of female biblical names is associated with a phenomenon already evident in the bible itself. Many women mentioned in the Hebrew Bible are themselves not named. As a result a complex literature developed, beginning with the Second Temple period, in which various names were invented for these women. Obviously these names do not feature in this corpus, because the characters they purport to name date from an earlier period.¹² However, a similar phenomenon is also visible with relation to the New Testament. Several nameless women mentioned therein receive names in Christian apocryphal compositions. These women are included in this corpus, because they date from the time it covers, although they are clearly fictitious. Our corpus include the widow of Nain – Leah; the woman with the twelve-year blood flow – Berenice and particularly Jesus' sisters – Anna, Lydia, Lysia, Maria and Salome. The Clementine Homilies also name the Syrophoenician woman of Mark 7:24–30 – Justa (2:19:1) and her sick daughter – Berenice, (4:1:2). They are not included in this corpus because they are manifestly non-Jewish in the Gospels.

1.2 Greek names: The arrival of Hellenism in the East, with the conquests of Alexander the Great, brought Greek culture and Greek names with it. Greek names are names known from the Greek onomasticon. The Greek onomasticon has been studied extensively.¹³ Names appearing under “Greek Names” in this lexicon are only those registered in the Greek collections, or, in rare cases, forms with a typical Greek prefix, but which are registered in these collections with another typical Greek suffix.

¹⁰ See Ilan, *JJS* 40 (1989) 191–2.

¹¹ That they were not the same name is suggested in Ilan, *SCI* 11 (1991–2) 156–7.

¹² On this phenomenon in the Hebrew Bible apocrypha see T. Ilan, “Biblical Women's Names in the Apocryphal Tradition,” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 11 (1993) 3–67.

¹³ See *WGE* and more recently *LGNP*.

This corpus recorded 244 Greek names, which constitute 29.6% of the name pool (see Table 1). This indicates a broad, rather than a superficial knowledge of Greek personal names by the Palestinian Jewish population. However, these almost 30% of the names were used by only 410 persons, i.e. 14.5% of the population (see Tables 2 and 3). Obviously these figures also indicate the relatively small influence Greek names had on the entire population.

The Greek names, like the biblical names, are divided between male and female names (see under 1.1.1). In the corpus 196 male Greek names and 48 female Greek names are recorded. Of the 410 persons bearing Greek names 63 are female (i.e. 15.3% – much higher than the percentage of women in the named population). This is because Greek names, in general, constitute a larger section of the population among women than among men. While Greek names are borne by 13.9% of the male population, 19.9% of the female population bore them (see Table 3). Greek names were thus much more popular among women than among men.¹⁴

Some issues associated specifically with Greek names will now be discussed:

1.2.1 Theophoric Names – The use of Greek (and other) mythical and theophoric names by Jews has baffled scholars through the ages, since it seemed to them to contradict the basic Jewish monotheistic theology.¹⁵ However, as we find in the Bible names like Ishbaal (יִשְׁבָּעֵל 1 Chr 8:33 – with the Canaanite theophoric element Baal) and Mordechai (מֹרְדֵכַי Esth 2:5 – with the Babylonian theophoric element Marduch), so we find Jews using theophoric and mythical Greek names. The following examples are found in this corpus:

Theophoric: Ἀθηναγόρας (Athena); Ἀπολλογένης; Ἀπολλώνιος (Apollo); Ἀρτέμιων (Artemis); Ἀφροδισιάς (Aphrodite); Δημήτριος (Demeter); Διονύσιος (Dionysus); Ἐλπίς (Elpis); Ἔρως; Ἐρωτάριον (Eros); Ἡρᾶς (Hera); Ἰσίων (Isis); Παλλάς (=Athena); Ποσειδώνιος (Poseidon); Φοῖβος (=Apollo).

Mythological: Αἰνεΐας; Ἀλέξανδρος; Ἀμβρόσιος; Ἀντιγόνα; Γόργος; Διόσκορος; Ἐλένη; Ἰάσων; Ἰφιγένεια; Κάστωρ; Μενέλαος; Μίδα; Πάτροκλος; Φαῖδρα; Ψυχη.

A special case can perhaps be made for names with the θεός element in them, on the assumption that they were intended to translate into Greek the name of the Jewish God himself. Indeed, names with this element were popular among Jews both in Palestine and in the Diaspora, to such an extent that Tcherikover considered them indications of Jewishness of the bearer in his study of the Jews in Egypt.¹⁶ In this corpus the following names with this element are found: Δοσίθεος; Δωροθέα; Δωροθέος; Θεοδόσιος; Θεόδοτος; Θεοδώρα; Θεόδωρος; Θεοφάνης; Θεοφίλα; Θεόφιλος; Θεύμναστος.

¹⁴ See above, n. 9.

¹⁵ See principally Cassuto-Salzmann, *EI* 3 (1954) 187; Mussies, “Jewish Personal Names,” 245–8.

¹⁶ *CPJ* I, 29.

Furthermore, Mussies,¹⁷ assumes that Zeus himself also personified for the Jews their one God. Therefore he also considered names with the elements Διο and Ζην as not offensive to Jewish theology. The following names of this character are recorded in this corpus: Διογένης; Διόδοτος; Διόδωρος; Διονυτάς; Διόφαντος; Ζήνων; Ζηναροῦτος.

1.2.2 Name Translation – Some scholars believe that Jews used Greek names that correctly translated biblical ones.¹⁸ The examples found in this corpus are: Ἀλέξανδρος (=אֱלֵאָזָר); Γαλαίστης (=גַּלְיָטָה); Δοσίθεος-Δωρόθεος-Θεοδόσιος-Θεόδοτος-Θεόδωρος (=דָּוִדִּיתָה-לֵאָוִנָה-יְהוֹנָתָן-יְהוֹנָתָן). Based on so few examples, we may conjecture this premises but there is little evidence to support it.

1.2.3 Double Names – In a similar move, much has been made of the supposed existence of double names that Jews bore – Greek corresponding to Hebrew according to sound. The following have been held as examples – שִׁמְשֹׁן-Σίμων; Ἰάσων-Ἰάσων. However these are few and far between. In this corpus the only other example that has come up is הַרְבֵּי-Βερενίκη.

1.2.4 Greek Notables – Within Greek names, as in our discussion of biblical names, we should be on the lookout for elements that make a name attractive. The following phenomena have been discovered within this context:

1.2.4.1 As noted above, Greek names with the theophoric element θεο are by far the largest group of names concentrated under one heading. These include: Δοσίθεος – 26 persons; Δωρόθεος – 9; Θεοδόσιος – 3; Θεόδοτος – 7; Θεόδωρος – 9; other male θεο names – 4. To this one should probably add also the name Θαδδαῖος (which is short for one of the previous) – 8. All in all this adds up to 66 persons, constituting 19% of all males bearing Greek names.

With women such names are also recorded but to a lesser extent. Δωροθέα and Θεοδώρα are each recorded once, but the provenance of the inscription puts their Palestinian background into doubt. Thus we are left with only one Θεοφίλα.

1.2.4.2 Other sources of influence are also available. In general we may note that, the names of Hellenistic monarchs who visited or resided in the east gained some ascendancy among Palestinian Jews. The examples in this corpus are: Ἀλέξανδρος – 22; Ἀντίγονος – 3; Ἀντίοχος – 2; Πτολεμαῖος – 7; Φίλιππος – 7. All in all this adds up to 41 persons, constituting 11.8% of all males bearing Greek names. The phenomenon is likewise evident among women bearing Greek names. Thus we find the names Βερενίκη – 8 and Κλεοπάτρα – 2. This adds up to 10 persons, constituting 15.9% of all females bearing Greek names.

1.2.4.3 Since the discussion of Hasmonean names proved very fruitful with relation to biblical names, one should not neglect to investigate the impact of the Greek Hasmonean names on name-giving processes at the time. Beginning with the second generation Hasmoneans, persons of this family carried a Greek name

¹⁷ “Jewish Personal Names,” 246.

¹⁸ See Mussies, “Jewish Personal Names,” 249; Roth-Gerson, *GISEI*, 184.

next to their biblical one, and occasionally only a Greek one.¹⁹ Double names are recorded in both cases but counted only as one (randomly the biblical one) in the statistics.

The Greek names of the Hasmoneans were never as popular as their biblical names. This could be explained in two ways.

Either: 1. Greek names in general were much less frequently used by the public than biblical ones. As far as Greek names go, the Hasmonean Greek names were relatively popular: Alexander – 22 representatives; Antigonus – 3; Aristobulus – 7. The name Hyrcanus is recorded in this corpus under Persian names, but contemporaries probably considered it to be Greek. It behaves in a similar manner, with 10 representatives. In total 42 persons bearing these names are recorded, i.e. 12.1% of the Greek population. This figure, however, is distorted. Of these 42 persons 15 are either themselves Hasmonean, or Herodians of Hasmonean descent, making the sample considerably less representative of the influence the names had on the population. Rather, it should be noted that two of the Hasmonean Greek names (Alexander and Antigonus) were also names found in Hellenistic dynasties. The one female Hasmonean Greek name – Alexandra – fared no different. This name appears 6 times in this corpus, but 5 of the women who bore it were either themselves Hasmonean or Herodians of Hasmonean descent.

Or: 2. Second, third and fourth generation Hasmoneans never achieved the same degree of popularity as the first generation.

1.2.4.4 Having discussed the influence on the Jewish population of Greek names of Hellenistic monarchs and the Greek names of the Hasmonean (Jewish) monarchs we should likewise inquire after the influence of the names of the second Jewish dynasty of the Second Temple period – the Herodians. They bore only Greek names. Unlike Hasmonean names, the names of the Herodians were never popular. Most of the persons that are mentioned by these names are themselves Herodians. These include Antipater – 7 (out of 12); Archelaus – 2 (out of 4); Herod – 7 (out of 11); Philip – 1 (out of 7). This is also true for female Herodian names Berenice – 3 (out of 8); Herodias – 1 (out of 4); Cyprus – 6 (out of 6). Furthermore, because of the family relations between the two dynasties, some of the Hasmonean Greek names became popular with the Herodians. These include Alexander (4 representatives); Aristobulus (4 representatives). In the case of women too, the name Alexandra is mentioned once in the Herodian family.

Although the name Agrippa, also a Herodian name, is Latin rather than Greek, we may observe a similar pattern here. It is recorded 8 times, 5 of which are Herodian.

1.2.4.4.1 Nevertheless, one unique cave from the vicinity of Caesarea (Jath) documents, in inscriptions, a large number of Herodian names (some of them repeated): Ἀγρίπ[πας]; ἸἈντίπατρο[ς]; Βερον[ίκη]; Ἡρῳδιάδος. This has led

¹⁹ Ilan, *JQR* 78 (1987–8) 1–20.

me to conclude that these persons are either of the Herodian family (although the burial cave is not very monumental) or of their close followers. Alternatively, perhaps this was a cave where the names of the Herodians were scribbled on the walls in order to revile them.

1.3 Latin names: After the Greek phase, came the Roman occupation of Palestine with its Latin culture. Yet Latin never became a living language in the eastern outreaches of the Roman Empire. Thus, for examples, documents written in the Latin alphabet are very rare in Palestine. Nevertheless, Latin names, which were borne by Roman officials in the East, did catch on occasionally. This corpus includes quite a number of names that are clearly Latin, even when written in Greek or Hebrew alphabets, as is usually the rule. In Rome, a person was expected to bear three names: a praenomen (coming from a very limited repository) a gentilium (or family name) and a cognomen, which was usually the personal element in the entire combination.²⁰ Very rarely can such distinctions be made with relationship to Jews who bore Latin names. Most of them were not Roman citizens, and thus did not belong to any of the Roman gens. Yet they sometimes used Roman gentilia names as personal names. In deciding how to describe a Roman name I have employed the relative new collection of O. Salomies and H. Solin.²¹

The influence of Latin names was considerably smaller than that of Greek names. This corpus contains 84 Latin names (see Table 1). After sifting away all doubtful persons we are left with only 84 persons who bore these names (see Table 2), constituting all in all 3% of the population (see Table 3). The division between male and female persons bearing Latin name is quite normal: 13 females to 71 males, i.e. 15.5% to 84.5%.

1.3.1 Latin Notables – As in previous cases, here too I am interested in the sources of influence for the Latin names we find in this corpus. As with Greek names, here too the names of Roman rulers were the easiest to get acquainted with and then use. This is particularly obvious in this corpus with the names Gaius (6 representatives) and Julius (4 representatives), but the names Claudius, Tiberius and Nero are also represented. Names of important Roman generals who visited Palestine are also recorded (Gabinus, Anthony). Agrippa, the name of Augustus' general and friend, is the most common name in this corpus, represented ten times, but this is probably due to its provenance in the Herodian-Hasmonean family.

As Latin female names are all derived from the male names, with an additional female suffix (a), the distribution of female names is somewhat similar. The name Julia is the most common, represented 4 times in the corpus.

1.3.2 Double Name – The second most popular Latin name is Justus (with 7 representatives). Whether this is due to its association with the biblical name Joseph is questionable.²²

²⁰ See Chase, *HSCP* 8 (1897).

²¹ *RGCL*.

²² See also under the name Justus.

1.4 Persian names: Before the Greek and Roman occupations, Palestine came under Persian rule. By the time this corpus begins, the Persians were no longer ruling the country, but obviously some Persian influence survived. A search in Justi's *Lexicon of Persian names*²³ revealed that many unknown or misunderstood names could be interpreted as emanating from a Persian milieu. The influence of Persian names at this period was minimal. The group is represented by 37 (see Table 1) names, which, after the removal of doubtful cases, was borne only by 31 persons (see Table 2), constituting no more than 1.1% of the population (see Table 3). The division between male and female is 29 to 2, i.e. 93.5% to 6.5%.

1.4.1 Theophoric Names – One specific feature of Persian names may be isolated. All names containing the *Bay/g* בַּי/ג element are Persian-theophoric, this word meaning "God" in Persian.²⁴ Thus names beginning with *bg* recorded in the Bible are of the Persian period (בג – Ezra 8:14; Neh 7:7, 19) or actually Persian (בגתא Esther 1:10; בגרת/בגרתא – Esther 2:21; 6:2). In this corpus the following examples have been recorded: בג בַּי; Βαγαδάτης; Βαγώας.

1.5 Other Semitic Names (Hebrew Characters): is a general category for non-Hebrew names, which either have an Aramaic (or even Hebrew) meaning or not, but that are clearly not biblical names. This category is an ill-defined one, in which many "leftovers" are found. In the absence of a careful, clear-cut Aramaic onomasticon, it was literally impossible to create a separate Aramaic corpus of names borne by Jews. Yet there is no doubt that since biblical times²⁵ Semitic languages have had the longest lasting influence on the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean and on Palestine within it. In order to attempt to determine whether this group of names is Aramaic, Arabic, Palmyran, Egyptian etc. I have consulted in each case a large variety of names lexica, but in the end I have come to no conclusions, and left the decision to the reader. The procedure taken was as follows: First I consulted Jastrow's dictionary,²⁶ in order to determine whether the name had a meaning in Aramaic or in talmudic Hebrew. I then checked the possibility that it was Nabatean,²⁷ Palmyran²⁸ or Arabic.²⁹ For its use among Jews, I checked it against the corpus of name appearing on Hebrew seals from the First Temple period,³⁰ against the corpus of names in the Aramaic documents from Persian and Hellenistic Egypt³¹ and against the name corpus of Jews in the later Babylonian Diaspora.³² Such a search usually yielded one or several possible interpretation for the name.

²³ Justi, *INB*.

²⁴ Justi, *INB* 54.

²⁵ See e.g. *EBTHPN*.

²⁶ Jastrow, *DTBYML*.

²⁷ Negev, *Qedem* 32.

²⁸ Stark, *PNPI*.

²⁹ Harding, *ICPIANI*.

³⁰ *CWSSS*.

³¹ *TADAE*.

³² Kosowsky, *Babylonico*.

A special group of names within this category are Egyptian names. These names are not, strictly speaking, Semitic, and identifying them is always a tentative business. As a last resort I occasionally consulted Ranke's Egyptian name lexicon.³³ The small number of names conforming to this category and the uncertainty in their identification prevented me from defining a separate register of Egyptian names. All the information about every single name in this category is noted under the name itself.

Since this category is a diverse one, statistical information about it is, relatively speaking, unimportant. For the interested reader it is to be found in Tables 1, 2 and 3.

Some specific features, which stood out with the creation of this category, will now be pointed out.

1.5.1 Family Members – Names that mean members of family were very popular in Aramaic at the time, not just as components in a composite name (such as אבא or אבא in the Bible) but as complete names. This corpus documents the following examples: אבא (=father), אחא (=brother), אמא (=mother), אבא (= also father), אבא (=father-in-law), אבא (=grandfather). The name Πάππος, meaning “grandfather,” is also recorded in Greek.

1.5.2 Androgynous Names – It is usually very simple to identify names as either male or female at the period under discussion here. Nevertheless, some rare examples show an inconsistency, and these almost predominantly belong to the “other Semitic names” category. In this corpus the following androgynous examples are available: אבא (listed for men under אבא); אבא (listed separately under P/M and P/F); אבא (listed separately under S-H/M and S-H/F); אבא (listed separately under S-H/M and S-H/F). The Greek form Ἀλέξας, derived from Ἀλέξανδρος, is usually documented for males, but in one case it clearly documents a women (listed separately under Ἀλέξανδρος – G/M and Ἀλεξάνδρα – G/F).

The corpus also includes several names which are recorded only for a member of one sex, but are elsewhere recorded for members of the opposite sex. Thus the name אבא is recorded here as male (S-H/M), but is elsewhere recorded as female. Conversely the names אבא (S-H/F) and Κατανα (S-G/F) are recorded in this corpus as female, but are elsewhere recorded as male.

In addition, we find in the corpus several examples of biblical female names, which have become male in this period. These include אבא (listed under אבא S-H/M); אבא (S-H/M); In one special case a male biblical name has become female – אבא (B/F).

1.5.3 Feminized Male Names – This is an opportunity to discuss another phenomenon, which occurs sometimes in this corpus, particularly in this category. As is well known, Greek and particularly Latin female names are derived directly from male names by removing the male suffix and adding a female one instead (α or η in Greek; a in Latin). In the Bible this is very rare but is also documented. Thus

³³ Ranke, *ÄPN*.

the biblical יהודיה is derived from יהודה (with the יה suffix). However, one new Semitic female name is derived from a biblical male name by the process of adding the feminine suffix יה – יוחנה deriving from יוחנן. This, in my opinion, is a clear indication of indirect cultural influence on the character of the local language and custom rather than direct linguistic influence of a foreign name.

In very rare cases, the opposite phenomenon (where a male name is derived from a female name) can be observed. This phenomenon, however, is not reserved particularly to Semitic names. In this corpus the following examples are found: שפיר derived from שפרה; Βερενικιανός from Βερενίκη and Ἀγριππῖνος from Agrippina (which is itself derived from Agrippa).

1.6 Other Semitic Names (Greek Characters): The category of “other Semitic names” is divided between names recorded in the documents in the Hebrew alphabet and names documented in the Greek alphabet. I have not attempted (unless the documents are bilingual) to transcribe the Greek spelling into a Semitic one, but have rather listed these persons separately. I have also not attempted to add the Greek accents to these names, since we do not know how they were pronounced. The same rigorous process employed for Semitic names in Hebrew characters was applied to these names in order to discover their possible origin. In addition to the above-mentioned corpora, these names were also looked-up in Preisigke’s collection of names from Greek Egyptian papyri.³⁴

1.7 Appendix: When a person’s name is followed by a name preceded by the letter ה (=the) like הנהחם (the baker), obviously this is a nickname. Such names are not included in this corpus. However, when a name is followed by the words ...ה בן this is coming close to the sort of nickname described below (6.1.1). I have noted in a special appendix all such names. Because of the pattern they follow, I have decided to list them in the corpus, although they play no part in any statistic reckoning.

2. Transliteration and Orthography

Because this corpus is analytical to a great extent I have decided to combine together many names that do not externally look exactly alike. Thus, if a biblical name is recorded in a document in a Greek transliteration, it is recorded in this corpus under that biblical name. Column I is devoted to alternative forms of the names. If a document reserves the name in transliteration, it will be presented in this column as it appears in the document. If Greek orthography corresponds to the official orthography of the name as recorded in the LXX translation, this is noted in the footnotes. However, scribes were very free in their transliteration of biblical names and many other transliteration variations are noted. The forms are docu-

³⁴ Preisigke, *NB*, and also its supplement Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

mented as published. If the editors accentuated them, they are presented thus in the first column. If the editors did not, they are presented in this corpus without the Greek accents.

If the document is in Hebrew and preserves the name as it is recorded in the Bible, this column is vacant. However, this column is not just used for transliterations. Alternative forms developed in the spelling of names. For example, during the Second temple period, the biblical name יהוֹסֵף was almost universally spelt יהוֹסֵף. There is no doubt, however, that the same name is intended. Similarly, at a slightly later date, the abbreviated form יוֹסֵף was obviously preferred for this name. However, יוֹסֵף too is clearly a form of יהוֹסֵף. Thus, when the name יהוֹסֵף is recorded in a document as יהוֹסֵף or as יוֹסֵף, the variant orthography is also recorded in the first column.

In Greek name lexicons names are usually in the nominative case. However, in the documents they are frequently recorded in other cases. In such cases too, particularly when a name makes a singular appearance in the sources, it is recorded in the first column at it is recorded in the document.

Many names found in epigraphic documents are incomplete. Sometimes attempts to reconstruct the original are impossible, but often editors of the texts suggest probable readings for the names. If these readings are based on a large portion of the name preserved in the document, they are included in the text and the reconstructed section is indicated. In such cases the reconstruction appears in the first column. Seldom have I gone against the readings of the editors, but in some cases I found their readings untenable, and have therefore suggested an alternative reading. This reading is also recorded in the first column. When the reading is mine, I have stated so explicitly.

Each name that is recorded in this column is followed by a footnote, that justifies its inclusion under this name and not under another, or under an individual heading. The footnotes record common transcriptions of names; common scribal errors, common names alterations etc. In what follows I shall outline the frequent transliteration, error and other patterns that have dictated many of my decisions about names recorded in this column. In each case I have registered all the cases that correspond to the phenomenon, in order to illuminate the extent to which it was common.

2.1 Transliteration from Hebrew into Greek: Many phonological and grammatical rules dictate the transliteration of biblical names into Greek. I shall begin by outlining the basic principles that govern the transliteration of biblical names in the major literary works of the time, and will then record specific cases relevant to the literary but particularly to the epigraphical evidence, organized according to the Greek alphabet

2.1.1 Hebrew Bible – The most important source for the transliteration of biblical names into Greek is the LXX, a translation of the Hebrew Bible, began already in the third century BCE. The most striking feature about LXX is that it

usually does not decline biblical names. This means that its transliteration is quite phonetic. However, correct Greek requires that names be declined according to the case in which they are presented in the sentence. Both Josephus and NT, our main literary Greek sources for this corpus will now be discussed according to this principle.

2.1.1.1 Josephus: In comparison with LXX, Josephus tends to be more Hellenized in his orthography, using, as a rule, the formal Greek case suffixes. Aristean and I Macc usually transliterate names in the same tradition as Josephus. Differences are noted in the text.

2.1.1.2 NT: NT often preserves less official orthography which coincides with the common pronunciation rather than the traditional or official spelling found in Josephus. In this it sometimes comes closer to the LXX orthographic tradition. Yet, it usually declines the names it transliterates.

2.1.1.2.1 A unique phenomenon in NT transliteration refers to the Βαϝ (Aramaic “son”) element at the beginning of a name. NT often takes it as an integral part of the name. This indicates perhaps that the scribe viewed it as a nickname, or a family name. This orthography is evident in the following cases: Βαϝαβᾶς (e.g. Matt 27:16, see under אבאב – S-H/M); Βαϝθολομαῖος (e.g. Matt 10:3, see under פתולמאיוס – G/M); Βαϝησοῦς (e.g. Acts 13:6, see under אששו B/M); Βαϝωνᾶ (e.g. Matt 16:17, see under ונה – B/M); Βαϝναβᾶς (e.g. Acts 4:36, see under אבב – S-G/M); Βαϝσαββᾶς (Act 1:23; 15:22, see under אבב – S-H/M); Βαϝτμαῖος (e.g. Mark 10:46, see under תמאיוס – G/M).

The phenomenon is also recorded in some other documents, e.g. Βαϝχωχεβᾶς in Eusebius (see under אבב – S-H/M), Βαϝακίβαν in Epiphanius (see under אבב – B/M) or Βαϝγιοῦρᾶς in Cassius Dio (see under אבב – S-H/M).

2.1.2 Letter Interchange – In the following lines I will mention specific transliteration phenomena pertinent to the transliteration from Hebrew into Greek. It will be arranged according to the Greek alphabet.

2.1.2.1 γ – Sometimes the biblical letter א is transliterated with the Greek γ, because of the existence of an ancient consonant which has disappeared in many Semitic languages (but is still evident in Arabic).³⁵ In this corpus, however, this is rare. We have two not absolutely clear examples of this: 1. ᾿Ραγουήλος – ארעול; 2. Βοανηγογῆς – בני רעב and perhaps also 3. Γαζω – עזב.

2.1.2.2 εἰ – In LXX the א suffix (see below, 2.4.1) is often transliterated as εἰ. Since the LXX transliteration suggests a pattern, we may assume that the Greek εἰ as suffix denotes a transliteration of such a Hebrew construct, although it is not always absolutely clear that this was the scribe’s intention. In this corpus the following examples of this sort are documented: ᾿Αβαεῖ (= אבא, under אבב – S-H/M); ᾿Ανουεῖ (= אנוני under אנוני – B/M); Χαλφεῖ (= אלה – S-H/M); Θεβυθεῖ (= תבת, under תבת – P/M); ᾿Ιαθουεῖ (perhaps ארת or ארת, under ארת – B/M).

³⁵ See Naveh *Early Alphabet*, 30–1.

Sometimes such a suffix is also found in the cases of perfectly straightforward Greek and Latin names. In such cases the suffix is probably a sign of Aramization. In this corpus the following examples are found: Ἀμφικιάλλει (=Ἀμφικλος – G/M); Φάλωνει (=Φάλων – G/M); Σειλωνεί (=Silonius L/M).

2.1.2.3 θ – N. Cohen, in a thorough discussion of the name 𐤅𐤁𐤃𐤀 concluded that once Greek became the language of the East, θ was used in the transliteration of 𐤅 and τ in the transliteration of 𐤅.³⁶ Usually her observations are correct, but in this corpus the following variations were observed: Καθλας (=𐤏𐤁𐤀𐤓 – S-G/M); Μάρθα-Μαρατ (=𐤏𐤁𐤀𐤓 – S-H/F); Ναθανάηλος-Νατάνηλου (=𐤏𐤁𐤀𐤓 – B/M); Σαβαθέον-Σαββαταῖος (=𐤏𐤁𐤀𐤓 – B/M); Σεθί-Σητου (=𐤅𐤁 – B/M). A special case is that of 𐤅𐤁𐤃𐤀 (B/M), which is transliterated by all the following forms: Ματθαίας-Μαθθίας-Μαθθαῖος-Μαθεθ[ος].

2.1.2.4 κχ – The cluster κχ was apparently used by Josephus to denote the letter 𐤏 with a dagesh in the name 𐤏𐤏. Likewise in LXX, we find it only in the name Ζακχάν – 𐤏. Elsewhere in LXX Βακχείο transliterates 𐤏𐤏. 𐤏 with a dagesh at the beginning of the name was transliterated simply with a X, see Χωσιβᾶ / Βαρχωχεβας, and below 2.1.2.8.

2.1.2.5 σ – Usually ζ transliterates the Hebrew 𐤏. Sometimes, however, the letter σ is used. In this corpus we find the following examples: Σακχαῖος (𐤏𐤏); Ἑσκίας (𐤅𐤁𐤃𐤀); Ἰώασδος (𐤏𐤏). Conversely, in one case, a Latin name, written with an s is transliterated with a ζ (Ζενέκας).

2.1.2.6 σσ – The double σ occasionally transliterates 𐤀, see Ἀβεσσαλώμ (𐤀𐤁𐤁𐤀); Ἐλισσαῖος (𐤀𐤏𐤏); Μανασσῆς (𐤀𐤏𐤏); in one instance Ἰασσοῦ (𐤏𐤏). We do not know what Semitic name Μαγασσαρος (S-G/M) transliterates.

2.1.2.7 ψ – in 𐤏𐤏𐤏 this letter transliterates of the Hebrew cluster 𐤏𐤏; in 𐤏𐤏𐤏 it transliterates the Hebrew cluster 𐤏𐤏.

2.1.2.8 χ – Usually the Greek letter χ transliterates the Hebrew 𐤏. Thus we find Βαροῦχος for 𐤏𐤏; Ζαχαρίας for 𐤏𐤏; Χωσιβᾶ for 𐤏𐤏𐤏 and Χωχεβας for 𐤏𐤏𐤏; Μαχουθας for 𐤏𐤏𐤏; Μάλχος for 𐤏𐤏.

The guttural letter 𐤏 is usually transcribed with a vowel. The use of χ to transliterate 𐤏 is unusual.³⁷ However, some exceptions are available. Thus Ἀχίαβος transliterates 𐤀𐤏𐤏; Χαγείας in Josephus transliterates 𐤏𐤏𐤏 (since he claims that in Aramaic it means “the lame”); Χελκίας occasionally (but not always) transcribes 𐤏𐤏𐤏; in one case Ἰσαχος transliterates 𐤏𐤏𐤏. Perhaps also Γησχα δαν transliterates 𐤏𐤏𐤏 and Χαλφεί transliterates 𐤏𐤏.

In some cases, it is not clear which Hebrew or Aramaic letter χ is transliterating as the following examples demonstrate: Χουζᾶς; Σειράχ; Ἑσγλεμίας.

2.1.3 *Suffixes* – Another issue that arises in the process of transliteration from Hebrew to Greek is associated with the suffix of some names. In some Greek

³⁶ Cohen, “Shabtai.”

³⁷ On the influence of Greek on the decline of the gutturals, see Kutscher, *Hebrew and Aramaic*, 57–8.

2.3.3 *Vowel Interchange* – Other vowel interchanges are also evident in Greek names and in transliterations:

2.3.3.1 *ω and ο*: In some cases, ω appears to be the standard vocalization, but it may occasionally be replaced by ο. In this corpus the following examples are found: Νεικάνωρ (=Νεικάνωρ); Φίλω (=Φίλω); and vice versa: Δωσ[ι]θεός (=Δωσίθεος); Θεοδώσιου (Θεοδόσιος); in the case of the name Κλεοπᾶς the version Κλωπᾶς replaces the diphthong εο.

This phenomenon is then carried over to transliterations of biblical and other Semitic names: Ἰωζρου (= Ἰωζρου); Ιοσέ (=Ιωσέ); Σίμων (=Σίμων); or vice versa: Ἰουδου (= Ἰουδου). In the name Ἰουβίας ου replaces ω (Τωβίας/ Τουβίας).

2.3.3.2 *η and ε*: The interchange between these two vowels is only found in transliteration. In some cases, η appears to be the standard vocalization, but it may also be replaced by ε, see: Ιεσοῦς (=Ἰησοῦς); Ἰωσέ (=Ἰωσή); Μνάσεου (=Μνάσηου); Σελ[μ]ε (=Σελαμη); Φάβεις (=Φάβης); and see also Ληουεῖς-Λευίς; Σεθι-Σητοῦ.

2.3.3.3 *η and α*: Occasionally standard η transliterations are replaced by an α: Ἰασσοῦ (Ἰησοῦ); Ἰωνάθας (= Ἰωνάθης) (in the case of Ἰωάννης, when we find Ἰωάννας we assume it is a woman – Joanna); and vice versa: Ἰούδης (= Ἰούδας); Ἰησιας (=Ιαεσαιου). In the case of Βασέα-Βησαῖς it is not clear what is the conventional orthography.

2.3.3.4 Some interchanges of vowels come without any logical explanation. Such are for example: Ἰαύδα – Ἰούδας; Σωμάων – Σίμων

2.3.4 *Double Consonants* – There is some confusion in the use of a double or single consonant in Greek. This corpus is replete with examples of names being documented either way: Κοραίνου (=Κοραίννος); Θαδαίου (=Θαδδαίος); Κυρίη (=Κυρίλλα); Πάπος (=Πάππος); Σαβίων (=Σαββίων); or vice versa: Ἀμφικάλει (=Ἀμφικλος); Ἀρριστυβόλα (=Ἀριστοβούλη); Κεφαλλίων (Κεφαλίων).

The same problem arises with transliterations from Hebrew. Usually the literary sources retain the double consonant to indicate a dagesh (emphasis), but they are not consistent, and the epigraphic sources are certainly very diverse. The example in this corpus are: Ἀδδᾶν (=Ἀδᾶς=אָדָּא); Ἀμία (=Ἀμμία=אָמִיָּא); Ἀνις (=Ἀνις=אָנִיָּס); [Ἀ]ννανος (=Ἀνανος=אָנָּאָן); Βάννου (=Βάννος); Θενας (=Θενας=אָתֵּנָּא); Ἰεδοῦν (=Ἰούδαν=אָיִדוּן); Ιωνας (=Ιωαννας=אָיוֹנָּאָן); Ἰωάνης (=Ἰωάννης=אָיוֹאָנִיָּא); Ἰακκώβ[ου] (=Ἰακώβου=אָיָּאָבִּיָּבִּיָּא); Μαθαῖος (=Μαθαῖος/Ματθαῖος=אָמַתַּיָּוָּס); Μαριάμη (=Μαριάμη=אָמַרְיָּאָמִיָּה); Μεσάλαμος (=Μοσόλλαμος=אָמֵסָּאָלָּאָמוֹס); Σάδδωκος (=Σάδωκος=אָסָּאָדָּוָּקֹס); Σαβαθέον (=Σαββαταῖος=אָסָּבָּאָתָּאוֹן); Ῥεβέκα (=Ῥεβέκα=אָרֵבֵּעָּא); Σόρρα (=Σόρα=אָסֹרָּא).

2.3.5 *Declensions* – Declining names correctly was obviously a problem for foreign Greek speakers and scribes. Some names in this corpus display an elaborate declension, indicating a misunderstanding of the entire system. The following examples are present: Γαίωνος (Gaius L/M); Δόλεσος (Doles L/M); Ἰούδατος

2.4.2 **ס** – A more typical Aramization indicator is the suffix **ס**. It is used in many instances and variations.

2.4.2.1 Long names (biblical, Greek, Latin, Semitic) of three or more syllables (but also shorter names of two syllables) were abbreviated or transformed by appending **ס** instead of one or two final syllables. This corpus includes the following examples; **סורניא** (=Ὀρνίαις G/M); **סחא** (=סח'י B/M); **סאלכסא** (=Ἀλεξάνδρος G/M); **סנרמיא** (=Ἐνδεμίας G/M); **סבא** (=בב'י B/M); **סבסא** (=בס'י B/M); **סמלא** (=גמליאל B/M); **סוסא** (=Δοσίθεος G/M); **סזמרא** (=זמר'י B/M); **סיוחנא** (=יוחנן'י B/M); **סוסא** (=יוסף'י B/M); **סלוגא** (=Λογᾶς G/M); **סלוליא** (=Lollianus L/M); **סמתיא** (=מתתיה'י B/M); **סנפחא** (=נפח'י S-H/M); **סעבדא** (=עבד'י B/M); **ספנטרא** (=Πανθήρας G/M); **סקוינא** (=Κοῖνος G/M); **סקורשא** (=קורשא'י S-H/M); **סקורסא** (=קורס'י S-H/M); **סדא** (=Θαδδαῖος G/M).

2.4.2.2 Other names spelt with this element are Semitic, mostly Aramaic names. This corpus includes: **סאבא**; **סאילא**; **סאמא** (S-H/F); **סאבניא**; **סאזביא**; **סארוזא**; **סבתא** (S-H/F); **סגלולא**; **סגירא** (S-H/F); **סגוריא**; **סגובתא**; **סגדידא**; **סגדגודא**; **סגביהא**; **סבתירא**; **סבשמא**; **סברוקא**; **סחמא**; **סחלפתא**; **סחליפא**; **סחייא**; **סחטלא**; **סחדקא**; **סזריקא**; **סזערא**; **סזומא**; **סדרומא**; **סדמא**; **סגרידא**; **סמכותא**; **סמונא**; **סלענא**; **סלודא** (S-H/F); **סכלתא**; **סכוזבא**; **סכהנא** (S-H/F); **סשביתא**; **ססמא** (S-H/F); **סנשרא**; **סנחוניא**; **סנגרא**; **סנבומא**; **סמרתא** (S-H/F); **סמרא**; **סמנסיא**; **סמלתא**; **ספסיא**; **סערסלא**; **סערובא**; **ססרשא**; **סספרא**; **ססירא**; **ססיקרא**; **ססבטיא**; **ססבורא**; **ססבא** (S-H/F); **סשטיא**; **סרבא**; **סקרולא**; **סקרויא**; **סקצבא**; **סקפרא**; **סקנמומא**; **סקמצא**; **סקיפא**; **סקיסמא**; **סצידא**; **סשטיא**; **סתורתא**; **סשקודא**; **סשמוקא**; **סשילא**.

2.4.2.3 The letter **ה** is used in Palestinian Aramaic in the same way that **ס** is used as a suffix in Babylonia.⁴⁷ Thus we find many names in which the two are interchangeable: **סאבה** (**סאבא** S-H/M); **סאמה/סאמיה** (**סאמא** S-H/F); **סבתיה** (**סבתא** S-H/F); **סבעיה** (**סבעיא** S-H/M); **סגוריה** (**סגוריא** S-H/M); **סחשה** (**סחישא** S-H/M); **סחנינה** (-סחנינה B/M); **סחרשה** (**סחרשא** B/M); **סיוחנה** (**סיוחנא** S-H/F); **סיוחנה** (**סיוחנן** B/M); **סיוסא** (**סיוסא** B/M); **סכוזיבה** (**סכוזבא** S-H/M); **סכסבה** (**סכוסבא** S-H/M); **סמיסה** (**סמישא** S-H/M); **סמרתה** (**סמרתא** S-H/F); **סמסבלה** (**סמסבלא** S-H/M); **סנחונייה** (**סנחוניא** S-H/M); **סרבה** (**סרבא** S-H/M); **סשפירה** (**סשפירא** B/F). A special case is **סשלמציה** (**סשלמציון** S-H/F). This is also true for Greek names: **סאנטבילא** (=Ἀντίβηλος G/M); **סאפלגנה** (=Ἀπολλογένης G/M); **סנקלה** (=Νικόλαος G/M); **סדודה** (=Θαδδαῖος G/M); and for Latin: **סקרארה** (=Cererius L/M).

2.4.2.4 Other names spelt with this element are Semitic, mostly Aramaic names. This corpus includes: **סאביקה**; **סאגרה**; **סבעיה**; **סגלוסטררה**; **סגרפה**; **סדקנה**; **סחגירה**; **סחשה**; **סקדרה**; **סצריפה**; **ספתורה**; **ספרישה**; **ספועירה**; **סעכיה**; **סעיסה**; **סעונה**; **סנתזה**; **סנבלטה**; **סמסבלה**; **סחשה**; **סתומה**; **סתדמירה**; **סשפנה**; **סרישה**; **סקרחה**.

2.4.2.5 One specific form of Aramization indicated by the **ס** suffix is the abbreviation of theophoric names with **יה** into **ה** or **ס**. The form is already documented in First Temple Hebrew seals, e.g. **סחלקיה** for **סחלקיה**;⁴⁸ **סשעיה** for **סשעיה**.⁴⁹ In this

⁴⁷ Kutcher, *Hebrew and Aramaic*, 178.

⁴⁸ CWSSS no. 155.

⁴⁹ CWSSS no. 1028. Noth (*IPRGN*, 38) noticed this phenomenon but made no distinction between it and the phenomenon documented in 2.4.2.