

TAL ILAN

Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity

Part IV

The Eastern Diaspora 330 BCE–650 CE

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism*

141

Mohr Siebeck

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141



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Part IV

The Eastern Diaspora 330 BCE–650 CE

with the collaboration of
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Dedicated to my son
– Boaz Garfinkel

Acknowledgement

Although designated Part IV, this is the third volume to appear in this series. I chose to complete my collection of named Jews from the Diaspora (after the Western Diaspora in 2008, now the Eastern one) before returning to the later Jews of Palestine (as will be published in the forthcoming Part II) so that I will be able to collect and complement as much as possible the first (less than perfect) volume in this series. Thus, Part IV will be published before Part II.

This volume, unlike its two predecessors, required venturing into unknown territory. Most of my studies to date were dedicated to the Jews of Palestine and to the Western, Hellenized Diaspora. The Eastern Diaspora, where Aramaic and then Arabic were spoken, and in which Jews, aside from their native Babylonian Talmud, show up in documents composed in languages which are foreign to me, such as Syriac and Arabic, required the assistance of many. I will list here the scholars and friends to whom I am most grateful and hope no one not mentioned will not be insulted.

As I decided that my corpus of Jews in the Eastern Diaspora down to the Muslim conquest require that I acquaint myself with Arabic sources that relate the history of the Arabian Peninsula prior to, and during Muhammad's ascent, I approached my good friend Prof. Meir Bar-Asher of the Department of Arabic Language and Literature at the Hebrew University Jerusalem. Meir supplied me with an invaluable introduction to the topic as well as with references for further reading. I could not have begun this quest without his assistance and encouragement.

Because my knowledge of Arabic is minimal, to say the least, I enlisted the assistance of my student, who specializes both in Jewish and Arabic studies, Kerstin Hünefeld. Her tireless immersion in the complicated material at hand and her undertaking of many thankless tasks such as proofreading and cross-referencing have contributed substantially to the quality of the volume at hand. It is for this reason that she appears in the title page of this book as co-editor. It should be clear, however, that all failings in this volume are completely my own.

I was able to employ Ms Hünefeld in this project thanks to a generous grant by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which has enabled us to complete this volume in good time and in optimal working conditions, for which I am deeply indebted.

Arabic has, however, not been the only foreign language that became prominent in this volume and which required expert assistance. Many Jews are mentioned in the writings of Eastern Church fathers, primarily in Syriac. Unlike the Greek

and Latin Church fathers, who are relatively well indexed, these writings have been unsystematically collected and indexed, and the experts in the field are few and hard to come by. I was fortunate to enlist the assistance of the very promising scholar, Sergey Minov of the Department of Religion in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who immediately understood the nature of my study and has been able to finely pick out for me from his vast knowledge of this relatively untapped literature exactly the relevant pieces of data that I required for this volume.

Next – Iranian. The Iranian languages, which were important and widespread among the Jews and in regions where Jews lived, remain a closed book to many scholars of Greco-Roman antiquity. Yet, knowledge of Iranian has become important because of the number of Jews who bore Iranian names in the documents surveyed in this volume (particularly those mentioned on incantation bowls from the Mesopotamian and Iranian regions). I am very grateful to Dr. Dan Shapira of the Department of Middle Eastern Studies at the Bar Ilan University in Israel, who has been kind enough to share with me many hours of his precious time, to correct and instruct me in my venture. I have used his knowledge extensively in this volume, but admit that if I have sometimes failed to take his advice, and have in the process erred, the responsibility for the errors are all mine.

This volume is also an ambitious attempt to combine and correct many onomastic and prosopographical studies on the rabbis of Babylonia which great scholars such as Sherira Gaon, A. Hyman and B. Kosowsky have attempted before me. Far be it from me to claim that I have done a better job than they and much of what I know I have learned from them. My only real advantage over them is that I had at my disposal the new computerized database of the manuscripts of the Babylonian Talmud, prepared by my colleague, Prof. Shamma Friedman of Bar Ilan University and the Schechter Institute in Jerusalem, and his students, and which I acquired and employed under his guidance. I am grateful to him for initiating me into the use of this most valuable tool.

Thanks also go to my other assistants in this project, Thomas Ziem, who has read the proofs for this volume twice, and has shared with me his vast experience from the previous volume we produced together, and Olaf Pinkpank, who is working on the next volume in the project, and has also generously participated in the proofreading.

The book is dedicated to my second son, Boaz Garfinkel, now 18, who has endured patiently throughout his life my obsession for the names of dead Jews.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgement	VII
List of Abbreviations	XI
Introduction	1
1. The Names	3
2. Transliteration and Orthography	9
3. Description	20
4. Find	21
5. Sources	21
6. Exceptions	28
7. Provenance	39
8. Dating	40
9. Tables	44
Biblical Names – Male	53
Biblical Names – Female	139
Greek Names – Male	145
Greek Names – Female	153
Latin Names – Male	155
Latin Names – Female	161
Iranian Names – Male	163
Iranian Names – Female	207
Arabic Names – Male	257
Arabic Names – Female	305
Other (mostly Semitic) Names in Hebrew Characters – Male	309

Other (mostly Semitic) Names in Hebrew Characters – Female	406
Other (mostly Semitic) Names in Greek/Latin Characters – Male	427
Other (mostly Semitic) Names in Greek/Latin Characters – Female	428
Addendum – Western Diaspora	429
Indices	437
Orthographical Index	441
Index of the Names in English	456

List of Abbreviations

A/F	Arabic / Female
A/M	Arabic / Male
<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>	G. Henschen (ed.), <i>Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbo coluntur vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur quae ex latinus et graecis</i> (Paris 1684).
<i>AJ</i>	Josephus, <i>Jewish Antiquities</i> .
<i>al-sīra al-halabīyya</i>	Alī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, <i>insān al-‘uyūn fī sīrat al-amīn al-ma‘mūn (al-sīra al-halabīyya)</i> (Būlāq 1875) (Arabic).
Altheim & Stiehl	F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, <i>Die Araber in der alten Welt</i> 5/1 (Berlin 1968).
<i>AMB</i>	J. Naveh and S. Shaked, <i>Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity</i> (Jerusalem 1987).
Anastase le Sinaïte, <i>Récits utiles à l’âme</i>	A. Binggeli (ed.), <i>Anastase le Sinaïte, Récits sur le Sinaï et Récits utiles à l’âme: édition, traduction, commentaire</i> (Ph.D. dissertation; Université Paris IV, 2001).
<i>AOFCI</i>	I. Eph‘al and J. Naveh, <i>Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea</i> (Jerusalem 1996).
‘Arakh	‘Arakhin
Athīr, <i>ta’rīkh</i>	Ibn al-Athīr, <i>al-kāmil fi’l-ta’rīkh</i> (Leiden 1867) (Arabic).
<i>Av</i>	<i>Avot</i>
‘AZ	‘Avodah Zarah
<i>b</i>	Babylonian Talmud
B/F	Biblical / Female
B/M	Biblical / Male
Balādhurī, <i>ansāb</i>	Aḥmad b. Yahyā al-ma‘rūf bī’l-Balādhurī, <i>ansāb al-ashrāf</i> (Cairo 1959) (Arabic).
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BB</i>	<i>Bava Batra</i>
Beeston & Shahīd, <i>ET</i> ² 5, 118	F.L. Beeston and I. Shahīd, “Kinda”. <i>ET</i> ² 5, 118.
<i>Bekh</i>	<i>Bekhorot</i>
<i>Ber</i>	<i>Berakhot</i>
<i>Beṣ</i>	<i>Beṣah</i>
<i>Beth She‘arim 1</i>	B. Mazar, <i>Beth She‘arim I: Report on the Excavations During 1936–1940</i> (Jerusalem 1973).
<i>Beth She‘arim 2</i>	B. Lifshitz and M. Schwabe, <i>Beth She‘arim II: The Greek Inscriptions</i> (Jerusalem 1976).
<i>BJ</i>	Josephus, <i>Bellum Judaicum</i> .

- Blau, *Judaeo-Arabic* J. Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic* (Oxford 1965).
- BM *Bava Meši'a*
- Borisov, *EV* 19 (1969) А.Я. Борисов, "Эпиграфические Заметки," *Эпиграфика Востока (Epigrafika Vostoka)* 19 (1969) 3–13.
- Bowersock, "New Greek Inscription" G.W. Bowersock, "The New Greek Inscription from South Yemen," in J.S. Langdon et al., *TO ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ: Studies in Honor of Sperus Vryonis Jr. Volume 1: Hellenistic Antiquity and Byzantium* (New York 1989) 3–8.
- BQ *Bava Qama*
- Bratke, *Religionsgespräch* E. Bratke, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden, (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 4; Leipzig 1899).
- Bräu, *EI*² 10 H.H. Bräu, "Thalaba," *EI*² 10, 433.
- Brown, *Dura-Europos* (1939) F.E. Brown, "Block H1. Temple of the Gaddé," in M.I. Rostovtzeff, F.E. Brown and C.B. Welles (eds.), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work 1933–1934 and 1934–1935* (London 1939) 218–77.
- BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
- BT Babylonian Talmud
- CAMIBBM J.B. Segal, *Catalogue of the Aramaic and Mandaic Incantation Bowls in the British Museum* (London 2000).
- Cantineau, *Inventaire* 8 J. Cantineau, *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre* vol. 8 (Beirut 1932).
- Cantineau, *RB* 39 (1930) J. Cantineau, "Textes Funéraires Palmyréniens," *RB* 39 (1930) 520–51.
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- CII III, 4 *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum III: Pahlavi Inscriptions, 4: Ostraca, Papyri und Pergamente* (London 1992).
- CII III, 5 *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum III: Pahlavi Inscriptions, 5: Berliner Papyri, Pergamente und Leinfragmente in mittelpersicher Sprache* (London 2003).
- CIJ J.B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* (2 vols.; Rome 1936–52).
- CIS 2/3 *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* 2/3 (Paris 1889).
- CIS 4/2 *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* 4/2 (Paris 1911).
- Clarysse, *JJP* 32 (2002) W. Clarysse, "A Jewish Family in Ptolemaic Thebes," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 32 (2002) 7–9.
- Clermont-Ganneau, *Researches* C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine (1873–4)* (vol. 1; London 1896–9).

- Colafemmina, *Materia giudaica* 9 (2004)
 Conversion of *K'art'li*
 Cook, *BASOR* 285 (1992)
 Cook, *JSS* 45 (2000)
 Corluy, *AB* 5 (1886)
 CPR
 Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*
 C. Colafemmina, "Le testimonianze epigrafiche e archeologiche come fonte storica," *Materia giudaica* 9 (2004) 37–41.
 C. Lerner, *The Chronicle: The Conversion of K'art'li* (Jerusalem 2003) (Hebrew).
 E.M. Cook, "An Aramaic Incantation Bowl From Khafaje," *BASOR* 285 (1992) 79–81.
 D. Cook, "The Prophet Muḥammad, Labīd al-Yahūdī and the Commentaries to Sura 113," *JSS* 45 (2000) 233–45.
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- Dem*
 Dhahabī, *mushtabih*
 Dunant, *Syria* 36 (1959)
 Dupont-Sommer, *Syria* 23 (1942–3)
 E/F
 EI
 EI²
 EJ
 EJ²
 EQ
 'Eruv
Dema'i
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *al-mushtabih fī 'l-rijāl asmwaa-ansābuhum* (Cairo 1962) (Arabic).
 C. Dunant, "Nouvelle tessères de Palmyre," *Syria* 36 (1959) 102–10.
 A. Dupont-Sommer, "Un buste Palmyrénien inédit," *Syria* 23 (1942–3) 78–85.
 Egyptian / Female
Eretz Israel
The Encyclopedia of Islam (Second edition, Brill Online).
Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem 1971).
Encyclopedia Judaica (Second edition, Detroit 2007).
The Encyclopaedia of the Quran, ed. J.D. McAuliffe (Leiden 2006).
 'Eruvin
- Férazdak, *Divan*
 Flemming, *Akten der ephesinischen Synode*
 Franco, *Mesopotamia* 13–4 (1978–9)
 Friedenberg, *Sasanian Jewry*
Divan de Férazdak, narrated by Mohammed ben Habib according to Ibn al-Arabi (Paris 1870).
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- G/F
 G/M
 Garbini, *Annali* 30 (1970)
 Gazette
 Geller, *Bible World*
 Greek / Female
 Greek / Male
 G. Garbini, "Una bilingue sabeo-ebraica da Zafar," *Annali dell'istituto Orientale di Napoli* 30 (1970) 153–60.
Gazette des Beaux-Arts.
 M.J. Geller, "Four Aramaic Incantation Bowls," in G. Rendsburg, R. Adler, M. Arfa and N.H. Winter (eds.), *The Bible World: Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon* (New York 1980) 47–60.

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- Gordon, *LaSor* C.H. Gordon, "Two Aramaic Incantations," in G.A. Tuttle (ed.), *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies: Essays in Honor of William Sanford LaSor* (Michigan 1978) 231–44.
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- H & R Suppl. E. Hatch and H.A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)* Supplement (Graz 1975).
- Ḥag* *Ḥagigah*
- Ḥal* *Ḥallah*
- Harding, *ICPIANI* G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto 1971).
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- Hor* *Horayot*

- Hul*
Hyman, *Toldoth*
Hyvernat, *ZKF* 2 (1885)
- Hullin*
A. Hyman, *Toldoth tannaim ve-amoraim* (3 vols.; London 1910) (Hebrew).
H. Hyvernat, "Sur un vase judéo-babylonien du musée Lycklama de Cannes (Provence)," *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung* 2 (1885) 113–48.
- I/F
I/M
Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel),
ġamharat an-nasab
Ibn al-Kalbī, *jamharat an-nasab*
Ibn al-Kalbī, *nasab ma'add*
Ibn al-Najjār, *ad-Durra*
Ibn Habīb, *muḥabbar*
Ibn Habīb, *munammaq*
Ibn Hajar, *isāba*
Ibn Hishām, *Leben Muhammed's*
Ibn Manzūr, *mukhtaṣar*
Ibn Qudāma, *istibṣār*
Ibn Sa'd, *ṭabaqāt*
Ibn Shabba, *ta'rīkh*
Ibn Thābit *Diwān*
IJO 3
Ilan, *Silencing the Queen*
Ingholt, *Berytus* 2 (1935)
Ingholt, *Berytus* 5 (1938)
Isbell
Isbell, *BASOR* 223 (1976)
Iulianos der Abtruennige
- Iranian/Female
Iranian/Male
ġamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hiṣām Ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī, ed. W. Caskel (Leiden 1966).
Abū al-Mundhir Hishām b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Kalbī, *jamharat al-nasab* (Beirut 1986) (Arabic).
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Ibn al-Najjār, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, *kitāb al-durra al-thamīna fī aḥbār al-madīna* (Cairo 1956) (Arabic).
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D. Noy and H. Bloedhorn, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis III: Syria and Cyprus* (Tübingen 2004).
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J.G.E. Hoffmann, *Iulianos der Abtruennige* (Leiden 1880).

- JAOS*
Jaussen & Savignac
JJS
JQR
JSAI
JSQ
JSS
Justi, *INB*
- Journal of the American Oriental Society*
R.P. Jaussen & R.P. Savignac, "Inscriptions hébraïques," *Mission archéologique en Arabie* 2 (Paris 1914).
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Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
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C.J. Kasowski, *Thesaurus Thosephthae: Concordantie Verborum que in Sex Thosephthae Ordinibus Reperiuntur* (6 vols.; Jerusalem 1958).
- Ker*
Ket
Kil
Kister, *JSAI* 8 (1986)
Kitāb al-Aghānī
Klevan, *Qadmoniot* 12 (1979)
Kosovsky, *Yerushalmi*
Kosowsky, *Babylonico*
- Keritot*
Ketubbot
Kila'yim
M.J. Kister, "The Massacre of the Banū Qurayza: A Re-examination of a Tradition," *JSAI* (1986) 61–96.
Abū Faraj al-Asbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Egypt 1868) (Arabic).
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- L/F
L/M
LA
Lacau, *RA* 3 (1896)
Lane, *AEL*
Lecerf *EP* 2, 558
Lecker, *Al-Qaṭara* 13 (1992)
Lecker, *Der Islam* 71 (1994)
Lecker *EJ*² 14
Lecker, *JAOS* 115 (1995)
Lecker, *Jews and Arabs* (1998)
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- Latin/Female
Latin/Male
Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annus
P. Lacau, "Une coupe d'incantation," *RA* 3 (1896) 49–51.
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- Qid* *Qiddushin*
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- RhSh* *Rosh ha-Shanah*
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Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity: Part IV: The Eastern Diaspora 330 BCE–650 CE

Introduction

Part IV of this series is the third volume to be produced. As with *Part III: The Western Diaspora 330 BCE–650 CE*, its structure follows closely the concept and results of *Part I: Palestine 330 BCE–200 CE*. In this Introduction I will only outline the apparent differences between this volume and its predecessors, resulting from the fact that it is geographically and chronologically different, and thus highlights other aspects of Jewish name-giving in Late Antiquity.

Geography (The Eastern Diaspora): In this volume I collect the names of Jews who originate in the Eastern Diaspora. I define the Eastern Diaspora linguistically, i.e. the lands in which Jews spoke primarily Semitic languages – foremost among them Aramaic, but toward the end of the period also Arabic. These lands are located principally north-east, east and south-east of Palestine: Mesopotamia (with Babylonia at its center), Iran and ultimately the Arabian Peninsula. Other north-eastern provinces such as Armenia and Georgia, in which only a small number of Jews were recorded, are also mentioned in this volume. Syria, directly at the north and east of Palestine, is a unique case. In many respects it is a border country. On the one hand, Greek and Latin were still spoken and written in its western regions. On the other hand, it resembles Palestine in the dense concentration of Jews that resided in it. Finally, it resembles closely the Eastern Diaspora, in that it accommodates much Aramaic and related dialects, especially as one moves further east. In this volume only the eastern part of Syria – primarily Palmyra and Dura Europos, but also for example Bostra – are represented. The other parts of Syria are presented in vols. 1–2, according to chronology (see vol. 1, Introduction 6.3.1.3, p. 49).

Chronology: See vol. 1, p. 1. The date chosen to begin this volume is the same date marking the beginning of Part I (the conquest of the East, including Palestine by the Greek-speaking Alexander the Great). The date which ends this volume, as in Part III, signifies the end of antiquity, with the conquest of Jewish Palestine and other parts of the Jewish Diaspora (particularly those relevant for this volume, namely Babylonia and Persia) by the Muslims. In effect, this volume covers the period in which Jews in the Eastern Diaspora were, to begin with, indeed conquered by

Alexander the Great but then lived most of the time under the rule of an Iranian dynasty moving progressively away from a Hellenizing influence – first under the relatively Hellenized Parthians and later under the strongly self-conscious Zoroastrian, almost anti-Hellenistic Sasanians.

Onomasticon: See vol. 1, p. 1.

Prosopography: See vol. 1, pp. 1–2.

Statistics: See vol. 1, p. 2 and especially vol. 3, p. 2. The corpus produced in this volume includes 2601 persons (see Table 2a), of which only 1512 are statistically valid (see Table 2). Further results of the statistics are presented in Tables 1–9 and discussed separately in the following sections.

Index: See vol. 1, pp. 2–3.

Languages: See vol. 1, p. 3. In this corpus, in addition to the languages in which names are listed in Part I, a special section is devoted to Arabic names. These are inserted after Iranian names and before Other Semitic Names, and see below, 1.5. Also, in this volume I choose to designate what in previous volumes I listed under Persian names Iranian names, since I have been taken to task for using the narrow term instead of the more general one.

Gender: See vol. 1, p. 3. The gender differential in this volume is markedly different from that of Part I, where women constituted only 11.2 %, but is very similar to Part III, where they constitute 21.8 %. In this volume they comprise 21.3 % of the population (see Table 2a). This is due to the fact that a large part of the population recorded here is documented on incantation bowls from Mesopotamia, where persons are designated after their mother rather than their father. Yet, as is also obvious, there is doubt about the Jewishness of the majority of these women, and see Table 8 for the invalid entries of female Iranian and Semitic names (289+122=411). On the reasons for this see below, 1.4.2.

Entries: See vol. 1, p. 3, and also vol. 3, p. 2.

Addendum: At the end of this volume I append an addendum to vol. 3 (Western Diaspora) which lists 48 names not included in the previous collection.

1. Three papyri that were published after the previous volume had appeared in print (*SB* 16560, 16652; *P.Sijp* 33). These include 10 new persons.

2. A recent publication which suggests the existence of a hitherto unknown inscription from the Jewish Catacomb in Venosa, mentioning one man (*Colafemmina, Materia giudaica* 9 [2004] 39).

3. A papyrus which is mentioned in vol. 3, but misunderstood (Salvaterra, “L’administrazione”). There I recorded only persons with Jewish names from that papyrus, but since it obviously deals with the Jewish tax, the other persons mentioned on it were also Jews.¹ These add up to 18 persons.

4. The same is true for a coin from Rome, which mentions a certain Bacchius Judaius (in Latin), and which in vol. 1, I naively identified with a certain Dionysius (1), pp. 272–3, based on previous, inconclusive scholarship.

5. Two persons mentioned in the writings of Church fathers, which I had thought resided in Palestine, but a closer reading of the text proved otherwise – Abraham in *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. 12, p. 765, and Aquila in Epiphanius, *PG* 41, 56.

6. Two persons mentioned in publications I had surveyed for vol. 3, but overlooked (*CPR* 5: 18; *CIJ* 225).

7. Three persons mentioned on a demotic ostrakon, of which I was not aware.

8. The *Patrologia Orientalis*, which I surveyed recently, also yielded two persons. An apocryphal Christian text in Arabic mentioning by name a certain Jew from North Africa (*PO* i/2, 135) and a Syriac text mentioning the name of one from Mopseustia (*PO* ix/5, 508). Two other Jews, one mentioned in a Coptic martyrology and another in the writings of Anastasius Sinaitica previously overlooked (but brought to my attention by Sergey Minov) are also added here.

9. Finally, a new synagogue which yielded three inscription was discovered in Andriaki, near Antalya, Turkey and their pictures were recently published by Çerik and Eshel in the popular Israeli journal *Qadmoniot*. I read seven names on them.

1. The Names

1.1 Biblical Names: See vol. 1, pp. 4–5. Because this volume follows the same pattern as Part I, the names are organized according to language and culture, beginning with biblical names, through Greek, Latin, Iranian, Arabic and other Semitic names. In Part I (Palestine) this order was justified by popularity. Persons bearing biblical names outnumbered all the others by more than double (see vol. 1, p. 55, Table 2). In Part III this was no longer true, for in the Western Diaspora Greek and Latin names far outnumbered the biblical ones (see vol. 3, p. 61, Table 2). In the Eastern Diaspora, while biblical names are still popular, they no longer constitute the largest name repository. The largest group of names is Semitic (see Tables 1 and 2). I suspect that even so, biblical names are over-represented in this corpus because often they are the sole indicator of a person’s Jewishness (see below, 6.5). Thus, in many documents, when a person with a biblical name is mentioned, he is identified unequivocally as Jewish. Other persons mentioned in the same document may have

¹ See vol. 3, Introduction 6.1.5, p. 30.

been Jewish too, but this is not indicated. Other, similar documents, where no biblical names are mentioned, may also record Jews, but there is no way of knowing this.

1.1.1. Male Biblical Names: See vol. 1, p. 5. In this corpus 108 biblical male names are recorded borne by 683 persons, of which only 541 are valid. There are, however, problems with some of these names. Thirteen of them (1. Ahi – 34 persons; 2. ‘Aqub – 17 persons; 3. Bebai – 9 persons; 4. Ḥananiah – 36 persons; 5. Malkiah – 18 persons; 6. Manaseh – 12 persons; 7. Mataniah – 7 persons; 8. Naḥmani – 10 persons; 9. Naḥum – 8 persons; 10. ‘Aqub – 17 persons; 11. Sheba – 5 persons; 12. Shalum – 3; 13. Zebediah – 10 persons = 186 persons) are names mentioned in the Bible, which have Semitic variations and most of the people bearing these names in this corpus do not bear the exact biblical variety (154 persons). If we remove these persons, we are left with 355 valid males bearing biblical names. Under these too, many variations in the names (as for example אִשְׁעִיָא for הַוְשַׁעִיָא) which could be understood as Semitic rather than biblical, are available. See also about this below, 6.5.1.

An opposite case is the biblical name שַׁבְעוֹן, the second son of Jacob and one of the tribes of Israel. In Palmyra, in an alphabet which is one-to-one equivalent to the Jewish one (see below, 2.8.2), this name is recorded 43 times in this volume. Despite similarities, this was obviously a Palmyrene name. If among these 43 persons, some were definitely Jewish, this name cannot serve as an indicator for this premise (and see also below, 6.5.3.1).

1.1.1.1 Biblical Heroes: See vol. 1, pp. 5–6 and vol. 3, pp. 3–4. As noted in vol. 3, there seems to be a distinct difference between the biblical male names used by Jews in Palestine and those used by Diaspora Jews. While it was noted that in Palestine the name Abraham was never used, in the Eastern Diaspora, as in the Western one (see vol. 3, pp. 71–4) it was quite common and frequent (11 occurrences in this volume. Of these, 7 are in Jewish characters and transcribe the name as in the Bible – אַבְרָהָם/אַבְרָהָם – including one in rabbinic literature, which is certainly the most Jewish of the sources at our disposal, see below, 5.1.1). This phenomenon seems to be associated with the popularity of two other names – Isaac and Jacob. In Palestine, in the earlier part of post-biblical antiquity, these names were used, but to a much lesser extent than in the Diaspora (Isaac – 12 persons, not among the 20 most popular names, see vol. 1, pp. 174–5; Jacob – 45 persons, the 11th most popular name, see vol. 1, pp. 171–4). In this corpus, the name Isaac is recorded 40 times, making it the sixth most popular name (according to frequency among the valid male Jews, and also sixth among the entire recorded population, see Table 5) and Jacob 18 time, making it the fifteenth most popular name (according to frequency among the valid male Jews, sixteenth among the entire recorded population). This suggests that, in the Eastern Diaspora as in the Western Diaspora (Isaac – 60 persons, fourth most popular name, see vol. 3, pp. 127–32; Jacob – 74 persons, third most popular name, see vol. 3, pp. 121–7), the names of the patriarchs were more popular than in Palestine. Of similar popularity are also the names of

Joseph and Judah, the two most prominent sons of Jacob and of the twelve tribes of Israel (Joseph 45 – fourth most popular; Judah 26 – thirteenth most popular), but these names were also popular in Palestine, because they were Hasmonean names, see vol. 1, Introduction 1.1.1.2, pp. 6–8 and below, 1.1.1.2).

Another name that was not used in Palestine at all, but that seems to have had a different fate in the Diaspora, was Moses. In this corpus, 4 persons are recorded under this name. However, there are some problems with them. The name appears once in Greek script, and once in Hebrew, but as the Arabic form – מוסى. Only twice the biblical form משה is recorded, but of these two occurrences, one is on a Babylonian seal emerging from the antiquities market, and could be a forgery. However, one occurrence is in the Babylonian Talmud (*bbb* 174b; *b'Arakh* 23a), and the form is very stable in the manuscript tradition. Obviously this is the name intended. I assume this indicates that the name was not completely proscribed in the Eastern Diaspora. The name David has a similar history, with 2 occurrences in this volume. In Palestine it is not attested at all (see vol. 1, David [B/M], p. 87). In the Western Diaspora it is recorded four times, but the only one in Jewish script is probably late (see vol. 3, David [2] B/M, p. 82). In this volume one occurrence of David, if indeed this is the name intended, is recorded in the unusual form דודא. Only the second occurrence, deriving from an incantation bowl, reads דוד. Here again we can claim that the name, although not popular, was not completely proscribed in the Eastern Diaspora.

The most popular biblical-male name in the Eastern Diaspora is Samuel, with 56 occurrences (second most popular name, see Table 5). This biblical name was considerably more popular in the Western Diaspora than in Palestine (36 in the former, 26 in the latter), and is considerably more popular in the Eastern Diaspora than in the Western one. It is hard to judge why this has happened. The character of the biblical figure is certainly not a convincing enough explanation for it, and there is no particular non-Jewish name that it resembles. Obviously the biblical prophet took a stronger hold on the Jewish Diaspora imagination than of that of Palestinian Jews.

1.1.1.2 Hasmonean Names: See vol. 1, pp. 6–8 and vol. 3, pp. 4–5. One of the major theses of Part I was the popularity of the male Hasmonean names in Palestine during the Second Temple period and probably also after. I was able to show that in general this phenomenon is much weaker in the Western Diaspora. I believe that in the Eastern Diaspora it is, for all intents and purposes, non-existent. The name Eleazar is recorded 9 times in this volume, but one of them is in the Semitic variation אילעא and we cannot be certain that this was the name intended. The name Yohanan is recorded 7 times, but two of them in Semitic variations – יוחנא/יוחנאי. The name Matthias is recorded once. The name Jonathan is practically non-existent (the form יוני is recorded once; for יונתא representing the form יונת see below, 2.3.6; one יונת has the variant יונת in mss). Judah and Simon are recorded frequently (26 and 54 respectively), but regarding the problem with Simon see above, 1.1.1. If we remove the Simons recorded in Palmyra (who, as mentioned above, were probably

not Jewish) we are left with 12, only one of them (Simon [3]) recorded just so in the (most Jewish) rabbinic literature. The others recorded in this corpus actually bear a Semitic variation on the name – שׂוֹן, perhaps but not necessarily, indicating the decline of the laryngeals (see below, 2.3.1). Judah is the only Hasmonean name that is recorded extensively in the Eastern Diaspora (26 times). There were various good reasons for Jews to use this name other than it as being a Hasmonean name (it is the most prominent son of Jacob, who is the forefather of all the Jews). Yet even this record is not as substantial as in Palestine (160 in vol. 1, at least 120 in vol. 2) or in the Western Diaspora (80). Why the Hasmoneans held no sway over the imagination of the Eastern Diaspora is hard to judge. The most likely explanation could be that the more substantial part of the onomastic record of the Eastern Diaspora is relatively late (Babylonian rabbinic literature, incantations bowls, early Islamic literature, see below, 5.1.1, 5.1.3 and 5.2.1). By this time the influence of the Hasmonean heroes was losing ground in Palestine as well (and see vol. 2, Introduction).

1.1.1.3 The Name Shabtai: Here is perhaps the place to note that, unlike the Western Diaspora, where the biblical male name Shabtai, and its female derivative Shabtit, constituted a significant segment of the name-pool (see vol. 3, pp. 148–60 and 186–91) in the Eastern Diaspora these names were of no special interest. This volume only consists of 3 male Shabtais and 2 female Shabtit. This may, of course, be due to the fact that the Sabbath was less fascinating to the surrounding cultures in the areas where Jews resided in the East, but it may also simply be due to a different understanding of the function of names.

1.1.2 Female Biblical Names: See vol.1, pp. 8–9. Just as in Palestine, and in the Western Diaspora, in this volume too female-biblical names are not popular – 14 names constituting only 9% of the entire women name-pool and borne by 34 women, of which only 24 are valid (see Tables 1, 2 and 3). However, it is dramatically different in make-up. No name is particularly popular. The name Miriam, with 6 representatives, loses its primacy to the name Salome (with 7 representatives, if I have indeed read the names correctly). Next to these, Sarah boasts 5 representatives. Semitic and Iranian female names were more popular, as can be seen from Tables 2 and 6.

1.2 Greek Names: See vol. 1, pp. 9–10. In this corpus, as opposed to Part I, in which Greek names constitute the second most popular name-pool, and Part III, in which Greek names far exceed any other group, the number of Greek names (both male and female) used by Jews, and the number of Jews bearing Greek names in the Eastern Diaspora is minute (see Tables 1 and 2). This is of course an indication of the extent to which Jews in the Eastern Diaspora were not exposed to Hellenistic influences.

1.3 Latin Names: See vol. 1, p. 13, and vol. 3, pp. 7–9. What is true for Greek names in the Eastern Diaspora is even truer for Latin names (see Tables 1 and 2).

1.4 Iranian Names: See vol. 1, p. 14, and vol. 3 p. 9. Because a large part of the Eastern Diaspora was found under direct Iranian rule over the greater part of the

time that this corpus covers, Iranian names among Jews were numerous and popular (see Tables 1 and 2).

1.4.1 Justi, INB. Identifying Iranian names is not an easy task. Over the centuries that Iranians ruled the Near East, they adopted a number of alphabets to suit their languages, culminating in the Arabic alphabet, used to this day. Because they were undecided, the Jews in the regions under their rule continued to use the Aramaic language (which during the Achaemenid period had been the official language of the Persian Empire) and the Jewish alphabet. Scholars, however, record Iranian documents in transcription into Latin. A case in point is Justi, *INB*, which documents all Iranian names known to the editor up to his time (1895), and which follows the Latin alphabet more or less. This was my main resource for identifying Iranian names. The result is that when using this resource I was required to convert Aramaic written names into a Latin transcription of Iranian. This, of course, is not always straightforward and requires creative reconstruction of the original. I sincerely hope that I have not sometimes been too creative.

In this context, I applied for the services of the important Iranica scholar, Dan Shapira, who instructed me on the changes in transcription that have been initiated since Justi's day, on the etymology and meaning of a great many Iranian names, and on his suspicions regarding the possible non-Iranian (mostly Semitic) origin of many of the names I identified as Iranian. Yet in the end the decision whether to identify a name as Iranian or not was mine. In 1.4.1.1 and 1.4.1.2 below I explain some of the criteria I used to arrive at my decisions in this regard.

The main problem with Iranian names in this corpus was, however, not to identify them as such but rather to decide whether their bearers were indeed Jews. The vast majority of such names come from Aramaic magic incantation bowls, whose Jewish identity is beyond doubt, but whose clients may not necessarily have been Jews (see below, 6.7). Thus, as Table 2 shows, the vast majority of Iranian names recorded in this corpus (475 out of 573) are labeled as doubtful Jews. Because only a few of the persons bearing Iranian names in this corpus can be identified as definitely Jewish; a statistic of how common these names were seems unrepresentative.

One phenomenon is of special interest here. As with other languages, and as seen in the previous volumes published in this series, once a language is broadly used, pagan theophoric names emerge, which were also used by Jews. In the Iranian/Zoroastrian context this is particularly true for names with the elements Hōrmīzd (Ahura-Mazdāh) and Mihr (Mithra). The elements Yazd and Bag, which simply mean God, also appear in names in this corpus.

The two following entries describe exceptions which I have also taken as Iranian even when not recorded in Justi, *INB*.

1.4.1.1 Incantation Bowls. I have recorded under Iranian names those found on the Aramaic incantation bowls that appear only once and could not be pinned down as belonging to any other name group. This I decided to do because the vast majority of names that could be ethnically identified on the bowls were Iranian. In such