

History of the Ancient Near East / Monographs – X

CAMSEMUD 2007

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 13TH ITALIAN MEETING OF AFRO-ASIATIC LINGUISTICS

Held in Udine, May 21st–24th, 2007

Edited by

FREDERICK MARIO FALES & GIULIA FRANCESCA GRASSI



**S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria
Padova 2010**

HANE / M – Vol. X

History of the Ancient Near East / Monographs

Editor-in-Chief: Frederick Mario Fales

Editor: Giovanni B. Lanfranchi

ISBN 978-88-95672-05-2
4227-204540



© S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria
Via Induno 18B I-35134 Padova
SAR.GON@libero.it
I edizione: Padova, aprile 2010
Proprietà letteraria riservata

Distributed by:

Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana 46590-0275 USA
<http://www.eisenbrauns.com>

Stampa a cura di / Printed by:
Centro Copia Stecchini – Via S. Sofia 58 – I-35121, Padova

S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria
Padova 2010

TABLE OF CONTENTS

F.M. Fales – G.F. Grassi, <i>Foreword</i>	v
I. SAILING FROM THE ADRIATIC TO ASIA/AFRICA AND BACK	
G.F. Grassi, <i>Semitic Onomastics in Roman Aquileia</i>	1
F. Aspesi, <i>A margine del sostrato linguistico “labirintico” egeo-cananaico</i>	33
F. Israel, <i>Alpha, beta ... tra storia–archeologia e fonetica, tra sintassi ed epigrafia</i>	39
E. Braidà, <i>Il Romanzo del saggio Ahiqar: una proposta stemmatica</i>	49
F.A. Pennacchietti, <i>Il tortuoso percorso dell’antroponimo Asia tra omofoni e sviste</i>	65
G. Cifoletti, <i>Venezia e l’espansione dell’italiano in Oriente: problemi connessi con la storia della lingua franca del Mediterraneo</i>	69
II. GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE AFROASIATIC LINGUISTICS	
G. Del Olmo Lete, <i>Phonetic Distribution in Semitic Binary Articulation Bases</i>	79
M. Franci, <i>Estensione della radice nella comparazione egitto-semitica</i>	87
P. Marrassini, <i>South Semitic Again</i>	103
G. Hudson, <i>Klimov’s Active-language Characteristics in Ethiopian Semitic</i>	111
O. Kapeliuk, <i>Some Common Innovations in Neo-Semitic</i>	123
H. Jungraithmayr, <i>Mubi and Semitic — Striking Parallels</i>	133
A. Zaborski, <i>‘Afar-Saho and the Position of Cushitic within Hamitosemitic/ Afroasiatic</i>	139
V. Blažek, <i>On Application of Glottochronology to South Berber (Tuareg) Languages</i>	149
A. Mettouchi, D. Caubet, M. Vanhove, M. Tosco, Bernard Comrie, Sh. Izre’el, CORPAFROAS. <i>A Corpus for Spoken Afroasiatic Languages: Morphosyntactic and Prosodic Analysis</i>	177
III. NORTHWEST SEMITIC	
A. Gianto, <i>Guessing, Doubting, and Northwest Semitic YAQTUL-U</i>	181
F.M. Fales, <i>New Light on Assyro-Aramaic Interference: The Assur Ostrakon</i>	189
A. Faraj, <i>An Incantation Bowl of Biblical Verses and a Syriac Incantation Bowl for the Protection of a House</i>	205
I. Zatelli, <i>Performative Utterances in the Later Phase of Ancient Hebrew: the Case of Ben Sira’</i>	213

S. Destefanis, <i>I Proverbi di Ahiqar nella versione neoaramaica di Rubeyl Muhattas. Un'analisi comparativa delle sue fonti</i>	221
R. Kim, <i>Towards a Historical Phonology of Modern Aramaic: The Relative Chronology of Turoyo Sound Changes</i>	229
IV. EGYPTIAN	
H. Satzinger, <i>Scratchy Sounds Getting Smooth: the Egyptian Velar Fricatives and Their Palatalization</i>	239
G. Takács, <i>The Etymology of Egyptian $\sqrt{m}3\text{f}$</i>	247
F. Contardi, <i>Egyptian Terms Used to Indicate the Act of Reading: An Investigation about the Act of Reading in the Egyptian Society</i>	261
A. Roccati, <i>Sono dei Re quelli specificati per nome (hq3w pw mtrw rnw)</i>	271
V. ARABIC	
A.Gr. Belova, <i>Études étymologiques du lexique arabe préislamique: correspondances sémitiques et le cas de la spécification</i>	275
J. Lentin, <i>Sur quelques préformantes utilisées dans la morphogénèse de la racine: l'exemple de l'arabe</i>	281
A. Mengozzi, <i>The History of Garshuni as a Writing System: Evidence from the Rabbula Codex</i>	297
R. Contini, <i>Travel Literature as a Linguistic Source: Another Look at Doughty's Najdi Arabic Glossary</i>	305
W.C. Young, T. Rockwood, <i>Explaining Variation in Demonstrative Morphology and Syntax in Peninsular Colloquial Arabic: An Argument Based on Anaphoric and Exophoric Reference</i>	315
J. Guardi, <i>Il 'āmil nella linguistica araba moderna</i>	339
B. Airò, <i>Aspetti e tendenze degli studi di linguistica araba in Tunisia (1985–2005)</i>	349
VI. CHADIC	
O. Stolbova, <i>Chadic Lateral Fricatives (Reconstruction and Parallels in Semitic, Cushitic and Egyptian)</i>	355
R. Leger, A. Suzzi Valli, <i>The Lexeme "eye" in Chadic Reconsidered</i>	369
S. Baldi, R. Leger, <i>North versus South. Typological Features of Southern Bole-Tangale Languages</i>	375
VII. CUSHITIC	
M. Tosco, <i>Semelfactive Verbs, Plurative Nouns: On Number in Gawwada (Cushitic)</i>	385
VIII. BERBER	
V. Brugnatelli, <i>Problème de la négation en berbère: à propos de l'origine d'ulac, ula, ula d</i>	401

SEMITIC ONOMASTICS IN ROMAN AQUILEIA *

Giulia Francesca Grassi

1. Introduction

Founded in 181/182 BC as a Roman Colonia (“Itala ad Illyricos obiecta colonia montes”), “nona inter claras urbes”, “moenibus et portu celeberrima” (Ausonius, *Ordo urbium nobilium*, 9, 2-4), Aquileia was immediately intended to be an *emporion* and its relationship with the Eastern part of the Empire is attested at least from the first century BC, when Strabo mentioned goods coming from the Danubian region and goods coming “from the sea” (5,1,8). In the third century AD, Herodian wrote that in Aquileia “lived a great quantity not only of citizens, but also of foreigners and merchants” (8,2,4), and in his description the key elements are, as noticed by Humphries (1998, 215), good communications (both with the overseas regions and with the countryside) and local products, especially wine — but the Northern part of Italy was famous in antiquity also for exporting textiles. On the other direction, Aquileia imported from Eastern Mediterranean jewels, scents, perhaps oil and *sarcophagi*, but in particular glass.¹

These elements contributed to create in Aquileia what is called by Humphries a “trade network”, “not simply the exchange of goods at market centres but the whole matrix of social relations associated with that trade”.² In this context, it is obvious that we can find in the city a clear trace of the presence of “Orientals”. Some contributions have been devoted to the Orientals in Aquileia, generally dealing with all the Oriental components of the migration: Greece, Galatia, Asia Minor, Syria, *i.e.* all the Eastern part of the Roman Empire (see *e.g.* Calderini 1930; Brusin 1953-1954; Cracco Ruggini 1959; Boffo 2003; *cf.* also Solin 1983). Onomastics has been taken in consideration, but without a systematical analysis of the names, and the only article entirely devoted to Semitic anthroponomy in Aquileia is Vattioni 1972, limited to the inscriptions from the *Basilica di Monastero*.³

The aim of this paper is to collect and analyze all the Semitic onomastic evidences which are attested in the inscriptions — mainly in Latin, but also in Greek — from Roman Aquileia. The majority of these inscriptions are written by Orientals, particularly Syrians (they occasionally mention their

* I am grateful to Prof. Ran Zadok for his precious suggestions during my stay in Tel Aviv.

¹ See in particular Cassola 1977.

² Humphries 1998, 204. See also Boffo 2003, 529.

³ The names were considered Jewish by Vattioni (see below).

city or their village, mainly located in the region of Apamea), but sometimes the Semitic name is probably just “inherited” by Western men and women of the Christian community (this seems to be the case for *Iohannes* and *Maria*). I would like to stress that I will consider all the Semitic (and possibly Semitic) names, even if the Oriental origin of the bearer is doubtful or even unlikely. On the contrary, I will not consider the Greek and Latin names which are borne by the Orientals, and are sometimes chosen because of their phonetic or semantic similarity to a Semitic proper name (e.g. *Cassianus*, *Bassus*).

2. Inscriptions with Semitic (or possibly Semitic) proper names

1. EPIGRAPHS

1.A - Republic

IA 15: **Abennaeus** Cati M(arci) s(ervus) maceriem / pinnas et austia de s[u]o fecit, Minervae d(edit).

IA 75: L(ucius) Aiacius P(ubli) l(ibertus) **Dama** Iudaeus por(t)i tor.

IA 3456: (...) T(itus) Rufellius T(iti) l(ibertus) **Achiba** (...).

1.B - Early Empire (I-II AD))

IA 926: D(is) M(anibus). / **Bonano** / **Amarei** / Hemeseno / **Obaesathus** / patri v(ixit) a(nnos) L / optimo fec(it).

IA 1132: Fufidiis / Severo et / Secundo et / Fufidiae **Malchidi** / socru<i> suae / Q(uintus) Appuleius / Hyginus.

IA 1204: Iulia **Barachus** / fecit viva sibi

IA 1271: [...]cia L(uci) l(iberta) **Marthaj** / v(iva) f(ecit) sibi et / [...]tio Polliae / [...H]elvili (...)

IA 1388: Loc(us) sepul(turae). / Pontia / **Amatla** / v(iva) f(ecit) sib(i) / et suis.

IA 1423: D(is) M(anibus). / Romulo **Bizego/ni** fil(io) Hemeseno / Viatrix / marito / optimo / bene merenti.

IA 1455: P(ublius) Saufeius **Sabda** / adiecit. / In fr(onte) p(edes) VIII, in agr(o) p(edes) XXXII / sibi et suis.

IA 1465: [Seli]cia Q(uinti) liberta Optata / [S]elicius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) / Liccaeus / Q(uintus) Selicius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) / **Malchio**.

IA 1490: **Sipharae** / alumnae / quae vix(it) / ann(os) XX / m(enses) V d(ies) VII / Aur(elia) Paula / posuit.

1. C - Late Empire (III-V AD)

IA 2925: Aureliae **Mariae** / puellae virginini innocentissimae / sancte pergens ad iustos et electos iin (sic) pace / quae vixit annos XVII, mensis V, / dies XVIII, sponsata Aurelio Da/mati diebus XXV Aurel(ius) Ienisireus / veteranus et Sextilia parentis / infelicissime, filiae dulcissimae / ac amantissimae⁴ contra votum / qui dum vivent habent / magnum dolorem. / Martyres sancti in mente ha/vite Maria.

IA 2943: B(onae) M(emoriam). **Abra** qui v(i)xit / an(nos) p(lus) m(inus) LXXV (...).⁵

IA 2976: Ἐνθεν κίτ[ε] Ἀυρήλιος Σαββῖνος υει/ος Βαλης (...) ἀπό Χαβαβων τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ πε/δός **Θαμαρη** (...).

⁴ Brusin: amatissimae; but it is a slip, since N is clear from the photograph.

⁵ See also Vegone 2007, 81-84, insc. 12.

- IA 3092: Hic requiescit puer **Ioha[nnes]** / qui vixit ann(os) III, man(ses) II, d(ies) X[III]. / Depositus die XIII kal(endas) aug(ustas) in pa[ce].⁶
- IA 3093: [B]eneme[renti] / **Iohann[fi]** qui vixit] / plus m(inus) X [...] / k(a)l(enda)s dec[embres ...].
- IA 3107: Ἐνθα κίτε **Και/ουνο**ς Μαιουμι/της ἐτῶν ιε´ ἰνδι(κτιῶνος) ι´ / πρὸς καλ(ανδῶν) σεπτεμ/βρίων.⁷
- IA 3132: Coniu[gi sue] / carissime **Sab/batiae** Teodor/us cun quaen / fuit iunta an(nos) X / [vixi]t in se(culo?) an(nos) XXX.
- IA 3166: (...) Benemereta **Maria** qui vixet an(nos) / plus m(inus) XII, mensis / VIII, d(ies) VII (...).

2. INSCRIPTIONS ON MOSAIC (CHRISTIAN AGE)

- Monastero 4: **Βαρβευσο**ς Δρακοντίου κόμη Ραβωνα ἅμα συμβίου **Μαθβη** καὶ τέκνοις **Ιοαννα** καὶ **[Μ]αλχο**ν ἐπο[ίη]σαν [...].⁸
- Monastero 7: Eusebius et / **Maru** cum / suis f(ecerunt) p(edes) C.⁹
- Monastero 14: **Ioellus** et **Mocimus** [cum] suis [...].¹⁰
- Monastero 18: **Μαρε/ας** Ἰουλιανός / Πάλλαδης καὶ / **Ιοσηφ** ἀπὸ κό/μης Καπρο/τουρις πό(δας) λε´.¹¹
- Beligna 1: **Μαλχος** / ὁ[π]ἔρ ε]ὶ/χῆς ἐποί[η]σεν πό/δας λγ´.¹²
- CIL V, 1619: **Malchus** / et Eufemia / cum suis / de donis / dei votum / solvint.¹³

3. Semitic proper names

Abennaesus

The PN *Abennaesus* is interpreted by Brusin as derived “ex Abenna, nomine originis Etruscae” (IA, I, page 10), but this etymology seems to be unlikely (*cf.* also Solin 2002, 173). The name is probably, as suggested by Solin, variant of the Semitic PN *Abinnaesus*, attested in Rome among slaves (2002, *ibid.*; 1996, 601; *cf.* also Boffo 2003, 533-534).¹⁴

The similar name *Abineos* is attested once in Syria, on a tombstone from Zeugma dated 138 AD (450 Seleucid era): Αβινεος Διονυσίου / ἔτους νυ´ (Wagner 1976, 84, *in sc.* 1 and plate 6a). *Abinnaios* is recorded in Dura Europos, on the Middle Euphrates (PIX, 962 (249-250 AD); YCS XIV, 2, 37 AD; YCS XIV, 189, 262-263 AD) and in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 3), where we have also the transcriptions *Abinneos/Abinnenos/Abinnεις*, perhaps variants of the same name (see Preisigke 1922, col. 3; Foraboschi 1967-1971, I, 16).

⁶ See also Vergone 2007, 119-121, *in sc.* 28.

⁷ See also Vergone 2007, 263-265, nr. 124.

⁸ Brusin – Zovatto 1957, 332-334, *in sc.* 4, dalla Basilica di Monastero; Ruggini 1959, 192-5, *partic. note* 14; Vattioni 1972, *part.* 130, *nota* 19; *cf.* also Caillet 1993, 172, *in sc.* 13.

⁹ Brusin – Zovatto 1957, 335, *in sc.* 7, then Caillet 1993, 165-166, *in sc.* 4: Niaru; Mazzoleni 1994, 198: Maru.

¹⁰ Brusin – Zovatto 1957, 337-338, *in sc.* 14, *pic.* 132, then Caillet 1993, 174-175, n. 17 and *ph.* 129.

¹¹ Brusin – Zovatto 1957, 340-341, *in sc.* 18, then Caillet 1993, 167-168, n. 7.

¹² Caillet 1993, 147-148, *in sc.* 1 (Basilica del Fondo Tullio alla Beligna).

¹³ “In pavimento operis musivi”, from the Basilica dei SS. Felice e Fortunato, now lost. It has been suggested that Malchus and Eufemia are the same donors attested at Grado in S. Maria delle Grazie, but this is uncertain (see Mazzoleni 1994, 199; Caillet 1993, 206-207, *in sc.* 6: Malchus / et Eufimia (sic) / cum suis vo/tum solvent).

¹⁴ In a previous work, Solin was skeptical about the Semitic origin of the name (1983, 637).

In Palmyrenean, the PN *'bnyt* and *'bn* are recorded. Zadok considers them derived from Semitic *'bn*, “stone” (1987, 298), while Stark suggests that *'bn* is a short form for **'b-nbw* (1971, 64).

Since in *Abennaeus* (as in *Αβινναίος*, *Αβιννεός*, *Αβιννεός* and *Αβιννεις*) the *n* is redoubled, it is perhaps more likely that the name is transcription of *'bdny*, that is an abbreviated form with suffix *-y* of a proper name formed on the element *'bd*, “servant”, followed by a divine name beginning with *n*: perhaps *'bdnbw*, or, less likely, *'bdnny*, “Servant of Nabu”, or “Servant of Nanaia”, with progressive assimilation of the dental (cf. also Zadok 1988, 257).¹⁵ In Greek, the form *Αβιδναβος* is attested in Dura (once, PV, 499: Αραβ Αβιδναβου). The name *'bdnbw* is quite rare: *'bdnbw* and *'bdnb* (prob. < *'bdnbw*, with assimilation of *d*) are attested on two Aramaic inscriptions from Idumaea (see Lemaire 1996, resp. 72-73, insc. 86, 1 and 57, insc. 59, 2), and the first form is attested once in Egyptian Aramaic (Kornfeld 1978, 65), and once in Nabataean (Negev 1991, 47).¹⁶ In Early Syriac, the form *'bdnw* is probably a short form for *'bdnbw* (cf. Drijvers – Healey 1999, 189-190, insc. Am11).

In Dura we have also the Latin transcription *Abidnabus* (*Abidnabus Themarsa*: PP 67, IX, 8) and *Abednabus* (*Aurel Abednabus Themarsa*: 100, XXVII, 14). The divine name Nanaia is well attested, again, in the anthroponomy of Dura (see Grassi 2007, 276), and Milik prefers this second hypothesis for the explanation of *Αβινναίος* (1967, 294); however, the form *'bdnny* is not recorded. It is worth noticing that both Nabu and Nanaia are gods of Babylonian origin, quite rare in the *onomasticon* of Roman Syria, except for Dura.

Achiba

Achiba is the transcription of the Aramaic passive participle *'qyb*, plus ending *-'*, “protected (by DN)”, from the root *'QB*, “to protect”, common in Aramaic proper names.¹⁷

The name is attested in Neo-Babylonian (Zadok 1977, 134: *Aq-qi-ib*¹⁸ and *Iq-qi-ba-*'), in Palmyra (Stark, 107¹⁹), in Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 155), and it is the name of the famous Tannai who took part to the revolt of Bar Kokhba and was killed in Caesarea. The PN *'qyb* is recorded on a Jewish ossuary

¹⁵ Name-type “Servant + DN (*'bd* + DN)” is very well attested in North-west Semitic onomastics (cf. for example Gröndhal 1967, 104-106; Huffmon 1965, 189; Noth 1928, 137-138; Maraqtan 1988, 93-95 and 191-195), especially in Phoenician (Benz 1972, 148-164 and 369-372), but they are relatively rare in Ancient Aramaic (Silverman 1981). Silverman explains the success of these formations in late Aramaic onomastics (see e.g. Stark 1971, 102-104; Abbadi 1983, 135-144; Negev 1991, 46-48; for Greek transcriptions see e.g. Zadok 1987, 256-257; Wuthnow 1930, 153-154) by the influence of Arabic (Silverman 1981, 366). However, *'bd* is attested in Aramaic from the very beginning (DNWSI, 806-818), and the gods used in as second element are often Aramaean or Mesopotamian (e.g. Hadad, Nabu and Nanaia), and not Arabic.

¹⁶ The name has one occurrence on the Sinai and it is registered only in the volume by Negev: it has never been found before in the Nabataean *onomasticon*.

¹⁷ The root *'QB* in onomastics seems to be used in its original meaning “to protect”: Martin Noth (1928, 177-178) observes that the root has maintained its original meaning only in South-Arabian and Ethiopic (cf. Dillmann 1865, 977-981); in Aramaic and Hebrew the verb means “to follow”, while the substantive means “heel” (and “successor” in Hatraean) (DNWSI, 881-882; HALAT, 826). It is attested in Mari (Huffmon 1965, 203-204, s.v. *ḥqb*), Emar (Pruzsinszki 2003, 152), in Ugaritic (Gröndahl 1967, 111-112), Aramaic (Maraqtan 1988, 200-201; Zadok 1977, 80; Silverman 1985, 167), and Hebrew (Noth 1928, 177-178; Zadok 1988, 27). It is attested at Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 153-155 e 184), Assur (Aggoula 1985, 65-66), and Palmyra (Caquot 1962, 248; Stark 1971, 73 and 107). The root *'QB* is also attested in Ancient Arabic anthroponomy, where it is however quite rare (Harding 1971, 426), as it is in Nabataean (one occurrence: see Negev 1991, 54). For further attestations of the element *'qb* in Semitic onomastics see Gelb (1980, 96), and Albright (1954, 231).

¹⁸ According to Zadok, a *qattil* form, as in late Aramaic (page 122).

¹⁹ Stark 1971 considers the etymology doubtful, since, according to him, the name can be based on the Aramaic word *'aqibā*, “heel”.

(Milik 1956, 247; Ilan 2002, 203: *cf.* the Hebrew equivalent 'qwb). 'qyb is perhaps recorded on an Aramaic inscription from Idumaea (Lemaire 1996, n. 6).

In Syria, Greek transcriptions of the name are *Ακεβας* (Clarke – Connor 1987, 21, *in sc.* C, then SEG XXXVII, 1987, n. 1452), *Ακειβας* (*gen.* *Ακειβου*: YCS XIV, 2; Jarry 1992, 107, n. 8: *Ακθιβου*; Feissel in BE 105, 1992, page 466 suggests the reading *Ακειβου*, accepted by SEG XLII, 1992, n. 1343; *gen.* *Ακειβα*: YCS XIV, 91), *Ακιβα*: (PVIII, 905: *Ακιβα Λυσανίου* (line 1); *Ακιβα* (line 3)), *Ακιβας* (Roussel – Visscher 1942-1943, 195-196), *Ακκιβα* (IGLS III, 778, *gen.*; Balty – Chehade – Van Rengen 1969, 27, *in sc.* 3, *nom.*, then SEG XL, 1990, n. 1764); not from Syria, *Εκηβις* (Wuthnow 1930, 45).

In Dura-Europos, four soldiers bear the name *Acibas*: *Aurelius Maesomas Acibas* (PP 100, XXXIV, 15; PP 101, XXXIV, 13), *Theotecnus Aciba* (PP 115, 2), *Acibas Bora* (PP 67, III, 6; PP 101, XVII, 26; PP 102, 18) and *Aurelius Acibas Ginnai* (PP 100, XXVII, 5; PP 101, I, 10).

Achiba/Aciba is already known from Italy, both among slaves and free people: in Rome (Solin 1983, 637, 676, 680; *cf.* also Solin 1996, 603), in Puteoli, Capua, Ostia and Ager Albanus (Solin 1983, 729-730; Zucker 1943, 201), in Minturno (*ibid.*), and in Cerveteri (Solin 1983, 742).

Amareus

Amareus is likely the Latin transcription of Arabic 'amr/ 'umr, "life" (*cf.* Wehr, 753).²⁰ The Greek transcription *Αμαρος* is rare in the Near East (it occurs in Coelesyria: SEG XVIII, 612), but it can be interpreted as transcription of the same name also the common *Αμερος*, even if a derivation from Arabic 'mr, "man", "commander" (*cf.* Wehr, 33-34, *s.v.* 'amīr: "commander, prince") is equally possible (*cf.* Sartre 1985, 174-175).²¹

It is worth noting that *Αμερος* is particularly widespread in Auranitis and Trachonitis (for the occurrences, too many to be mentioned here, see Sartre, *ibid.*). Another proper name in Greek characters likely formed on the element 'amr is *Αμρος*, which is, like *Αμερος*, frequent in Southern Syria (*cf.* Sartre 1985, 176-177 and IGLS XIII, 9208 and 9232; PAES IIIA, 123, 379, 403, 450, 715; Waddington 1870, 2298; IGLJ II, 181; Dussaud – Macler 1901, 156, *in sc.* 21).

The Latin transcription *Amrus* is attested in Dura Europos (PP 100, IX, 24: *Aurel Amr[us]* and PP 100, XXXVII, 26: *Aurel Amrus Milens*),²² and on a recently discovered inscription from Hegra (Saudi Arabia: Speidel 2007, 296, *in sc.* 1, line 9: *Amro Haianis*).

'mr is a common name in Safaitic, and, to a lesser extent, in Thamudic (according to Harding 1971, 436, respectively 102 and 17 times; *cf.* also Ryckmans 1934-1935, I, 167). Apparently, it is attested also in Liḥyanite (twice), Sabaeen (twice) and Qatabanian (once).

'mrw is common in Nabataean (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 133; Negev 1991, 53, name number 916), especially in Egypt, Sinai and Negev, curiously not in the Ḥawrān, where apparently it occurs just once. The proper names 'mr, 'mr', and 'mrw are attested in Palmyrenean (Stark 1971, 106). 'mr and 'mrw are recorded on two Aramaic inscriptions from Idumaea (Lemaire 2002, resp. 141-142, *in sc.* 267 and 35-36, *in sc.* 50).

²⁰ It is worth noticing that 'amara is also a pre-Islamic Arabic deity: *cf.* proper names 'bd'mr and 'bd'mrw (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 126, 133; Negev 1991, 47), 'mrw'my (Negev 1991, 53), *Ḥa-ma-ri-ilu-ū-a* (Zadok 1977, 198, 231).

²¹ The name 'mr is frequent in Safaitic (101 occurrences), and it is (rarely) attested also in Thamudic (3), Minaean (2), and Qatabanian (4) (Harding 1971, 75; *cf.* also Ryckmans 1934-1935, I, 45). 'mrw occurs twice in Nabataean (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 64; Negev 1991, 13, name 103), 'mry twice in Palmyrene (Stark 1971, 5 and 69).

²² In Dura, the name *Αμας* is also recorded (Cumont 1926, n. 127). Wuthnow considers the name as formed on the root 'mr (1930, 20), "man", but it cannot be excluded an origin from the root 'mr, "life".

In Classical Arabic, the element *'mr* is productive in onomastics: cf. e.g. *'Āmir*, *'Amīra*, *'Amr* (Caskel 1966, 156-187), *'Umar* and *'Umāra* (Caskel 1966, 570-572).

Amatla

In this inscription, there is nothing which can remind an Oriental context; however, the name *Amatla* borne by the woman — and for which Brusin could not give any explanation — is very close to the frequent Semitic f. names constructed on the element *'mt*, “Maid servant” (see s.v. *Μαθβη*). As far as I know, *Amatla* would be a *hapax*. The second element can be explained as the divine name *'lh*, with the drop of the first *'*, which is not uncommon (cf. e.g. *Βαρλααας* or *Αβιδλααας*). The name would be in this case transcription of *'mtlh*, “Maid servant of (')lh” (cf. Nabatean *'mt'lyh*: Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 64).

Βαρβεουσος

Βαρβεουσος is already attested among the Syrian immigrants recorded in Italy during the 4th and 5th century AD, in Florence: he is father of a *Θεότεκνος* coming from the village of Sighātā (*κώμη Σιγατων*), in the Ġebel Zawīyé, north of Apamea.²³ Since the name *Βαρβεουσος* is also recorded in one inscription from the village of Hās, again in the Gebel Zawīyé,²⁴ Milik (1972, 127-128) suggests to interpret the PN as *Bar-Be'(l)-Hūs*, “Fils du Be'l (du lieu dit) Hūs”, “analogue à *brb'šmyn*”, with a passage *Hās > Hōs > Hūs*. However, a *Be'l* of the city of Hās is unknown, and the name seems to be similar to the differently vocalized *Βαρβεσος* from Šeyḥ Barakāt²⁵ and to the PN *Barbes*, attested on the mosaic of an Early Christian church from Verona (see Grassi 2009). The similar proper name *Βαρβεουσα* is recorded in Dura Europos,²⁶ in a list of names both m. and f.: it is difficult to understand if the name was borne by a woman (so Milik 1972, 127) or by a man. Of course, the element *br*, “son”, should be used only in m. proper names. However, we may notice the same problem with the name *Αβσαλμας* (PIX, I, 940, fr.1, col. 3A; around 250 AD) borne in Dura by a woman, but actually m., or by the proper name *Βαρψεοδα*, borne by a Jewish woman in Rome,²⁷ or again *Βαραβους*, which seems to be borne by a woman (*Αυρελία Βαραβους*) in the documents of the Middle Euphrates (Feissell – Gascou 2000, document 15, pages 189-192²⁸).

It cannot be excluded that the final *α* should not be intended as a f. ending, but as the transcription of the very common suffix *-'*: actually, the name *brb'š'* is recorded in Syriac as abbreviated form of *brb'šmn* (see below); in this case, *Βαρβεουσα* would be a m. proper name, even if the absence of final *-ς* in Greek transcriptions is quite unusual.

The name *Βαρβεουσος* is likely a short form for *Βαρβεσαμην/Βαρβεσουμην*, transcriptions of the Aramaic name *brb'šmyn/brb'šmn*,²⁹ “Son of Ba'alšamayn”.

The proper name *brb'šmyn* occurs twice in Hatra (Abadi 1983, 87), while the forms *brb'šmyn/brb'šmn*, with the assimilation of the *l* to the *š*,³⁰ are attested in Proto-Syriac, both in the inscriptions

²³ For the inscription see Maetzke 1950, 76-77, picture 3 and Maetzke 1957, 310-311, insc. 22, picture 27, then Solin 1983, 740 and Avramea 1995, 48, insc. 239. For the village of Sighātā see Milik 1972, 129 and Feissell 1980, col. 336.

²⁴ Seyrig 1958, 35-36, insc. 39; the name is borne by a *πρεσβύτερος*.

²⁵ IGLS IV, 1740. Milik suggests to integrate the name as *Βαρβε[ου]σος* (1972, 128). For Šeyḥ Barakāt, in the Ġebel Sim'ān and Ḥalaqa see Milik 1972, 128-129; Feissell 1980, 342, note 49 and Feissell 1982, 321.

²⁶ Cumont's reading is *Βαρβουσα* (1926, insc. 44), while Milik prefers the reading *Βαρβεουσα* (1972, 127).

²⁷ The name is interpreted by Noy as a family name: Noy 1995, 435-436, insc. 551.

²⁸ However, the authors are not sure that the text — incomplete and characterized by a strange formulary — should be taken “au sérieux” (*ibid.*, 189).

²⁹ See also Vattioni 1972.

(Segal 1959, 38-39, insc. 9, then Drijvers – Healey 1999, 180-183, insc. Am 8)³¹ and in the parchments. In the parchment from Dura, the PN *brb šmn* occurs together with its abbreviation *brb š* (Drijvers – Healey 1999, 232-236 (P1)), and the name *brb šmn* appears also in the documents discovered in the Middle Euphrates (Drijvers – Healey 1999, 237-242 (P2)). In these texts, the PN *brb šmyn* occurs as well, borne by a witness in a deed of sale³² and by the seller of a mare from Ḥarran, who transliterates in Greek his name as *Βαρβεσουμης*.³³ From Dura Europos are known the Latin transcriptions *Barbaesomen* (PP 102, VII, 10), *Barbaesomenius* (PP 117, III, 6), *Barbaessamen* (100, XXXII, 32; 100, III-V, f, 3; 100, XXXIV, 30), *Barbaesamen* (101, XXXIII, 12; 101, XXXIV, 28) and the Greek transcriptions *Βαρβεσαμην*, *Βαρβεσουμην*, and the incomplete (?) *Βαρβεσ*.

The name does not seem to be attested among Jews, and this is not surprising, since Semitic theophorous names do not seem to be attested among native Jews (*cf.* Zadok 1999, 269), unless they are Biblical (*e.g.* *Mordekhay*, or perhaps *Maryam*, if from DN Yam: see *s.v.*).³⁴ On the contrary, they are attested, even if not frequently, among Christians (*ibid.*, 272).

Θαμαρη

It is perhaps transcription of *tmr*, “date palm”, known as proper name in the Bible³⁵ as *Tāmār* (Zadok 1988, 96; HALAT, 1617; Noth, 230; Sept. *Θαμαρ* and *Θημαρ*, Josephus *Θαμαρα*).³⁶

However, this name has just one (doubtful) occurrence in Roman Palestine (Ilan 2002, 255-256)³⁷ and one in the Jewish Diaspora (IJO II, insc. 156), as far as I know has no occurrences in Northern Syria and Phoenicia, and it is conversely very common in Southern Syria and Arabia as *Θαμαρη* (five occurrences in Bosra: see Sartre 1985, 205 and IGLS XIII, 9223, 9224, 9225, 9226, 9332; *cf.* also PAES III A, 23a (= Lidzbarski 1908, 85), 48, 107, 350, 365, 409, 413, 493; Lidzbarski 1908, 331; Dussaud – Macler 1903, 678, insc. 107; Dunand 1939, 575, insc. 307).

Thus, it is likely that the name is transcription of Nabataean *t'mrw* or *t'mr* (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 133; Negev 1991, 69, name 1241) and North and South Arabian *t'mr* (Harding 1971, 134; Ryckmans 1934-1935, 167), as suggested by Clermont Ganneau (RAO IV, 161, 168) and Cantineau (*cf.* also

³⁰ The same assimilation is registered in the Palmyrene PN *b šmn*, where the DN Ba'alšamayn is used as PN (see Stark 1971, 78).

³¹ *rb šmyn* (Latin *Barbaseminus*) is also the name borne by a giacobite bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, martyred in the 4th century: see the list of the giacobite patriarchs taken from Bar Hebraeus by Assemani (Assemanus 1721, 399-400). Assemani writes that Barseminus “Nomen Chaldaicum est (ut observat Auctor) quod nominibus quatuor praeditum significat” (399, note 1): evidently, he thinks that the etymology of the name is *'rb šmhyn*, “of the four names” (see also Segal 1959, 39).

³² Pachements 6 and 7 in Feissel – Gascou – Teixidor 1997 (pages 6-26); the two texts, in Greek, but with subscriptions in Syriac, are two copies of the same document. In number 6 the PN *brb šmyn* is recorded in line 42, while in number 7 the name is missing.

³³ Number 10 in Feissel – Gascou – Teixidor 1997 (pages 45-53). The text is in Greek, with subscriptions in Syriac. The name appears as *brb šmyn* in line 20, as *Βαρβεσουμης* in line 9.

³⁴ Pagan theophorous Greek names are, on the contrary, very common: see *e.g.* Ilan 2002, 10-11.

³⁵ The name is borne by three different women: see HALAT, 1617; Zadok 1988, 197, 230, 233.

³⁶ Perhaps, the names *Tam-ri* and *Ta-am-ra-a-nu* attested in Babylonia among West Semites are derived from this element (see Zadok 1977, 114-115).

³⁷ In Rabbinic literature, the proper name *Tāmār* is attested once (excepting biblical quotations), in the Palestinian Talmud (see Ilan 2002, 255-256; Jastrow, 1678-1679).

Wuthnow 1930, 53);³⁸ this interpretation is supported also by the form *Θααμαρη* attested in Dura Europos (PVI, 794).³⁹

The name *t'mr* is likely the imperfect (3rd fs) of the verb *'mr*, “to live long”, “to prosper”, but also “to make prosperous” (cf. Wehr, 753), and it can be interpreted as “She (*scil.* the bearer of the name) prospers” or “She (*scil.* the deity) makes (the bearer of the name) prosperous”.⁴⁰ For the root *'MR* see also *s.v.* *Amareus*.

Ioavva

This name is the Greek transcription of the Hebrew proper name *yhwḥnh*, the f. version of *yhwḥnn* (for meaning and structure, see *s.v.* *Iohannes*).

The name does not occur in the Bible, and, as *yhwḥnn*, is not recorded in Ancient Hebrew Epigraphy, but it became popular later. *yhwḥn* is attested in Egypt (Kornfeld 1978, 53; Silverman 1985, 147), and the name is one of the ten most common f. name among Jews in Palestine in Hellenistic and Roman times (12 occurrences: Ilan 2002, 57 and 420-421; Rahmani 1994, 82-83, *in sc.* 31; 125, *in sc.* 202; 141-142, *in sc.* 270; 259, *in sc.* 871; cf. also CPJ III, 182).⁴¹

As far as I know, in Syria it is recorded once (Jarry 1970, 206-207, *in sc.* 47: *Ioavva*), as in Arabia (Canova 1954, 62, *in sc.* 38: *Ioava*).

The name is attested in Christian inscriptions (ILCV III, 86); in the *regio Venetia et Histria*, *Iohanna* occurs in Grado (Caillet 1993, 234-235, *in sc.* 16).

Ioellus

Ioellus is likely transcription of the Hebrew name *yw'l / yhw'l*,⁴² Biblical *Yō'ēl* (Sept. *Ιωνλ*), “Yhw is god” (cf. Zadok 1988, 47; HALAT, 380), borne in the Bible by the prophet of the homonymous book (HALAT, *ibid.*; Zadok 1988, 276), and by other men, mostly in the *Chronicles*; men bearing this name are mentioned in: **1.** 1S 8:2; 1Ch 6:18 and 15:17 **2.** 1Ch 27:20; **3.** 1Ch 15:7 and 11; 23:8; 26:22; **4.** 1Ch 7:3; **5.** 1Ch 5:4 and 8; **6.** 1Ch 5:12; **7.** 2Ch 29:12; **8.** 1Ch 4:35; **9.** Ez 10:43; **10.** Neh 11:9; cf. resp. Zadok 1988, 222, 231, 234, 239, 243, 251, 254, 255, 270, 273; see also HALAT, *ibid.*). The name is also known from the epigraphical texts: *yhw'l* is attested on a *bullā* from Lakish (Avigad – Sass 1997, 205, n. 523), *yw'l* on a seal of unknown provenance, dated 8th century BC (Davies 1991, 241, *in sc.* 100.869), on two Aramaic ostraca from Idumaea (Lemaire 2002, 65, *in sc.* 107; Lemaire 1996, 57-58, n. 60*, doubtful), and, according to Lemaire, on two other unpublished ostraca (*ibid.*).

³⁸ Sartre (1985, 205) prefers a derivation from *tmr*; Lidzbarski considers both the explanations equally possible (1908, 85).

³⁹ In the Greek transcriptions of Semitic names, the redoubling of the vowel is frequently used to express Semitic *'ayn*.

⁴⁰ The m. equivalent, *y'mr*, is well attested in North and South Arabian, especially in Safaitic (see Harding 1971, 677).

⁴¹ It must be stressed that the name *yhwḥnh/'* is sometimes borne by men: see Ilan 2002, 421, *partic. note* 4; Rahmani 1994, 83 and 141-142. The forms recorded by Ilan and Rahmani are *yḥnh*, *yhwḥnh*, *yḥḥnh*, *ywḥny*, Greek *Ιωνας*. One of the rare (two) Jewish ossuaries in Latin bears the name *Iohana* (Rahmani 1994, 125, *in sc.* 202). *Ιωάννα* occurs in the New Testament (Luke 8:3 and 24:10). The Palestinian occurrences are all dated to Roman times, except for one (CPJ 17, dated 257 BC); see also Honigman 2004, 290. In Egypt, the gravestone of a Jew called *Ιωάννα* is dated 3rd century BC (CPJ III, 182; Horbury – Noy 1992, *in sc.* 6).

⁴² In proper names, the spell *yhw* is more common both in the inscriptions (see *e.g.* Avigad – Sass 1997, 502-504) and in the Bible (see Zadok 1988, 182).

However, in spite of its frequency in the Bible, the name does not seem attested — as far as I know — in the Roman period, since it has no occurrences in the Near East nor in the Western part of the Empire, and it is not borne by Jews nor by Christians. Thus, the presence of the name *Ioellus* in Aquileia is quite surprising, but it should be kept in mind that this kind of *hapax* from the Bible is not unparalleled: in Concordia, not far from Aquileia, the name *Cham* is attested,⁴³ apparently transcription of the well-known biblical PN *Hām* recorded in *Genesis*. It is discussed if the name was borne by a Jew or by a Christian (perhaps, the second possibility is more likely).⁴⁴ Whatever the case, the choice is quite astonishing.

Iohannes (or Iohannis)

Iohannes is the Latin transcription of the Hebrew proper name *ywhnn* / *yhwḥnn*, formed by the DN *yw* / *yhw* and the third person of the perfect of the verb *ḥnn*, “to be gracious”, “to show favour” (see e.g. Zadok 1988, 25; HALAT, 378 and 381). The name is recorded as *Yōhānān* / *Yəhōhānān* (Sept. *Ιωχα-ναν* / *Ιωαναν*, NT *Ιωαννης*) in the Bible, where it is borne by eight different men (*ibid.*, 226, 227, 234, 256, 260, 268, 275, 276), a priest *ywhnn* is recorded on a coin dated to the 2nd half of the 4th century BC (Zadok 1988, 333), and the epigraphic *yhwḥnn* is attested in Egypt (Kornfeld 1978, 53). However, the name is not recorded in ancient Hebrew documents — except one *yḥny* (*cf.* Gogel 1998, 328) —, where, on the contrary, the form *ḥnnyh* / *ḥnnyhw*, formed on the same elements, but inverted, is very common (*cf.* e.g. Avigad – Sass 1997, 499; Gogel 1998, 327).⁴⁵

The name *yhwḥnn* (with variants and transcriptions) became very popular among Jews after the Maccabean revolt, likely because it was a Hasmonean name (see Ilan 2002, 6-7, 56, 134-143; Fitzmyer – Harrington 1978, 343; Rahmani 1994, 292 and 295; *cf.* also CPJ III, 182; Horbury – Noy 1992, *in sc.* 57; IJO II, *in sc.* 224, 6; 58a; for Samaria *cf.* Magev – Misgav – Tsfania 2004, 26 and *in sc.* 33 and 47).

Because of its importance in the New Testament, the name became soon widespread among Eastern Christianity,⁴⁶ while in the West it was rare until the end of the fourth century (see Grossi Gondi 1920, 81; for its diffusion in Rome and Carthage see Kajanto 1963, 60; *cf.* also ILCV III, 86-87). *Iohannes* and *Iohannis* are frequently attested in the Christian inscriptions of the region, e.g. in Jesolo (Caillet 1993, 106, *in sc.* 1; 111, *in sc.* 8), Grado (*ibid.*, 204, *in sc.* 3; 209, *in sc.* 9; 224, *in sc.* 5; 230-231, *in sc.* 10, in Greek, likely Oriental; 239, *in sc.* 25; 240, *in sc.* 28; see also IA 3340, 3341, 3342), Trieste (*ibid.*, 278-279, *in sc.* 7; 282, *in sc.* 11), Poreč (*ibid.*, 310-311, *in sc.* 8; 329, *in sc.* 25).

Ιωσηφ

The name is transcription of the Jewish proper name *ywsp* / *yhwsp*, 3rd pers. ms of the causative jussive from the verb *ysp* (root *YSP*), “to add”, “May (DN) add” (see e.g. Noth 1928, 212; Zadok 1988, 134).

⁴³ See recently Lettich – Zovatto 2007, 77-78, *in sc.* 37.

⁴⁴ See the discussion in Lettich – Zovatto, *ibid.*; *cf.* also Solin 1983, 741.

⁴⁵ For other occurrences of *ḥnnyh* see Silverman 1985, 147-148; HALAT, 322.

⁴⁶ Its occurrences, both in Greek and Semitic alphabets, are too common to be listed here. See e.g. Rey-Coquais 1977, 145; Sartre 1985, 208; Canova 1954, LXXXII, LXXXIV, 422; Meimaris 1986, 282; Desreumaux 1998, 458-459; Gatier 1998, 417; IPT Ia, 152 (with further occurrences of the name), *in sc.* 57, 153, 155, 196, 203; IPT Ib, page 124 (*in sc.* 49; see also *in sc.* 59, 73, 79), where Meimaris remarks that “It is by far the most popular name in the onomasticon of Palestine and Arabia between the fourth and the eighth century AD with a peak in the sixth and seventh centuries”. For Syrian emigrants bearing this name see Solin 1983, 740 and 748. For the Greek transcriptions of the name attested in Egypt see Preisigke 1922, 155. It cannot be excluded that the name was borne also by Gnostics, because of their devotion for John the Baptist (see Drijvers – Healey, 65).

The name is attested in the Bible (MT *Yôšēp* / *Yehôšēp*, Sept. *Ιωσηφ* / *Ιωσηπος*, borne by five men: Zadok 1988, 196, 207, 237, 265, 279; HALAT, 385) and perhaps on one Hebrew seal (*ysp*: Avigad – Sass 1997, 222, insc. 587),⁴⁷ but it is otherwise not used until the Hellenistic age,⁴⁸ while it became extremely common in Roman Palestine, mainly as *yhwsp* and in the short form *ywsp*, but also in Greek transcriptions (Ilan 2002, 150-168).⁴⁹ The name is also widespread among Egyptian Jews in Hellenistic and Roman times (CPJ III, 182-183), and it continued to be used in the Diaspora, mainly as *Ιωσηφ* and *Ιωσης* (see e.g. IJO I, 380; II, 589; III, 271; Noy 1993, 315; 1995, 520).⁵⁰

In the Near East, *Ιωσηφ* (IGLS IV, 1709, 545-546 AD; Meimaris 1986, insc. 133),⁵¹ *Ιωσηφ* (746-747 AD; see also Ghadban 1980, 108-110, insc. 8) and *Ιωσης* (SEG XXXII, 1451) are attested also among Christians (taken from the New Testament), but the name is rare and attested quite late.

Καιουνος

As far as I know, the name is a *hapax*.⁵²

It can be formed on Arabic element *qyn* (*Qayn*), “Smith”, productive in Nabatean and in North and South Arabian onomastics, with names such as *qyn*’, *qynw* (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 142-143; for *qyn*’, see also Lemaire 2002, 79, insc. 136), *qyn*, *qn*, *qynh*, *qyynh*, *qynt* (*Qayn/Kaiuov*, *Qaynah*, *Qayyānah/Kaiavoc*,⁵³ *Qaynān/Kaiavoc*, *Qaynat*: see Ryckmans 1934, I, p. 190; cf. also Harding 1970, pp. 492-493). However, *Qayūn/Kaiouvoς* does not occur, and it seems difficult to explain.

Another possibility is that the name should be considered close to the well attested Semitic PN *Καιουμος* (Boffo 2003, 543), even if the exchange between *m* and *n* is difficult to explain in such a position. Perhaps the *n* was dissimilated from the *m* that occurs twice in the subsequent word *Μαιουμιτης*, *scil.* “from Maiouma” (likely the port of Gaza, but at least three more sites bear the same name),⁵⁴ or, more likely, the lapicide did not understand correctly the name he was asked to write, and just made a mistake.

⁴⁷ The form *ysp* is not necessarily the same as *ywsp*, since it can be a perfect. *Ysp* is recorded also in Phoenician (Benz 1972, 323-324, with other names formed on the same root), *ysf* once in Safaitic and twice in Sabeian (Harding 1971, 670), *ysp* once in Nabatean, where the form *ywsp* is also attested (Negev 1991, 33 and 34). *Yspw* is known from an Aramaic inscription from Idumea (Lemaire 1996, 74-75, insc. 91*). The name *yhwysp*, “Yhw has added”, occurs on an ostrakon from Arad (Maraqten 1988, 83 and 170). For other occurrences of the root *YSP* in onomastics, see Zadok 1988, 24.

⁴⁸ It is not attested in Elephantine, nor in Chaldean and Achaemenian Babylon.

⁴⁹ Actually, in Palestine the non-literary occurrences of the name are almost all dated AD, the only exceptions being an ostrakon from Gezer (3rd BC) and a papyrus from Jericho (*post* 323 BC). It is not easy to explain its popularity; Ilan suggests that it was borne by one of the Hasmonean brothers (2002, 158, note 20).

⁵⁰ As for *Μαριαμ* (see *s.v.*), the form *Ιωσηφ* was Graecized dropping the final *-φ* or adding the suffix *-ος*: see Mussies 1994, 250-251.

⁵¹ It cannot be excluded that the inscriptions Syr2 and Syr14, resp. from Tyrus and from Sidon, are Christian (see IJO, 2-3 and 26-27).

⁵² *Καιουνω* in Waddington 1890, 2089 should be read *Καιουμος* (cf. RAO V, 369).

⁵³ From Southern Syria: Waddington 1890, 2091. *Καιαυνος* is also recorded on a mosaic inscription found in a monastery in the Wadi ‘Ayoun Mousa (Piccirillo 1984, 313), but it seems to be the transcription, with K instead of Γ, of the name *Γαιανός* (*Ibid.*, and note 14), since the proper name *gy’n* occurs in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic inscription found close to the Greek one (see Puech 1984). It is worth noting that the name *Γαιανός* can be interpreted as a Greek name (Puech 1984, 322), as transcription of Latin *Gaianus* — derived from the *praenomen Gaius*) for *Gaianus* see Kajanto 1965, 172; for *Gaius* see Salomies 1987, 29) — or as transcription of the Arabic name *ḡayyān*, “qui se trompe” (racine *ḠWY* “errer”): Caquot 1955, 183; cf. also Wuthnow 1930, 39 and 155, Puech 1984, 322, and, recently, Tepper – Di Segni 2006, 34-35.

⁵⁴ Maiuma was the port of Gaza, and it became predominantly Christian at a very early stage, while Gaza itself remained Pagan for many centuries (cf. e.g. Gilliard 1984, 157, 158). Another Maiuma / Maioumas was

The proper name *Καιουμας* / *Καιουμος* is frequent in the Near East, particularly among Christians. For the occurrences, see e.g. *Καιουμας* from Marcoupolis (Zadok 2000, 2244; perhaps Jewish, but more likely Christian: see IJO III, 242-243, App 21), Tella (*ibid.*; Byzantine age), Emesa (IGLS V, 2208, dated 479 AD), the region of Apamea (Seyrig 1958, 39e), perhaps Nessana (Figueras 2004, 235-237*, insc. 7: [*Καιο*]υμας); *Καιουμος* from Mount Nebo-Mukhayyat (Piccirillo 1988, 302, deacon), Mount Nebo-Siyaga (IGLJ II, 75, mosaicist), Umm al-Jimal (PAES IIIA, 261, 267, 268), Qasr el-Hallabat (PAES IIIA, 41, then Kennedy 1982, 41, insc. 9⁵⁵), Kafr (PAES IIIA, 678: [*Και*]ουμος), Mahna (Canova 1954, 297, dated 545-555 AD), the region of Apamea (IGLS IV, 1753, 1803, dated 558-559 AD), Be'er Sheba' (Figueras 1985, 23, insc. 25, which mentions a *Καιουμος Αιλησιος*, i.e. from Eilat; dated 544 AD), Zoora (IPT Ia, 205, with further references). In Khirbet es-Samra, the form *Καιουμ*, without the Greek ending, is attested (Gatier 1998, 375, insc. 36). In Kastron Mefaa (Church of St. Stephen) the variant *Κηουμ* occurs in a mosaic inscription (Piccirillo 1987, 194-195, insc. 18, then Piccirillo – Alliaia 1994, 251, insc. 8a). *Καιουμου* is found in the papyri from Nessana (Kraemer 1958, 79, 33: account of the offerings to the church of St. Sergius). Moreover, the f. form *Καιουμη* is recorded at al-'Amaqa (Canova 1954, 335).

The name is rarer in Semitic alphabet: *qywm* occurs once in Nabatean (Negev 1991, 57, n. 1018), and once in Seleucia/Ktesiphon (Zadok 2000, 2250). The form *ʾlqywm*, with the Arabic article *ʾl*, is attested at Khirbet es-Samra (Desreumaux 1998, 481-482, insc. S. 0481).⁵⁶

The name is usually considered a mere variation of *Καιαμος* (cf. Gatier 1998, 417; Sartre, who translates the name as “Ferme”: 1985, 211, s.v. *Κοεμας*; same etymology in IPT Ia, 296, for *Καιουμος*; for other occurrences see IPT Ib, 103: *Καιαμος* is frequent at Zoora (cf. IPT Ia, 69, 171, 187; IPT Ib, 34), with the variants *Καιαμος* and *Καιομος*, resp. IPT Ia, 120 and 106; for other occurrences of the name see Desreumaux 1998, 461), and the meaning of the names is probably similar, but the vocalization is different and the forms are different: *Καιαμος* is transcription of *qayyām*,⁵⁷ a *qattāl* form from the root *QVM* (G: “to rise”, “to be standing”, “to stay”, in Arabic and Syriac also “to raise from the dead”, “to be resurrected”: see Wehr, 934, Payne Smith 1903, 494), while *Καιουμος* is transcription of *qayyūm*, a *qattūl* form from the same root. Both *qattāl* and *qattūl* are used in the formation of actant nouns, the first being by far more common (cf. Fox 2003, 253-261; 271-273). In Syriac the *qattāl* form *qayyām*, “existing, continuing” is attested (Fox 2003, 260; cf. also Payne Smith 1903, 504), while the *qattūl* form *qayyūm* is known from Arabic with the meaning “everlasting” (Fox 2003, 271; *al-qayyūm*, “the everlasting”, “the eternal” is referred to God: see Wehr, 936), and *qywm* is attested in Palestinian Aramaic (Sokoloff 1992, 489: “Qywm II: 1. standing, 2. protector, patron”) and in Palmyrenean (PAT, 406: *qywm*, “patron”).

located in the Northern plain of Sharon, north of Caesarea, close to the Krokodeilon river (see Roller 1982, partic. 49). A third Maiuma was closed to Ashqelon (see Avi Yonah 1977, 122 and 150), a fourth one was the port of Tyrus (see Année épigraphique 1997, 541-542, n. 1549).

⁵⁵ According to Kennedy, no longer visible.

⁵⁶ Desreumaux considers the name *Αλκιμος*, attested in the Near East (IGLS V, 2104; Jarry 1967, 190, nr. 119), a transcription of *ʾlqywm*; however, the complete absence of the w in the Greek name is difficult to explain.

⁵⁷ The names *qymw* and *qymy* are attested in Palmyra (Stark 1971, 110), *qymy* in Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 159), in Early Syriac (Drijvers – Healey, As6 and As33; cf. also *qmy* in Am8), *qymw* in Nabataean (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 142) and in the Aramaic inscriptions from Khirbet es-Samra (Desreumaux 1998, insc. S. 088, 0478, 0658). Starks considers the names as formed on Arabic *qayyīm*, “precious” (cf. Wehr, p. 935-936), an explanation accepted by Abbadi, who does not exclude the Arabic *qayyām*, “beständig”. Drijvers and Healey suggest that the Syriac names should be vocalized *Qaymi*, on the base of Arabic parallels. However, it cannot be excluded that these names are transcribed as *Καιαμος* in the Greek inscriptions (see also Desreumaux 1998, 461).

It cannot be excluded that the name should be interpreted as “Ferme” (see above) or as “protector, patron” (so RAO V, 369; Zadok 2000, 2257; IJO III, 243, App 21); however, Zadok suggests also the possibility that they can be interpreted as Aramaic “Christological-ecclesiastical” names, borne also by Arabic Christians (1999, 272). Indeed, the frequency of the names *Καιουμας* / *Καιουμος* among the Christians make likely the possibility that they refer — or were perceived as referring, at least by their Christian bearers — rather to the concept of immortality and resurrection (and, indirectly, to Easter) than to the idea of firmness/protection.

It may be interesting to notice that in this case the name *Καιουμας* / *Καιουμος* would be very close to the Greek name *Ἀναστάσιος* (f. *Ἀναστασία*, Latin *Anastasius/Anastasia*; from *ἀνίστημι*, trans. “to make rise”, “to resurrect”; intr. “to rise”, a verb very close to Semitic *qwm*), connected to resurrection (and to Easter) and considered to be typically Christian (cf. e.g. Grossi Gondi 1920, 83 and 87;⁵⁸ Guarducci 1978, 304; Rey-Coquais 1977, 144; Gatier 1998, 415). Indeed, *Ἀναστάσιος* and *Ἀναστασία* are very frequent in Christian inscriptions from the Near East, especially from Arabia (cf. e.g. Canova 1954, 419; IGLJ II, 188; Piccirillo – ‘Amr 1988, 366 and note 14), but also from Palestine (Meimaris 1986, 280; IPT Ia, 230).⁵⁹

Μαθβη

This is likely an abbreviated form for *Αμαθβηλ*, transcription of *’mtbl*, as suggested by Milik (1972, 127), with the drop of initial *’* and final *l*.⁶⁰

The name *’mtbl*, “Maid servant of Bel”, is formed on the element *’mt*, “Maid servant”, and the divine name *Bēl*. The names *’mtbl* and *’mtb’l* are attested in Palmyrenean (Stark 1971, 5 and 70), where proper names with structure *’mt* + divine name are frequent. These names are attested also in Syriac (Drijvers – Healey 1999, *’mt-*: Am4 and P1; *mt-*: As13, P1, CS2), Nabataean (Negev 1991, 13; Cantineau 1930-1931, II, 64-65) and in North and South Arabian (Harding 1971, 73-4; Hayajneh, 85; Sholan 1999, 31-32 and 97-99).⁶¹

The element *’mt* is often used also in Phoenician onomastics, where the names *’mtb’l* and *mtb’l* are attested (cf. also *Amobbal* in Latin: Benz 1972, 270).

The transcriptions *Αμαθβηλ* and *Αμαθθαβειλη* are attested in Dura Europos (resp. FRVIII, 35 and PP, 29),⁶² where other names with the element *Αμαθ-* are recorded (see e.g. FRV, I, 59; Grassi 2007, 272-273).

⁵⁸ Grossi Gondi also quotes a significant inscription: “Anastasia secundum nomen credo fut(uri)”.

⁵⁹ Another Greek name which can be quite close to *Καιουμας* / *Καιουμος* in its meaning is *Ἀθανάσιος*, “immortal”, which is however not common in the Roman Near East (IGLS II, 778; V, 2705, bishop).

⁶⁰ The drop of initial *’* / *A* is attested for example in the similar names *Μαθαλαθη* (IGLS V, 2598), *Μαθααθη* and *Μαθσεινη* (Feissel – Gascou – Teixidor 1997, documents 6 and 7, partic. pages 23-24, with further occurrences). In Semitic alphabets, cf. e.g. *mtb’l* in Phoenician (see below) and *mtr’l* in Old Syriac (from Dura Europos: PP 28, then Drijvers – Healey 1999, P1; the second element is the divine name (*’*)*tr’l*, Atargatis, the Syrian Goddess whose cult was centred in Hierapolis).

⁶¹ Here the commonest form is *’mt*. *’mt* in Safaitic is *m*. (cf. Ryckmans 1934-35, I, 44).

⁶² However, *Αμαθβηλ* in Dura seems to be borne by a man, since the inscription runs “[A]μαθβηλ and his brother”. One possibility is that there is a mistake in the possessive pronoun (his for her, that is *αὐτοῦ* for *αὐτῆς*; see IJO III, Syr90, 154-155). Another possibility is that *Μαθ* is not transcription of *’mt* with drop of initial aleph (*A* is actually restored), but transcription of the debated element *mt* (possibly “Gift”, from *NTN*, “to give”). The name is attested on a plaster fragment, apparently from the synagogue; this is quite strange, since Semitic theophorous names do not seem to be attested among native Jews (cf. Zadok 1999, 269), unless they are Biblical (e.g. *Mordekhai*, or perhaps *Maryam*, if from DN Yam: see *s.v.*). On the contrary, they are attested, even if not frequently, among Christians (*ibid.*, 272).

Malchio

Malchio is the Latin version of Greek *Μαλχιων*, that is a Semitic name, close to *Μαλχος*, “king” (see *s.v.*), followed by Greek suffix *-ων* (Zadok 1987, 300, with further examples and bibliography), or, less likely, by Semitic diminutive *-ōn* (Stark 1971, 92; Rey-Coquais 2000, 803).⁶³ The suffix was usually transcribed in Semitic as *-ywn* (see *e.g.* Zadok 1987, 300).

mlkywn is known from Nabatean (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 115; Negev 1991, 39, name 646, two occurrences), while the Greek transcription *Μαλχιων* is well known from Syria and Arabia (*e.g.* Wuthnow 1930, Welles 1938, *insc.* 16; IGLS II, 364; III, 1124; IV, 1527a; XIII, 9111, then Sartre 1985, 214;⁶⁴ Fossey 1897, 53, *insc.* 53; SEG XXXIX, n. 884; SEG XL, 2183; Jarry 1992, 107-108, *insc.* 8), and attested in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, col. 523; Foraboschi 1967, 186); *Μαλχειων* is recorded on a parchment from Wadi Murabba‘at (Ilan 2002, 390-391).

The Latin transcription *Malchio* is frequent in the Western part of the Empire (Solin 1983, 677, 680-681, 729, 730, 735, 736, 743, 750, 758, 766; Solin 1996, 603; Zucker 1943, 203-204), perhaps because the process of Hellenization of Semitic proper names contributed to their diffusion (Solin 1983, 677). It is particularly frequent among slaves, but it is unlikely that the name was given to non-Semitic slaves, as suggested by Solin (1977, 210), since many slaves were Orientals (Noy 2000, 276, note 284) and since the name *Μαλχος* was extremely frequent in the Near East, while it is not widespread in the West as it would be expected (see *s.v.*): this is possibly due to the fact that, at least among slaves (and perhaps second generation immigrants), the Hellenized form was preferred to the “classical” form *Μαλχος/Malchus*, which is usually borne by soldiers.

A *Publius Vaccius Malcio* is attested on an inscription from Grado (Notiziario epigrafico in *Aquileia Nostra* 53, 1992, col. 178, *insc.* 3).⁶⁵

Malchis

Malchis is a f. name already attested among the Orientals in Italy, in Rome (Solin 1983, 678, 681; see also Solin 1996, 603), and in Brundisium (Solin 1983, 736). As far as I know, the name *Malchis* is not recorded in the Near East.⁶⁶

The Semitic name *Malchis* is formed on the root *MLK*, “to rule, to counsel”, one of the most common elements in Semitic anthroponomy (see *s.v.* *Malchio* and *Μαλχος*), followed by the (usually f.) suffix *-is*, which is not Semitic, but rather Greek-Latin (*Malchis*, gen. *Malchidis* is flexed as a Latin third declension noun in dental mute). We may remind that the “Hellenization-Latinization” of the Semitic names has probably contributed to their diffusion (*cf.* Solin 1983, 677; see also *s.v.* *Malchio*).

The fact that the name is a “composite” one, with a Semitic element followed by a Latin suffix, is probably the reason for which the proper name *Malchis* is not attested in the Near East. In this region, feminine names formed on the root *MLK*, with the probable meaning “Queen”,⁶⁷ are *mlkt* in Palmyre-

⁶³ See Cumont 1926, 419: “On connaît de nombreux dérivés en *-ων* de noms sémitiques (*Μαλχιων*, *Ζαβδίων*, *Αζίζιον*, *Χαλβίον*, etc.), soit qu’on ait donné une désinence grèque à une racine orientale, soit qu’on ait ajouté à un nom en *î* (*Zabdî*, *Malchî*), la terminaison araméenne du diminutif *ōn*”. The diffusion of these names in the Western part of the Empire makes more likely the first explanation, even if it is possible that an originally Semitic suffix was “interpreted” as Greek.

⁶⁴ Sartre connects the name to Safaitic *mlkn*, which is more likely *Malkân / Milkân* (*cf.* Ryckmans 1934, I, 127; Harding 1971, 565).

⁶⁵ [P(ublius)] Vaccius P(ubli) l(ibertus) / Malcio, sex[vir].

⁶⁶ Actually, it cannot be completely excluded that *Φλαουῖα / Μαλχι<ου>* in Zeugma (Wagner 1976, 50, pp. 200-201, and plate 36) should be read *Φλαουῖα / Μαλχις*.

⁶⁷ *Cf. e.g.* Arabic *malika* and *malîka* (Wehr, 1082), Phoenician and Ugaritic *mlkt* (DNWSI, II, 634; DLU, II, 279-280), Palmyrene and Nabataean *mlkt* (absolute *mlkh* not attested: Cantineau 1930-1932, 114; PAT, 382;

nean (Stark 1971, 34 and 95) and Nabataean (Cantineau 1930-1931, II, 114), Biblical *Milkā^h* (Sept. *Μελχα*).⁶⁸

The name *mlkt*, frequently found in Safaitic (60 occurrences), but attested also in Thamudic and Minean, is usually m. (Greek transcription *Μαλιχαθος*, Nabataean *mlykt*: Cantineau 1930-1931, II, 115; Negev 1991, 39, name 641), but sometimes it seems to be f. (*cf.* Ryckmans 1934-1935, I, 127; Harding 1971, 565): the f. names *Μαλιχαθη* (Fossey 1897, 49, *in sc.* 35; PAES IIIA, 518) and *Μαλεχαθη* (PAES IIIA, 796.1; Dunand 1939, 565, *in sc.* 269 and 574, *in sc.* 303; IPT Ia, 126) are attested in Greek inscriptions.

Μαλχος / Malchus

Greek *Μαλχος* and Latin *Malchus* are transcription of the common Semitic proper name *mlk / mlkw* (*mlk* + suffix -Ø / -w), with the variants *mlk'* and *mlky* (*mlk* + suffix -' / -y), “King” (the element is recorded also as DN: see *e.g.* Huffmon 1965, 230; Benz 1972, 344-345; Zadok 1977, 31; Maraqtan 1988, 52).⁶⁹ The vocalization makes likely the possibility that the form *Μαλχος / Malchus* is transcription from Aramaic rather than from Arabic (whose transcription would be *Μαλιχος/Μαλεχος*, attested mainly in Southern Syria and Arabia⁷⁰).

The forms *mlk*, *mlk'*, *mlkw* and *mlky* are attested in Palmyra, where *mlkw* is one of the most common names (Stark 1971, 32-4;⁷¹ 95; *cf.* also the Palmyrenean inscriptions in Dura Europos: Bertolino 2004, 108-109); *mlkw* is well attested in Nabataean, where the form *mlk* is also recorded (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 114; Negev 1991, 39); *mlk* is common in North Arabian, especially in Safaitic (Harding 1971, 564-565; *cf.* also Ryckmans 1934, 127).

In the Aramaic inscriptions, the forms *mlkw* (4th century BC: Maraqtan 1988, 87 and 178; Eph'al – Naveh 1996, 74-75, *in sc.* 156, Lemaire 2002, *in sc.* 29, 32, 33, 158, 359), *mlk'* (Lemaire 1996, 16-17, *in sc.* 3; 74, *in sc.* 89; Lemaire 2002, 13-14, *in sc.* 6 and 135-136, *in sc.* 259), and *mlky* are recorded (Lemaire 2001, 148-149, *in sc.* 34*, 10). *mlk'* and *mlkw* have been found among the documents of the Mount Gerizim excavations (Magen – Misgav – Tsfania 2004, *in sc.* 51 and 46), *mlkh* on a divorce bill from Wadi Murabbat (Fitzmyer – Harrington 1978, 140-141, n. 40, *verso*, 27 and 28).

The equivalent Hebrew name *Melek* is recorded in the Bible (1Chron. 8:35; 9:41; *cf.* Zadok 1988, 88 and 241), *mlk* and *mlky* in Punic (Benz 1972, 138 and 344-345), in Ugaritic (Gröndahl 1967, 157-158) and perhaps in epigraphic Hebrew (Avigad – Sass 1997, *resp.* 170, *in sc.* 400 and 190, *in sc.* 463; however, *mlk* can be also a title and the reading *mlky* is uncertain; see also page 511). *Milkia* and *Milku* are attested among West-Semitic names in Emar (Pruzsinzsky 2003, 174).

DNWSI, 636), Hebrew *malkā^h* (HALAT, 560). *mlkt* is a common element in Phoenician onomastics, where it is a divine name, the epithet of a goddess (see Benz 1972, 345-346).

⁶⁸ For the name see Zadok 1988, 88; two women in the Bible bear this name: for the first *cf.* Gen 11:29; 22:20 and 23; 24:15, 24 and 47; for the second *cf.* Nu 26:33; 27:1; 36:11; Jos 17:3 (*cf.* also Zadok 1988, 205).

⁶⁹ The root *MLK*, “to rule; to counsel”, is one of the most common elements in Semitic anthroponomy: see *e.g.* Huffmon 1965, 230-231; Gröndahl 1967, 157-158; Zadok 1977, 81; Zadok 1988, 23 and 47; Silverman 1985, 154-155; Noth, 141-142; Benz 1972, 344-345; Maraqtan, 226; Stark 1971, 95; Abbadi 1983, 122; Harding 1971, 564-566).

⁷⁰ For *Μαλεχος* see *e.g.* Wuthnow 1930, p. 70; Sartre 1985, p. 214; Burton – Drake 1972, 123, p. 387; Dussaud – Macler 1901, 1, p. 142; Dussaud – Macler 1903, p. 653; Fossey 1897, 44, p. 51; Dunand 1939, 305, p. 575; SEG VII, 995, 1052, 1076, 1082, 1125, 1185; IPTIa, 65; for *Μαλιχος* see *e.g.* Wuthnow, *ibid.*; IGLS V, 2359bis (Emesa); As'ad – Gawlikowski 1987, 165, *in sc.* 2 and 3; PII, D 4, D 35, D63; PVIII, 902, 903, 918.

⁷¹ *mlkw* has in Palmyra almost 300 occurrences. Caquot (1955, 175) considers *mlk'*, *mlkw*, *mlky* hypocoristic names, in which *mlk* is a divine name, and the verb is understood.

The Greek transcription *Μαλχος* is too common in the Near East to be listed here; moreover, it is one of the few names which are widespread in the whole Syria (cf. Sartre 1998, 557).⁷²

The name is attested among the emigrants (see Solin 1983, 673-674, 680, 682, 729, 758, 766), but, as Solin points out, all the occurrences are among free people or soldiers, not among slaves (1983, 635), and the name is not so frequent as it would be expected (*ibid.*, 677). On the contrary, the name *Malchio* is very common, particularly among slaves (see above). *Malchio* is likely a “Hellenized” form of *Malchus* / *Μαλχος*: it was perhaps a form adopted instead of *Malchus* for slaves and for (second-generation?) immigrants exposed to Western influences. Actually, we can note that the bearers of the name *Μαλχος* / *Malchus* attested in the West put often their origin or ethnic in their inscriptions, which are sometimes in Greek (see e.g. Solin 1983, 673 (ICVR 1861, Greek), 674 (ICVR 2636, Greek), 682 (ICVR 1861, Latin), 766⁷³): they seem to be Christian free immigrants, who retained their Semitic name in its “original” form.

The name is apparently avoided by Jews (see Solin 1983, 739, partic. note 303a).

Μαρεας

Aramaic proper name, *Μαρεας* is a nominal formation (*qatl*) based on the typically Aramaic element *mr*’, “Lord” (cf. DNWSI, 682-689), likely followed by suffix *-y*, and, perhaps, *-’*; alternatively, *mr*y’ can be the emphatic state of *mr*’, and it is attested in this form in Hatrean (DNWSI) and Syriac (Payne Smith 1903, 298), where the emphatic form *mr*y’ (*māryā*) is used only to indicate God (the usual form being *mr*’ (*mārā*): *ibid.*; also in Hatrean the use of *mr*y’ seem to be “solemn”, since it is used as epithet for the Hatrean chiefs: see Milik 1972, 360-361).

The proper name *mr*y’ is attested in Hatrean (Abbadī 1983, 126) and Palmyrenean (Stark 1971, 37 and 97; Schlumberger 1951, 174, *in*sc. 79⁷⁴), *Ma-ri-*’ is the Assyrian transcription of the name of a king of Damascus (Maraqten 1988, 181, *s.v.* *mr*’);⁷⁵ *mr*y is known from Edfu (Kornfeld 1978, 59), from Hebrew epigraphy (Zadok 1988, 74 and 277) and Rabbinic literature (Jastrow, 842), perhaps from Nabatean (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 118), and from Safaitic (Harding 1971, 542), where the name *mr*’ is very common (*ibid.*, 536).⁷⁶

The Greek transcriptions of the Semitic names formed on the element *mr*’ — such as *Μαρας*, *Μαρις*,⁷⁷ *Μαρανας*, *Μαρων(ας)* *etc.*⁷⁸ — are much more common in Northern Syria rather than in

⁷² The less common *Μαλεχος* and *Μαλιχος* are perhaps transcription of the same name, with Arabic vocalization, *malik* and *malīk*, “king” (the second also “possessor”): see Wehr, 1082. Another possible explanation for *Μαλεχος* and *Μαλιχος* is to consider them as transcriptions of the Aramaic passive participle from *MLK* (cf. Zadok 1987, 268). However, the diffusion of these forms in Southern Syria rather than in Northern Syria (the only exception being Emesa, which has mainly an Arabic onomastics) makes the second explanation less likely.

⁷³ The inscription is from Moesia Superior (Stojnik), and it is, once again, a Christian dedicatory inscription.

⁷⁴ Schlumberger remarks the diffusion of the name in Modern Aramaic.

⁷⁵ Apparently, *mr*y’ is recorded once in Minean (Harding 1971, 542; Ryckmans 1934, I, 132).

⁷⁶ The name is usually considered to be formed on the element *mr*’, “Lord” (Ryckmans 1934, 132; Harding 1971, 536; Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 118), which is *mr*’ also in South Arabian (Beeston – Ghul – Müller – Ryckmans 1982, 87; cf. Classical Arabic *imra*’, “man”: Wehr, 1058). *Mr*’ and *mrh* occur also in Palestine; the gender is unclear, although it seems to be usually a f. name (Ilan 2002, 392, 422-423), as *mr*’ is in Palmyra (Stark 1971, 37; 96-97). Rahmani considers *mr*’ a short form of *mrt*’ (1994, 182), while Stark translates it as “the bitter one” (evidently from the root *MRR*, “to be bitter, strong”), citing the examples from Safaitic, which are however all m.

⁷⁷ *Μαρις* / *Maris* is attested among Syrian emigrants: see Solin 1983, 682 (Christian), 758-759. It is also borne by a Jew in Bruciano (Nola): *ibid.*, 727 (cf. also Noy 1993, *in*sc. 22).

⁷⁸ A particular case is the name *Μαρινος* / *Μαρεινος* — again much more common in Northern and Inner Syria — an “ambiguous” name which can be both the transcription of Aramaic *mr*yn (*mr*’ + *suff.* *-yn*): cf. also

Southern Syria and Arabia. It has been noticed how these names, particularly used by Christians, were borne presumably not only by Aramaic-speaking population, but also by Arabic-speaking Christians (Zadok 1999, 272).

Μαρεας is mainly attested among Northern Syrian Christians (IGLS IV, 1691, 1693, 1750; Seyrig 1958, 36, insc. 39a (then Balty – Chéhadé – van Rengen 1969, *presbyteros*, dated 394-395 AD⁷⁹), but it is borne also by a *murex*-fisherman in Tyrus, whose religion is not detectable from the inscription (Rey-Coquais 1977, 18-19, insc. 24B), and by a Macedonian Jew (IJO I, Mac 7). It is attested once in the Golan (Gregg – Urman, insc. 127) and, outside the Near East, in Egypt (Preisigke 1922, 519).

In Aquileia, the names *Marus* and *Martha* are formed on the same element.

Maria

Maria derives from the Jewish name *Miryām* (Sept. *Μαριαμ*, Josephus *Μαριαμη* / *Μαριαμμη*), borne in the OT by the sister of Moses and Aaron (for all the occurrences, see Zadok 1988, 202-203), and by another character whose gender is unclear (Zadok 1988, 213). In the NT, the transcriptions *Μαριαμ* and *Μαρια* are attested: in general, the Semitic forms *mrym* / *mryh* and the Greek transcriptions *Μαριαμ* / *Μαριαμη* / *Μαρια*⁸⁰ (with variants) are very common in Roman Palestine, both in literary and epigraphic sources (see e.g. Ilan 2002, 242-248;⁸¹ Rahmani 1994, 293 and 295-296). The name is common also among the Jews of the Diaspora (see e.g. CPJ, 184; IJO, insc. Ach1 and Pan4; Horbury – Noy 1992, insc. 11 and 120; Noy 1995, insc. 179, 271, 56, 109, 222, 554, 556, 97, 553, 353, 481?; Noy 1993, 11).

Mrym is attested once in Palmyra (Stark 1971, 37 and 97; cf. also Cussini 2003, 129 and 134, insc. 59), while the Greek transcription *Μαριαμ* is not attested, as far as I know, in Syrian epigraphs, except for one jar inscription from Dura Europos (Mesnil 1959, 20, insc. 50). On the contrary, the Greek transcription *Μαρια* is very common among Christians (see e.g. IGLS II, 257, 274, 698; IGLS IV, 1282, 1899; IGLS V, 2375; IGLJ II, 98, 101, 107; Canova 1954, insc. 121, 122, 123, 124, 296 (*Μαρηα*), 360, 391; Rey-Coquais 1977, insc. 21 C; IPT Ib, insc. 44 and 45?, with further references), and the name became popular among Western Christians at an early stage (Grossi Gondi 1920, 80-81; cf. ILCV III, 106). In Aramaic Melkite texts, the evangelical name is transcribed as *mry'm*, *mrym* and *mry'* (the last form is used for Jesus' mother), and *mry'* is known from the Aramaic epigraphs from Khirbet es-Samra (Desreumaux 1998, 442-443, insc. 023; cf. also insc. S. 0391 and S. 5188).

As regards the etymology, it is worth stressing that it is still unclear, and that many explanations have been suggested. It is likely a West Semitic name, but an Egyptian origin has been proposed, according to which the name would be composed of the Egyptian passive participle *mry* ("beloved"), plus morpheme *-ām*.⁸² If Semitic, three possible explanations seem to be the most plausible: 1. One word formation with *m-* preformative from *rāmu* "to give": "Gift (of DN)" (von Soden 1970); 2. One word formation with *m-* preformative from *RW/YM*, "to be high" (Bagatti – Milik 1958, 78-79, esp.

Zadok 1988, 260) and of the Latin *cognomen Marinus*: its diffusion in Syria is perhaps due to its ambiguity (cf. Sartre 1998). *Marinus* is frequent in Dura among soldiers (FRV, 435-436).

⁷⁹ Seyrig: 384-385 AD; date changed by van Rengen (1977, 44).

⁸⁰ The forms *Μαριαμη* and *Μαρια* are created from the original *Μαριαμ* respectively by adding a vowel and by dropping the final consonant in order that they can be inserted into Greek declensions: on this practice see Mussies 1994, 250-251.

⁸¹ Actually, it is the most common f. name in Palestine (80 occurrences), perhaps because of its popularity among the Hasmoneans (see Ilan 2002, 9 and 56-57; cf. also Honigman 2004, 288).

⁸² Gardiner 1936; the same root was taken in consideration by Völter 1919-1920 ("the one whom the sea loves").

note 9; Levine 1982; Layton 1990, 186);⁸³ 3. Compound name: adjective formed on the root *MRR*, “to be strong”, followed by the DN *Yām* (Zadok 1988, 52), “Yamm is strong”. It cannot be excluded that the name is formed on the Aramaic element *mr*’, “Lord”, followed by DN *Yamm*, “Yamm is Lord”, but the attestations of the element *mr*’ can be found mainly in Aramaic names: the Hebrew equivalent is *’dn* (cf. Layton 1990, 184-185; Caquot 1962, 251; Maraqtan 1988, 53; Avigad – Sass 1997, 512-513).⁸⁴

Martha

Martha is an Aramaic proper name, formed on the element *mr*’, “Lord”, followed by f. suffix *-t*, and by ending *-’* or *-h*, “Lady”.

As regards its Greek transcriptions in Syria, we can notice that the name is mainly attested in Northern Syria as *Μαρθα* (IGLS I, 111 and 174A; IGLS IV, 1740 and 1881bis; Wagner 1976, 237-238, insc. 116; Jarry 1982, 98-99, insc. 98, then SEG XXXII, 1444; PP, 49, 2) — including the coast: Saliby 1970-1971, 281, grave 8; SEG XXXII, 1483, from Sidon, likely f. — and, as far as I know, it is attested just once in Arabia (Jaussen – Vincent 1901, 571, insc. 3).⁸⁵ The transcription *Μαρτα* occurs in Zeugma (Wagner 1976, 198-199, insc. 45) and in Dura Europos (Cumont 1926, 154). We may add that the proper name *Μαρθας* / *Μαρτας*, usually m. (Ronzevalle 1903, 406: *Μαρθας*; IGLJ II, 29; Jarry 1967, 166-167, insc. 50: *Μαρτας*), is recorded as f. in Zeugma (Wagner 1976, 204-205, insc. 55, plate 36: *Μαρθας*). The ending *-ας* is unusual in f. names, but in Zeugma we can cite, for example, the surely f. *Οβθας* (Wagner 1976, 197, insc. 42, plate 34).

In Palestine, *Μαρθα* occurs on Jewish ossuaries (Rahmani 1994, 87, insc. 45 and 144, insc. 287; Puech 1983, 527), where the form *Μαρατ* is also attested (Gershuny – Zissu 1997, 46*; *Μαρατ* is closer to the North and South Arabian form: see note 85). In the Jewish Diaspora, *Μαρθα* is recorded twice in Alexandria (CPJ I, 47, dated 14 BC and I, 48, dated 10 BC; see also CPJ III, 184),⁸⁶ *Μαρτα* once in Rome (Noy 1995, 555).

The Latin transcription *Martha* / *Marta* is frequently found in the Western part of the Empire among the Syrian immigrants: in Rome (cf. Solin 1983, 678, 681; cf. also Solin 1996, 603-604), Latium and Campania (Solin 1983, 730), Southern Italy (*ibid.*, 736), Northern Italy (*ibid.*, 743; cf. also Caillet 1993, 62, insc. 2), Spain (Solin 1983, 750), perhaps France (*ibid.*, 758); the Greek transcription *Μαρθα* is found in Rome (*ibid.*, 682).

In Aramaic, the name is recorded as *mrt*’ and *mrth* (**mr*’*t*-): *mrt*’ is recorded in Palmyra (Stark 1971, 37 and 97),⁸⁷ perhaps in Nabataean (Cantineau 1930-1931, II, 118; Negev 1991, 41, name 695: it occurs just once), where the form *mr*’*t*, recorded in North and South Arabian (Harding 1971, 537; Sholan 1999, 134),⁸⁸ is also attested (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 118; Negev 1991, 41, name 685).

⁸³ This interpretation is based mainly on the Ugaritic word *mrym*, “mountain”, from *RVM* (see DLU II, 293). The meaning of the name would be “mountain” or, more likely, “the exalted one”.

⁸⁴ Zadok (*ibid.*) considers unlikely a derivation from *mr*’ because of the absence of *-’*. For other interpretations of the name and for further bibliography see Layton 1990, 183-186. There is also the possibility that the name is formed on *MRR*+suffixes *-i-ām* (see Zadok 1988, 78 and 164).

⁸⁵ In Southern Syria, the equivalent name *Μαρσαθη* is attested (Wuthnow 1930, 72; Dunand 1934, 54, nr. 88), transcription of the North and South Arabian name *mr*’*t* (see below and Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 118).

⁸⁶ In Egypt other occurrences of the name are attested: cf. Foraboschi 1967, 188; Preisigke 1922, 206; 519.

⁸⁷ The proper name *mrty*, with suffix pronoun *-y*, “My Lady” is more common in Palmyra (Stark 1971, *ibid.*). *mrty* is attested once in Nabataean (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 118; Negev 1991, 41, name 696), and once on an amulet from Palestine (Beyer 1984, ggXX 4,1,4).

⁸⁸ *Mr*’*t* means “woman”, “lady” in South Arabian (Beeston – Ghul – Müller – Ryckmans 1982, 87; Classical Arabic *imra’a*: Wehr, 1058).

mrt is particularly frequent in the Jewish ossuaries (see e.g. Rahmani 1994, insc. 67, 220, 256, 354, 468; cf. also Ilan 2002, 423-424), where the name *mrth* is also recorded (Rahmani 1994, insc. 290; Ilan 2002, *ibid.*). The name occurs also in Rabbinic literature (Ilan, *ibid.*; Jastrow, 834).

It is clear that the name is used by Jews, but it must be stressed that it is quite popular among Christians (in the Near East, surely Christian are the inscriptions IGLS IV, 1881bis, Jarry 1982, insc. 49; *Martha* is one of the few proper names taken by Christians from the Bible:⁸⁹ see ILCV III, 107⁹⁰), and that it is borne also by pagans (in the Near East, surely pagan are inscriptions SEG XXXII, 1483 and IGLS I, 111). *Martha* is well attested in Rome among slaves (Solin 1996, 603).

Cf. also *mrty* in Palmyra (f. name; Stark, p. 97),⁹¹ *Μαρθις* in Dura (Mesnil 1959, insc. 48).

Marus

Maru (for *Marus*)⁹² is the reading by Mazzoleni (1994, 198), and it is very likely according to the photograph (cf. Mazzoleni 2002, ph. 107).⁹³ In this case, the name would be perhaps one of the common Semitic proper names formed on the element *mr*’, “Lord” (see s.v. *Μαρεας* and *Martha*), followed by the Latin suffix *-us*.

However, it is worth remembering that *Marus* is also a Latin *cognomen*, “by-form of the Oscan praenomen Marius” (Kajanto 1965, 176; see also Solin – Salomies 1988, 359).

Mocimus

Mocimus is the Latin transcription of the name *Muqīm*, causative participle from the root *QVM* (G: “to rise”, “to be standing”, “to stay”; Causative: “to make rise”, “to straighten”, “to resurrect”).⁹⁴ Thus, the meaning is “The one who causes to rise”, the subject of the period being God, as it is clear from names as *mqymšmš* (Abbadi 1983, 125) or *mqym l* (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 132).⁹⁵

The name is very common in Palmyrenean in the forms *mqym*, *mqymw* (by far the most frequent), *mqymy*, *mqymt* (both m. and f.)⁹⁶ and likely *mqmw* (Stark 1971, 35-37 and 96; Bertolino 2004, 16-17);

⁸⁹ See Grossi Gondi 1920, 80-81; however, the name occurs in the New (Luke 10:38,40-41; John 11 and 12:2), and not in the Old Testament as indicated by the author.

⁹⁰ Diehl registers the forms *Marta*, *Martha* and *Martana* (for the last one see also Grassi 2009).

⁹¹ *Mrtty* is attested once in Nabatean (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 132; Negev 1991, 41).

⁹² *Maru* for *Marus* is usual, since the fall of final *-s* and *-m* is common in Aquileia (Mazzoleni 1982, 314), as in Christian epigraphy in general (Grossi Gondi 1920, 418).

⁹³ The previous reading was *Niaru* (Brusin – Zovatto; Caillet 1993, 165, n. 4), which is rather unlikely according to the photograph. The name was interpreted as transcription of Safaitic *nyr* (*Niyār*) by Cracco Ruggini (1959, 193). *Nyr* occurs once in Safaitic, but *Niyār* is also attested in Arabic (cf. resp. Harding 1971, 604; Caskel 1966, II, 488). Vattioni suggested a relation to *Noaros* (1972, 131, note 26), according to him common in the Hawrān, but actually quite rare and attested mainly in the region of Arados (IGLS VII, 4010, 4052). In Southern Syria, similar names are *Noepoç*, *Napeoç*, *Napoç*, which are not common and whose etymology is unclear: perhaps from *nhr* or *n’r* (see Wuthnow 1930, 84; Sartre 1985, 218-219, with other forms). The element *nhr*, “day”, “light” (Arabic *nahār*, “day-time”) is attested in North and South Arabian (mainly Safaitic) proper names (Harding 1971, 601; Ryckmans 1934, I, 137; also divine name: *ibid.*, 22), as in Palmyra (Stark 1971, 99); *n’r* is perhaps attested in Palmyra and it is rare in Safaitic (cf. Stark 1971, 100: divine name; Harding 1971, 593: Arabic *na’ir*, “restless”) and in Nabatean (Cantineau 1930-1932, 121; Negev 1991, 44). In any case, a transcription *Niarus* would be an *hapax*.

⁹⁴ See Wehr, 934-935; cf. also Sokoloff 1992, 481 (“Af’el: 1. “to make stand, place”; 2. “to erect”; 3. “to establish”; 4. “to appoint”; 5. “to produce” (of progeny)”) and Payne Smith, 495 (“to raise up”, “to make to stand”, “to raise from the dead”, “to establish”).

⁹⁵ It is likely that *mqm l*, attested in Nabatean (*ibid.*) and Safaitic (Harding 1971, 560) is a defective spell of the same name.

⁹⁶ Cf. also *mqmt* in Thamudic, attested just once: Ryckmans 1934, 189; Harding 1971, 560.

mqym is attested once in North Arabian, where the form *mqm*, likely a defective spell, is known (Ryckmans 1934, 189; Harding 1971, 560, different etymology);⁹⁷ *mqymw* is also attested in Nabatean (Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 142; Negev 1991, 41) and in Syriac (Drijvers – Healey 1999, insc. As16; As17; Am4; P1, 30), where the similar *mqmy* is recorded (*ibid.*, As51 and P3, 9).

The Greek transcriptions *Μοκειμος* / *Μοκιμος* are frequent all over Ancient Syria-Arabia (see *e.g.* Wuthnow 1930, 78; PAT 0057; PII, D 27 and D 64; PVI, 744; YCS XIV, 120; FRV, I, 17C, 23 and 31; RAO I, 11, insc. 9; Dunand 1934, 88, insc. 178; IGLS V, 2579 and 2677; Jarry 1967, 181, insc. 99; Seyrig 1958, 27, insc. 26, 35, insc. 39 and 37, insc. 39b; SEG VII, 1169 and 1180; As‘ad – Gawlikowski 1987, 167, insc. 7 (*Μοκιμ[ου]*, gen.); *cf.* also *Μοκειμος*: Dussaud – Macler 1901, 191, insc. 70 and *Μοκιμος*: PVI, 690a), where the name is borne also by Christians.⁹⁸ The Latin transcription *Mocimus* is very common in Dura among soldiers (see FRV, I, 436), and it is attested in Palmyra (PAT 0255).

As far as I know, the name is not attested in Phoenicia nor in Palestine. Apparently, the name is not borne by Jews but in Palmyra and its region (IJO III, 79-80, Syr50: *Μοκιμος* and 228, App3: *mqym* / *Μοκιμος*). In the Western part of the empire, the name is attested in Italy (*Mocimus*: Solin 1983, 730) and in France (*Μοκιμος*: *ibid.*, 258).

Obaesathus

Obaesathus is the Latin version of the Arabic name transcribed in Greek as *Οβαισαθος*, quite well attested in Southern Syria, both in Greek (*cf.* Waddington 1870, 2148 (*Οβαισιθος*), 2172, 2364 (*Οβαισατος*); Dunand 1934, 42, insc. 55: *Οβαισαθος*; Dunand 1950, 160, insc. 360: [*O*]βεσαθος), and in Nabataean as *‘byšt* (eight occurrences in the Hawrān: Negev 1991, 48, name number 836). *‘bšt* has also eleven occurrences in Safaitic (Harding 1971, 402). As far as I know, there is no attestation of the name in Emesa, the city our *Obaesathus* was from.⁹⁹ However, this Arabic name in Emesa is not surprising, since the onomastics of the Emesene is mainly Arabic (see Zadok 1999, 288 and 293).

Nabataean *‘byšt* is a diminutive form, but it can derive from Arabic *‘bs* or Arabic *‘bš*, since 1. Greek and Latin have problems in rendering Semitic sibilants, and 2. Nabataean — and Palmyrenean — uses indifferently graphemes š and s in the transcription of Arabic proper names.¹⁰⁰

Cantineau considers the name similar to Arabic *‘Ubays*, from *‘ābis*, “austère, sévère” or “lion” (*cf.* Wehr, 688: “stern, severe; frowning; gloomy”). *‘bšy* is attested in Palmyra, as well as the more frequent form *‘bsy* (and the variant *‘bs*: see Stark 1971, 42 and 103; *cf.* also Caquot 1955, 153), and they are interpreted by Stark as transcriptions of Arabic *‘ābis*. *‘bs*, *‘bš* and *‘bšy* are known from Hatra (Abbadi 1983, 145-146), *‘bš* and *‘bšy* from Syriac (Leroy 1957, 322: *‘bšy*; Segal 1959, 31-32, insc. 5: *‘bš*; Drijvers – Healey, Am9: *‘bš*, *cf.* also Leroy 1957, 322; Am 3: *‘bšy*, *cf.* also Segal 1959, 31-32, insc. 5).¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Possibly, also Phoenician *mqm* and Amorrean *Meqim* are causative participle from the same root (see Benz 1972, 404; Huffmon 1965, 259).

⁹⁸ It cannot be excluded that the name was chosen by Christians because of its meaning, which can be interpreted as referring to the God of the resurrection.

⁹⁹ *Obaesathus* and *Amareus* are typically Southern Syrian names, and not characteristic of Syria Apamene as suggested by Brusin (1953-1954, col. 59 and IA, I, page 394: “Cognomina Bonanus, Amaraeus, Obaesathus propria Syriae Apamenes”).

¹⁰⁰ See Cantineau 1930-1932, I, 48.

¹⁰¹ It is worth noting that Milik considers *‘bšy* transcription of *‘Abd-šai*, short form of *‘Abd-šams* (Milik 1972, 392) as he considers *‘bs* a short form for *‘bdsmy* (1967, 294): actually, names as *Αβισσαιος* — attested for example in Dura Europos: Cumont 1926, insc. 24: *Κωνωνος Αβισσαιου* (165/6 AD); PP, 31, 58 (son of *Αβισσαιος*) — make real the possibility that sometimes *‘bsy* and *‘bšy* can be interpreted as short forms of names as *‘bdsmy* or *‘bdšmš* (*cf.* also Zadok 1987, 257 and Drijvers – Healey 1999, 62-63 and 169).

However, the presence in Safaitic of the proper name *'bšt* (and *'bš*) makes likely the possibility that the element should be intended to be Arabic *'bš* rather than Arabic *'bs*: Ryckmans suggests for Safaitic *'bš* and Nabataean *'byšt* a derivation from Arabic *'abšah*, “paresse” (1934, I, 307), as Harding does for Safaitic *'bš* (three occurrences) and *'bšt* (Harding, *ibid.*: Arabic *'absh*, “appropriate, fit”).

Sabbatia

The name is formed on the element *šbt* (Hebrew *šabbāt*), “Saturday”, and it is close to Semitic proper names formed on this element + various suffixes (see Zadok 1988, 273), such as *šbty/Šabtay*, f. *šbtyt*, “born on *shabbat*”.

Šabtay is (rarely) attested in the Bible (Neh 8:7; Ez 10:15; cf. Zadok 1988, 273, HALAT, 1312), and the Neo-Babylonian transcriptions *Šá-ab-ba-ta-a-a*, *Šáb-ba-ta-a-a* and *Šab-ba-ta-a-a* are recorded (Zadok 1988, 113; cf. also the form *Šab-ba-ta-ai* in the Murašū texts: HALAT, 1312).

Šbty and *šbt'y* are attested in Rabbinic literature (Jastrow, 1520), but these names are rare in Palestine, where *šbty* occurs once on an ossuary (Ilan 2002, 213-214). Among Palestinian Jews, only the Greek transcriptions *Σαβαθεος* (m., once: Ilan 2002, 213-214: *Σαβαθεον*; Rahmani 1994, 149, 310: *Σαβαθεου*) and *Σαβατις* (f., once: Ilan 2002, 323, considered a Greek name; Rahmani 1994, 102, *in sc.* 98) are recorded.

On the contrary, *šbty* is common in Egypt — where the f. *šbtyt* (and perhaps *šbyt*, if error for *šbtyt*), attested also in Demotic, is recorded (cf. Kornfeld 1978, 72; Silverman 1985, 178; Williams 2005, 28-30). Greek transcriptions are in Hellenistic times *Σαββαθ/ταιος* and *Σαμβαθ/ταιος* — f. *Σαββαθις* / *Σαμβαθις*, which were replaced in Roman times by *Σαμβαθ/τιων* — f. *Σαμβαθ/τιων* (see CPJ III, 44 and 189-191). In Egypt, the name is borne by Jews, but also by non-Jews (the so called “Sambathions”: see CPJ III, 43-87). This diffusion among Jews outside Palestine is explained by Tcherikover with the consideration that Shabbat-observance was crucial in the dispersion, while in Palestine was not.¹⁰² Actually, the name continued to be used in the Diaspora, even in a period in which Hebrew names were out of fashion: see Williams 2005, 32-34; Noy 1995, 524. The f. name *Sabbatis* is common in Rome (*ibid.* and Solin 1993, 679 and 681; Solin 1996, 604), and it is attested elsewhere in Italy (Solin 1983, 730, 743); it is not necessarily borne by Jews, since “sabbatical” names were inherited by Christians (see e.g. Kajanto 1963, 60 and 135 (index): *Sabbatis* and *Sabbatius*; Feissel 1983, 256 (index): *Σαββατις*, *Σαμβατα*, *Σαμβατιος*) and by pagans as well, together with the observance of the *shabbat* (CPJ III, 52).

In Syria and Arabia, the name is surely borne by Christians twice (IGLS II, 481; XXI, 57A), while in two more occurrences the religious context is unclear (Dussaud – Macler 1901, 201, *in sc.* 85; SEG VII, 243). *Šbty* is attested as f. name in Palmyra (twice: Stark 1971, 50 and 113) and as m. name in Nabataean (once: Cantineau 1930-1932, II, 148; Negev 1991, 62, name 1103). A curious spell *smbty[wn]* is attested on an Aramaic Jewish inscription from Byblos (IJO III, 46-47, *in sc.* Syr30).¹⁰³

The names *Βαρσαββαθα* and *Βαθσαββαθα*, *br / bt + šbt*, “son / daughter of the shabbat”, are known from Syria, the first from Dura Europos (FRV, 183-185, document 46), the second from the documents of the Middle Euphrates (P. Euphr. 2, 14, from BIRTHA: Feissell – Gascou 1995, 87 and 91 and P. Euphr. 5, 2 from Magdala in Sphoracene: *ibid.*, 108 and 111).

¹⁰² The meaning of the name was likely, at least at the beginning, “born on Shabbat”, but it cannot be excluded that it was perceived in later times as “Shabbat-keeper”. Mussies suggests that the frequency of these proper names in Egypt is partially due to a Coptic popular etymology (1994, p. 272).

¹⁰³ The spell is unusual for the use of *s* instead of *š* and for the use of *ʿ* instead of *t*. Perhaps, this is due to unfamiliarity with the Hebrew alphabet (IJO III, 47), or perhaps the name was transliterated from the Greek form *Σαμβατιων*.

These sabbatical names, attested also among non-Jews, are probably signals of the popularity of the observance of the *shabbat* among Pagans and Christians. As regards our *Sabbatia*, we can note that in Aquileia — and in Friuli in general — Saturday was celebrated by peasants for centuries.¹⁰⁴ A *Sabbatius* is mentioned on a *tabella marmorea* from Santa Eufemia (Grado; IA 3382).

Sabda

Sabda is likely the rendering of Semitic *zbd'*, usually *Zαβδας* in Greek transcriptions (*cf.* *Σαβδος* for *Zαβδος* in Waddington 1870, 2131 and 2140).

Zbd', “Gift of (ND)”, is likely formed on the element *zbd*, “gift” (from root *ZBD*, “to give”, “to grant”), followed by suffix -'. Similar names with different suffixes are *zbd*, *zbdh*, *zbdy*, *zbdw*, Greek *Zαβδος*, *Zαβδαιος*, *Zαβδεος*, *Zαβδουας*, *Zαβδους* (see *e.g.* Negev 1991, 25; Harding 1971, 294; Ryckmans 1934, 83; Stark 1971, 17 and 85).

Zbd' is common in Palmyra (Stark 1971, 16 and 85), and it is attested on a Palmyrene inscription from Dura Europos (PVIII, 910), in Nabataean (Cantineau 1930-1931, II, 91), on an Aramaic ostrakon from Idumaea (Eph'al – Naveh 1996, 74-75, n. 157; the form *zbdy* is much more common: ns. 19, 20, 22, 23, 38, 43, 45, 75, 101; *cf.* also Lemaire 1996, nn. 56, 128, 148 and Lemaire 2002, nn. 16, 55, 58, 156, 191, 223, 247). *Za-ab-da-a* is attested in Neo-Assyrian (Zadok 1977, 115; Tallqvist 1914, 245).

The Greek transcription *Zαβδας* is well attested in the Near East (*e.g.* PAES IIIA, 499; IGLS VI, 2985 B; Lidzbarski 1915, 190-191; SEG XVIII, 612; Fossey 1897, 48, insc. 31; Gatier 1998, 398, insc. 100 (Z[αβ]δας) and Gatier 1998, 416; IPT Ia, 24 and 117; see also page 121) and in Egypt (Preisigke, coll. 116 and 521). The Latin transcription *Zabdas* is common in Dura Europos (FRV, I, 429 and 439) and it is attested in Nabha (Mount Lebanon: Ghadban 1980, 103, insc. 2). *Zabda* and *Sabda* are common among the immigrants in the Western part of the Empire (*cf.* Solin 1983, 679, 682, 731, 743, 758; Solin 1996, 604-605; Zucker 1943, 204).

Siphara

Likely, this is the transcription of a f. PN formed on the element *špr*, “bird”, mainly attested in Hebrew and Aramaic (Biblical Hebrew *šippôr/šippor*: see HALAT, 980; *cf.* also DNWSI, 973; Jastrow, 1298), with f. suffix. The name seems to be attested just once in Roman Palestine, and only in an apocryphal text (see Ilan 2002, 248). Both the f. name *Šipporāh* (Ex 2:21; 4:25; 18:2; Sept. *Σεφωρα*; Josephus *Σαφωρα*; V *Sephora*), and the m. name *Šippôr/Šippor* are known from the Bible (resp. HALAT, 983 and 980), *špr'* and *špry* are attested in Palmyra, where the first form occurs also as f. (Stark 1971, 48 and 109; the Greek transcription *Σεφφερας* (m.) is recorded in a bilingual text: PAT 0296), *špr* among the Aramaic texts from Egypt (Kornfeld 1978, 69-70; Silverman 1985, 173), and in Ugaritic (Gröndahl 1967, 190, but doubtful etymology).

Alternatively, the name can be transcription of the biblical f. name *Šiprāh* (Ex 1:15; Sept. *Σεφωρα*; V *Sephra*; for the name see Zadok 1988, 68; Noth 1928, 10), “fairness” (see HALAT, 1510; the word *špr* is considered by Wagner an Aramaism: 1966, 116).

In this case, the vocalization of *Siphara* would be close to the MT *Šiprāh*,¹⁰⁵ while in the Greek Jewish texts from the Roman period the name is usually spelled *Σαφίρα* / *Σαπίρα* / *Σαφειρα* (see *e.g.* Puech 1983, 521 and 527; CIJ, 1272; CIJ, 1378;¹⁰⁶ *cf.* also *Σαφίρα* in Acts 5:1), and in Jewish

¹⁰⁴ See *e.g.* Biasutti 2005, 33-37.

¹⁰⁵ *šipr* < *šapr*: the shift a>i/e after initial sibilant took place as early as the 7th century BC: *cf.* Zadok 1988, 66.

¹⁰⁶ Bilingual text (*špyr'*). The ossuary contains the bones of a man, perhaps by mistake, but it cannot be excluded that the name *špyr'* was sometimes used as m. nickname: see Rahmani, 84, insc. 35.

ossuaries *špyrh'* (see e.g. Rahmani 1994, insc. 198 and 455; Bagatti – Milik 1958, 84-85, insc. 13; for other occurrences see Ilan 2002, 254). The name *šp-ra* is borne by a female slave in Egypt (Albright 1954, 229).¹⁰⁷

Since the inscription is dated to the early Empire, the bearer of the name is hardly a Christian: she is perhaps a Jew, or a person of Oriental origin.

4. Possibly Semitic names¹⁰⁸

Abra

It is unclear if the name should be intended as m. or f. (relative *qui* is not indicative, since it is used in the same inscription for the names Maxentia and Maximina). If f., it is not Semitic (possibly Latin *abra* or Greek *Habra*: see Vergone 2007, 83). If m., it can be a short form for Semitic *Abram* / *Abraham*, as implied in Cracco Ruggini 1959, 280. The form *Αβρα* is known from Beth She'arim (the family is from Palmyra: CIJ 1053).

The name *'brm*, “The Father is exalted/high”, is composed by the element *'b*, “Father” and the root *RVM*, “to be high”, “to be exalted”, very frequent in Semitic onomastics.

a-bi-ra-mi, *a-bi-ra-mu* and *abrm* are attested in Ugaritic (Gröndahl 1967, 182; DLU, 6), *Abi-rāmu* in Neo-Assyrian, probably because of the influence of West Semitic (Zadok 1977, 279), *'brm* in Moabite (Avigad – Sass 1997, 375, insc. 1013)¹⁰⁹ and in Aramaic, from Elephantine (Kornfeld 1978, 38), *'brm* from Palmyra (Stark 1971, 64), *'Abîrām*, *'Abrām*, *'Abrāhām* in the Bible (Zadok 1988, 24; Noth 1928, 145-146).

The name is widespread in Syria during Roman times, especially in Greek transcriptions, and its occurrences in the Greek documents are too numerous to be listed here. Because it is a Biblical name, in Syria it was often borne by Christians (Sartre 1998, 551), as it was widespread among Christians in Palestine and Moab (see e.g. Meimaris 1986; Canova 1954, 419). On the contrary, the name was not in use among Jews during Roman times in Palestine (see Ilan 2002, 59-60), as it was not in use in Asia Minor and in Syria, where one *Αβραμ* *'brm* in Dura Europos is the only (attested) Jew who bore such a name, with the exception of the *'brm* from Palmyra, and the above mentioned *Αβρα*. As regards Asia Minor, once again the name is borne by Christians (Cohen 1976, 100-101).

In Egypt, many Greek transcriptions of the name are attested, among Jews and among Christians (see Preisigke 1922, coll. 3-4 and 519; Foraboschi 1967-1971, 16; CPJ III, 167-168). One *Αβραμης* (gen. *Αβραμης*) is attested in a lost inscription from Macedonia (Thessaloniki, perhaps 5th or 6th century: see Feissel 1983, 156-157, insc. 173 and IJO I, 98-100, insc. Mac.16), and it is still discussed if he was a Jew (Noy) or a Christian (Feissel). One *Αββρααμ* is known from a Jewish inscription from Rome, but the inscription is now lost and the reading is doubtful (Noy 1995, 446, insc. 562).

¹⁰⁷ For other occurrences of the element *špr* in Semitic onomastics see e.g. Zadok 1977, 135; Zadok 1988, 68; Huffmon 1965, 252.

¹⁰⁸ Rey-Coquais (2000, 830, note 73) considers *'Evvίov* a Semitic name, but he does not explain the etymology. *'Evvίov* was a famous glass maker, and it is still debated if he was active in Sidon and/or in Aquileia (see e.g. Cassola 1977, 74; Boffo 2003, 534). Cassola suggests that the name is close to Venetic or Latin-Venetic *gentilicia*. To the best of my knowledge, the name is not attested in the Near East. If Semitic (but it seems unlikely), it is perhaps formed on the element *hnm* (see s.v. *Iohannes*).

¹⁰⁹ *'brm* is attested also on an Aramaic seal (Avigad – Sass 1997, 281), but the authenticity is discussed. In any case, the name would be the name of the well known king of Bit Agushi (Arpad), *Abî-rāmu*.

Barachus

Nothing in the inscription indicates an Oriental origin but the name *Barachus*, which does not seem to be Latin: I could find only a *gentilicium* (?) *Barachaius* from Pisa (Solin – Salomies 1988, 31). Moreover, it is hard to explain the m. *cognomen* *Barachus* after the f. *nomen* *Iulia*. In Northern Syria, the f. name *Βαραχους* is attested (IGLS III, 907; IV, 1414 B), likely formed on the perfect (3rd pers. ms) of the Semitic root *BRK*, “to bless”, common in onomastics, followed by the Greek f. ending *-οῦς*, “(DN) has blessed”. In this case, *Barachus* would be the Latin transcription of a mixed Semitic-Greek f. proper name.

The forms *brk*’ and *brky* are attested in Palmyra (Stark 1971, 79), and on the Aramaic seals (*brky*: Avigad – Sass 1999, 291-292, n. 779 = Bordreuil 1986, n. 95; *brk*’: Avigad – Sass, 420 and Bordreuil 1986, n. 94, on a cylindrical cornaline seal).

In Syria are attested the transcriptions *Βαραχ* (IGLS IV, 1741 perhaps incomplete; PV, 497), *Βαραχος* (IGLS III, 734; Dunand 1950, n. 367, p. 162) and *Βαραχεος* (IGLS IV, 1741; V, 2143 B; PAES IIIA, 797). *Βαραχεος* is also attested in Sidon (Mouterde *apud* Chéhab 1957, n. 2, p. 100) and in a Byzantine church at Khirbet Bata (Carmiel: see Meimaris 1986, n. 866, then Tzaferis 1992, 132, n. 7), *Βαραχος* in Samaria (SEG XLIV, 1994, n. 1364).¹¹⁰ *Aurelia Baracha* is known from Emesa (Zadok 1999, 286).

Bizegonus

As far as I know, the name *Bizegonus* is not otherwise attested, and I cannot find a satisfying etymology. The root *BZĠ*, Arabic *bazāġa* “to come out”, “to dawn” (day), “to rise (sun)” (*cf.* Wehr, 70) is apparently attested in Safaitic onomastics (once: Harding 1971, 104).

Bonanus

As far as I know, the name is a *hapax*; it is usually considered Semitic because the bearer of this name is from Emesa (moreover, both his father and his son bear an Arabic name).

If Semitic, it can perhaps be transcription of the Arabic tribal and proper name *Bunân* (f. *Bunânat*), from Arabic *bunânat* “prairie riante” (root *BNN*: Ryckmans 1934, 52-53). The name *bnn* is (rarely) attested in North and South Arabian (*ibid.* and Harding 1971, 121, different etymology), and Nabatean *bnwn* would be, according to Cantineau, formed on the same element (1930-1932, II, 72). The proper names *Βαβαινη* / *Βαβνη* are possibly constructed on the same root (Sartre 1985, 188).

Alternatively, the name can be formed on the more common root *BNY*, “to build” (*bny* is a common name in Safaitic: see Harding 1971, 122), with suffix *-ân*, common in Semitic proper names (see *e.g.* Zadok 1987, 296) and easily rendered with Latin *-anus*.

Less likely, the name can be transcription of Palmyrenean *bwn*’, from *bwln*’, formed on the DN *bwl*, suffix *-ân* and suffix *-â* (see Zadok 1987, 300).¹¹¹

However, it cannot be excluded that the name is formed on Latin *Bonus*, “good”, common in onomastics (Kajanto 1965, 274-275; Solin – Salomies 1988, 303), even if the cognomen *Bonanus* does not seem to be attested.

¹¹⁰ It cannot be excluded that *Βαραχ* is a construct state formed on the elements *br*, “son” and *’h* (**h*), “brother”, that is “son of the brother” (so Zadok 1987, 255), since the Greek *χ* may render both *k* and *h* (**h*). However, this is rather unlikely for a f. PN.

¹¹¹ According to Stark, the name is a short form for **bwl-nwr*, “Bol is (my) light” (1971, 75).

Dama

The man, the only “declared” Jew in the ancient inscriptions from Aquileia,¹¹² bears a name perhaps connected to Semitic *dm*, “blood” (so Zadok 1987, 276), but it cannot be excluded that the name is a Latin transcription of the Greek name *Δάμας*.¹¹³

A *M. Damae f. Surus Garasenus* is recorded in Pompeii (CIL X, 867). Among the Jews of the Diaspora, the PN *Δάμας* is attested on a funerary inscription in Kotieaeion (IJO II, 441-442, n. 210). It is worth noting that Horace seems to consider *Dama* a slave name (see also Solin 1983, 642; 1996, II, 576-577), particularly a Syrian one (Sat. I, 6, 38: *Syri Damae* [gen.]).¹¹⁴ In the Near East, the name is attested in Idumaea (Oren – Rappaport 1984, 148, insc. 24 and 25) and in Syria (IGLS II, 595, from the region of Antioch, dated 378 AD, Christian; IGLS V, 2022, from Epiphaneia; 2509, from the region of Emesa, dated 167 AD, the name of the father being *Mambogaios*). The similar Greek name *Δάμιος* is known from Zeugma (IGLS I, 94 and 97, then Wagner 1976, 140g and 140j, pages 256-257). Negev considers the Nabataean proper names *dms* and *dmsy* — difficult to explain in Semitic — as transcription of the Greek *Damas* (1991, 21; see also Macdonald 1999, 274),¹¹⁵ as Stark suggests that Palmyrenean *dms* is transcription of Greek *Dēmas* (1971, 83 and 134).

Conclusions

As regards the language of the name, sometimes hard to be detected, we have:

1. Aramaic PN: *Abennaesus*; *Achiba*; *Βαρβεουσος*; *Καιουνος* (less likely Arabic); *Μαθβη*; *Malchio* (likely with Greek suffix); *Malchis* (with Greek suffix); *Μαλχος* / *Malchus* (less likely Arabic); *Μαρεας*; *Martha*; *Marus*; *Sabda*; *Siphara* (or Hebrew); *Dama* (if Semitic).
2. Arabic PN: *Amareus*; *Amatla* (?); *Θαμαρη* (or Hebrew); *Mocimus*; *Obaesathus*; *Bizegonus* (if Semitic); *Bonanus* (if Semitic).
3. Hebrew PN: *Ioavva*; *Ioellus*; *Iohannes*; *Ioσηφ*; *Maria*; *Sabbatia*; *Abra* (if Semitic).

We can notice that:

1. Aramaic names are quite well attested in Aquileia. Many names are attested (or are close to names attested) mainly in Northern Syria / Middle Euphrates (*Abennaesus*; *Achiba*; *Βαρβεουσος*; *Μαθβη*; *Μαρεας*; *Martha*). In the Near East, some of them are often borne by Christians (*Βαρβεουσος*; *Καιουνος*; *Μαρεας*; *Martha*), and *Martha* became a common name also among Jews and among Western Christians (thus, it not sure that the bearer of the name is Oriental). *Μαλχος* is common both in Northern and in Southern Syria, while the form *Malchio* is relatively rare in Syria, and *Malchis* never attested in the East: this is probably due to the fact that the suffixes used were Greek — or at least perceived as Greek. It is worth noticing that Aramaic was the most prestigious Semitic language in the East, and that in Syria Aramaic names were borne also by Arabic-speaking population, while the contrary seems to be unlikely: generally speaking, in Syria Arabians were often linguistically assimilated to Arameans, unless they had a huge demographic base (see Zadok 1999, 293-294). Thus, it is

¹¹² For the possibility that the term “Iudaeus” could indicate just a man of Palestinian origin, not necessarily Jewish, see Solin 2002, 170-171.

¹¹³ The Greek *Δάμας* is usually considered to be connected to the verb *δαμάζειν*, “to tame” (cf. Brusin to IA 3437), while Solin (2002, 173) suggests that it is formed on the element *Δημο-*; for doubts about Solin’s suggestion see *L’Année Épigraphique* 2002, 188, n. 528. In Aquileia, *Dama* occurs also in IA 962, 1625, 2925. *Damas* (dat. *Damati*) occurs in IA 2925, quoted above.

¹¹⁴ Solin considers this information a “falschen Beurteilung” by Horace (1983, 642).

¹¹⁵ Cantineau suggests that the names can be either transcriptions of Latin *Damasius* or Arabic *daymās*, “mur” (1930-1932, II, 83).

not surprising that in Northern Syria the vast majority of the population bears Aramaic names (*ibid.*, 292-293), even if this does not imply that the bearers of Aramaic names are Arameans, particularly in a Christian context (*ibid.*, 271-272); it should be kept in mind that Aramaic was — and still is — the language of Eastern Christianity.

2. Surely Arabic names (*Amareus*, *Θαμαρη*, *Obaesathus*, *Mocimus*) are quite rare, and they can be considered sure indicators of the Oriental origin of the bearer, since they are attested, with few exceptions, only in Southern Syria and Arabia (*Mocimus* is common especially in Palmyra, it is quite well attested also in Northern Syria, but not in Palestine and Phoenicia, that is not on the coast). Moreover, Arabic names did not seem to be prestigious in Roman Near East, and it is probable that the bearer of an Arabic name has Arabian origins (*cf.* Zadok 1999, 271).

3. Hebrew names attested in Aquileia are not sure indicators of an Oriental origin of the bearer, since they are usually attested among Jews and among Christians, even in the Western part of the Empire.¹¹⁶ In the case of Aquileia, however, we know from the inscriptions that at least *Ioavva* and *Ioσηφ* are Syrians; on the contrary, *Iohannes* and *Maria* are probably borne by Western Orientals. Among Hebrew names, *Ioellus* is particularly interesting, since it is an extremely rare name, not attested among Jews in Hellenistic-Roman times, nor among Christians (however, the occurrence of the name with the surely Semitic *Mocimus* is hardly a coincidence, and the bearer of the name can be considered Oriental).

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Abbadi 1983, *Die Personennamen der Inschriften aus Hatra*, Hildesheim 1993.
 B. Aggoula 1985, *Inscriptions et graffites araméens d'Assour*, Napoli 1985.
 W.F. Albright 1954, "Northwest-Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the 18th century B.C.", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 74 (1954), 222-233.
 K. As'ad, M. Gawlikowski 1987, "New Honorific Inscriptions in the Great Colonnade of Palmyra", *Annales Archéologiques Arabes-Syriennes* 36/37 (1986-1987), 164-171.
 J.S. Assemanus 1721, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana*, II, *De scriptoribus Syris monophysitis*, Roma 1721 (reprint Hildesheim 1975).
 N. Avigad, B. Sass 1997, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, Jerusalem 1997.
 M. Avi-Yonah 1977, *The Holy Land. A Historical Geography from the Persian to the Arab Conquest 536 B.C. to A.D. 640*, Grand Rapids 1977.
 A. Avramea 1995, "Mort loin de la patrie. L'apport des inscriptions paléochrétiennes", in G. Cavallo, C. Mango (eds.), *Epigrafia medievale greca e latina. Ideologia e funzione (Atti del seminario di Erice, 12-18 settembre 1991)*, Spoleto 1995, 1-65.

¹¹⁶ It should be stressed that Hebrew names are not in themselves indicators of a Jewish origin of their bearers, since they were "inherited" by Christians, both in the Eastern and (later) in the Western part of the Empire. It is very hard, if not impossible, to distinguish Jews from Early Christians using onomastics (see *e.g.* Mussies 1994).

- B. Bagatti, J.T. Milik 1958, *Gli scavi del "Dominus flevit", parte I*, Gerusalemme 1958.
- J.Ch. Balty, K. Chéhadé, W. van Rengen 1969, *Mosaïques de l'église de Herbet Mūqa*, Bruxelles 1969.
- BE = *Bulletin épigraphique*.
- A.F.L. Beeston, M.A. Ghul, W.W. Müller, J. Ryckmans 1982, *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic)*, Louvain – Beyrouth 1982.
- F.L. Benz 1972, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, Roma 1972.
- R. Bertolino 2004, *Corpus des inscriptions sémitiques de Doura-Europos*, Napoli 2004.
- K. Beyer 1984, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, Göttingen 1984.
- G. Biasutti 2005, *La chiesa di Aquileia dalle origini allo scisma dei Tre Capitoli (secc. I-VI)*, Udine 2005.
- L. Boffo 2003, "Orientali in Aquileia", *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 54 (2003), 529-558.
- P. Bordreuil 1986, *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du Musée du Louvre et du Musée biblique de Bible et Terre Sainte*, Paris 1986.
- G.B. Brusin 1953-54, "Orientali in Aquileia romana", *Aquileia Nostra* 24-25 (1953-1954), col. 55-70.
- G.B. Brusin, P.L. Zovatto 1957, *Monumenti paleocristiani di Aquileia e di Grado*, Udine 1957.
- R.F. Burton, C.F.T. Drake 1872, *Unexplored Syria*, 2 vols., London 1872.
- P. Caillet 1993, *L'évergétisme monumental Chrétien en Italie et à ses marges d'après l'épigraphie des pavements de mosaïque (IV^e-VI^e s.)*, Rome 1993.
- A. Calderini 1930, *Aquileia romana*, Milano 1930.
- R. Canova 1954, *Iscrizioni e monumenti protocristiani del paese di Moab*, Roma 1954.
- J. Cantineau 1930-32, *Le Nabatéen*, 2 vols., Paris 1930-1932.
- A. Caquot 1955, "Remarques linguistiques", in H. Ingholt, H. Seyrig, J. Starky, *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*, Paris 1955, 141-183.
- 1962, "Sur l'onomastique religieuse de Palmyre", *Syria* 39 (1962), 230-256.
- W. Caskel 1966, *Ġamharat an-Nasab — Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 2 vols., Leiden 1966.
- F. Cassola 1977, "Aquileia e l'Oriente mediterraneo", *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 12 (1977), 67-98.
- M. Chéhab 1957, *Mosaïques du Liban*, Paris 1957.
- CIJ = *Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum*.
- CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- G.W. Clarke, P.J. Connor 1987, "Inscriptions, symbols and graffiti near Joussef Pasha", *Abr-Nahrain* 25 (1987), 19-39.
- N.G. Cohen 1976, "Jewish Names as Cultural Indicators in Antiquity", *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 7 (1976), 97-128.
- CPJ = V.A. Tcherikover, A. Fuks, M. Stern (eds.), *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*, 3 vols., Cambridge, Ma. 1964.
- L. Cracco Ruggini 1959, "Ebrei e orientali nell'Italia settentrionale fra il IV e il VI secolo d.Cr.", *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 25 (1959), 186-308.
- F. Cumont 1926, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922-1923)*, Paris 1926.
- E. Cussini 2003, "Ebrei a Palmira: un riesame delle fonti epigrafiche", *Materia giudaica* 8/1 (2003), 123-138.
- G.I. Davies 1991, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions. Corpus and Concordance*, Cambridge 1991.
- A. Desreumaux 1998, "Les inscriptions funéraires araméennes de Samra", in Humbert – Desreumaux 1998, 435-510.
- C.F.A. Dillmann 1865, *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopiae cum indice latino*, Leipzig 1865.
- DLU = G. del Olmo Lete, J. Sanmartín, *Diccionario de la lengua ugarítica*, 2 vols., Barcelona 2000.
- DN = Divine name.
- DNWSI = J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, 2 vols., Leiden 1995.
- H.J.W. Drijvers, J.F. Healey 1999, *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osroene*, Leiden 1999.
- M. Dunand 1934, *Mission archéologique au Djebel Druze. Le Musée de Soueïda. Inscriptions et monuments figurés*, Paris 1934.
- 1939, "Nouvelles inscriptions du Djebel Druze et du Hauran", in *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, II, Paris 1939, 559-576.
- 1950, "Nouvelles inscriptions du Djebel Druze et du Hauran", *Archiv Orientalní* 18/1-2 (1950), 144-164.
- R. Dussaud, F. Macler 1901, *Voyage archéologique au Šafā et dans le Djebel Ed-Drúz*, Paris 1901.
- 1903, *Rapport sur une mission scientifique dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*, Paris 1903.

- I. Eph'al, J. Naveh 1996, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea*, Jerusalem 1996.
- D. Feissel 1980, "Toponymes orientaux dans les épitaphes grecques de Concordia", *Aquileia Nostra* 51 (1980), 329-342
- 1982, "Remarques de toponymie syrienne", *Syria* 59 (1982), 319-343.
- 1983, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédonie du III^e au VI^e siècle*, Athènes 1983.
- D. Feissel, J. Gascoü 1995, "Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III^e s. après J.-C.)", *Journal des Savants* 1995, 65-119.
- 2000, "Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III^e s. après J.-C.)", *Journal des Savants* 2000, 157-208.
- D. Feissel, J. Gascoü, J. Teixidor 1997, "Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III^e s. après J.-C.)", *Journal des Savants* 1997, 3-57.
- P. Figueras 1985, *Byzantine Inscriptions from Beer-sheva and the Negev* (כתובות ביזנטיות מבאר-שבע והנגב), Beer Sheba 1985 (Hebrew-English text).
- 2004, "Greek inscriptions from Nessana", in D. Urman (ed.), *Nessana: Excavations and Studies I*, Beer Sheba 2004, 222-242.
- J.A. Fitzmyer, D. Harrington, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*, Roma 1978.
- D. Foraboschi 1967-71, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum*, 4 vols., Milano 1967-1971.
- C. Fossey 1897, "Inscriptions de Syrie", *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 21 (1897), 39-65.
- J. Fox 2003, *Semitic Noun Patterns*, Winona Lake 2003.
- R.N. Frye, J.F. Gillian, H. Ingholt, C.B. Welles 1955, "Inscriptions from Dura Europos", *Yale Classical Studies* 14 (1955), 127-213.
- A.H. Gardiner 1936, "The Egyptian Origin of Some English Personal Names", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 56 (1936), 189-197.
- P.L. Gatié 1998, "Les inscriptions grecques et latines de Samra et de Rihab", in Hubert – Desreumaux 1998, 361-431.
- I.J. Gelb 1980, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite*, Chicago 1980.
- L. Gershuny, B. Zissu 1997, "Tombs of the Second Temple Period at Giv'at Shapira, Jerusalem", *'Atiqot* 30 (1997), *45-*59 (in Hebrew).
- C. Ghadban 1980, "Inscriptions grecques et latines de Nabha", *Ktéma* 5 (1980), 99-112 (and planches I-IV).
- F.D. Gilliard 1984, "Senatorial Bishops in the Fourth Century", *The Harvard Theological Review* 77/2 (1984), 153-175.
- S.L. Gogel 1998, *A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew*, Atlanta 1998.
- G.F. Grassi 2007, "L'onomastica di Dura Europos: alcune considerazioni d'insieme", *KASKAL* 4 (2007), 267-295.
- 2009, "Due coniugi siriani a Verona in età paleocristiana", *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 167 (2008-2009), 13-28.
- R.C. Gregg, D. Urman 1996, *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights — Greek and Other Inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine Eras*, Atlanta 1996.
- F. Gröndahl 1967, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*, Roma 1967.
- F. Grossi Gondi 1920, *Trattato di epigrafia cristiana greca e latina del mondo romano occidentale*, Roma 1920 (ristampa anastatica Roma 1968).
- M. Guarducci 1978, *Epigrafia greca. IV. Epigrafi sacre pagane e cristiane*, Roma 1978.
- G. Lankester Harding 1971, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*, Toronto 1971.
- HALAT = L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament*, 5 vols., Leiden 1967-1995.
- H. Hayajneh 1998, *Die Personennamen in den qatabänischen Inschriften*, Hildesheim 1998.
- S. Honigman 2004, "Abraham in Egypt: Hebrew and Jewish-Aramaic Names in Egypt and Judaea in Hellenistic and Early Roman Times", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 146 (2004), 279-297.
- W. Horbury, D. Noy 1992, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Cambridge 1992.
- H.B. Huffmon 1965, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, Baltimore 1965.
- J. B. Humbert, A. Desreumaux (eds.) 1998, *Khirbet es-Samra I, Jordanie. La voie romaine, le cimetière, les documents épigraphiques*, Turnhout 1998.

- M. Humphries 1998, "Trading gods in northern Italy", in H. Parkins, C. Smith, *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City*, London 1998, 203-224.
- IA = Johannes Baptista Brusin, *Inscriptiones Aquileiae*, I-III, Udine 1991-1993.
- ICVR = *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*.
- IGLJ = *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Jordanie* (IGLSXXI):
 IGLJII = *Région centrale* (P.L. Gatier), 1986;
 IGLJIV = *Pétra et la Nabatène Méridionale* (M. Sartre), 1993.
- IGLS = *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*:
 IGLSI = Tome I, *Commagène et Cyrrestique* (H. Jalabert, R. Mouterde), 1929.
 IGLSII = Tome II: *Chalcidique et Antiochène* (H. Jalabert, R. Mouterde), 1939.
 IGLSIII = Tome III: *Région de l'Amanus. Antioche. Antiochène*, 2 vols. (H. Jalabert, R. Mouterde), 1953.
 IGLSIV = Tome IV: *Laodicée. Apamène* (H. Jalabert, R. Mouterde), 1955.
 IGLSV = Tome V: *Émesène* (H. Jalabert, R. Mouterde), 1959.
 IGLSVI = Tome VI: *Baalbek et Beqa'* (J.P. Rey-Coquais), 1967.
 IGLSVII = Tome VII: *Arados et régions voisines* (J.P. Rey-Coquais), 1970.
 IGLSXIII = Tome XIII, fasc. I, *Bostra*, (M. Sartre), 1982.
 IGLSXXI = IGLJ.
- IJO = *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*: I: D. Noy, A. Panayotov, H. Bloedhorn (eds.), vol. I, *Eastern Europe*; II: W. Ameling (ed.), vol. II, *Kleinasien*; III: D. Noy, H. Bloedhorn (eds.), vol. III, *Syria and Cyprus*, Tübingen 2004.
- T. Ilan 2002, *Lexicon of Jewish Proper Names in Late Antiquity. Part I Palestine 330 BCE-200 CE*, Tübingen 2002.
- ILCV = E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, 3 vols., Berlin 1925-1931.
- IPT Ia = Y.E. Meimaris, *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia, vol. Ia, The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi (Byzantine Zoora)*, Athens 2005.
- IPT Ib = Y.E. Meimaris, *Inscriptions from Palaestina Tertia, vol. Ib, The Greek Inscriptions from Ghor es-Safi (Byzantine Zoora) (Supplement)*, Athens 2008.
- J. Jarry 1967, "Inscriptions arabes, syriaques et grecques du Massif du Bélus en Syrie du Nord", *Annales Islamologiques* 7 (1967), 139-221.
 —1970, "Inscriptions arabes, syriaques et grecques du Massif du Bélus en Syrie du Nord (suite) *Annales Islamologiques* 9 (1970), 187-214.
 —1982, "Nouvelles inscriptions de Syrie du Nord", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 47 (1982), 73-103.
 —1992, "Nouvelles inscriptions de Syrie du Nord (suite)", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 90 (1992), 103-112.
- Jastrow = M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Bavli, Talmud Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature*, New York 1903 (reprint 2004).
- A. Jaussen, F.H. Vincent 1901, "Notes d'épigraphie palestinienne", *Revue Biblique* 10 (1901), 570-580.
- I. Kajanto 1963, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Chartage*, Helsinki 1963.
 —1965, *Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965.
- D.L. Kennedy 1982, *Archaeological Explorations on the Roman Frontier in North-East Jordan*, Oxford 1982.
- W. Kornfeld 1978, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten*, Wien 1978.
- C.J. Kraemer 1958, *Excavations at Nessana, III, Non-Literary Papyri*, London 1958.
- S.C. Layton 1990, *Archaic Features of Canaanite Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible*, Atlanta 1990.
- A. Lemaire 1996, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée au Musée d'Israël*, Paris 1996.
 —2001, *Nouvelles tablettes araméennes*, Genève 2001.
 —2002, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée, Tome II*, Paris 2002.
- J. Leroy 1957, "Mosaiques funéraires d'Edesse", *Syria* 34 (1957), 306-342.
- G. Lettich, P. Zovatto 2007, *Le origini ed epigrafi cristiane di Concordia*, Trieste 2007.
- B.A. Levine 1982, "Assyriology and Hebrew Philology: a Methodological Re-examination", in H.J. Nissen, J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, Berlin 1982, 525-527.
- M. Lidzbarski 1908, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, II, Giessen 1908.
 —1915, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, III, Giessen 1915.

- M.C.A. Macdonald 1999, "Personal Names in the Nabataean Realm. A Review Article", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 44 (1999), 251-289.
- G. Maetzke 1950, "Resti di una basilica paleocristiana a Firenze", *Bollettino d'arte* 35 (1950), 75-77.
- 1957, "Firenze. Resti di basilica cimiteriale sotto Santa Felicità", *Notizie degli scavi di antichità, Atti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei* s. VIII, 11 (1957), 282-324.
- Y. Magen, H. Misgav, L. Tsfania 2004, *Mount Gerizim Excavations, I, The Aramaic, Hebrew and Samaritan Inscriptions*, Jerusalem 2004.
- M. Maraqtan 1988, *Die semitischen Personennamen in den alt- und reichsaramäischen Inschriften aus Vorderasien*, Hildesheim 1988.
- D. Mazzoleni 1982, "L'epigrafia cristiana ad Aquileia nel IV secolo", *Antichità Altoadriatiche* 22 (1982), 301-325.
- 1994, "L'epigrafia della «Venetia et Histria» nel V secolo", in S. Blason Scarel (ed.), *Attila flagellum Dei? Convegno internazionale di studi storici sulla figura di Attila e sulla discesa degli Unni in Italia nel 452 d.C.*, Roma 1994, 193-215.
- 2002, *Epigrafi del mondo cristiano antico*, Roma 2002.
- Y.E. Meimaris 1986, *Sacred Names, Saints, Martyrs and Church Officials in the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri pertaining to the Christian Church of Palestine*, Athens 1986.
- R. du Mesnil du Buisson 1959, "Inscriptions sur jarres de Doura-Europos", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 25 (1959), 3-49.
- J.T. Milik 1956, "Trois tombeaux Juifs récemment découverts au Sud-Est de Jérusalem", *Liber Annuus* 7 (1956), 232-267.
- 1967, "Inscription araméenne en caractères grecs de Doura-Europos et une dédicace grecque de Cordue", *Syria* 44 (1967), 289-306.
- 1972, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiasés sémitiques à l'époque romaine*, Paris 1972.
- G. Mussies 1994, "Jewish Personal Names in some Non-Literary Sources", in J.W. van Henten, P.W. van der Horst (eds.), *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, Leiden 1994, 242-276.
- A. Negev 1991, *Personal Names in the Nabatean Realm*, Jerusalem 1991.
- M. Noth 1928, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart 1928.
- D. Noy 2000, *Foreigners at Rome Citizens and Strangers*, London 2000.
- 1993, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe. Vol. I. Italy (excluding the City of Rome), Spain, Gaul*, Cambridge 1993.
- 1995, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe. Vol. II. The City of Rome*, Cambridge 1995.
- NT = *Novum Testamentum Graece* (post Eberhard et Erwin Nestle editione vicesima septima revisa communiter ediderunt Barbara et Kurt Aland, Johannes Karavidopoulos, Carlo M. Martini, Bruce M. Metzger), Stuttgart 1993.
- E.D. Oren, U. Rappaport 1984, "The Necropolis of Maresha—Beth Govrin", *Israel Exploration Journal* 34 (1984), 114-153.
- P = *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by the Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Preliminary Reports I-IX*, New Haven, 1929-1952:
- PI = vol. I, 1929 (eds. P.V.C. Bauer and M. Rostovtzeff);
- PII = vol. II, 1931 (eds. P.V.C. Bauer and M. Rostovtzeff);
- PIII = vol. III, 1932 (eds. P.V.C. Bauer, M. Rostovtzeff and A.R. Bellinger);
- PIV = vol. IV, 1933 (eds. P.V.C. Bauer, M. Rostovtzeff and A.R. Bellinger);
- PV = vol. V, 1934 (ed. M. Rostovtzeff);
- PVI = vol. VI, 1936 (eds. M. Rostovtzeff, A.R. Bellinger, C. Hopkins and C.B. Welles);
- PVII-VIII = vol. VII-VIII, 1939 (eds. M. Rostovtzeff, F.E. Brown and C.B. Welles);
- PIX, 1 = vol. IX, 1, 1944 (eds. M. Rostovtzeff, A.R. Bellinger, F.E. Brown and C.B. Welles);
- PIX, 2 = vol. IX, 2, 1946 (eds. M. Rostovtzeff, A.R. Bellinger, F.E. Brown and C.B. Welles);
- PIX, 3 = vol. IX, 3, 1952 (eds. M. Rostovtzeff, A.R. Bellinger, F.E. Brown and C.B. Welles).
- PAES IIIA = *Syria. Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909*, T. III, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in Syria: Section A: E. Littmann, D. Magie, D.R. Stuart, Southern Syria*, Leiden 1921.

- PAT = D. Hillers, E. Cussini, *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*, Baltimore – London 1996.
- R. Payne Smith 1903, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary: Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith*, edited by J. Payne Smith, Oxford 1903 (Winona Lake 1998⁵).
- M. Piccirillo 1984, “Una chiesa nell’wadi ‘Ayoun Mousa ai piedi del Monte Nebo”, *Liber Annuus* 34 (1984), 307-318.
- 1987, “Le iscrizioni di Um er-Rasas–Kastron Mefaa in Giordania I (1986-1987)”, *Liber Annuus* 37 (1987), 177-239 (t. 1-30).
- 1988, “La cappella del Prete Giovanni di Khirbet el-Mukhayyat (villaggio di Nebo)”, *Liber Annuus* 38 (1988), 287-315.
- M. Piccirillo, E. Alliata 1994, *Umm al-Rasas Mayfa‘ah I — Gli scavi del complesso di Santo Stefano*, Gerusalemme 1994.
- M. Piccirillo, ‘A.-J. ‘Amr 1988, “A chapel at Khirbet el-Kursi-Amman”, *Liber Annuus* 38 (1988), 361-382.
- PN = Proper name.
- PP = C.B. Welles, R.O. Fink, J.F. Gilliam, *The Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report V, I: The Parchments and Papyri*, New Haven 1959.
- F. Preisigke 1922, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden (Papyri, Ostraka, Inschriften, Mumienschildern usw) Ägyptens sich vorfinden*, Heidelberg 1922 (reprint Amsterdam 1967).
- R. Prusinzsky 2003, *Die Personenamen der Texte aus Emar*, Bethesda 2003.
- E. Puech 1983, “Inscriptions funéraires palestiniennes: Tombeau de Jason et ossuaries”, *Revue Biblique* 90 (1983), 481-533.
- 1984, “L’inscription christo-palestinienne d’Ayoun Mousa (Mount Nebo)”, *Liber Annuus* 34 (1984), 319-328.
- L.Y. Rahmani 1994, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel*, Jerusalem 1994.
- RAO = Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d’archéologie orientale*, 8 vols., Paris 1888-1924.
- J.P. Rey-Coquais 1977, *Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr (1963-1974), I, Inscriptions de la nécropole*, Paris 1977.
- 2000, “Inscriptions inédites de Sidon”, in G. Paci (ed.), *ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ. Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di Lidio Gasperini*, II, Tivoli 2000, 799-832.
- D.W. Roller 1982, “The Northern Plain of Sharon in the Hellenistic Period”, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 247 (1982), 43-52.
- S. Ronzevalle 1903, “Quelques monuments de Gebeil-Byblos at des ses environs”, *Revue Biblique* 12 (1903), 404-410.
- P. Roussel, F. de Visscher 1942-43, “Les inscriptions du temple de Dmeir”, *Syria* 23 (1942-1943), 173-200.
- J. Ryckmans 1934-35, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques*, 3 vols., Louvain, 1934-1935.
- N. Saliby 1970-71, “Hypogée de la nécropole de ‘Azar”, *Mélanges de l’Université Saint Joseph* 46 (1970-1971), 271-283.
- O. Salomies 1987, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki, 1987.
- M. Sartre 1985, *Bostra. Des origines à l’Islam*, Paris 1985.
- 1998, “Nom, langue et identité culturelle en Syrie aux époques hellénistique et romaine”, in Humbert – Desreumaux 1998, 555-562.
- D. Schlumberger 1951, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1951.
- SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- J.B. Segal 1959, “New Syriac Inscriptions from Edessa”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22 (1959), 23-40.
- Sept. = *Septuaginta*, edidit Alfred Rahlfs, 2 vols., Stuttgart 1959⁶.
- H. Seyrig 1958, “Inscriptions grecques”, in G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, III, Paris 1958, 2-62.
- A. Sholan 1999, *Frauennamen in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften*, Hildesheim 1999.
- M. Silverman 1981, “Servant (‘ebed) Names in Aramaic and in the Other Semitic Languages”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101 (1981), 361-366.
- 1985, *Religious Values in the Jewish Proper Names at Elephantine*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1985.
- M. Sokoloff 1992, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, Tel Aviv 1992.

- H. Solin 1977, “Die namen der orientalischen Sklaven in Rom”, in H.G. Pflaum, N. Duval (eds.), *L’onomastique latine (Actes du colloque international, Paris 1975)*, 205-220.
- 1983, “Juden und Syrer in westlichen Teil der römischen Welt”, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.29.2 (1983), 587-789 and 1222-1249.
- 1996, *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen*, 3 vols., Stuttgart 1996.
- 2002, “Spigolature aquileiesi”, in A. Sartori, A. Valvo (eds.), *Ceti medi in Cisalpina. Atti del colloquio internazionale, 14-16 settembre 2000, Milano*, Milano 2002, 167-175.
- H. Solin, O. Salomies 1988, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim 1988.
- M.A. Speidel 2007, “Ausserhalb des Reiches?”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 163 (2007), 296-306.
- J.K. Stark 1971, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, Oxford 1971.
- K.L. Tallqvist 1914, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsinki 1914 (reprint 1966).
- Y. Tepper, L. Di Segni 2006, *A Christian Prayer Hall of the Third Century CE at Kefar ‘Othnay (Legio). Excavations at the Megiddo Prison 2005*, Jerusalem 2006.
- V. Tzaferis 1992, “Greek Inscriptions from Carmiel”, *‘Atiqot* 21 (1992), 129-134.
- V = *Biblia Vulgata*.
- W. van Rengen 1977, “L’épigraphie grecque et latine de Syrie. Bilan d’un siècle de recherches épigraphiques”, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.8 (1977), Stuttgart 31-53.
- F. Vattioni 1972, “I nomi giudaici delle epigrafi di Monastero di Aquileia”, *Aquileia nostra* 43 (1972), 125-132.
- G. Vergone 2007, *Le epigrafi lapidarie del museo paleocristiano di Monastero (Aquileia)*, Trieste 2007.
- D. Völter 1919-20, “Mirjam”, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 38 (1919-20), 111-112.
- W. von Soden 1970, “Mirjām-Maria ‘(Gottes-)Geschenk’”, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 2 (1970), 169-172.
- W.H. Waddington 1870, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, Paris 1870.
- M. Wagner 1966, *Die lexikalischen und und grammatikalischen Aramäismen im alttestamentlichen Hebräisch*, Berlin 1966.
- J. Wagner 1976, *Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma*, Wiesbaden 1976.
- Wehr = H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1961 (1979⁴).
- C.B. Welles 1938, “The Inscriptions”, in C.H. Kraeling, *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, New Haven 1938, 355-494.
- M.H. Williams 2005, “Jewish festal names in Antiquity — A neglected area of onomastics research”, *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 36/1 (2005), 21-40.
- H. Wuthnow 1930, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930.
- YCS XIV = Frye *et al.* 1955.
- R. Zadok 1977, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldaean and Achaemenian Periods. An Onomastic Study*, Jerusalem 1977.
- 1987, “Zur Struktur der nachbiblischen jüdischen Personennamen semitischen Ursprungs”, *Trumah* 1 (1987), 243-343.
- 1988, *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponomy and Prosopography*, Leuven 1988.
- 1999, “The ethno-linguistic character of the Semitic-speaking population (excluding Judeo-Samaritans) of Syria in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods — a preliminary tentative survey of the onomastics evidence”, in Y. Avishur, R. Deutsch (eds.), *Michael. Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer*, Tel Aviv 1999, 267-301.
- 2000, “The Ethno-linguistic Character of the Semitic-speaking Population of Mesopotamia and Adjacent Regions between the 1st and 7th Centuries A.D. A Preliminary Survey of the Onomastic Evidence”, in S. Graziani (ed.), *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, Napoli 2000, 2237-2270.
- F. Zucker 1943, “Semitische Namen auf den neu gefundenen Inschriftstelen von Minturnae”, *Hermes* 78/2 (1943), 200-204.

