Contents

Preface	xi
Part One: Introduction	
I. Preservation of toponyms in the Holy Land as a basis for	
studying its past	1
II. The set of toponyms as a linguistic corpus	1
III. Linguistic analysis of metamorphoses of names; previous	
attempts	4
IV. Evaluation of Kampffmeyer's study	5
V. The danger of using toponyms for historical research without	
linguistic discipline	8
VI. Guidelines for linguistic investigation of changes in toponyms	11
VII. What are 'almost positive' identifications?	12
VIII. Mode of operation	14
IX. A list of the 177 toponyms of the full corpus	15
X. A few technicalities	18

Part Two: The Sixty Entries

1. Καισαρεία. (קיסרי(ן). [qēṣariyye] 23	
2. Παλαιστίνη. אוֹשׁשׁאַיַד: פּלסטיני/פּלשׁת/פּלשׁתים. [falaṣṭīn]	28
3. Νεαπολις. نابَلُس . ניפולין. [nābles] 32	
4. 'Αϊλα. וֹאַד 34	
5. Βηθαγλά. בית חגלה. [ḥaǧla] 37	
6. ᾿Αροήρ. ערוער. ['arā'er] 41	
7. Αραδ. ערד. ['arād] 47	
8. Μαλααθα. אמלחתא. [milh] 50	
9. Ἀκραβαττινη. עקרבת. ['aqraba] 54	
10. Ἀρβηλά. ['irbid] 57	
11. Πέλλα. (faḥºl] . נובש. נפחל [faḥºl] 60	
12. Τιβεριάς. الطبَريّة. (tabariyya] / [tabariyye] 64	
13. Πανεάς. بانَياس. פנייס. [bānyās] 71	
14. Ἀραβά. ערב. ['arrābe] 75	

14. Άραρα. ا برا د ا عاله ا عال (arrabe) برا د 15. Safforine / Σεπφωρις. (۱/۵) منفرية . لاיפורי [saffūrye] 79

16. 'Aμμâν. בَمَان. ('ammān] 88 17. Ραγαβα/ Έργά[β]. רגב. [rāğeb] 93 96 18. Βετοαννάβ(α). ['innābe] 96 [bēt nūba] .بيت نوبا 19. 'Ασδώδ. אשדוד. ['esdūd] 103 20. 'Ακκαρών. בَقَر. ('āqer] 119 121 'Ασκαλών. בחיימא' ('asqalān'). בחיימא' 22. 'Αφεκά. אפק. [fīq] 124 23. 'Αμμαθοῦς. המתן – עמתו. ['ammata] 127 24. Ἐμμαθâ. המת גדר. ['el-ḥamme] 131 25. Μαληδομνεî. מַעֵלֵה אָדָמִים. [tal'at ed-damm] 132 26. Βηϊθανίν – Βηθενίμ. בית־ענות. [bēt 'enūn] 134 27. 'Οδολλάμ – 'Αδολάμ. עדלם. ['īd el-miyye] 137 28. 'Αδιθά. הדיד. [hadīte] 139 29. 'Ανάβ. ענב. ['anāb] 141 30. 'Αναία - 'Ανεά. ענים [ġwēn] or [ġwēne] 143 149 31. Ἐσθεμά. אשתמה – אשתמוע [samū'] 32. 'Aταρούθ. Atarus. ['aṭṭāra] or ['aṭāra] 152 33. 'Aσήρ. [tyāsīr] 156 34. 'Αταρώθ. (עטרות אדר?). ['atāra] or ['attāra] 157 35. 'Αναθώθ. ענתות. ['anāta] 159 36. Ξά[λ]ους. - «כסלות תבר" ('i)ksāl] 160 37. 'Ακχώ. עכו. ['akka] 163 38. ["]Εκδιππα. אכזיב. ['iz-zīb] 167 39. 'Αλοῦς. אַיָּלוֹן. [yālo] 170 40. ''Αρουεί[ρ]'. ['arūra] 171 41. "Αβελ. 'Αβίλα. آبل. ['ābil] 173 42. 'Αενδώρ. 'Ηνδώρ. 'Ψνδώρ. 'μνή ['indūr] / ['indūr] 174 43. Αἰγαλλείμ. (אָגְלַיִם?). [ğalame] 177 44. [Σ]αλείμ – [Σαλουμίας]. [[]y^{*}? [šēh sālem] 180 45. Βαιθήλ – Βεθήλ. בית־אל. [betīn] 181 46. Βηθλεέμ. איי לחם. בית (bēt laḥem] . איי ובא [bēt laḥem] 184 47. Βαταναία. אווידיביד: Εάταναία. וווידיביד. 186 48. Γηβά. الجنى. [(al-)ğīb] 192 49. Δαμασκός. دمَشْق . דמשק 193 50. Δάν. ⁷. [tall el-qādi], [nahr al-liddān] 201 51. Δαννεά. [danne] 210 52. Δωθαείμ. דתן/דתינה. [dōtān]/[dōtān]/[dōta]/[dōta] 211 53. Δηβοῦς – [Δαιβών] – Δίβων. דיבן [dībān]/[dībān] 215 54. Δαβαριθα (Δαβειρά?). דברת [dab(b)ūrye] 222 54a. תבור. [dabūra]? 222 55. Δουμ $\hat{\alpha}$. [dome]/[dume] 231 56. Δαιδάν. ^[]. [<u>d</u>āna] 239 57. Εσεβων – Ἐσβοῦς. השבון. [hesbān] 245

 58. 'Αδρά, 'Αδραά. אדרעי. [der'a]
 251

 59. Ἐλεάλη. ἐκτψίπ. ['el'āl] / ['el'ala]
 263

 60. Ἐφραίμ. ἀμετη/ψετη. ['efra]/[at-tay(yi)be]
 268

Part Three: Linguistic Summary

I. Comments on Spelling	291
1. In the Bible 291	
2. In Ancient Hebrew and Northwest Semitic inscriptions 292	
3. In Greek and Latin sources 292	
4. In Medieval Arabic sources 293	
5. Reports by modern scholars 293	
II. Phonology	294
Consonants 294	
1. Ancient Semitic sounds, now generally lost 294	
2. Preservation of gutturals 296	
3. Hard and soft pronunciation (בג״ד כפ״ת) 299	
4. Semitic cognates of Greek $\kappa \pi \tau$ 301	
5. Preservation of emphasis in Arab speech 303	
6. Generally $\psi > /s/$; in Galilee (and Lebanon) $\psi > /s/$ 303	
$7. \psi > / \tilde{s} / 304$	
8. Gemination of consonants 305	
9. Assimilation in quality of consonants 308	
10. Consonantal alternation 309	
Vowels 310	
11. The 'Canaanite Shift' 310	
12. ī 311	
13. ā 311	
14. ū 312	
15. holem 313	
16. <i>holem</i> > \bar{e} in Moab and the coastal towns? 314	
17. Added /n/ or /m/ at end of word after long vowel 314	
18. Ancient short vowel in pretonic open syllable 316	
19. Qames and patah 316	
20. Sere 317	
21. Short i; 'defective' <i>hireq</i> and <i>segol</i> 318	
22. Short u 319	
23. Semi-vowels 319	
24. <i>Sewa</i> quiescent 321	
25. Differences of vowel length 322	
26. Diphthongs 323	
27. Vowel assimilation 325	
28. Attenuation 325	

29. Omission of final vowel in a Greek name 326	
30. Raising of vowel before <i>ta marbūța</i> in Arabic ('final <i>imāla</i> ') 326	
Accentuation 327	
31. Accentuation in place names in Arab speech 327	
32. Difficulty of drawing conclusions from present-day pronunciation	
as to accentuation in the past 328	
33. Addition of D^{-}/T^{-} at the end of a word after a vowel may also occur	
when the accent is on the penult 328	
III. Morphology	329
1. Patterns of nouns of Semitic origin in the Corpus 329	
2. Vestiges of Gt 331	
3. The 'Segolates' 331	
$4. qitil > qitl > qatl \qquad 332$	
5. Alternating of thematic vowel in segolate forms 332	
6. <i>qital</i> > קָטָל (generally in Hebrew) קָטָל (sometimes) קָטָל (similar to	
Aramaic) 333	
7. $qatil > q\overline{a}til$ (majority) / $qat\overline{l}$ (minority) 333	
8. Historical alternation of noun patterns 333	
9. First part of a name understood as prefix and dropped	
suffixes of noun patterns 333	
10. Suffix -at; source and reason for preservation in toponyms33311. Suffix -ī334	
$11. \text{ suffix } -i \qquad 334$ $12. \text{ Suffix } -it \qquad 334$	
13. Suffix <i>-aym/n</i> not as a dual ending: A typical addition to toponyms	335
14. Alternation and omission of suffixes 336	555
15. Alternations between Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek suffixes 337	
16. Greek -ovç suffix reflecting $/-\bar{o}n/$ 337	
17. Added /a/ at end of names in Greek and Latin sources in the	
Roman-Byzantine Era 338	
18. Non-Greek sources render -os/-us instead of -as/-is in an originally	
Greek name – standardization? 339	
19. Adaptation of pre-Arabic suffix to Arabic 339	
20. Back-formation 340	
21. Βαιτο-/Βετο-, Βηρο- (=באר־, בית־) in 2nd-6th centuries CE 340	
22. Final 'imāla: tā' marbūta pronounced today [e] or [i] 340	
23. Names preserved in Arabic as diminutive 341	
IV. Definite Article and Syntax	342
1. Determination and the definite article 342	
2. Special phenomena pertaining to the definite article 343	
3. Names consisting of two words 344	
4. ביה as an integral part of the name: sometimes a free variant 346	
5. בני as part of the name in early periods dropped later	
(for historical reasons?) 347	

V. Etymology and Semantics	347
1. Interpretations of names and lexicological remarks 347	
2. Etiological homilies and folk etymology 350	
3. Internal changes in the name inspired by changed understanding	
of its elements 352	
4. Translation and adaptation of names from one language to another	352
5. A Hebrew calque to a Greek form 354	
6. Pedantic forms in literary Arabic sources 355	
7. Influence of landscape on development of the name 355	
8. Name replaced by a euphemism 355	
9. Common noun derived from a place name 356	
VI. Historical Matters, Transmission of Hebrew,	
Confluence of Languages	357
General 357	
1. Confluence of languages 357	
2. 'Wandering' word from the 3rd mill. BCE? 358	
3. Name preserved for millennia by nomads, despite mostly ruined	
state of site 358	
4. Name preserved in two parallel versions 358	
5. Name influenced by a generally known name 359	
6. Regional differences 360	
7. Standard and substandard 360	
The Bible and the biblical period 361	
8. Names in the Bible 361	
9. Early vs. late books of the Bible 362	
10. Ammonite? 363	
11. The coastal cities in Greek 363	
12. Ancient Assyrian source reflecting local Hebrew pronunciation	364
Roman-Byzantine Period 364	
13. Certain people and their reports of place-names 364	
14. The Targums 365	
15. Mishnah, Talmuds, Midrash and their linguistic traditions 366	
16. Samaritans 367	
Arab Period and Middle Ages 367	
17. Adaptation of names to Arabic; the question of 'Arab mouth'	
and 'Syrian mouth' 367	
18. Arabic material of Christian source from the first centuries A.H.	369
19. Colloquial Arabic preserves the original name better	
than does Literary Arabic 369	
20. Preservation of a name in a nearby <i>wali</i> 369	
Modern Era 369	
21. Change of name in Transjordan on eve of and during 19th century	369
	69

23. Scholars lend exaggerated weight to an exceptional report 370	
24. Misidentification due to misreading of sources 370	
25. To what extent have names changed since the Arab conquest (till today)	? 370
Part Four: New Approaches and Clarifications in	
Historical Geography	
A Brief Summary of New Discoveries and Insights	
in Historical Geography	372
Bibliography and Abbreviations	388
Index of Sources	411
General Index	415
Linguistic Index	420
Geographical Name Index	426
Index of Scholars and Travellers	442
Word Index	445

Preface

The large proportion of ancient toponyms in the Holy Land that have survived for thousands of years, right up to modern times, is a remarkable and unique phenomenon, unparalleled in neighboring countries, such as Egypt, Mesopotamia or Asia Minor. This preserved toponymy provides a basis for research in the historical geography of the country, and is also of major importance for studies of the history of Hebrew and Aramaic, being a kind of ancient 'recording' of an archaic linguistic inventory. In addition, it has many implications for a wide variety of other scholarly fields, such as Bible studies, Rabbinics, Qumran and Samaritan studies, early Christianity, Arabic and Islam. This reserve of preserved place names is therefore frequently consulted and used by scholars for their purposes. Surprisingly, however, despite the importance of this subject, there have been very few attempts to 'put things in order' within its own limits, and for many years there have been no rules that might help to understand the changes that occur in toponyms. Accordingly, the prevailing situation in the field of historical geography is one of near-anarchy; lacking hard and fast rules, scholars could find support for their identification of an ancient toponym in any somewhat similar Arabic name. In the past, one sole study was devoted to the determination and formulation of rules for the evolution of place names in the Holy Land. Written more than a century ago by Georg Kampffmeyer, it dealt in detail with name preservation laws on the basis of 150 biblical toponyms that were identified in 19th-century literature with modern Arabic names. However, instead of stemming the flood of indiscriminate identifications, Kampffmeyer actually justified many of them, since the inventory on which he based his work consisted of names selected without any regard for earlier scholarly literature, thus converting a good many unsubstantiated conjectures into supposed 'laws of preservation.' In addition, some of Kampffmeyer's primary linguistic and historical premises are untenable. Apart from these considerations, the more than one hundred years that have elapsed since then have surely made many of the data obsolete. In the absence of any other similar material, Kampffmeyer has been quoted copiously and his conjectures accepted as facts.

In order to break this vicious circle of conjectures founded on dubious linguistic assumptions, producing 'preservation laws' which themselves provide

Preface

an alleged basis for historical identification, and so on, I have tried, first and foremost, to lay down objective criteria for the selection of positive identifications. On that basis, I have built up a corpus of 177 toponyms representing positive or almost positive identifications, upon which my study is based. Sixty of these toponyms are then reviewed in depth, tracing their documentation in all languages, throughout recorded history; in the process, I have tried to locate and analyze whatever changes occurred and when. The linguistic conclusions from the material follow, arranged according to the standard layout of grammar books. Innovative conclusions and ideas in the context of historical geography, which emerged in the course of the study, are listed alphabetically in the last part of the volume.

This volume is based on my Ph.D. dissertation written at The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, under the direction of the late Professor Shlomo Morag, and submitted in 1993 to the Hebrew Language Department. In order to achieve the level of interdisciplinary knowledge needed for a study of this sort, I had to engage both in a variety of theoretical studies and in field work. The theoretical studies - the mastering of several languages and philology, archaeology and historical geography - were pursued mainly at The Hebrew University, under its best teachers in the various disciplines involved. The field work, which involved, besides acquiring a proper 'feel' for the material, location of reliable informants and reexamination, as far as possible, of recorded names in comparison with scholarly literature (where scholarly records differed among themselves), was done over several years of touring and field trips. The earliest of these trips took place under the aegis of the Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel and the Ofrah Field School; I continue to tour the country with friends and students in the various schools where I have been teaching 'Eretz-Israel studies,' mainly at the Jerusalem and Herzog Colleges.

Within the available space, I cannot possibly name all those who have helped and supported me over the years. My teachers helped me with their advice, before and during preparation of the study, and their knowledge and ideas are frequently cited in the book. In the area of Hebrew and the Northwest-Semitic languages, I learned much from the late Professor Morag and from Professor Moshe Bar-Asher; in literary and colloquial Arabic, I benefited from many consultations with Professors Piamenta, Levin, Hopkins, and Hasson. My principal mainstay in Greek was Professor Raanana Meridor. In the area of biblical geography I consulted with Professor Zechariah Kallai, and in the historical geography of Greek and Roman sources I received much help from Professor Yoram Tsafrir, who in fact gave me free use of his *Onomasticon* when still in manuscript form. Friends and colleagues with whom I have studied and made various trips in past years, such as Rabbi Yoel Bin-Nun, Zeev Ehrlich, Professor Hanan Eshel and Dr. Amos Frumkin, contributed to

xii

Preface

the clarification of various matters and also helped in some cases to collect evidence in the field. The book was translated into English by David Louvish; the translation was financed by the Leo Lubin Foundation and others. The material was edited and proofread by Sarah Fuchs and prepared for the press by Sergey and Ronit Nikolsky of *Daatz*. The publication process was entrusted to The Hebrew University Magnes Press under its able director, Dan Benovici. Considerable assistance was rendered by Dr. Jerry Hochbaum of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, as well as the Amos Fund for Encouraging Scholars and Writers founded by the President of Israel.

To conclude, let me go back to the starting point. My own roots, the source of my interest in the combined fields of land, history, places and names, lie in my home, at the table of my late father and teacher, Professor Yehudah Elitzur, scholar and student of Bible and biblical geography, a disciple and confidant of the prominent scholar of talmudic geography, Professor Samuel Klein. Just as in biblical Hebrew the root yd^{c} has the connotation of both 'to know' and the most intimate relationship between man and woman, my father taught me to love the Land of Israel by coming to know it in all its dimensions.

Yoel Elitzur