

<i>ACTA CLASSICA UNIV. SCIENT. DEBRECEN.</i>	<i>XLIV.</i>	<i>2008.</i>	<i>p. 95-109.</i>
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## SYRIAN NAMES GIVEN IN PANNONIA INFERIOR

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*Abstract:* Many people in Pannonia Inferior, who had some connection with the Syrian military units of the province, had more or less evidently barbarous names. Examining 46 such names, we can find that most of them are clearly interpretable either in Syriac or in Hebraic language, or even in both of them. Sometimes we can identify orthographic variations of these names, their religious background or even some differences in those people's use of their native language.

*Key-words:* Syriac, Hebraic, Ityraei, Hemesa.

As it is well known, the soldiers of the two major Syrian units in Pannonia Inferior, the *cohors I milliaria Hemesenorum* and *cohors milliaria nova Syrorum sagittariorum*, together with their family members, in their majority had Greek and Latin names; oriental names are not too frequent. It is more curious that very little attention was paid to the etymologies of those names up to now. Some other oriental names were left to us in the Aquincum area from civil persons, partially Jews,<sup>1</sup> who do not seem to have any connection with the above named units.

At the first view, taking into account those names that are not evidently Greek-Latin, we must consider the following people:

a) men

1. RIU 1175: *Aurelius Abibelus*, an inhabitant of Intercisa in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., whose military relations are not known, but we may suppose from his dwelling place (and post-Marcus citizenship), that he was either a member of the Hemesan cohort, or from one's family. He had a wife of unknown name. His cognomen is clearly Syriac:  $\text{ܐܒܝܒܝܠܘܣ}$  *father is Bel*.

<sup>1</sup> For the Pannonian Jewry, see *S. Scheiber*, *Magyarországi zsidó feliratok a III. századtól 1686-ig*. Budapest 1960, 16-52, a little amplified in English: *S. Scheiber*, *Jewish inscriptions in Hungary from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century to 1686*. Budapest 1983. Regrettably he enumerates some such persons from Intercisa among his examples, who must be doubted to have been Jews, a heathen Syrian origin being more easily acceptable.

2. RIU 1184=CIL III 3334=10316: *Aurelius Abigeneus*, inhabitant of Intercisa, died at the age of 17 (2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of 3<sup>rd</sup> c., judging from his relatives' personal data), grandson of a soldier of the Hemesan cohort (see nr. 9) and son of a Legio II Adiutrix soldier. His name is clearly Semitic, several Syriac etymologies can be proposed, most likely אבא אבי אבי my father is refuge, nevertheless the etymologies אבא אבי אבי my father is mercy, אבא אבי אבי my father Gen-naeus/Γεννάεας (the latter being an attested Syro-Arabian god's name or simply a Syriac etymological equivalent of Arabic *jinn*) were not unsupportable either.

3. RIU 1079 + RIU 1099: *Aurelius Barsamsus*, inhabitant of Intercisa (late 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c.), a soldier of a cohort, in all likelihood the *mill. Hemesenorum*, being on one of his altars in the rank of an *optio*, on the other one of a *strator consularis*. His name is certainly Syriac, though it can be understood in two different ways: אבא אבי אבי son of the Sun or אבא אבי אבי son of servant. Since he appears to have been the worshipper of the Sun (RIU 1099: *Deo Soli*), I think the first explanation more probable.

4. RIU 524: *Aurelius Bassus, Abbosatis f(ilius)*, inhabitant of Brigetio in the middle or later Severan era, died at the age of 27. His father had been *peregrini iuris*, we do not know whether he had lived in Pannonia or not; anyway probably he died before his son, since the sarcophagus was erected by a certain Aurelius Iulianus, relative of the deceased (a Latin name, but sometimes given to people of Syrian origin, cf. nr. 18). The name of Abbosatis is evidently Syriac, but we are not able to define its original form unambiguously: the first element is אבא father in the *status constructus* (or maybe אבא in which case the name is not a possessive construction), but the short second element can be the Latinization of at least fifteen possible Syriac nouns, among which the most situation-prompt are two mocking expressions: אבא אבי drunkard or אבא אבי אבי stupidity/stupid. Consequently his son was a Syrian immigrant who received the citizenship; his name seems Latin, moreover a typical and frequent name,<sup>2</sup> but it is also a name which appears relatively often with people of oriental origin.<sup>3</sup> Naturally such a short name can be the Latinization of words from a lot of languages, one could find some Semitic etymologies too (cf. nr. 5), but none of them could be decisive.

5. RIU 1180: *Aurelius Bazas*, inhabitant of Intercisa, a veteran of the Hemesan cohort, born probably in Syria, or maybe Arabia (*domo Ge[rasa?]*), and therefore since he must have come with the cohort into Pannonia, died probably in the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. Though consequently it is certain that he was a native Syrian, the etymology of his name is doubted (yet surely not Greek-Latin),

<sup>2</sup> B. Lőrincz, OPEL I<sup>2</sup> 114.

<sup>3</sup> RIU 712, 1193, perhaps 110, 1194.

we may propose a Hebraeo-Syriac name 𐤆𐤃𐤁𐤀 𐤆𐤁, or 𐤆𐤁 (from a Syrian geographic name), or 𐤆𐤁𐤀𐤀?

6. RIU 1181: *Aurelius Cassianus*, inhabitant of Intercisa, died at the age of 4 (end of 2<sup>nd</sup>-beginning of 3<sup>rd</sup> c.),<sup>4</sup> son of a beneficiarius of the Hemesan cohort, whose father had a Latin name: *Silvanus*,<sup>5</sup> but he was born in Hemesa in all likelihood.<sup>6</sup> Obviously, the origin of the cognomen *Cassianus* is not necessarily Semitic, and it can be well etymologized in Latin, or rather it is frequent in Pannonia that the Cassius-type names appear as Latinizations of Celtic names.<sup>7</sup> Yet it is unlikely that people with such a family background wore Celtic names, and we know at least one surely Semitic person with the name *Cassia*,<sup>8</sup> whose name was etymologized from Hebrew with reliability enough.<sup>9</sup> Consequently we must propose that the cognomen *Cassianus* was formed as a male equivalent of the Hebraeo-Syriac name *Cassia* = 𐤆𐤃𐤁𐤀 = 𐤆𐤃𐤁𐤀. As for the source language, the family context makes the Syriac more probable than the Hebrew.

7. RIU 1182: *M. Aurelius Cerdon*, veteran inhabiting Intercisa, former *curator Cohortis mill. Hemesenorum*, born in Arethusa (three such cities are known,<sup>10</sup> but only that in Syria is likely because of the cohort). Because of his origin he seems to have come with the cohorts and therefore died in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. He had five known descendants, the majority of them bearing Greek-Latin names (among them also *Silvanus*, cf. note 5), but at least one Syriac (nr. 34), and consequently we may suspect his native language was Syriac. Yet his name is not pointing necessarily thereto, Κέρδων being a well-known Greek name in

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<sup>4</sup> As *E. Schallmayer–K. Eibl–J. Ott–G. Preuss–E. Wittkopf*, *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I. Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des römischen Reiches* (Stuttgart 1990 Nr. 399, similarly 404) date it.

<sup>5</sup> Yet this name was frequently given in the Syrian milieu of Intercisa (cf. RIU 1182, 1195 [born in Hemesa], 1204, perhaps TRH 162 and IIL 193), and it occurs in Ulcisia too (RIU 879, though this man's nationality is wholly unknown); already in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. in the case of a soldier born in Palaestina (cf. *A. Mócsy*, *Bevölkerung von Pannonien bis zu den Markomannenkriegen*. Budapest 1959, 249, n. 185/8); it seems to have been an *a la mode* name used among the Syrians.

<sup>6</sup> Probably the same man appears in the inscription RIU 1203 too, for his name see *B. Fehér*, *Pannonia latin nyelvtörténete* [The history of the Latin Language in Pannonia]. Budapest 2007, 484, note 4.

<sup>7</sup> *W. Meid*, *Keltische Personennamen in Pannonien*. Budapest 2005, 262-263.

<sup>8</sup> RIU 787=CIGP<sup>2</sup> 86, from Solva (see nr. 41).

<sup>9</sup> *Scheiber* op. cit. (note 1) 27.

<sup>10</sup> Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* p.116: Ἀρέθουσα, πόλις Συρίας καὶ Θράκης καὶ Εὐβοίας. The Syrian city was, according to the *ItAnt* 188. 194, only 16 miles from Hemesa, therefore practically there can be no doubt about the identification (more amply see PWRE II 680).

the imperial era too,<sup>11</sup> but since his Syriac origin is probable, and we can commend a possible Syriac etymology too (ܐܘܪܝܘܠܐ or ܐܘܪܝܘܠܐ! *castor-oil plant, bedbug?*), it must not be excluded either, or, even more likely, one may suspect a double etymology: a traditional Greek name given with the conscious background of a similarly sounding Syriac name.<sup>12</sup>

8. *BudRég* 14 (1945) 541: *Aurelius Deipas*, an inhabitant of Aquincum, *ensor*, probably late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. His name is barbarous, but no reliable etymology was found in any language until now. Though we may suspect from the name of his wife (cf. nr. 32), that they were of Syrian origin, no good Syriac etymology can be found either.

9. RIU 1184=CIL III 3334=10316: *M. Aurelius Deisan*, veteran inhabiting Intercisa, former *stor* (= *stator?* *strator?*) *tribuni cohortis mill. Hemesenorum*, born in Hemesa, come with the cohorts into Pannonia, still living when his grandson died at the age of 17, cf. nr. 2 (supposing a normal consequence of generations, it occurred most probably in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> decade of 3<sup>rd</sup> c.). His name must be oriental, it can be explained most easily as ܐܕܝܣܐ, which was the name of the river of Edessa.<sup>13</sup>

10. RIU 1190: *M. Aurelius Malchian[us]*, soldier of Legio II Adiutrix, inhabitant of Intercisa, perhaps from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. There is no indication of his native land or language, and having been served in the legion, we would not suspect an oriental origin of his but from the find spot; yet his name is unambiguously Semitic, Hebraic (חַמְלִיָּא) or perhaps Syriac (possibly ܐܠܟܝܐ! *royal*). All the other names in his family are purely Latin (*Verecunda*, *Marcellinus*, [*Pulc*]rha?, *Optata*), and although the name form looks more like Hebraic than Syriac, there is no positive indication, that he had been a Jew, while in Intercisa he might naturally be supposed to be of Syrian, most probably Hemesan, origin.

11. RIU 1189=CIL III 10315: *M. Aurelius Malci[h]ia[s? -nus?]*, a soldier of the Hemesan cohort serving in various ranks (*strator officii [consularis]*, [*ex sum*]mo *curatore, signifer*), from Intercisa, died at the age of 55-59 in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. Concerning his name, we can say the same as in nr. 8; though his native land was not mentioned, it is quite possible that he was born Syrian.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *P. M. Fraser-E. Matthews*, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I-IV*. Oxford 1987-2008, I 254, II 257, IIIa 450, IIIb 229, IV 190: in sum exactly 100 occurrences, about a half of them from the imperial era.

<sup>12</sup> Anyway the orthography of the name seems to belong a non-classical, semi-barbarous level, since the name Κέρδων is Latinized mostly as *Cerdo* (ThLL Suppl. C 335-336); maybe the memory of the barbarous name laying behind retained the *-n* at the end.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the well-known name ܒܪܕܝܣܐ (*Bardesanes*).

<sup>14</sup> *Scheiber* op. cit. (note 1) 37-41 holds that he was Jew, unambiguously deducing his name from the Hebraic חַמְלִיָּא, which is possible (certainly there were Jews in Hemesa, cf. *ibid.* 30, and the

12. RIU 1470: *M. Aurelius Mamaeanus*, known from Annamatia, soldier of an unknown unit. Since his name is most likely a Latinized Syriac one (ܐܘܪܝܠܝܘܣܝܢܐ/ܡܡܐܝܢܐ), it is conceivable that he served in the nearby Intercisa, in the Hemesan cohort, probably in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. All his other personal data and family relations are unknown.

13. RIU 1082: *Aurelius Mammianus*, inhabitant of Intercisa in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., veteran (the unit where he had served is not named, the Hemesan cohort is the most likely), his other personal data and family relations are unknown. His name seems to be of the same origin as the former one.

14. RIU 1165: *Aurelius Manaia*, a veteran inhabitant of Intercisa, probably from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. His wife was of Armenian origin (Aurelia Nardanosa), the text of her funerary inscription itself shows traces of an oriental person's imperfect Latinity.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, possibly the husband was Armenian too, in which case his name is less likely Syriac; yet at least one Syriac etymology is obvious (ܐܪܝܬܡܝܬܝܩܐ *arithmetical master*) and sounding exactly the same, another obvious Persian–Mesopotamian name, which were natural to be used in Armenia too, that of the (contemporaneous) prophet Mani, was also known in the Syriac language too (ܡܢܝܐ/ܡܢܝܐ).<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, it is by no means certain that an Armenian woman's husband was native Armenian too, even though his Latin parlance was imperfect, he might be an Intercisan with the more common Syrian origin too.

There are six people from Intercisa bearing the same oriental name:<sup>17</sup>

15. RIU 1086: *Aurelius Monimus*, inhabitant of Intercisa, veteran of an unknown unit, probably the Hemesan cohort, from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c., familiar relations unknown;

16. TRH 150: *Aurelius Monimus*, inhabitant of Ulcisia,<sup>18</sup> decurio of the *Cohors mill. nova Surorum sagittariorum* in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., familiar relations unknown;

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sepulchral monument does not show any clearly heathenish peculiarity), but not necessary at all. The same must be true for Nr. 7.

<sup>15</sup> *Fehér* op. cit. (note 6) nr. 135, cf. p. 140 note 29.

<sup>16</sup> The etymology of the name is still dubious: cf. *Thesaurus Syriacus* ed. R. Payne Smith, New York 1981, 2172: 'Manes vox Chaldaeis et Syris vas vestem et instrumentum quodlibet significat (sc. ܡܢܝܐ); Persis vero teste S. Cyrillo Hierosol. ὀμιλίαν id est adlocutionem ... reapse vox Pers. ܡܢܝܐ rarus, unicus componitur.'

<sup>17</sup> For the occurrences of the name *Monimus* in the Latin-speaking areas see B. Lórinč, *OPEL* III 86. Though naturally it is an original Greek name too, the geographical division of its usage excludes that here it was given as a Graecism (a few occurrences from the late republican/early imperial era are known from Italy, and practically all the others appear in the classical or Hellenistic Thessalia, cf. *Fraser–Matthews* op. cit. (note 11) IIIa 305, IIIb 293).

<sup>18</sup> The stone was found in the nearby Szigetmonostor, in a certainly secondary usage.

17. RIU 1193: *Aurelius Monimus*, inhabitant of Intercisa, *beneficiarius tribuni cohortis mill. Hemesenorum*, died some years over 40 (after 24 years service) in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., familiar relations unknown;

18. RIU 1194: *M. Aurelius Monimus*, inhabitant of Intercisa, *decurio cohortis mill. Hemesenorum*, born in Hemesa, died at the age of 64 (about the 2<sup>nd</sup> decade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c.); his wife had a barbarous name (see nr. 37), but his son a Latin one (*Iulianus*);

19. RIU 1184=CIL III 3334=10316: *Aurelius Monimus*, son of Nr. 9, who had been born in Hemesa, served as a *strator*; his age and relations see there;

20. RIU 1195: *M. Aurelius Monimus*, inhabitant of Intercisa, a veteran of the Legio II adiutrix, died at the age of 50 before the middle 3<sup>rd</sup> c.; his father was a Hemesan with the name Silvanus (cf. note 5), his other relatives had Greek-sounding names.<sup>19</sup>

The name is clearly connected with Syria, being an Edessan deity's name, who was interpreted in the antiquity as Mercurius/Hermes,<sup>20</sup> and therefore as personal name it must be thought of the same value, as the frequent<sup>21</sup> *Mercurius/Hermes* cognomen. But as the (at least) six occurrences show, it was especially popular among the population coming from Syria, maybe as a sign for the retention of their religious inheritance. As for the origins of the name itself, though it is known in Syriac as a personal name (𐤌𐤍𐤏)<sup>22</sup>, its etymology is still unclear, it is possible that it was used originally by Greek-speaking Edessans, since it can be etymologized from Greek without difficulty.<sup>23</sup>

21. RIU 1205 contains probably the same name abbreviated: *Aurelius Mon(imus?)*, a soldier of Intercisa (probably from the *numerus equitum scutariorum*) from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. He had a brother with a Latin name (*Valens*);<sup>24</sup> judging from the era, the family was probably Latin-

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<sup>19</sup> See more detailed *Fehér* op. cit. (note 6) 262 note 2., with its Greek parallels.

<sup>20</sup> Iulianus, *Orat.* 34 (IV 195.p.): Οἱ τὴν Ἑδεσσαν οἰκοῦντες ἱερὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἡλίου χωρίον, Μόνιμον αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀζίζον συγκαθιδρύουσιν. ... ἐλάβομεν, ὡς ὁ Μόνιμος μὲν Ἑρμῆς εἶη, Ἀζίζος δὲ Ἄρης.

<sup>21</sup> In Pannonia we know 10 occurrences of Hermes, but only two of Mercurius (*E. Vorbeck*, *Zivilinschriften aus Carnuntum*, Wien nr. 19 [...]*Jcurius*, 214) – yet it was modestly frequent in the European provinces, see *B. Lőrincz*, *OPEL* III 77, where it has 35 occurrences.

<sup>22</sup> *R. Payne Smith* (ed.), *Thesaurus Syriacus*. New York 1981, 2172, with the loci where it appears.

<sup>23</sup> Yet as we can see from the data of Iulianus, the other lesser deity of the Edessan triad had a clearly Syriac name (Ἀζίζος = 𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏). This deity was also worshipped in Intercisa, as we can doubtless see from the dedication *Deo Aziz[o]*, RIU 1053.

<sup>24</sup> Hypothetically one could say it was the translation of 𐤌𐤍𐤏, and then the two brothers wore the two supreme deities' names.

speaking, where the given name must have been Syriac only from the family tradition.

22. RIU 891: *Aurelius Monnius*, inhabitant of Ulcisia probably from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., we do not know anything about his military or family relations (he was a member of the *collegium fabrum*), but in Ulcisia it is quite credible that he belonged to an oriental family, and his name seems to be most likely the same as the above treated *Monimus*.

23. RIU 1201: *Aurelius Salamas*, a veteran of Intercisa, *ducenarius*, died at the age of 70 in the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. His family relations are unknown, save for his son's-in-law name. As for his origin, his epitaph reads *Aedesitanus*, which is a problematic expression. Naturally, being an Intercisan monument, we must think of Edessa at the first view, in which case the name seems to be Hebraeo-Syriac (אדסס, אדסס, חמל \$, or see nr. 24), but the normal adverb from the name Edessa were *Edessaeus*, rarer *Edessenus*.<sup>25</sup> As for the initial E transformed into AE, it is a hypercorrection though not too frequent, yet well known in Pannonia,<sup>26</sup> and the Latinity of the inscription is base in other respects too.<sup>27</sup> But there occurs another possibility, which avoids the anomalies of the name, since we know another locality named Αἰδεσσα/Edessa in Macedonia.<sup>28</sup> Though we do not know other people in Pannonia originating therefrom, yet a man born certainly in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. (and probably not in its first years) was nothing more likely to have immigrated to Intercisa from the Syrian Edessa, than from Macedonia. If it were so, we ought to explain his name from another language.<sup>29</sup>

24. RIU 1202: *M. Aurelius Sallumas*, a veteran of the Hemesan cohort, *tesserarius*, inhabitant of Intercisa. He was born in Hemesa, and therefore come into Pannonia with the cohorts, and still living at the age of 80, that is, some time about the 4<sup>th</sup> decade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. His name is openly Hebraeo-Syriac (מל# = מל#) the man himself seems to have been no Jew but a Syrian.<sup>30</sup>

25. RIU 1215 = CIL III 10320: (...) *Monimus Aglavus*, or *Monimius Aglavus*, or *Monimus Aglavi (f.)*, a veteran of an unknown unit, probably in Intercisa, and therefore the unit was most likely the Hemesan cohort, in the 1<sup>st</sup> half

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* p.22, p.158, 260-261, where he does not discern the Macedonian Edessa either.

<sup>26</sup> *Fehér* op. cit. (note 6) IV 3.4.1.1., note 4 with examples.

<sup>27</sup> For the *militavi* S/3 form see *Fehér* op. cit. (note 6) III 3.1.4.2., in his see *ibid.* II 1.4.3., A^NN^S = *annis* and CEI^NER = *gener* with writing failures.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Ptol. *Geogr. hyph.* III 13, 39., VIII 12, 7. It was practically a suburb of Aigai.

<sup>29</sup> It is naturally unlikely, but not quite impossible, since we know the similar Σάλμος name from Thracia (*Fraser-Matthews* op. cit. [note 11] IV 303).

<sup>30</sup> Though *Scheiber* op. cit. (note 1) nr. 7 asserts the contrary; yet the epitaph begins with *D(is) M(anibus)*, which probably indicates that he was a heathen.

of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. His daughter see nr. 36. The first of his names shows his Syrian origin, being the same as in nr. 15-20; it is indifferent whether it was similarly a *cognomen* or used as a *gentilium* (unofficially?); on the other hand, his other name seems to be Greek (ἄγλαός), except for an unlikely possibility it is a Latinization of אגל being from the Mesopotamian city Agel. Whether his native language was Greek or Syriac, we cannot know, even though he was born most probably in Syria, being without doubt over 70 at the time, when the stone was erected.

26. RIU 1073 = CIL III 10307: *Barsemis Abbei (filius)*, a soldier in Intercisa about 240 AD,<sup>31</sup> who was translated into the Hemesan cohort from the *ala Firma Catafractaria*, where he had been *decurio*, born in Carrhae (Mesopotamia), said to be *Chosroenus*. His name is clearly Syriac, but several parallel etymologies can be proposed (perhaps the same as Barsamsus, nr. 3, i.e. אבן שמש son of the Sun or אבן שמש son of servant; or else a colloquial diminutive form, or אבן עור son of the blind one (surely contemporary, being an Edessan Christian martyr's name from Trajan's era), or a Hebraic-Syriac compound with the biblical names חמץ/חמץ (אבן עור / אבן עור),<sup>32</sup> his father's one too: אבן עור = אבן עור pater/patricius, אבן עור = אבן עור or the biblical אבן עור = אבן עור),<sup>33</sup> partly his relatives had oriental names too (see nr. 35, 39).

27. TRH 214 = CIL III 10611 = CIGP<sup>2</sup> 101: Βηνειαμί, Jew, living in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. somewhere in the area of Aquincum.<sup>34</sup> His name is doubtless Hebraic: בן עמי.<sup>35</sup> His father was called Ἀνεστάσιος with a Greek name, which could be the translation of a Hebrew one,<sup>36</sup> his mother Δηκουσσα (see nr. 41), the inscription is in Latin written with Greek characters: seemingly the family's native language was Greek,<sup>37</sup> which is a normal feature for Jews of the western provinces.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Cf. B. Lőrincz, Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit I. Die Inschriften. Wien 2001, nr. 320.

<sup>32</sup> Thus also by Scheiber, op. cit. (note 1) 38, without a detailed etymology. Practically the same name appears in Dacia as *Barsemei* (IDR III/3, 299), *Barsimsus* (CIL XVI 107), which latter favours to our first etymological attempt, but the former to the last variation.

<sup>33</sup> 1Sam 8,2. אבן עור is known in a Christian milieu, as a bishop's name (Payne Smith op. cit. [note 22] 13).

<sup>34</sup> The monument was found secondarily in Albertirsa, in the Barbaricum, whereto it was carried most likely from Aquincum, or perhaps from the neighbourhood.

<sup>35</sup> Scheiber, op. cit. (note 1) 21, nr. 1, speaks for a Greek transliteration *Beniamis*.

<sup>36</sup> Scheiber, op. cit. (note 1) 21: {γϰλ}.

<sup>37</sup> The examples for character mistakes in the Pannonian inscriptions show that there were Pannonians with a Greek native language who tried to express their thoughts on Latin, influenced by the expectancies of their community, see Fehér op. cit. (note 6) VI 1.2.1.8. Generally the rate of those with a Greek native language was certainly higher than those taking it down (ibid. 1.1.1.),



28. RIU 1051 = CIL III 3327: *Cosmius*, Jew, living in Intercisa in the era of Alexander Severus. He held the office of the *praepositus stationis Spondill(...)*, a probably nearby location unknown up to now, and was called *a(rchi)synag(ogus)* in all likelihood.<sup>39</sup> The origin of his name is highly doubtful. *S. Scheiber* proposed some Hebrew etymologies: )msyq or )msq,<sup>40</sup> but these cannot be quite easily transliterated to Latin as *Cosmius*. The same can be said about the Syriac  $\text{ܐܘܟܣܘܣܐ}$  *fortune-teller, seer*, adding that he was doubtless a religious Jew, and a name of such meaning were unlikely for such people. Taking into account that his native language could be Greek even as we see in nr. 27, 29, 40, 41, most easily we may see in it an original Greek name, though certainly it is not a frequent one either.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps we can suppose kind of a double etymology, as in nr. 7.

29. RIU 787 = CIL III 10599 = CIGP<sup>2</sup> 86: *Iudas*. His name is clearly Hebrew in a Grecizing form ( $\text{ܐܘܕܐܝܘܐ}$  =  $\text{אודאיו}$  = 'Ιούδας), though in a queer form of declension (dat. *Iudati*), and since the inscription is partly in Greek characters, we must suppose his native language was Greek, cf. nr. 27, 41. His daughter's name is also oriental (nr. 40). The ending formula εὐλ(ογία) also shows that the family was Jewish.<sup>42</sup> They lived in Solva in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., where otherwise we do not know any oriental persons, and they do not seem to have had any connections with the Ulcisia and Intercisa communities, thus we can get no clear idea about their origins.

30. CIGP<sup>2</sup> 89: Νάουμ. The name appears on a very base gravestone in Aquincum from the 3<sup>rd</sup> or perhaps 4<sup>th</sup> c., where we see no other information about the man; the name is clearly Hebraeo-Syriac ( $\text{ܢܘܘܡ}$  =  $\text{נחום}$ ), a biblical name, and the inscription is Greek, thus we can suspect that he was Jewish, or even possibly Christian.<sup>43</sup> But other proposals, as e.g. that he were a pagan Syrian<sup>44</sup> with Greek cultural background, cannot be excluded either.

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and most of all in the lower layers of the society (as it is the case of this family, judging from the standard of the monument).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *J. N. Adams*, *Bilingualism and the Latin language*. Cambridge 2003, 271–274, for Pannonia *Fehér* op. cit. (note 6) 483–484.

<sup>39</sup> *Scheiber* op. cit. (note 1) nr. 4, where the solution of the abbreviation is reasonably supported with the testimony of another Pannonian Jew's inscription from Moesia, cf. *ibid.* nr. 8.

<sup>40</sup> *Scheiber* op. cit. (note 1) 36.

<sup>41</sup> Exactly in this form, we know it only from a very few pre-Roman occurrences (*Fraser–Matthews* op. cit. [note 11] I 270), but its female form, Κοσμία, is tolerably known in every times (*Fraser–Matthews* op. cit. [note 11] I 270, II 271, IIIa 255, IIIb 244, IV 199: in sum 24 occurrences, 11 from the imperial age). Also male derivative forms as Κοσμίωv, Κοσμια-νός appear rarely in the imperial age (*Fraser–Matthews* *ibid.*).

<sup>42</sup> *Scheiber* op. cit. (note 1) 27: a translation of hkrb.

<sup>43</sup> The same rhythmic formula (cf. *Fehér* op. cit. [note 6] 461 nr. G10) appears in a late Christian gravestone from Sirmium (*A. F. Marsilius*, *Inscriptiones, monumenta, ornamenta, lateres hiero-*

31. CIL III 3490: [...] *Harfuarenus*,<sup>45</sup> AD 228 in Aquincum, called a native Syrian born in *Arfuari* (?), in the land of Doliche. It is disputable whether *Harfuarenus* was his cognomen given from his native land, or simply an adjective of origin after his perished name; anyway it is a Latin derivation from the original Syriac place name. Regrettably the locality is not known otherwise, and therefore we cannot define its original Syriac form.

b) women

32. *BudRég* 14, 1945, 541: *Aelia Cashia*, known from Aquincum, probably late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. She was the wife of *Aurelius Deipas*, *ensor*; neither her nor his origin is known. We can suspect her barbarous origin from the extravagant spelling of her cognomen, the match of which does not appear in Pannonia at all,<sup>46</sup> while otherwise the parlance of the monument is though not classic,<sup>47</sup> yet not too much inferior. Most easily we may suppose a Semitic etymology like nr. 40 and 6, that is, ḥ(y)q = אֱלִיָּהּ, known as a biblical name too. Since her husband had an Aurelian citizenship, it is not unlikely at all, that they arrived from Syria to Pannonia.

33. RIU 1161: *Aurelia Baracha*, inhabitant of Intercisa, died at the age of 35 in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. She was the wife of a soldier of the Hemesan cohort, who had a perfect Latin name: *Germanius Valens*, but perhaps only unofficially, since it seems so from their children's (similarly Latin) names, that he had an Aurelian citizenship. Thus his origin remains unclear, *Baracha*'s nationality is not mentioned, but her name is clearly Semitic: אֲבָרָכָה = *hkrb blessed*.<sup>48</sup>

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glyphicis inscripti, metae, scapi columnarum, urnae &c. omnia ad ripas Danubii in Hungaria inventa atque in XXXI Tab. aere expressa. Bononiae [1722] Tab. 8.), though it was originally a pagan formula known in the whole empire, for its occurrences see *I. Bilkei*, *Die griechischen Inschriften des römischen Ungarns*. *Alba Regia* 17 (1979) nr. 10., in Pannonia see also TRH 48 = CIGP<sup>2</sup> 51.

<sup>44</sup> *P. Kovács* in CIGP<sup>2</sup> 53 takes it for Syrian without doubt.

<sup>45</sup> The locus formerly was read erroneously *\*\*Harta*, for the right reading see *I. Tóth*, *Dolichenus-Basis*. *Alba Regia* 16 (1975) 95 = *I. Tóth*, *Iuppiter Dolichenus tanulmányok* [Studies on I. D.]. Budapest 1976, 161-170, now it is going to be published by *Á. Szabó* in CIL III<sup>2</sup>, and in: *P. Kovács – Á. Szabó* (edd.), *Tituli Aquincenses I*. nr. 374 (in print).

<sup>46</sup> *Fehér* op. cit. (note 6) IV 4.4.2.

<sup>47</sup> *Fehér* op. cit. (note 6) III 3.1.1.5 note 19.

<sup>48</sup> Thus already *Scheiber* op. cit. (note 1) 44 (nr. 6), who gives both etymologies, but favours to the Hebraic one and classifies her as a Jewess, not too much logically. Here even as in nr. 38 we give the feminine words in the *status absolutus*, because the manner of Latinization makes us suspect that this archaic form was still used. Whether it was so in the masculine names or not, mostly we cannot see, because the vocalism of the end syllable is mostly corrupted by the Latinization itself.

Since her epitaph begins with the words *D(is) M(anibus)*, it is not too likely that she would have been in the Jewish religion, therefore the Syriac etymology must be preferred, and (most naturally) Baracha must have been of Hemesan origin.

34. RIU 1182: *Aurelia Immedaru*, inhabitant of Intercisa, died at the age of 24 in about the 2<sup>nd</sup> decade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., born in a soldier's family of clearly oriental origin, cf. nr. 7; her mother, brother, sister and two nephews had Latin or Greek names, yet mostly characteristic for the Intercisan Syrian families (*Silvanus*, *Heliodorus*, *Heliodora*), but her own name is doubtless non-Latin, indeclinable in Latin, and at the first view hard to ascribe to any language. Examining it more closely, I found two Syriac etymologies possible, which were not known as personal names until now, but are tolerably fitting to the situation in the military community of Intercisa: אִרְבָּא אִמְדָּרָא *mother of field* or אִרְבָּא אִמְדָּרָא *my mother is the battle*. However, the transliteration of both of the etymologies is a bit problematic, since otherwise the Old Syriac *â* > West Syriac *ô* was transliterated in Pannonia as *a*, as we can see in our former samples; but every transliterations relish a bit of individual effort, and I cannot see any impossibility in a proposal that in some parts of the community the final *â* sounded more closed than elsewhere.

35. RIU 1073 = CIL III 10307: *Aurelia Thicimim(...)*, inhabitant of Intercisa about AD 240,<sup>49</sup> a relative of *Barsemis* (nr. 26) or his wife *Aurelia Iulia* (maybe their daughter, though the textual structure of the inscription is quite obscure). Since *Barsemis* was clearly Syrian, she must have been the same in all likelihood, and indeed her name is neither Latin nor Greek; yet regrettably I could not find any apt Syriac etymology either. Anyway we know another similar female name from Intercisa (nr. 37), which was given to the wife of a Syrian, and it makes our suspicion even stronger that this is nevertheless a Syriac name. Thus presently we must say: *Thicimim(...)/Ticim[a]* is *presumably* of oriental origin.

36. RIU 1215=CIL III 10320: *Claudia Monimosa*, inhabitant of Intercisa, died at the age of 50 about the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., daughter of nr. 25, whose clearly Syrian name was *Monimus/Monimius*, and therefore the cognomen *Monimosa* must be held for a Latin derivation of the Syrian Μόνιμος = מְלִימּו name. As for the gentilice *Claudia*, theoretically it could have been inherited from the father, if he had been called (*Claudius*) *Monimus Aglavus*, but since he probably came as the soldier of an auxiliary unit into Pannonia in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c., it is far more likely that he had an Aurelian citizenship and his daughter's gentilice is an arbitrarily taken one.

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<sup>49</sup> See note 31.

37. RIU 1194: *Iulia Ticim[a?]*, wife of a soldier born in Hemesa (see nr. 18), still living in Intercisa about the 2<sup>nd</sup> decade of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. Their son already had a Latin name. Though her origin is not uttered, and her name presently cannot be etymologized, the family relation and the evidently related name *Thicimim(...)* (cf. nr. 36) gives reason enough for an assumption that it is a name of oriental origin.

38. RIU 935: [*Septimia?*] *Omaina*, inhabitant of Ulcisia in the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., member of a soldier's family (of the *cohors nova Syrorum*), where all the other members had Greek names (*Theodora, Zosime, Diomedes*). Even these names make probable the Syrian origin of the family, and the name of *Omaina* can be etymologized as a Syriac one (אִמְנָא *craftswoman*) or as an Arabo-Syriac one (that is, אִמְנָא = Lat. *Constantia* in a diminutive form of Arabic fashion).<sup>50</sup>

39. RIU 1073 = CIL III 10307: *Barsimia*, probably daughter of *Barsemis* (nr. 26), and therefore all the circumstances must be the same; her name is clearly that of her father with a Latinizing feminine ending.

40. RIU 787 = CIL III 10599 = CIGP<sup>2</sup> 86: Κασσία (*Iudatis filia*). Her father had a Hebraic name (nr. 29), the family was Jewish, and indeed her name is one of double etymology, seemingly Latin, but it can be the transliteration of a biblical Hebrew name: חַסְיָא (= אִמְנָא).<sup>51</sup> This name is not unique in the Pannonian usage, its parallel occurs in Syrian context too, cf. nr. 6 and perhaps nr. 32 too.

41. TRH 214 = CIL III 10611 = CIGP<sup>2</sup> 101: Δηκοῦσα (?),<sup>52</sup> Jewess, probably Greek-speaking, living in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. somewhere in the area of Aquincum, cf. nr. 27. Her son had a Hebrew name, her husband a Greek one (Βηνειαμί and Ἀνεστάσιος). As for her name, it is neither Latin nor Greek,<sup>53</sup> and consequently it

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<sup>50</sup> We need no longer argumentation for that such Arabo-Syriac diminutives were used in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c., but to mention the name of the king Iulius Odoenathus (= اودانث ). For the *status absolutus* forms, see note 48.

<sup>51</sup> *Scheiber* op. cit. (note 1) 27. The theoretical Syriac name form is not too likely, since on one hand it is less close to the Latin one in phonetics, on the other hand the family was probably Greek-speaking and surely Jewish, but we do not know anything about their accidental Syrian connections.

<sup>52</sup> The form of the name in the inscription is Δηκουσσανι, in dative. It seems to be an example of the *-an-* stem amplification (cf. *Fehér* op. cit. [note 6] III 2.3.6.5. with the known Pannonian examples), because if it were not so, the name were Δηκουσάνης and it is exceptional that 3<sup>rd</sup> decl. names are female (ibid. 2.3.8.1., I. *Kajanto*, The Latin cognomina. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 36/2 Helsinki 1965, 24), not to mention the strong allusions for oriental masculine names with the *-anes* ending, moreover it were inevitably a compound word, yet we would have no clearer Semitic etymology for it – save for some comically absurd variations for a woman's name: אִמְנָא אִמְנָא or אִמְנָא אִמְנָא, 'mad cock' or 'hateful cock'.

<sup>53</sup> *Scheiber* op. cit. (note 1) 21 tractates it as a distorted Greek name, Δικαιοσύνη, which were, according to his opinion, a translation of the really attested Hebrew feminine name חַסְיָא. We can put a series of arguments against this view: first, it were unparalleled and hard to explain, how

must be Semitic, a coherent etymology is very hard to find. The Syriac masculine names that are near to it in terms of phonetics, are Greek/Latin loanwords (SwŭD\**Decius*, Swŭf#*diaconus*), and consequently their female equivalent would have been easily derived from the original Latin/Greek forms, and it is even less likely that it had been a compound name (for it, see note 52). Though it sounds absurd, I must mention an idea that maybe the stone-cutter made a mistake, a metathese of the first and second syllable, and the original reading were Κουδῆσα, with a Greek-Latin or even Hebraic female ending from ἁγία# \$dq *holy, chaste?*

*Appendix.* There are Syrian names known from Pannonia Superior too; on the area which was transferred from Superior to Inferior at Caracalla's redistribution, some names appear already in the era when it was part of Superior, from Brigetio and Solva. There are no traces for an explicit immigration or settling of Syrians into Brigetio, but as for Solva, in the Flavian era the *cohors I Ityraeorum* was stationing there,<sup>54</sup> which makes the occurrence of such names quite natural. The *ala I Ityraeorum*, stationing at the same time in Arrabona, left us a lot of barbaric, mostly Syrian names.<sup>55</sup> These people were recruited certainly in the original home of the unit, where the Ityraei, a tribe of North Arabic origin, had been mostly Aramaic-speaking for about two hundred years.<sup>56</sup> Whether this oriental element could remain here in any extent after the departure of the *ala*, it is presently unclear. When both the units stationed in Inferior in the late Domitian-early Trajan era, they left no oriental names to us, probably the soldiers recruited in Ityraea had retired to that time.

42. RIU 791: *Bargates*, from Solva, personal data unknown. The name is identical with that of *Bargathes*,<sup>57</sup> and certainly Semitic. Its practically only acceptable etymology has been known for long time (ḥt( rb *son of the goddess*

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and why this name would be declined in the 3<sup>rd</sup> declension, when otherwise the Latin of the inscription is base but not unintelligible; practically all the vowels were transformed, some in such exotic way as e.g. ατο>ου, for which there are no parallels in the epigraphic material, not even from far.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit I. Die Inschriften.* Wien 2001, 269, nr. 375-376.

<sup>55</sup> RIU 253, 254. Yet there were soldiers of European origin in the *ala* too, we know at least one sure German (cf. RIU 635), and some Celtic and Pannon names appear too (ibid., or RIU 263). We know far less people from the *cohors* until now, and therefore we cannot form a clear opinion of the rate of Orientals among them, but at least one such Latin name appears, which was mostly given to Celts (TRH 116: *Crescens Iulionis f.*).

<sup>56</sup> For Ityraea, see G. Beer, *PWRE IX 2377-2380*. The tribe lived there in an Aramaic milieu at least from the time of Aristobulos.

<sup>57</sup> RIU 254 = CIL III 4371.

'Atâ).<sup>58</sup> The transliteration is in an explicitly archaic form compared to the above discussed names, with the 'ayn=g identification, moreover it was certainly stabilized, because it occurs in different inscriptions from different units, but since the Ityraei were a non-urban, relatively remote community with Arabic relations, the linguistic archaism is understandable, not to mention that the inscription is one and half a century earlier. On the other hand there is an orthographic variation therein, which fortunately gives us some closer view of the phonetic nature of this name, improving that the intervocalic spirants (so-called *begadkephath* sounds) of the West Semitic languages did exist already in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. Ityraean parlance,<sup>59</sup> consequently probably in the whole Pannonian Syriac linguistic material,<sup>60</sup> but they were taken down arbitrarily with or without a H, and therefore we seldom can detect their presence. The inscription is roughly contemporary with the stationing of the *ala Augusta Ityraeorum*, thus probably Bargates was a member of it or from a member's family; his freedwoman mentioned in the inscription had a Latin name, her origin is unknown, probably local.

43. RIU 551: *Flavius Abbas*, died at the age of 11, in Brigetio, 2<sup>nd</sup> c. (most likely 1<sup>st</sup> half). The name seems to be אבא father/patricius (cf. nr. 26), אבא father (frequent as a personal name too). He was probably the son of *Flavius Antiochanus* (though family relations are not spoken out; perhaps we may think of a younger brother too), if the name is meaningful, the father had arrived from Syria, therefore a Syriac name is not extraordinary.

44. TRH 115: *Soranus Iamelici filius* died at the age of 50 in Solva, in the Flavian era, born as *Ityraeus*, soldier of the *cohors Augusta Ityraeorum*. His name is seemingly Latin, but it is a typically Italian name and rare enough,<sup>61</sup> it is improbable that it had been given to a Syrian barbar in his home, or else that he had changed his name in Europe, therefore we have to seek for a Syriac etymology. Most easily we can interpret it as ארמיוס Syrian – since the Ityraei tribe was of Arabic origin, the giving of a name meaning 'Syrian' as a distinctive feature seems to be possible –, or else ארמיוס, a rarer personal name. His father's name Iamelicus is more openly a Semitic one, but the dialect is to some extent

<sup>58</sup> Beer op. cit. (note 56) 2378. The name was transliterated similarly with the letter G in the compound name form *Atargatis*, but with a 0 character in the supposedly etymologically related divine name of an altar from Brigetio (CIL III 4300 = RIU 473) *Ammudates* (= stone of 'Atâ?'), cf. U. W. Hausig, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*. Stuttgart 1965, 424 – but naturally the stone from Brigetio was erected nearly two centuries later (249 AD).

<sup>59</sup> Fehér op. cit. (note 6) IV 4.4.3.5.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *Baracha*, and probably *Arfuari* – opposed to *Malchiah[nus]*. The *Ticim[a]~Thicimim(...)* doublet is irrelevant, because we do not know whether the sound was + or ʾ.

<sup>61</sup> *Kajanto* op. cit. (note 52) 183, in sum 16 occurrences (some of them republican).

doubtful. The vocalism of the second element shows more a Hebraic than a Syriac form, but then, the man's religion had had to be Jewish too, because the phonetically most reliable form were a theophoric sentence-name |l mh Hy *Yâh the king*. However I think a Syriac name form more likely, which is seemingly phonetically less exactly the same (similarly a sentence-name): אֱלֹהִים *the king lived*, which is neutral in terms of religion, though presumably refers to a deity. Considering what we know about the archaic nature of the Ityraean names, cf. nr. 42, it is not unconceivable that the second element was not yet said in the *status emphaticus*, but in the *status absolutus*, and then it sounded closer to the Latin equivalent.

45–46. RIU 586 = CIL III 11057: *T. Soranius T. f. Felix*, inhabitant of Brigetio (most likely 2<sup>nd</sup> c.), died at the age of 40, born in Archelais (Palaestina or Capadocia) and his wife *Sorania Agathe*. Their cognomina were widely used, mostly in the lower social strata (perhaps the wife was a freedwoman), thus their original nationality remains questionable; their gentilice is unknown from elsewhere. Supposing they came from the Palestinian Archelais, they had lived in a Syrian milieu, where it is quite probable that the man who first achieved the citizenship (father of Felix?) was Syrian and formed his gentilice from an original Syriac name, which was naturally the same as that of Soranus, see nr. 44.