Ephraim NISSAN (London)

Kidor: A TALMUDIC ONOMASTIC PUN, AND HYPOTHESES CONCERNING THE ETYMOLOGY. PART TWO

Abstract. The actual etymology of a peculiar man's name, found in a late antique *nomen omen* tale, has been elusive. Quite possibly, the name was invented for the character in the tale, in order to enable a homiletic explanation illustrating *nomen omen*. It is also possible however that in the broader region, some onomastic item existed which, being somewhat similar, may make it more credible for a tale to claim that a man bearing that name had existed. The dishonest innkeeper Kidor from a Talmudic story had a name that, sounding like negative wording from Scripture, alarmed one sage (because of homiletic etymology), but his two companions consigned their belongings to that innkeeper, who would not return them. *Kidor* (or rather ‹kydwr›) is not easy to etymologise. We progress considerably beyond its scholarly treatment thus far. We marshal onomastic data, make and compare hypotheses. Pre-Islamic Arabic anthroponymy may be involved; a Hebrew etymology is not ruled out. We point out Greek wordplay unlikely not to be detected in the Roman East. In the present Part Two, we continue the etymological discussion of the anthroponomastic item, consider Arabic data from late antiquity, and then focus on a particular Arabic onomastic item that in recent centuries has been culturally loaded across religious denominations, and in the history of religious ideas is likely to continue pre-Islamic lore from the Near East, including some lore that was blended with Hellenistic culture. Whereas we do not identify that name with the onomastic item under consideration with certainty, for the sake of completeness we had to sift through the data, and we have come up with one possibility of identification which may, just may have warranted the claim in the tale that a character was bearing the particular name. It may have made it more "credible", even though in the economy of the tale, the homiletic explanation of the name was sufficient for it being used in the first place.

Keywords: onomastics, Talmud, Arabic, remotivation, botany

Recapitulation of Part One

In Part One of the present study, Sections 1 to 13 were clustered within three themes, whereas Sections 14 to 20 of Part Two fit in a fourth theme. In the first theme of Part One, we introduced as a background the cultural practice of onomastic punning in Jewish texts (early rabbinic, as well as Biblical), and for

comparison we mentioned Roman onomastic wordplay. Theme Two introduced the two versions of the narrative in which the name *Kidor* occurs: a very short text in the Jerusalem Talmud, and a full-fledged tale in the Babylonian Talmud. The setting was either in the Land of Israel, or in some nearby region. The Sages named were from the Land of Israel. We discussed the tale, and in particular the onomastic homiletic aetiology it proposes. We considered folkloric typological facets of that tale, as well as its ironies.

Theme Three began our etymological discussion. We began by sifting data from Tal Ilan's *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity* (2002–2012). We considered her entry for *Kidor* in her prosopography of actual or fictional name-bearers (there only is one Kidor known: the one from the tale), and how she treated that personal name. We then discussed and discarded the possibility of the etymology of the personal name being Persian. We hypothesised that the etymon may be Greek, and found it unconvincing. We nevertheless suggested that bilingual wordplay with Greek may have been a possibility.

We then turned to phonology and phonetic considerations. These are important. Next, we turned to *kidor* as a common name in the Book of Job, to Ugaritic, and to an extant anthroponomastic hypothesis about King Chedorlaomer from the Book of Genesis. It is unlikely that there is any relation to the personal name *Kidor.* We then made considerations about the possibility that *Kidor* is a Semitic personal name from Roman antiquity, and in particular, the possibility that the name is from some Roman-age Arabic vernacular. That in turn is preamble to the present Part Two.

THEME FOUR: FURTHER ONOMASTIC CONSIDERATIONS

14. Harding's Data on KDR in Safaitic Anthroponymy and Sabaean Toponomastics

KDR is also found among pre-Islamic names.[1] Lankester Harding's *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions*[2] (1971) has data of interest for our discussion of *Kidor*. In my opinion, the initial *kaf* in the spelling in the Hebrew alphabet of the name *Kidor* the way it appears in the Kidor narrative from the Jerusalem Talmud and Babylonian Talmud reflects the phonetics of [χ] rather than [k] (see Sec. 10 and note 40 on pp. 160–161, 165–168 on historical phonetics). Therefore, we are going to concern ourselves also with such Arabian

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[1]   While remarking about my quotation from Tal Ilan's (2002) entry for *Kidor* (see Sec. 7.1 in Part One of the present study), the referee remarked, with some incredulity, and rather thought of the Biblical ethnic Qedar, apparently associated with some Arab tribes: "'[…] is recorded as a name for Arabs (Harding […]' – but isn't that a cognate of Hebrew *qedar* (Genesis 25:13 and elsewhere in the Jewish Bible), that is,

PART ONE

1. Introduction

THEME ONE: ONOMASTIC WORDPLAY
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3. Roman-Age Onomastic Wordplay: Jewish, Roman, or Both

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4. Anthroponymy as Being a Cue for Evaluation of the Name Bearer: The Case of *Kidor*
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10. Why the Initial *Kaf* Letter?
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12. On a Few Biblical and Ugaritic Lexical or Onomastic Items
13. May *Kidor* Be a Semitic, Indeed Arabic Personal Name from Roman Antiquity?

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PART TWO

Recapitulation of Part One

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    16.1. Semantic Motivation from Greenery
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18. On Some Lore Mutating Across Denominations
19. An Onomastic Pun with Phytonymic Remotivation
20. Concluding Remarks

APPENDIX A: Manipulation of Personal Names in Josephus Flavius
APPENDIX B: Personal Names Suggesting a Bad Sense in the Hebrew Bible
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Table 1. Structure of the two parts of this study.

names from Harding's index that have an initial letter *ḫ* (which Harding transcribes as H̱), rather than an initial *k* as in KDR.

In Harding's "Index of Names", the abbreviations occurring in what I am quoting from it stand for the following:

A. Personal name, either the first name in a text of a name preceded by *bn*.
B. Name following a personal or tribal name, but connected by *d̲*, *d̲t*, *d̲y*, *d̲ty*, etc.
D. Town, country, district, area, valley, etc.

Harding's book contains an index in which, for the rows in each entry, a table follows which provides a count of occurrences in various ancient Arabian languages: L (Liḥyanite), S (Safaitic), T (Thamudic), H (Ḥaḍrami), M (Minaean), Q (Qatabanian), and Sa (Sabaean). A column in the table corresponds to each language. A caveat is given, concerning the count given in that table in the index:[3] "the same person is often named in a number of different texts, perhaps in widely separated publications, and it would be a lifetime work to sort them out. An obvious example is at the Cairn of Hani' […], where the name Hani's occurs 101 times and 99 of these are the same person; these should count as only three examples."

Harding has the following entries (only the first three columns are given verbatim, whereas the third column summarises what is found in Hasting's table to the right of the entry):

KDR	Ar. *kadir*, troubled, vexed, etc.	(Harding, p. 496)
	See also *s̲mkdr*?	
A.	C233, 459, etc.	(10 occurrences: Safaitic)
	WH 274, 1747, etc. LP 102, 116, 1267	(10 occurrences: Safaitic, totalling 20)
D.	C 541/21. R 3949/2.	(2 occurrences: Sabaean, totalling 2)

with ‹q› rather than *‹k›? Have you not miscopied from Ilan? Or, if you have, might Ilan be mistaken with regard to the first letter? What is Harding's romanization of the 'Arabian name', is his romanization right, and what is the spelling he found? (In general, bear in mind that Gerald Lankester Harding was an archeologist, not a linguist.)" As can be seen in the present section, Harding does have an entry KDR indeed. I am not surprised by the referee's surprise. It is worthwhile to record it, because some data defy expectations. May I add that further to the Biblical ethnic name *Qedar*, in early rabbinic Hebrew one finds: "The Kedarites (*qydryym*, *Qeidariyyim? *Qidriyyim?) worship water" (*Ta‘anit* 5b). Also note that the early rabbinic Hebrew agent noun /qaddar/ means 'potter' (cf. Ayali 1984, pp. 56–57). The indication of this profession is found after the personal name from north of Jerusalem (pre-70 CE): "*Yhwntn qdrh* for *Yehonatan qaddara*, "Jonathan the potter" (in Aramaic). It was reported about by N. Naveh in *Eretz-Israel* 10 (1970/1), p. 189. The /qaddar/ is enumerated among such professions whose practitioners are considered for some reason robbers (*Jerusalem Talmud* at *Kiddushin* 4:11, 66b). The verb /qadar/ has two lexemes: 'to perforate' (cf. /qidder/ 'to cut through'), and 'to be or become black (or fig. sad)'.

[2]   Harding (1971) works with transcriptions. It is not in palaeography.
[3]   Harding, p. 3.

where C stands for the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, parts IV and V. WH stands for *4000 Safaitic Texts*, by F. V. Winnett and G. L. Harding [presumably 1978], in preparation around 1969, which is when Harding's preface is dated. R stands for the *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, tomes I–VIII.

15. Harding's Data on Other Pre-Islamic Arabian Proper Names

15.1. Relation to *Khudād* Through Miscopying is Not Cogent

The Arabian name *Khudād* may be relevant for *Kidor*, if we concede the possibility that the final *r* (the Hebrew letter ר) in *Kidor* may reflect a miscopying of *d* (the Hebrew letter ד), and this is also in agreement with the hypothesis that the initial Hebrew *kaf* letter stands for [χ].

This hypothesis of miscopying of *kdd* as *kdr* (whatever the *matres lectionis*), is contradicted however by the homiletic interpretation provided in the Kidor narrative, which definitely requires a [r] at the end of that personal name:

HDD	See *ḫd*; WR 137 *Khudâd*.	(Harding, p. 216)
A.	C 2878.	(only 1 occurrence: Safaitic anthroponymy)
D.	SIJ 127.	(only 1 occurrence: Safaitic toponomastics)

where SIJ stands for F. V. Winnett, *Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*, University of Toronto Press, 1957. Were it not that the homiletic interpretation contradicts the hypothesis of miscopying, the geography (Safaitic in Jordan) would have been quite enticing indeed in an attempt to trace the origins of the name *Kidor*.

15.2. A Safaitic Analogue for an Anthroponym's Semantic Motivation from Chubbiness

Having considered the Safaitic proper name HDD, also consider the Safaitic HD:

HD	Ar. *khadd*, the cheek. See also *bḫdd*, *ḫdt*, *ḫdd*.	(Harding, p. 216)
A.	C 622.	(only 1 occurrence: Safaitic)

It is a personal name, notwithstanding the only *prima facie* awkward semantic motivation possibly being from 'cheek'; cf. the Italian endearing descriptor *paffutello* 'little chubby one' for a baby or a toddler. Perhaps the Jewish Aramaic personal name *Galgula* – clearly motivated by the semantic field of roundness – which Tal Ilan mentions in support of an etymological interpretation of *Kidor* from that same semantic field (on the strength of Hebrew *kaddur* 'ball', 'globe'),

is amenable to semantic motivation from chubbiness? A baby or toddler who is *mudabdab* (chubby: the face or also the rest of the body) is appreciated in modern Arab as well as Judaeo-Arabic cultures.

Harding was able to list such names apparently reflecting an ungainly appreciation (cf. in my Appendix B below), as

<u>HD</u>	Ar. خذَّ to suppurate; or see *'hd*?, *hwd*.	(Harding, p. 217)
<u>A.</u>	C 1016.	(only 1 occurrence: Safaitic)

as well as a name which had it been ḤDB, could have reflected a descriptor (of kinship?) of a hunchback:

<u>HDB</u>	Root unknown.	(Harding, p. 217)
<u>B.</u>	R 3570/1, *dy*.	(only 1 occurrence: Minaean)

where R stands for the *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, tomes I–VIII.

15.3. Coderivatives of <u>HDR</u> (with the Middle Radical Being *Dhal* Instead of *Dad*)

Harding also has the following entries, which are somewhat relevant for the etymological hypothesis for *Kidor* which I am going to propose in the next section, and which I prefer:

<u>HDR</u>	See WR 131 *Khaudhar*; also *hdrn*.	(Harding, p. 217)
<u>A.</u>	TIJ 147.	(only 1 occurrence; it is Thamudic)
	R 4097.	(only 1 occurrence; it is Qatabanian)

where WR stands for F. Wüstenfeld, *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*, 1853, and TIJ stands for G. L. Harding and Enno Littmann's *Some Thamudic Inscriptions from the Hashimite* [sic] *Kingdom of Jordan*, Leiden, 1952.

<u>HDRN</u>	See *ḥḍr*.	(Harding, p. 217)
<u>A.</u>	Ry 341e.	(only 1 occurrence; it is being Ḥaḍrami)

where Ry stands for a long series of articles by Ryckmans in *Muséon*, about South Arabian inscriptions.[4]

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4   G. Ryckmans, "Inscriptions sud-arabes", in *Muséon*. Reference 341e is to the part that appeared in vol. 52, on pp. 203–346. The papers by Ryckmans entitled "Inscriptions sud-arabes" appeared in vols. 40 (pp. 1–50), 45 (pp. 51–114), 48 (pp. 115–154), 50 (pp. 155–202), 52 (pp. 203–346), 55 (pp. 347–358), 62 (pp. 359–443), 64 (pp. 444–498), 66 (pp. 499–518),

16. Our Preferred Arabic Etymological Hypothesis

16.1. Semantic Motivation from Greenery

The Hebrew *ḥāṣīr* 'hay' is a lexical cognate of the Arabic lexical root √*ḥḍr* of the term *áḥḍar* for 'green' (adj.) and *ḥaḍār* for 'greenery'. Arguably pre-Islamic, especially Roman-age onomastic items of Arabic origin transcribed in the Hebrew alphabet, adapted to an Aramaic-speaking environment, can be reasonably expected to exhibit *d* < [*ḍ*] and *k* < *ḥ* or, in Greek transcription, *χ* < *ḥ*. Cf. Sec. 10.

I would like to propose the hypothesis that the name of the character *Kidor* in the Talmudic tale may have existed as a personal name, "*ḥiḍor*" < *ḥaḍər* < *ḥaḍr*, being related to the <u>name *al-Khiḍr*</u> (*al-ḥaḍr* الخضر) ('the Green One') from the Muslim tradition (without the later beliefs and lore associated with the name).

16.2. A Justification for Vowel Dissimilation in **ḥiḍor* Written as כידור

It is important to justify the vowel dissimilation in the form **ḥiḍor* which we hypothesise was rendered as כידור *kydwr* in transcription (bearing in mind the aspiration of the *kaf* with *dageš* in the Roman period). As it turns out, the appearance of *w* transcribing an *o* or *u* vowel is precisely what we should expect, in Mishnaic Hebrew, before the letter *reš* ר /r/. Kutscher stated the following:[5]

> Vowels, as in Galilean Aramaic, preceding labials tended to be realized as *o* (*u*), e.g. מְסֻבִּין > מְסַבִּין (in the *Haggadah* of Passover "reclining") (Ben-Hayyim). ר (*reš*) seems to have had the same effect on vowels as labials. This accounts for forms like קוֹרְדֹּם ≠ < קַרְדֹּם (BH) ("spade"), etc. (also cf. the Greek name of the river יַרְדֵּן = *Yordan(ēs)*).

This strengthens the hypothesis relating the personal name *kydwr* to the Arabic proper name /ḥiḍr/ or /ḥaḍr/ [ḥəḍr]. This may have been a personal name indeed, even though in the Islamic period it had been reserved to a supernatural anthropomorphic being. It is arguably important to understand moreover that a variant of that name has been found in the Judaeo-Arabic onomasticon, as late as the 20th century.[6]

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67 (pp. 519–532), 68 (pp. 533–534), 69 (pp. 535–539), 70 (pp. 540–556), 71 (pp. 557–583), 72 (pp. 584–597), 73 (pp. 598–617), 75 (pp. 618–686), 76 (pp. 687–688), 78 (pp. 689–735).

[5] E. Y. Kutscher, col. 1595, in his sub-sub-entry within the sub-entry "Mishnaic Hebrew" in the entry "Hebrew Languages" of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1972), in the Supplementary entries, Vol. 16.

[6] That there happen to be reflexes in modern Baghdadi Judaeo-Arabic culture, comes as a surprise. When, on 7 June 2012, I tried to find out with Prof. Ran Zadok (an authority on pre-Hellenistic prosopography: see below) what his opinion is of this etymological hypothesis, his gut reaction (he sent me an email in reply) was negative: "I am now

17. Further Reflexes of the Same Etymon in Jewish Onomastics

We now consider again a subject we first raised at the end of Sec. 11.[7] Bowman[8] relates about "the Greek Orthodox shrine of Khadr (St. George) in the nearby Muslim village of the same name", further to his discussion of Mar Elyas. The onomastics across denominational communities in the Levant deserves discussion, especially in consideration of that Christian identification of St. George with a supernatural being, "the Green One", from Muslim tradition who in the Judaeo-Arabic tradition is identified with the Prophet Elijah instead.[9]

It is interesting that transcription with the Hebrew letter *kaf* of a related Judaeo-Arabic name, *Ḫḏūrī* (it is transparently deadjectival, for 'green', 'being green all over' and the like, vs. the unmarked adjective *áḥḍar* 'green'; cf. Italian unmarked *verde* vs. marked *verdeggiante* 'green'), usually romanised as *Khedhouri* or *Khdhouri*, and borne along with the Hebrew name *Eliyyahu*, has led, in Israel, to attraction to the form *Kadduri* (by homography with *kdwry*, 'globe-shaped'), as though the Hebrew noun *kaddur* 'ball', 'globe', was the etymon.

This personal name is خضورى *Khdhúri (Ḫḏūrī)*. Baghdadi Jews whose first name it was, typically but not exclusively used to romanise it[10] as *Khdhouri*.

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travelling in Europe away from libraries and with limited access to internet. So far my only (quick) note is that the surname Khaduri (with Dhad!) borne by Iraqi Jews has nothing to do with Kydwr." It must be said however that I hadn't pointed out as yet my considerations based on rigorous historical phonetics, and the latter's reflection in spelling in the Hebrew script in the Talmudic period. Ran Zadok is the author of *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography* (1988). Moreover, he knows the given present-day ethnic community closely.

[7] Note 58 in Sec. 11 illustrates how easily this onomastic subject can be misunderstood.

[8] On p. 435 in Glenn Bowman's (1993) "Nationalizing the Sacred".

[9] A passage on pp. 434–435 in Bowman's paper (1993) is concerned with a shrine in the Bethlehem district, namely, the Greek Orthodox monastery of Mar Elyas. "George Halweh, a leader in the Greek Orthodox Boy Scout troop which comes from the nearby town of Beit Jala to help in the ceremonies, explained to me that Elyas was a great protector of the Christians during their persecutions, and led me inside to show me an icon of Elijah killing the prophets of Baal. This he told me, with a blithe disregard for scriptural chronology, shows Elyas slaughtering the Jews and Muslims who persecuted the Christians."

[10] This already involves a simplification, as the Arabic letter *dhad* is reduced to a mere *dhal*, as though. The latter is the voiced interdental fricative, i.e., it sounds like the consonant *th* in the English word *although*, whereas Medieval Arab grammarians used to boast of *dhad* ض as being a uniquely Arabic sound, which could also be claimed of ظ (*dha*). The difference between those two velarised consonants is in that in the latter, the tip of the tongue touches the upper lip, whereas in *dhad* the tip of the tongue touches the edge of the upper incisives. In that, *dhad* is like *dhal*, but unlike *dhal*, the consonant *dhad* is velarised. Morag (1995, pp. 275–277) discusses a medieval statement found in Dunash ben Tamim's commentary to *Séfer Yeṣirá*, according to which

Onomastic remarks are opportune, as this proper name has been treated vari-
ously in different contexts. As early as the 19th century families with that sur-
name, interacting with Europeans, simplified its spelling when transcribing it,[11]
by Anglicising or Frenchifying to *Kadoorie* (so the Shanghai and Hong Kong
tycoon and philanthropist Sir Elly Kadoorie[12]) or *Kedourie* (so in British academia
the late London-based Orientalist Elie Kedourie).[13] In Israel, in a Hebrew-speaking

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Dunash's own teacher, the physician and philosopher Isaac Israeli, used to pronounce
the non-[d] allophone of the Hebrew letter *dalet* ד (phonemically /d/, now always [d],
but in some ancient traditions with two allophones: [d] and [ð], the latter like in the
English word *although*) like the two Arabic letters ظ and ض but he would only read
ظ for ד in the word אפדנו as found in *Daniel*, 11:45, and he would only read ض for
ד in the word וידרכו as found in *Jeremiah*, 9:2. That is to say, he would only read ظ
(*dhad*) for ד (*dalet*) in the word *appadnó* (אפדנו) for 'his palace' as found in *Daniel*,
11:45, and he would only read ض (*dhad*) for ד (*dalet*) in the word *vayyadrekhú* (וידרכו)
for 'they bent [their tongue like a bow]' as found in *Jeremiah*, 9:2.

Morag explains that this idiosyncratic pronunciation of Isaac Israeli (who was
personally somewhat awkward), known from nowhere else in the traditions of Hebrew,
must have been motivated by the desire of Isaac Israeli (who was considerably influ-
enced by Islamic culture and Sufism) to endow Hebrew with the consonants peculiar
of Arabic, a reason associated with prestige, and therefore – Morag points out – it is
with a sociolinguistic phenomenon we are confronted. Isaac Israeli was a native of
Egypt and used to reside in Qayrwān. The classic study about him is Altman and
Stern (1958 [1979]). This is Isaac Israeli ben Solomon, a physician and philosopher,
not Isaac Israeli ben Joseph, a 14th-century Jewish astronomer.

[11] Ben-Jacob (1979, p. 179, fn. 32). My comments are in addition to his remark.
[12] The Hebrew first name (the one used for ritual purposes) of Sir Elly Kadoorie (Baghdad,
1865 – Shanghai, 1944) was Eliezer, but the name Elijah was borne by a brother of
his: Sir Elias, d. 1922 (Ben-Jacob 1979, p. 179). As we are talking about a philanthro-
pist whose deeds in that domain were "modern" by 19th and 20th century standards
(such as the construction of schools, hospitals, orphanages, or synagogues catering
to diverse communities of people in Iraq, China, India, Iran, Turkey, Palestine, Syria,
Britain, France, and Portugal, as recorded in Ben-Jacob 1979, pp. 179–181), it may be of
interest to compare this to the traditional kind of philanthropy practised by his father
Ṣāləḥ Khdhúrī (d. 1876): Ben-Jacob (1979, p. 179) points out that he headed the charity
Malbísh 'arummím ("He who dresses the naked": after one of the morning's bless-
ings), providing children from poor families with clothing. Based on the manuscript
of a rabbi's diary, Ben-Jacob records about Ṣāləḥ Khdhúrī that "to every poor maiden
who got married, he contributed a sum of 4,000 ḳuruṣ rayyəj, and an entire roll of
cloth (*ṯūl kām*)". This illustrates a combination of the two kinds of charity: supplying
clothing, and providing dowries. As pious companies arose in Jewish communities
from the Middle Ages on, for various purposes, the name for the charitable company
for providing poor marriageable women with a dowry came to be called 'the *móhar* of
the maidens', which at any rate is the name still formally applied within some Jewish
communities in Italy.
[13] A photograph from 1932, in Zvi Yehuda's (1996) *Jewish Schools in Baghdad 1832–1974*,
p. 40, shows girls standing on the sides of a teacher; she is sitting in front of a piano,

environment, this personal name is usually taken to be *Kaddúri*, which as already mentioned, lends itself to etymological remotivation.

We have already seen that Tal Ilan was willing to list first, among her etymological hypotheses for the anthroponym *Kidor*, an association with the Hebrew for "ball, globe", on the strength of the existence of an Aramaic anthroponym *Galgula*, itself a coderivative of names for 'wheel', 'rotation', and 'skull'.

18. On Some Lore Mutating Across Denominations

The supernatural character of <u>*al-Khaḍir*</u> or <u>*al-Khiḍr*</u> (*al-ḥəḍr*) الخضر ('the Green One') from the Muslim tradition is identified with Elijah by the Judaeo-Arabic tradition, as well as with St. George in Levantine Christian tradition.[14] The name of the former ("Green One") is used as an epithet of the latter (Elijah). Longworth Dames remarked that Khiḍr is "in many parts of India identified with a rivergod or spirit of wells and streams", and "is believed to ride upon a fish": "Possibly in this case there is also a survival of the fish-avatar of Vishnu". In India, the

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under a stripe: "Vive E. S. Kadoorie" (i.e., Elly [or Eliezer, son of] Saleh Kadoorie", and a larger stripe on the top: "A la mémoire de Laura Kadoori [sic!] / Ses pupilles réconnaissantes". These were pupils of the Laura Kadoorie School for Girls of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Sir Elly himself had funded the school in memory of Laura Mocatta, his wife (coming from the elite of British Sephardic Jewry), who had perished in a fire in Shanghai in 1919. It is opportune to supplement this onomastic discussion by remarking that Sir Elly Kadoorie also established (in 1931) the two Kadoorie agricultural schools in Palestine (Sir Herbert Samuel, the first High Commissioner, decided to constitute two of them, on a communal basis): a Jewish one, near Mt. Tabor, and an Arab one, in Ṭul-Karm. The visibility of the *Kaddúri* school may have been a factor explaining why people who would sign *Khedhouri* in English, have been called *Kaddúri* by Hebrew-speakers in Israel, and even in their identity cards, as though by etymological remotivation by the Hebrew adjective *kaddurí* ('spherical'): in Israeli Hebrew, the retreat of the stress is normal, when a word (or a formal personal name) becomes a surname (or an informal first name); e.g., *tappúaḥ* 'apple' > adjective *tappuhí* > family name *Tappúhi*, a Hebraised form of a surname like *Appelbaum*. The Hebrew spelling of the adjective for 'spherical', as well as of the name of the Kadoorie agricultural school, is כַּדּוּרִי (the latter, s.v. in the popular gazetteer כל מקום ואתר which is to Israel what *London A–Z* is to London, in that it is a popular, often reissued work of obvious reference). In the traditional Hebrew script of Baghdadi Judaeo-Arabic, the spelling used to be כדורי (or כָּדּורי with diacritics), and this is likely to have facilitated both the transition to the simplified romanisation, and the evolution of the Israeli remotivated *Kaddúri*.

14   Cf. Nissan (2013 [2014]), Wensinck (1953), Walker and Uysal (1973). The publishing house Peeters in Leuven published in 2008 a special volume of *Aram* (vol. 20), entitled "Prophet Elijah, St George and Al Khodor [sic] & Louis Massignon". Islamic traditions about Khiḍr are the subject of Francke (2000).

name is *Khizr*.[15] A tradition about Khiḍr is preserved in the Ethiopic Alexander romance: "He is said to have become green through diving into the spring of life and thus got his name".[16] Wensinck mentions[17] several identifications of Khiḍr in Islamic traditions:

> The descriptive character of the name al-Khaḍir is so obvious from its meaning that tradition could not but give the hero's real name, as well as his genealogy and date. We find [p. 234:] him most frequently called Balyā b. Malkān. In al-Masʿūdī (Murūdj, iii. 144) the latter is called a brother of Ḳaḥṭān and thus given a place in the South Arabian genealogy. This makes it probable that Malkān is identical with Malkam (I Chronicles, viii. 9), who is also included among the South Arabian patriarchs. This genealogy is next traced back to Shem through Fālagh (Phaleg) and ʿĀbir (Eber) (e.g. al-Ṭabarī […]; al-Masʿūdī […]; al-Nawawī, […]). Is this Balyā perhaps not a corruption of Elia which is identical with the Syriac form of the name Elijah? On the other hand, Elijah is also given in the Muslim form Ilyās as al-Khaḍir's proper name and also Elisha, Jeremiah […],Khaḍrūn […].

Even if we are to ignore the symbology of the colour green (cf. Pastoureau 2014), and the occurrence of a green humanoid magical character in different cultures, and choose to confine ourselves to only considering the character from Islamic tradition, and co-territorial Jewish and Christian identifications, at any rather this matter is complex, and Yassif[18] has pointed out that the original Coranic story of the wondrous, paradoxically behaving ʿAbdallah (identified with al-χəḍr) when he accompanies Mūsa,[19] in the Middle Ages was transferred to a Judaeo-Arabic folktale (known from a written work from North Africa),[20] but as Moses is too important a character in Judaism to be taught the way Mūsa is in the Coranic episode, the two characters became Elijah, behaving paradoxically, accompanied by Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, who in the Talmud is portrayed as meeting Elijah. In another tale, that rabbi dupes the Angel of Death and enters Paradise alive: this

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[15] M. Longworth Dames, s.v. K͟hwādja K͟haḍr, in *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Gibb and Kramers 1953 [1974]), p. 235. Originally in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st edn. Concerning identification in India, Grossato (2004) examines Coomaraswamy (1934, 1938).

[16] On p. 234 in A. J. Wensinck, s.v. al-K͟haḍir (or al-K͟hiḍr), in *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, pp. 232–235.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 233–234.

[18] Eli Yassif, *The Hebrew Folktale* (1994, pp. 294–295; 637, n. 25; 595–596, n. 20, in the Hebrew edition).

[19] *Qur'ān*, xviii.66–80. In international folklore thematics, this is the tale of the angel and the hermit: AT 759 (cf. Yassif 1994, p. 596, n. 20). See a study by Israël Lévi (1884). AT refers to the classification in Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson's *The Types of the Folktale* (1961 sqq.).

[20] *Ḥibbúr Yafé min HaYeshuʿá* by Nissim of Qayrwān, from the first half of the 11th century.

inspired a ballad by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882), *The Legend of Rabbi Ben Levi*.

In the Golan, on the southern slopes of Mt. Hermon, the Banyas creek (Panias, Náḥal Ḥermón), is one of the main tributaries of the River Jordan upstream of where the latter takes that name. Whereas nowadays it's the Dan creek that is considered the main one, in Talmudic times it was stated that the River Jordan's source is at the Cave of Pamyas.[21] Actually, the Banyas gurgles up from a spring fed by Mt. Hermon's melting snow. The very name is from Paneas, and in Hellenistic and Roman times there used to be a shrine of Pan in the area. Several grave sites (sacred for the Muslims and Druze) are scattered near the spring. The most important is Nabī Khaḍr. It is interesting that whereas the supernatural character is named, he is made into a mortal saint (with the rather inflationed title *Nabī*, i.e., 'prophet'). I suggest that perhaps the ancient association of the place with Pan motivated reascription to "the Green One".

That site is located at the top of the cliff above the 'Ein Banyas spring, at the source of the creek. The creek runs along different landscapes, but its initial trait is characterised by annual flora on the banks, but the medicinal birch and the myrtle feature prominently.[22] This illustrates a site that has been sacred even as religious identities in the region changed; the names of the sacred characters also changed. On occasion, a character is shared by different denominational traditions.[23]

It is quite relevant that the character of Khaḍr appears to have been known in the Levant (including also Anatolia) from pre-Islamic times, whatever his name was.[24] His Arabic name from the Islamic era perhaps existed in some Arabic dialects already before the rise of Islam, perhaps among tribes settled in the north (in Syria?) and locally acculturated. Did some men already bear that name?

19. An Onomastic Pun with Phytonymic Remotivation

In Baghdad, a Jewish boy or man who would be formally called *Ēliyyāhū* (*'Eliyyáhu*) in Hebrew (after Elijah, but that prophet is called *Liyyāhū* (*Liyyáhu*)

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[21]   Babylonian Talmud, tractate *Bekhorot*, 55a. The same page identifies the town with the Biblical Leshem. The Graeco-Roman name *Paneas* is found in both *Talmudim*, in the Targumim (Jewish Aramaic translations of the Bible, late antique or at any rate, from the first millennium C.E.), and in the midrashic (homiletic) literature in various spellings: פנייס *pnyys* פניאס *pny's* and פמייס *pmyys*.

[22]   According to Uzi Paz, in *Nature Reserves in Israel* (n.d.).

[23]   In particular, near the seashore south of Haifa there is the Cave of Elijah, sacred to both Muslims and Jews. It used to be a place where the insane were taken in the belief that they would be healed, or then they would never recover.

[24]   Hence the title of Walker and Uysal (1973): "An Ancient God in Modern Turkey: Some Aspects of the Cult of Hizir".

in Baghdadi Judaeo-Arabic),[25] and possibly *Lūlī* as an endearing form (cf. *Dūdī* for *Dāhū́d*, the Arabic form, or *Dāwī́d*, the Hebrew form, of 'David'), may also be called *Khdhúri*. That is, if the latter name is mentioned on its own, even though the boy, or the man, got both names.

Khidhr Ǝlyās would be the full name given to the person named after Elijah (not to the Biblical Elijah himself), thus making explicit the identification of the two characters, the Jewish Elijah[26] and the wondrous character from the Muslim tradition. A hypocoristic form is the already mentioned *Lúli* (this one derived from *Liyyáhu*). This hypocoristic is very informal, and the usual name for the person would be a derivative of the Muslim name, "the green one".

As for the onomastic doubleton *Khidhr Ǝlyās*, it is affectionately punning: "the green of *lyās*". In fact it is grounded in Jewish ritual as practised in the given community. In the evening at the end of the Sabbath, during the traditional Jewish *havdalah* ('Setting a Difference') ceremony marking the transition to the weekday, the blessing over scented greens was performed by Judaeo-Arabic speaking Iraqi Jews by this specific choice (no doubt, with climatic factors contributing to which plants were used).[27]

Namely, they used to recite over a twig of *lyās* ('myrtle') the Hebrew blessing over aromatic trees or shrubs (*aṣé besamím*),[28] and then, immediately afterwards, the blessing over leaves of mint, i.e., more generally, the blessing over balsamic herbs (עִשְׂבֵי-בְשָׂמִים).[29] Clearly, the distinction between balsamic trees (that also include shrubs) and balsamic herbs is rooted in Jewish law, and is most definitely not confined to the Iraqi Jewish communal setting.

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[25] There is a fairly extensive scholarly literature about that dialect, including about interference in speech with switches to Muslim Baghdadi Arabic (Blanc 1964, Mansour 1991), and including Far Eastern varieties of Baghdadi Judaeo-Arabic (Wexler 1991). Yet, the dynamics of its sociolects is under-researched (whereas the nuances of Yiddish have understandably received attention in literary studies and in linguistics). The spoken dialect is not identical with the language variety of its written texts (from both Iraq and India); see, e.g., Nissan (2001).

[26] Folktales about Elijah are collected in Peninnah Schramm's (1991) *Tales of Elijah the Prophet*.

[27] The standard book about herbal lore among Iraqi Jews is Ben-Yaacob [=Ben-Jacob] (1992).

[28] The myrtle, the rose, the jasmine, and so forth, are considered to be aromatic trees, rather than aromatic herbs, for the purposes of blessing in Jewish ritual; cf. §§4–6 (p. 97) in Ch. 47 in: Rabbi Haim David Halevy, *Séfer Ḳitsúr Shulḥán ʿArúkh "Meḳór Ḥayyím"* (5735 = 1974/5; edn. consulted: 5745 = 1984/5), a vademecum of practical norms of Jewish ritual and law.

[29] I checked with my informant by means of botanical iconography. The Hebrew name of the myrtle (*Myrtus*) is *hadás* הֲדַס and this plant has a formal prescribed ritual role on the Feast of Tabernacles (unlike the informal role on being chosen optionally for the *havdalah* ceremony), and also has homiletic value in relation to the Biblical character of Esther, whose Hebrew name was *Hadassah*.   ☞

This is how the affectionate onomastic pun [xəðˈrəlˈyaːs] from Baghdadi Judaeo-Arabic usage doesn't exit the sacred sphere; in fact,

- the Prophet Elijah is mentioned;
- a scented plant which is culturally most relevant for the end-of-Sabbath ceremony is also evoked or named.

Prof. Shmuel Moreh (*in litteram*, 24 March 2005), in reply to a concise remark I made about the subject once I had written text upon which this section, offered the following interpretation of Elijah's association with the myrtle (*hadás*) in the Baghdadi Jewish tradition: "Khedr al-Yas, because the Hadas is always green and it symbolizes Eliyahu Hanabi who is said to have risen to Heaven for eternal life". This refers to Elijah ascent to Heaven in a chariot of fire.

Two Baghdadi-born informants, brother and sister (these being my mother and uncle), remember that *lyās* was used at the *havdalah* ceremony, but both of them tend to identify it with the *hadás* whereas the other species used was mint (Arabic *na'nā'*, Baghdadi Judaeo-Arabic *nə'nā'*), while also recollecting the Arabic name *rīḥān*. The name *lyās* was explained by the brother as being a name used specifically by Iraqi Jews, being derived from the reference to Elijah, this reference being justified by the role of smelling the aromatic plant during *havdalah*. The sister recollected that *lyās* was also distributed at circumcision ceremonies. Now – and this appears to be a universal across Jewish communities in Europe, Western Asia and North Africa, as well as their transplants elsewhere – Elijah has a role at *havdalah* ending the Sabbath (a ceremony when hymns are sung, longing for the coming of Elijah who in turn would bring the Messiah), and Elijah also has a role at circumcision (as a patron for the baby).

It is therefore unsurprising that it was in vain that I sought *lyās* in volumes of the series Studia Culturae Islamicae of the Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, of the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies; namely, Ahmed et al. (1979); Honda et al. (1990); Bellakhdar et al. (1982). In the Syria/Yemen volume – *Herb Drugs and Herbalists in Syria and North Yemen* (Honda et al. 1990) – the index of Lynnaean taxa on p. 70, s.v. *Myrtus communis*, identifies the photographed items L26 and Z2, and accordingly, checking on pp. 6–7 among "Samples from Wazzan Drug Store in Latakia", one finds the myrtle product, L26, referred to as *rīḥān* as well as *ḥabb əl-'ās* ('seeds of *'ās*'). Product Z2 on p. 15 among "Samples from Dr. Badr al-Din al-Zaytuni in Aleppo" is called *'ās*.

In Krispil (1989), *Maimonides' Medicinal Plants* (Hebrew), the entry for 'laurel' (p. 106) states indeed the name *'ās* as being the main Arabic name Maimonides uses for the species *Myrtus communis*, and dialectal names are given, in the same quotation from Maimonides, these being the name *rīḥān* as being its best-known name in the Maghreb, and *al-marsīn* as being a name by which the same plant is known from Egypt. The Spanish-born, Arabic-speaking philosopher and jurist Moses Maimonides lived for a while in the Maghreb, and spent the rest of his life in Egypt, where he was the court physician. Krispil, *ibid.*, also quotes from Maimonides a Persian name, *murdashuraj*, for 'mashed myrtle'.   ☞

My mother informs me that the name *lyās* for 'myrtle'[30] was also taken up by Muslim Baghdadis (as they either didn't ascribe any special cultural function to the myrtle, or then at any rate this was a different cultural association *vis-à-vis* the function myrtle has for Jews), and as the Jews (quite a large minority in town) were calling it that way, the outgroup did, too. Consider however that the difference with respect to Aleppo Arabic *ǝl-'ās* for 'myrtle' is small.[31] Perhaps the transition was motivated by the reference to Elyās, i.e., Elijah.

Pay close attention to the name *'ās* for 'myrtle', as we find an Aramaic cognate in a list of tree names in the Babylonian Talmud, tractate *Rosh HaShanah*, 23a. The list consists of pairs of names: the first one in Hebrew, and the second one in Aramaic. One such pair consists of Hebrew *hadás*, followed by the word *'asa*. There is more to it. I tentatively propose that the plant name *lyās* in Baghdadi Judaeo-Arabic (a dialect whose precursor speaking community used to speak the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud until some time after the Arab conquest) may have existed prior to its being associated with Elijah / Elyas, but after the transition to Arabic. One can distinguish a prefixed determinative article *ǝl-* or *l-* in the noun *lyās*, and perhaps originally it was *ǝl-'ās*, which is how in Aleppo they would still call the myrtle when referring to it with the determinative article.

In the "Middle East" volume of the Tokyo series (Ahmed et al. 1979), in the Lynnae-an index for Egypt one finds on p. 41, s.v. *Myrtaceae*, only the clove and the pimento, but no myrtle. The same volume also has a Lynnaean index for Iran (thus, for Persian), in which *Myrtus* is, again, missing from among the *Myrtaceae* (p. 30). In the Lynnaean index for Morocco, for *Myrtus communis* (p. 52, misprinted as *Myrtis*) one finds *rīḥān*. The name *'ās* also appears among herbalists in Pakistan, for the myrtle: see p. 1, no. 1 (and, arguably for the seeds, also as an Arabism, on p. 6, no. 185: *habbul-âs*) among names for herbalist's materials from the Karachi market in Usmanghani et al. (1986) *Herb Drugs and Herbalists in Pakistan*. Likewise, "Myrtus communis (hub-ul-Aas)" is mentioned among "Crude drugs 100 to 200 tonnes sold per annum" by Pakistan, in Shakeel Haider Zaidi's (n.d.) "Existing Indigenous Medicinal Plant Resources of Pakistan and Their Prospects for Utilization" (accessed in Feb. 2005).

[30]   There is no etymological relation to the following. In Latin America and also in the United States, *yas* or *coyo* is the common name for the plant *Persea scheideana*, a relative of the avocado of commerce (*Persea americana*). A close relative is *Persea borbonia*, whose common name is *southern bay*. The genus *Persea* belongs to the family *Lauraceae*, to which also the laurel belongs.

[31]   The entry for the relevant lexical root, √*ʔʔs* (אאס), notated as *''s* in: David Cohen's *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques*, fasc. 1: '/H–'TN (1970 [1994]), p. 1, includes four acceptations, or rather lexemes. In the first one, a conjectural Proto-Semitic term **'ās-* is defined in French as 'myrte' (i.e., 'myrtle'), and is shown to be instantiated in nouns from Akkadian, *as-*, Aramaic, *'āsā*, and Arabic, *'ās-*. The latter Arabic name is, however, polysemous, and the remaining three acceptations in the same entry from the *Dictionnaire* are defined in French as 'tombe' (i.e., 'grave'), 'miel' (i.e., 'honey'), and 'compagnon' (i.e., 'comrade'). For the sense 'myrtle', the following are cited: Zimmern (1917, p. 55); Fraenkel (1886, p. 139); Nöldeke (1952, p. 50); Löw (1924–1934, vol. 2, p. 260); Thompson (1949, p. 300).

20. Concluding Remarks

The present study is concerned with an item of folklore – an anecdote, or rather a folktale clad as an anecdote, which exists in two versions: a longer one from the *Babylonian Talmud*, and a shorter one from the *Jerusalem Talmud*. I tried to treat it in respect of folklore studies, anthroponomastics, and etymology. One of the two referees offered in conclusion the following points:

A. […] the male given name in question is known to occur just once in the extant Hebrew-Aramaic literature: in a brief story the main character of which is a dishonest person.
B. The traditional explanation of the name consists of an etymology ("from the words *ki dor*, literally, 'because generation'"), an etiology ("the name alludes to the words *ki dor* tahpuchot hema" 'because they are indeed a perverse generation' in *Deuteronomy* 32:20), and a conclusion ("the aim of the story is to teach us that if we consider the meaning of people's names, we are less likely to get into trouble" – which, in fact, is stated in the story explicitly: 'What is his name? – He replied: Kidor. Then he [R. Meir] said: Therefrom it is evident that he is a wicked man').
C. Thus, the story is a lesson in anthroponymy: certain personal names are omen names. Not only are omen names not uncommon in Jewish religious literature but *First Samuel* 25:25 IDENTIFIES that kind of name: *kishmo ken hu* 'for as his name is, so is he' (should that verse figure as the oldest publication in a Bibliography of Anthroponymical Literature?).
D. Since it is possible that the traditional explanation of the name is a folk etymology (though I think that the traditional explanation is right), it is worthwhile to consider other possibilities. […]

My own position differs from that of this referee in that my attitude is more nuanced, and not as uncomfortable with our objective inability to reach firm conclusions. Whereas that referee only admitted two alternative possibilities: (a) that (by homiletic intent) the personal name *Kidor* was devised in order to illustrate the wording from *Deuteronomy*; or (b) that the tale is a folk-etymology (I would rather say: an aetiological tale) of an extant name. The referee favours (a). I however, while also favouring (a), nevertheless seriously concede the possibility (c) that devising the tale was facilitated by the existence in the broad region of some onomastic item that could be vaguely evoked, though without the tale actually folk-etymologising it. I maintain that it was absolutely necessary that we painstakingly examine thoroughly the onomastic data we could marshal, even though the outcome cannot pinpoint any name with certainty. In my opinion, the outcome hovers between (a) and (c).

APPENDIX A: Manipulation of Personal Names in Josephus Flavius

Both ancient Romans and ancient Jews played with personal names. At the end of Sec. 3 in Part One, we mentioned the use of possible wordplay by Josephus Flavius when he was naming particular persons. Concerning his youth as an upper-class Jew, Josephus Flavius relates, in his *Life*, 10–12 (given here in Steven Mason's translation,[32] Mason's brackets):

> When I was about sixteen years old, I chose to gain expertise in the philosophical schools among us. […] When I discovered that a certain man by the name of Bannus made his life in the desert, I became his devotee: wearing clothes [made] from trees, scavenging food that grew by itself, and washing frequently for purification – with frigid water, day and night! When I had lived with him three years and so satisfied my longing, I returned to the city.

Mason remarks[33] that some manuscripts "have a single *v*" in the Greek spelling of the name of Bannus, and moreover (my brackets):

> Possibly, this teacher's name should evoke a word-play with the Latin *balneum* ("bath") among the Roman audience. Others (Eisler 1929: 1.xxxvi n. 3, 120 n. 1; Adam 1972: 37) have argued that this form transliterates the man's Aramaic nick-name, itself a corruption of the Greek βαλανεύς: "bath-man". See the different assessments of Feldman (1984: 82) and Cohen (1979; 106 n. 25). Cohen sensibly prefers to understand the name as a version of the better-attested Βανναῖος. But the punning effect may work irrespective of the actual meaning of the man's name.[34]

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[32] From pp. 15–21 in Mason (2001).
[33] Mason, *ibid.*, p. 18, fn. 78.
[34] Mason points out (*ibid.*, fn. 80): "This is a 'desert' with available water and trees, thus the Judean wilderness, where some trees grow and where the winter brings water". As for the bathing habits, Mason observes (*ibid.*, p. 19, fn. 84): "Thus Bannus and Josephus go one better than the hardy Essenes, who also wash, but daily – around noontime – in the cold water for purification". And further on (*ibid.*, p. 20, still in fn. 84, my brackets): "But the frequency of washing suggests that Bannus' regimen is more a matter of cleansing than of ritual purity. This appears to be another area in which, for Josephus, Judean traditions conveniently intersect with Greco-Roman. The Romans had developed the culture of the bath (*balneae*, *thermae*) to a high degree (Yegül 1992: 1–5; Fagan 1999: 40–74). 'Not to bathe would have been un-Roman' (Yegül 1992: 4). Daily bathing was a custom for most, and the cold bath (*frigidarium*) was a standard and challenging part of the bathing sequence (Fagan 1999: 10–11). The combination of physical cleanliness and spiritual/psychological lightness that one felt following the afternoon's bath (Yegül 1992: 30–1) might have been particularly appropriate to certain kinds of philosophical discipline. Lucian's philosopher Nigrinus, however, excoriates the many […] philosophers who order their students to take frigid baths […] (*Nigr.* 27) as a means of hardening themselves – also for the few who apply whips. Josephus appears to be evoking a type of philosopher known well to his readers."   ☞

In his *Life* 48–61, Josephus Flavius relates about the wicked Varus ('twisted'), who was succeeded by the fair Aequus Modius ('fair measure'), but in *War* 2.482–483, Josephus gave his true name, *Noarus*. (Cf. Section 15.) In *Life* 48–61, Josephus tells the story of how Varus, a Syrian of royal ancestry, a subordinate of the Jewish king Agrippa II, schemed in the absence of the latter, and having invited to Caesarea an unsuspecting delegation of Jews from Batanea (the Bashan, east of the Golan), had several Jews killed, both the members of that delegation, and local ones from Caesarea. It was in *War* 2.482–483, that Josephus gave that man's name as *Noarus*. Steve Mason proposes[35] (my brackets):

> In the *War* (2.482–83) he was called Noarus – a slight difference in Greek, but perhaps indicating his native name – and briefly mentioned as a brutal administrator in the absence of Agrippa II, […]. As to the name, it may well be that Josephus changes it to "Varus" in order to get some mileage from the literal meaning – "knock-kneed", but more generally "warped, bent, twisted" – in contrast to Aequus Modius ("fair measure", cf. §61 ["Now when the king discovered that in a single day Varus was about to dispose of the Judeans living in Caesarea, who were many tens of thousands including their wives and children, he summoned him, having sent Aequus Modius as his successor"].

Previously, Mason had explained (*ibid.*, p. 18, fn. 76, my brackets): "It was a basic goal of philosophical training to make one insensitive to all physical hardship, weakness, and desire, to the πάθη. The final test was whether one could face even death with equanimity (e.g., Epictetus, *Diatr.* 3.26.11–14, 21–39). Many philosophers, including Seneca's teacher Attalus, prescribed harsh physical regimens with respect to food, drink, and sex; he also required his students to sit on hard seats (Seneca, *Ep.* 108.14; Clarke 1971: 93). Lucian's *Nigrinus* insists that whereas students of philosophy are commonly subjected by their teachers to whips, knives, and *cold baths* […], to give them hardness and insusceptibility to pain […], these qualities should rather be developed in the soul. He asserts that many students expire from the physical exertions required by other philosophers (*Nigr.* 28)."

It would be easy to conjecture that the young Josephus had lived among sectarian in the desert, perhaps at Qumran. Nevertheless, in the *Preliminary Report* of the Qumran excavations, 1993–2004, Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg have argued forcefully that based on the archaeological evidence, there wasn't any sectarian community in Qumran, only a group of up to thirty persons manufacturing pottery, and that the Qumran scrolls were hidden by fleeing refugees, themselves belonging to all streams of Judaism. They also point out that Josephus maintained that the Essenes were to be found in all towns. Magen and Peleg lay to rest as a scholarly myth – a conceptual artefact that had been accepted as fact for half a century – the notion that a community of sectarian asceticists chose to withdraw to the desert. See especially the 'Summary' (pp. 62–66) in Magen and Peleg (2007). I mention this here not as a supercilious liquidation of such a complex topic as the very existence of a Qumran community; rather, I am just signalling the existence of such a viewpoint.

[35] Mason (2001, p. 52, fn. 291).

Varus is a widely attested *cognomen* (cf. Kajanto 1965:242). As Corbeill (1996:95–6) points out, such alteration of names for rhetorical purposes (e.g., calling a sharp-tempered Placidus "Acidus") was considered somewhat lame by Quintilian (*Inst.* 6.3.53).

Of Aequus Modius, Mason claims (2001, p. 56, fn. 326, my brackets):

Nothing is known of this man outside of the *Life*, […] In §§180–81 he will be called "Modius Aequus" and simply Modius, indicating that Modius is the *nomen* and Aequus the *cognomen*. […] Yet here and at §114 the order is reversed. If we ask why Josephus should reverse the names at this first occurrence, the reason may lie in their literal meaning: "fair [*aequus*] measure [*modius*]", which suits the character's role as a trustworthy "white knight", finally bringing justice to repair the damage done by Varus (literally: "twisted, knock-kneed, warped, bent"). On the use of names to score rhetorical points, see Cicero, *Att.* [= *Epistulae ad Atticum*] 2.1. (where Cicero's nemesis P. Clodius Pulcher is called Pulchelli, "that little beauty") and Corbeill 1996:57–98.

The modification of the name of P. Clodius Pulcher is a regular diminutive derivation from *pulcher* as being an adjective for 'beautiful' in the Latin lexicon.

APPENDIX B: Personal Names Suggesting a Bad Sense in the Hebrew Bible

As announced in a note of Sec. 7.1, the referee's assumption excluding actual personal names suggesting a bad sense, as though persons bearing such names do not occur, must not go unchallenged. We do find such given names in the Hebrew Bible, mainly because of double senses one of whose semantic elements often eludes us: we notice the bad sense, but do not know the presumably good or at any rate non-negative sense that inspired the personal name. We miss out on lost lexemes. So many other personal names in the Hebrew Bible are etymologically obscure, thus reminding us that textual corpora do not document an *état de langue* exhaustively, let alone the complexities of contact linguistics. Besides, the practice of bestowing given names taking inspiration from an event or situation (e.g., co-wives' rivalry) is well documented in *Genesis* (e.g., chs. 29–30). After a national and family calamity, the widowed daughter-in-law of the high priest Eli names her newborn son *Ichabod* 'dishonour' (*1 Samuel* 4:21). That situational personal naming practice however appears to have no longer been applied in post-Biblical times in Jewish culture(s).[36]

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[36] Up to modern times, however, a baby may be named by reference to a festival coinciding with the birth.

The Zulu practice of bestowing personal names as a form of social commentary (censure, discontent and disapproval) was researched by Noleen Turner (1992); also Susan Suzman (1994) was concerned with Zulu personal naming practices. Richard Alford's book (1988) is a cross-cultural study of personal naming practices.

The referee report itself referred elsewhere to *1 Samuel* 25:25 ("He is like his name"): Abigail, the brave wife of the landowner Nabal the Carmelite, prevents David's militia killing their household (V. 34: "leaving nobody who would piss into a wall")[37] in revenge for Nabal's insult. She gives them the reward Nabal denied them. She concedes that Nabal is, as his name suggests, a mean and obscene fellow.[38] Is this a substitute name (like *Mahlon*[39] and *Chilion / Kilyon*[40] in the Book of Ruth)? That would be farfetched. I suggest Nabal's parents can be assumed to have intended a better sense (did they liken that baby's wails to the sound of a nebel, a lyre? The spelling is *nbl*, only the vowels differ); unless the baby getting that name was an echo of discontent for some given situation.

Şĕrōr, the name of King Saul's great-grandfather (*1 Samuel* 9:1), could be understood to also mean 'satchel', 'knot' or 'pebble', but surely this has nothing to do with *Pebble* being the name of the Stone Age couple, Fred and Wilma Flintstone, from Hanna & Barbera's animated films, *The Flintstones*. The name *Şĕrōr* resembles the imperative expressed as an infinitive *şārōr* 'hate!' (*Numbers* 25:17), and *şĕrōr* '[co-wife] rivalry' (*Leviticus* 18:18). Perhaps the semantic motivation for the personal name came from a likeable concept like the one expressed by *şĕrōrhammor* 'satchel of myrrh', a perfume (in *Song of Songs* 1:13 it is applied to the beloved man).

Būz was a Gadite (*1 Chronicles* 5:14), notwithstanding *būz* 'contempt'. A son of King Rehoboam was Záham (*2 Chronicles* 11:19), whose name suggests 'filth'. The given name of Jeroboam's mother (*1 Kings* 11:26) was *Şĕrū'ā*, which also means 'leper' (f.), yet is a personal name, not a descriptor (she is described as a widow). Arguably it either was a variant of *Şĕrūyā,* the name of David's sister, or (cf. in Arabic) it was **Şĕrūġā*, lit. 'little one' (f.), with the Hebrew letter *'ayin* representing here the same phoneme as the Arabic letter *ghayn*, thus the voiced velar fricative rather than the voiced pharyngeal fricative.

Tōlā', as both a son of Issachar and later a judge (*Judges* 10:1) were called, means 'worm', but surely 'vermilion' was intended (as such is the semantic shift

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[37] This is traditionally interpreted as leaving no male human alive, or not leaving even a dog.
[38] In the *Babylonian Talmud* at *Pesaḥim* 111b, the genius of poverty is called *Nabal* (Jastrow 1903, s.v., renders its literal sense as "Filth").
[39] Transparently derived from a term for 'illness'.
[40] Literally, 'extinction'. Kilyon is taken to be Orpah's husband. Ruth's first husband instead is only "Illness", because his lineage is to be continued vicariously through the son Ruth has from a kin, Boaz, her second husband.

between the two concepts in Biblical Hebrew). The name *Caleb* (*Kālēb*, spelled *klb*) of a prominent Judahite of Joshua's generation may have been inspired by the courage of the dog (*kéleb*, spelled *klb*), but the dog was reviled by the Hebrews like by the Arabs, and yet a famous Arab tribe was called *Kalb* (lit. 'dog'). A Nethinean bore the name *Ḥāgāb* ("the sons of *Ḥāgāb*", *Ezra* 2:46), but there is a double sense with 'grasshopper' (and in an allegory at the end of *Ecclesiastes* it also means the *membrum virile*). Another Nethinean (*Ezra* 2:54) bore the name *Ḥăṭīfā*, which suggests the sense 'kidnapped' (but to Israelis, also 'snacks', in the sense of snack food). The male name *Yāšēn* (*2 Samuel* 23:32) also means 'asleep', but it corresponds to *Hāšēm* (clearly a cognate of Arabic *Hāšim*) in a parallel text in *1 Chronicles* 11:34. The name of the Asserite ʿOkrān, *ʕoχrān* (*Numbers* 1:13) suggests 'one who makes turbid', and even suggests a curse (*Joshua* 7:25). *Qōṣ*, the name of a Judahite (*1 Chronicles* 4:8) and of a priest (*Ezra* 2:61), also means 'thorn'. *Ḥārīf* (from *Nehemiah* 7:24) suggests 'sharp', 'pungent', 'smart', but *Ḥārēf,* the name of a Calebite (*1 Chronicles* 2:51), suggests 'reviler', 'blasphemer'. *Ḥătat*, the name of a Judahite (*1 Chronicles* 4:13), may suggest 'terror'. *Ḥăṭīṭā* was the name of a Levite (*Ezra* 2:42); it sounds like terms for 'hollowing out' or 'digger' (Jastrow 1903, p. 449), but Israelis would rather think of boils, furuncles. *Ḥărūmaf* (*Nehemiah* 3:1) in Israeli Hebrew means 'pug-nosed' (cf. *Babylonian Talmud*, *Berakhot* 43b). The name *Hārim* of several men in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is written *ḥrm* – like the spelling of the term *ḥérem* for 'ban' (which in antiquity would be suggesting one declared *īš-ḥérem* = Latin *homo sacer* and thus condemned to death). *Gālāl*, the name of a Levite (*Nehemiah* 11:17, *1 Chronicles* 9:15), reminds of a Hebrew term for 'faeces', but is certainly a cognate of the Arabic given name *Jālāl*; and yet, these two are not instances of a semantic shift from 'faeces' to reference to one's offspring (possibly to avert the evil eye, or to mislead demons), known from Canton Ticino and around Lake Como, and which I discussed elsewhere (Nissan 2011).

Acknowledgements

Ephraim Nissan
282 Gipsy Road
Welling, Kent DA16 1JJ
England, United Kingdom
[ephraim.nissan@hotmail.co.uk]

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