



---

Some Observations on the Name of Palestine

Author(s): LOUIS H. FELDMAN

Source: *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. 61 (1990), pp. 1-23

Published by: Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23508170>

Accessed: 17-06-2016 03:29 UTC

## REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

[http://www.jstor.org/stable/23508170?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references\\_tab\\_contents](http://www.jstor.org/stable/23508170?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents)

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<http://about.jstor.org/terms>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).



*Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion* is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Hebrew Union College Annual*

# Some Observations on the Name of Palestine

LOUIS H. FELDMAN

*Yeshiva University*

When Herodotus in the fifth century B.C.E. mentions Palestine he refers only to the coastal area, so called because it had been inhabited by the Philistines; or he is speaking loosely, since the only part of the area that he had visited was apparently along the coast. During the Persian and Ptolemaic periods, the entire area between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean from Cilicia to Egypt is called *Coele-Syria*. The term *Judaea*, as used by such writers as Hecataeus of Abdera, Clearchus of Soli, and even the anti-Jewish Manetho in the early third century B.C.E. refers to that part of the area inhabited predominantly by Jews. That the official term for this region is *Judaea* may be seen from military diplomas and other inscriptions, as well as from coins, prior to the time of Hadrian. It is so designated in the official letter of the Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians in the first century, as well as by such writers as Plutarch, Tacitus, and Suetonius at the beginning of the second century. Moreover, writers on geography in the first century clearly differentiate *Judaea* from Palestine. Even vicious anti-Jewish writers, such as Apion, Chaeremon, and Seneca in the first century, generally do not use the term *Palestine*. Jewish writers, notably Philo and Josephus, with few exceptions refer to the land as *Judaea*, reserving the name *Palestine* for the coastal area occupied by the Philistines. It is only centuries later, in perhaps the fifth century, that we find the name *Palestine* in a rabbinic work. Occurrences of the adjective *Palestinian* in such poets as Tibullus, Ovid, and Statius are due to metrical considerations; *Palestinian* as a noun does not occur in all antiquity. Coins of Hadrian issued before the Bar Kochba rebellion in 132 C.E. refer to *Judaea*; within a few years after the rebellion the name of *Judaea* was officially changed to *Palestine*, the aim being to obliterate the Jewish character of the land, with the name of the nearest tribe being applied to the entire area. Yet, even after the name was officially changed, some inscriptions, as well as such literary figures as Galen and Celsus in the second century, Dio Cassius and Origen in the third century, and Eusebius and Jerome in the fourth century, still refer to *Judaea*.

## I. THE NAMES OF PALESTINE BEFORE THE EMPEROR HADRIAN<sup>1</sup>

During the Middle Kingdom and up to the Nineteenth Dynasty of the New Kingdom (1314 B.C.E.), before the region of Palestine was conquered by the Israelites, the Egyptians called it, together with part of

(1) For a very brief survey of the various names of the geographical area known as

Syria and Lebanon, *Retenu* (*Rtnw*). Thereafter, and even as late as the year 238 B.C.E. in the Ptolemaic period, it, together with central and southern Syria, was referred to as *Hurru*, after the Horites, who inhabited it.<sup>2</sup> The term *Canaan* first appears in documents from the fifteenth century B.C.E.,<sup>3</sup> notably the Tell el-Amarna letters. This is the name of the region to which the Israelites arrived after their exodus from Egypt. The area inhabited by the Israelites came to be known as *Erez Benei Yisrael* 'Land of the Children of Israel' (Joshua 11:22) or *Erez Yisrael* (1 Samuel 13:19). After the division of the kingdom, in the tenth century B.C.E., the northern part became known as *Israel* (or Ephraim or Samaria), and the southern part as *Judah*. The southern coast, inhabited by the Philistines, was known as *Philistia* (cf. Isaiah 14:29, 31 and Assyrian documents of the period),<sup>4</sup> while the northern coast was known as *Phoenicia*. During the Persian period, commencing in the sixth century B.C.E., the territory was known as *Yehud*, as we can see from the Bible (Daniel 2:25, 5:13, Ezra 5:1, 5:8), from coins<sup>5</sup> and from jar-handles.

Hence, when Herodotus (3.91), the first classical writer to mention *Palestine*, speaks of the fifth province of the Persians as including Phoenicia and the part of Syria called Palestine and Cyprus; the part of Syria called Palestine either refers only to the coastal area, so called because it had been inhabited by the Philistines, or he is speaking loosely, since the only part of the area that he had visited was apparently along the coast. Hence he called the whole land by the name of the coastal strip. That Herodotus has in mind the coastal strip may be inferred from the fact that he mentions (4.39) the peninsula running from Phoenicia beside the sea by the way of Syrian Palestine (literally Palestinian, that is Philistine, Syria). He likewise mentions (7.89) the Syrians of Palestine (again, presumably, he is thinking of the people along the coast) in juxtaposition with the famous seafarers, the Phoenicians, as furnishing no fewer than three hundred ships to the Persians during the second expedition against Greece. If we hear (1.105) that the Scythians were met in Palestinian Syria by Psammetichus, the Egyptian king, it seems likely that the reference is to the coastal area formerly inhabited

---

Palestine, see Michael Avi-Yonah, "Palaestina," *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Suppl. 13, 322–323 (München: Druckenmüller, 1973).

(2) See Abraham J. Brawer, "Israel, Land of: Name," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 9:108 (Jerusalem: Macmillan, 1971).

(3) Bustanay Oded, "Canaan, Land of," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 5:98.

(4) See Jonas C. Greenfield, "Philistines," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 13:399.

(5) See, for examples, the illustrations in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 3:399; 5:698; 8:625.

by the Philistines, inasmuch as we read immediately thereafter that they withdrew by way of the coastal city of Ascalon, which Herodotus locates in Syria. When Herodotus (3.5) tells us of a road which runs from Phoenicia as far as the borders of the city of Cadytis (probably Gaza), "which belongs to the so-called Syrians of Palestine," he again seems to be referring to the coastal area of the Philistines.

A problem arises in the passage where Herodotus (2.104.3) asserts that the Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge of themselves that they learnt the custom of circumcision from the Egyptians. The reference here cannot be to the Philistines, inasmuch as they were uncircumcised (Judges 14.3, etc.). While it is true that Josephus, half a millennium later (*Antiquities* 8.262 and *Against Apion* 1.168 ff.), was convinced that the reference was to Jews on the grounds that they alone of the inhabitants of Syria practiced circumcision, other peoples in the region were likewise circumcised, as Jerome (*Commentary on Jeremiah* 9.25–26) notes; or, more likely, Herodotus' information is derived from second-hand sources (travel inland from the coast was particularly difficult and dangerous in those days)<sup>6</sup> which confused the Philistines with the Jewish inhabitants of the region. Indeed, the fact that he couples the Syrians of Palestine with the Phoenicians may be a clue to the fact that he is thinking of the peoples who live, as the Phoenicians did, along the coast.

A similar confusion may be seen in Aristotle's reference (*Meteorologica* 2.359a) to a salty lake, obviously the Dead Sea, in Palestine in which it is impossible to sink. Again, the most probable explanation is not that Aristotle uses the name of Palestine in a broad sense but rather that he has derived his information second-hand, as we can see from the introduction to his statement — "If there were any truth in the stories they tell about the lake in Palestine." The same kind of misinformation may be found in the remarks of such later writers as the third-century B.C.E. Xenophilus (*ap.* Antigonus of Carystus, *Historiarum Mirabilium Collectio* 151), who speaks of the lake near Jaffa, as well as in Vitruvius (*De Architectura* 8.3.8), who imply a connection of the Dead Sea with Jaffa.

If we seek the name of the entire area of what is today Syria and Israel during the Persian period, we find that it is called *Coele-Syria*.<sup>7</sup>

(6) See the comment by Arnaldo D. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*, 74 (Cambridge: University Press, 1975).

(7) See Abraham Shalit, "Koile Syria from the Mid-Fourth Century to the Beginning of the Third Century B.C.," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 1 (1954) 64–77, who concludes that the term "Coele Syria" incorporates three geographical areas: the valley between Mount

Indeed, in Herodotus (3.91), Coele-Syria is the name given to the fifth satrapy of the Persian Empire and refers to the lands between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean from Cilicia to Egypt. This is the name found in the fourth-century Ctesias (*ap.* Diodorus 2.2.3) and Pseudo-Scylax (in Carolus Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 1.104, p. 79 [Paris, 1855]). Apparently, in the fourth century B.C.E. at least,<sup>8</sup> the term *Coele-Syria* encompassed the entire Persian province of *Ἐβερ Ναχαρα*, i.e. Syria, as we can see from two sources, Ctesias (*ap.* Diodorus 2.2.3) and Pseudo-Scylax (104). The latter refers to the territory of the Persian province by three names, Syria, Coele-Syria, and Syria and Phoenicia. Hence, there was no difference between Coele-Syria and Syria.<sup>9</sup> The term, it would seem, came to be restricted to the southern part of Syria when Ptolemy Lagus of Egypt conquered this part of Syria in 301 B.C.E. By continuing to use the term *Coele-Syria*, he, in effect, asserted his claim to the whole of Syria.<sup>10</sup> This restriction of *Coele-Syria* to the southern part of Syria is in accord with its usage in Clearchus of Soli (*ap.* Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.179) in the third century B.C.E., who does not seem to make any distinction between Syria and Judaea, inasmuch as he states that the philosophers in Syria are called by the territorial name of Jews and that the district which they inhabit is known as Judaea. Theophrastus (*Historia Plantarum* 2.6.2), though speaking of the palms of Coele-Syria, presumably has in mind, as Stern<sup>11</sup> has concluded, the world-famous palm trees of Jericho and hence must have identified Judaea with Coele-Syria. Similarly, when he (*Historia Plantarum* 2.6.8) speaks of the dates that grow in the Valley of Syria,

---

Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, the region south of Damascus and east of the Jordan River, and Palestine and Transjordan together.

(8) See Menahem Stern (ed.), *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, vol. 1, 14 (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974).

(9) So Shalit, 70, who suggests that the origin of the term *κοίλη* is from the Hebrew *kol* or *kola*, i.e. 'all'. The term would then indicate the entire area from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean. But aside from the problem of explaining the *-oi-* in *κοίλη*, we would still have to explain the occurrence of the term *koile* in Greece in the expressions *κοίλη Λακεδαιμίων* (Homer, *Odyssey* 4.1), in connection with Sparta, and *κοίλη Θεσσαλῆς* (Herodotus 7.129), in connection with Thessaly, as noted by Elie Bickerman, "La Coelé-Syrie, notes de géographie historique," *Revue Biblique* 54 (1947) 257.

(10) So Shalit, 75–76. Note, however, that an inscription (Wilhelm Dittenberger, *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, vol. 1, no. 54, line 7 [Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903]) from Adoulis in Eritrea, dating from the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes (247–221 B.C.E.), refers to Syria and Phoenicia. So also Theocritus 17.85–86, dating likewise from the third century B.C.E.

(11) Stern (above, n. 8), l. 14. This conclusion is reinforced, as Stern remarks, by the reference that follows to the Valley of Syria (presumably an allusion to the valley of the Jordan River) where, we are told, are grown the only dates that will keep.

he is probably referring to those that grow in the Jordan Valley. The term *Coele-Syria*, however, as used by Polybius,<sup>12</sup> in speaking of the revolts in Egypt of 222–220 B.C.E., apparently covered vaguely, in conjunction with the name *Phoenicia*, the whole area between Egypt and Cilicia. A Greek inscription found near Hefzibah in northern Israel<sup>13</sup> records orders given by King Antiochus III and his son in 202–201 B.C.E. for the benefit of Ptolemaios son of Thraseas, the governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. Another inscription from Cilicia referring to the same governor shows that the term *Coele-Syria* was in use after 197 B.C.E.<sup>14</sup> Toward the end of the second century B.C.E., when the Hasmonean Jewish state expanded, the term was limited to the territory in the interior which had not yet been conquered by the Jewish state. In the Augustan Age, Strabo (16.2.21.756) recognizes two senses of the term *Coele-Syria*: in the broader sense, he says, it included the territory from Egypt to Arabia, while in the narrower sense it was limited to the territory marked off by the Libanus and the Antilibanus, as distinguished from the narrow strip of Phoenicia along the seacoast and the territory in the interior “above Phoenicia, as far as the Arabians, between Gaza and Antilibanus, called Judaea.” Strabo’s contemporary, Philo (*Legatio ad Gaium* 36.281), however, apparently does draw a distinction between Judaea and Coele-Syria, inasmuch as in the letter of Agrippa I to the Emperor Gaius Caligula, he declares that Jerusalem is the mother-city not only of Judaea but also of other lands by virtue of colonies sent out to Egypt, Phoenicia, and Coele-Syria. Perhaps, as Smallwood<sup>15</sup> has suggested, Philo understood the term *Coele-Syria* to refer to the Decapolis (ten cities to the east and west of the northern part of the Jordan River); and, indeed, the coins of the Decapolis indicate that it was called *Coele-Syria*. Nevertheless, Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 5.74,

(12) See Giuseppe Corradi, *Studi Ellenistici*, 48–55 (Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1929); and F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 1, 564 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957), on Polybius 5.34.6.

(13) Y.H. Landau, “A Greek Inscription Found Near Hefzibah,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 16 (1966) 54–70. Landau, p. 66, suggests that the name may have been changed from Syria to Coele-Syria when the military operations in this province came to an end.

(14) Wilhelm Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, vol. 1, no. 230 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1903). See Maurice Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecque*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, 160–161 (Paris: Boccard, 1968); and Roger S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* 15, n. 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1976).

(15) E. Mary Smallwood (ed.), *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium*, 294 (Leiden: Brill, 1961). Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule from Pompey to Diocletian*, 45, n. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1976), remarks that in the Hellenistic period the term Coele-Syria refers to the Decapolis, to the valley between Lebanon and Antilebanon, and to Palestine and southwest Syria together.

77) and Strabo (16.2.16.754) do draw a distinction between the Decapolis and Coele-Syria. In Josephus (*Antiquities* 13.355–356, 392; 14.79, 16.275; and *War* 1.103–104, 155) Coele-Syria, as in Philo, refers to the Decapolis, although he does use it to refer to other areas as well. In Ptolemy (*Geographia* 5.12.22–23), Coele-Syria refers to the Decapolis plus some other cities.

The term *Judaea*, apparently, is used by pagan writers as early as 300 B.C.E., inasmuch as Hecataeus of Abdera, the first classical writer who has any considerable amount of information about the Jews and who wrote at about this time, is quoted by Diodorus (40.3) as using it. The term *Judaea* was used by Hecataeus' contemporary Clearchus of Soli (*ap.* Josephus, *Against Apion* 1.179); and even the anti-Jewish writer, Manetho (*ap.* *Against Apion* 1.90), writing a generation later, employed it to define the area where the Hyksos went upon their departure from Egypt, stating that they traversed the desert to Syria and there built a city "in the country now called Judaea." Inasmuch as the Jewish state in Strabo's era occupied only a portion of this territory, we may guess that the application of the term *Judaea* to it was due to the fact that the population was predominantly Jewish, and that this Jewish population was considerable.<sup>16</sup> The same Strabo (16.2.2.749), however, notes that some writers, presumably reflecting the situation that existed before the twenties of the second century B.C.E., prior to the merger of the Idumaeans into the Jewish state, while dividing Syria as a whole into three parts, refer to the last as Syria rather than as Judaea and declare that four other tribes are mixed up with the Syrians, namely, Judaeans, Idumaeans, Gazaeans, and Azotians. With the establishment of the Herodian state and its successor, the Roman province of Judaea, the term Coele-Syria became obsolete. In any case, the term *Palestine* was not in official use, though, as we have seen, it is used by Herodotus (2.104) (and, we may add, by Aristotle [*Meteorologica* 2.359a] in referring to the Dead Sea as being in Palestine); and it is this unofficial use that we find again in the first half of the second century B.C.E., when the historian Polemo of Ilium (*ap.* Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.10.15) states, referring to the Exodus, that a part of the Egyptian army "was expelled from Egypt and established itself in the country called Syria-Palaestina not far from Arabia." The more accurate use of the term *Palestine* is seen in the historian Polybius in the second century B.C.E. (16.40), when he refers to Gitta, "a city of Palestine." Stern,<sup>17</sup> quite correctly, does not

(16) See Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 1, 370–372 (New York: Columbia University, 1952).

(17) Stern, I. 111.

include this reference in his work, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, inasmuch as it did not belong to Judaea but rather to the coastal territory of the former Philistines.

That the official term for the region is *Judaea* may be seen from the military diplomas and other inscriptions prior to the time of Hadrian. Thus a military diploma (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3, p. 857, #14, lines 9–10 = *CIL* 16.33) found in Klausenburg in Dacia (modern Rumania), that may be dated in the year 86, refers to military forces in Judaea under the command of a certain Gnaeus Pompeius Longinus. Another inscription from Pamphylia in Asia Minor mentions a certain Gaius Avidius Cleionius Commodus as governor of the province of Judaea under the Emperor Trajan at some time subsequent to 102.<sup>18</sup> Likewise, a military diploma found in Egypt and dating from 105 speaks of the transfer to Judaea of two cohorts of troops.<sup>19</sup> The fact that, as seems likely, this transfer was occasioned by the Roman high command's intention to annex the kingdom of the Nabataeans and to reduce it to the status of a province would underline the official nature of this inscription and consequently of the nomenclature which it employs for the province. Likewise, an inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.2.12117; cf. 6.4.2.31752 and 6.1.3844),<sup>20</sup> found in Cilicia (in Asia Minor), mentions a certain Q. Roscius Coelius Pompeius Falco as legate *provinciae Judaeae*, i.e., of the province of Judaea. Inasmuch as Falco was consul in 109, Noth<sup>21</sup> conjectures that he was in Judaea from 107 to 109; and the monument giving his full *cursus honorum*, including his service in Judaea, is apparently not earlier than 117 and not later than 120.<sup>22</sup> Another inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.2830), found in Dalmatia (modern Yugoslavia), mentions a certain Sextus Vinicius Faustinus as praetorian legate of the Emperor Hadrian in the

(18) Published by Hans G. Pflaum, "Remarques sur le changement de statut administratif de la province de Judée: A propos d'une inscription récemment découverte à Sidé de Pamphylie," *Israel Exploration Journal* 19 (1969) 225.

(19) See Hans G. Pflaum, "Un nouveau Diplome militaire d'un Soldat de l'Armée d'Égypte," *Syria* 44 (1967) 339–362.

(20) See Edward L. Hicks, "Inscriptions from Eastern Cilicia," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 11 (1890) 253–254.

(21) Martin Noth, "Zur Geschichte des Namens Palästina," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 62 (1939) 127. See *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* 3 (1898) 134–135. Stern, 3. 23–24, says that the years 105–107 (or 108) constitute the probable term for Falco's legateship of Judaea. Max Wilcox (reviser), in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)* (edited by Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar), vol. 1, 517 (Edinburgh: Clark, 1973), gives the date as 107.

(22) So Hicks, 253–254.



province of Judaea; it states that the Roman Senate decreed the ornaments of triumph to him because of his successes in Judaea.<sup>23</sup>

Similarly, coins, which are always careful to depict nomenclature with accuracy, refer to the political entity as *Judaea*; and when the Jewish revolt of 66–74 is crushed, we find coins with the legends *Iudaea*, *Iudaea Capta*, and *Iudaea Devicta*.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, the coins issued by Hadrian in the earlier years of his reign bear the legend *Iudaea* or *adventui Aug(usti) Iudaeae*,<sup>25</sup> commemorating the visit of the Emperor to Judaea.

Likewise, writers on geography, who would be expected to be most careful in their designation of countries, clearly differentiate between Palestine, the narrow region along the coast, and Judaea, the region in the interior. Thus Pomponius Mela, who in the middle of the first century describes the Mediterranean world, notes (*De Chorographia* 1.11.62–63) that Syria is called by (he means “includes”) various names: Coele-Syria, Mesopotamia, Damascus, Adiabene, Babylonia, Judaea, Commagene, and Sophene. He clearly differentiates Judaea from Palestine because he then adds: “Here is situated Palestine [presumably only a minor part of Syria], where Syria touches the Arabs, then [next to Palestine] Phoenicia, and Antiochia, where Syria borders on Cilicia.”

Similarly, in his geographical excursus, his contemporary, Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* 5.66), likewise refers to the “very many names” of Syria and gives, in great detail, almost the same list as that of Mela:

the part adjacent to Arabia being formerly called Palestine, and Judaea, and Coele-Syria, then Phoenicia and the more inland part Damascena, and that further south, Babylonia, as well as Mesopotamia between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the district beyond Mount Taurus Sophene, that on this side of Sophene Commagene, that beyond Armenia Adiabene, which was previously called Assyria, and the part touching Cilicia Antiochia.

As we can see, Pliny is well aware of the change of names of certain regions and, in particular, of the fact that Palestine is the former and

(23) Still another inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 6.1.1565), which is mutilated, refers to someone who fought in the war in Judaea. The editor of this inscription in the *Corpus* is unsure whether it belongs to the reign of Vespasian or Hadrian, but it may refer to Pompey’s campaign in the first century B.C.E.

(24) See Frederick W. Madden, *History of Jewish Coinage and of Money in the Old and New Testament* [rev. ed], 183–196 (New York: Ktav, 1967); and Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School: A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*, 117–118 (Cambridge: University Press, 1934).

(25) See Harold Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, 3. 493–494, nos. 1655–1661 (London, 1936).

not the current name of the coastal region; he clearly does not regard the names of Palestine and Judaea as interchangeable. That his knowledge of the region is considerable may be seen from the fact that he then proceeds (5.67–72) to give the actual length and width of various geographical features in the region. He locates (5.69) the frontier of Palestine as 189 miles from the confines of Arabia and places it along the coast immediately adjacent to Phoenicia. Judaea, he says (5.70), spreads far and wide (*longe lateque funditur*) beyond Idumaea and Samaria, and includes Galilee and Peraea. He then lists by name ten toparchies into which Judaea is divided. Similarly, when at the beginning of the second century Tacitus (*Histories* 5.1 ff.) discusses the Jews at some length, he identifies their land as Judaea (though, of course, it was no longer independent); indeed, he gives (5.6.1) the boundaries of the land as Arabia on the east, Egypt on the south, Phoenicia and the sea on the west, and Syria on the north.

That official military and administrative terminology differentiated Judaea from Palestine may be seen in various writers who presumably had access, whether directly or indirectly, to official data. Thus Plutarch (ca. 40–120), describing Pompey's triumphal procession (*Pompey* 45.5) in the first century B.C.E., notes that inscriptions borne in advance of the procession indicate the various nations over which he had triumphed. In the list that follows, Phoenicia and Palestine are coupled (presumably, as coastal regions, they are closely conjoined, though they are distinct entities), in contradistinction from Judaea. That Judaea was by far the most important of these regions of the land may be seen from the fact that Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* 7.98), in enumerating the lands listed in his triumphal procession, mentions Syria and the Jews, but says nothing about Phoenicia and Palestine.

That the region was not known officially as Palestine may be seen in the official letter of the Emperor Claudius to the Alexandrians (*Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* 153, line 96) in the middle of the first century, in which we read that the Alexandrian Jews are not to bring in or invite Jews coming from Syria (where clearly the reference is to Judaea) or Egypt. We see a similar absence of the name of Palestine in Plutarch at the beginning of the second century when he speaks (*Vita Galbae* 13.4, *Vita Othonis* 4.3), obviously reflecting a military and administrative point of view, of the military forces in Syria and Judaea. At the beginning of the second century, Tacitus, who, as a Roman senator and the son-in-law of the highly influential Agricola, undoubtedly had access to official records, does not use the term *Palestine* and speaks often of Syria and Judaea in juxtaposition. Thus he mentions (*Histories* 2.5.2)

Mucianus as governor of Syria and Vespasian as governor of Judaea, and asserts (*Histories* 2.6.1) that in Syria and Judaea the Caesars had been more often heard of than seen. He cites (*Histories* 2.6.2) the auxiliary military forces which Otho and Vitellius had at their disposal in Syria and Judaea; tells (*Histories* 2.73.1) of couriers arriving from Syria and Judaea; speaks (*Histories* 2.76.5) of legions available to Vespasian in Syria, Judaea, and Egypt; and notes (*Annals* 2.42.5) the pressure on the part of the provinces of Syria and Judaea for a reduction of tribute. That Judaea is an entity separate from Syria may be seen from the fact that eventually (*Annals* 12.23.1) it is attached to the province of Syria, as we also learn from Josephus (*Antiquities* 17.355). When he speaks of the land itself, Tacitus refers to it as Judaea, as we see when he cites (*Annals* 12.54.1) Felix as holding the governorship of Judaea; mentions (*Histories* 2.79) the oath which the army in Judaea took in the presence of Vespasian; speaks (*Histories* 2.81.3) of the army in Judaea as sending representatives to a council convened by Vespasian in Berytus; mentions (*Histories* 2.82,3, 4.3.3, 5.1.1) the war in Judaea; and gives (*Histories* 5.9.3) the name of the province created in the year 44 by the Emperor Claudius as *Judaea*.

A somewhat younger contemporary of Tacitus, Suetonius, as executive secretary to the Emperor Hadrian, undoubtedly had access to official records. He speaks (*Claudius* 28) of the Emperor Claudius as putting Felix in charge of the province of Judaea; he likewise mentions (*Galba* 23) Vespasian's belief that Galba had sent assassins from Spain to Judaea to take his life; and he cites (*Vitellius* 15.1) the revolts in the provinces of Judaea and Syria, clearly indicating that they were separate provinces. Finally, he mentions (*Vespasian* 4.5, 4.6) the revolt of the people of the province of Judaea and Vespasian's army swearing allegiance to him in Judaea (*Vespasian* 6.3). It is significant that Suetonius uses the term *Judaea* to include not merely the province but also other land, namely that which belonged to the kingdom of Agrippa II, since he declares (*Titus* 4.3) that Titus subjugated the cities of Taricheae and Gamala "in Judaea," whereas, strictly speaking, these cities were not in the territory of Judaea, but rather in Galilee and the Golan, respectively.

That the name of the district in normative, popular usage was Judaea and not Palestine may be seen in a poem of Crinagoras of Mytilene (*Anthologia Graeca* 7.645), who, in the second half of the first century B.C.E., speaks of a certain Philostratus (probably the philosopher whose life was spared by Octavian after the conquest of Egypt in 30 B.C.E.)

as a man of eminence "whether on the Nile or within the boundaries of Judaea."<sup>26</sup>

Jewish writers, notably Philo and Josephus, likewise, with few exceptions, refer to the land as Judaea. Thus Philo (*De Vita Mosis* 2.6.31) notes that when King Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt decided to have the Pentateuch translated into Greek he sent to the high priest and king [*sic*] of Judaea. Likewise, Philo (*Hypothetica* 11.1) tells us that the Essenes live in many cities of Judaea. Moreover, there are frequent references to Judaea in his treatise *Legatio ad Gaium* (199, 200, 207, 215, 257, 281, 294, 299). In particular, we may note Philo's remark that the Syrian governor Petronius thought that the inhabitants of Judaea were unlimited in number.

When Philo (*De Vita Mosis* 1.29,163) says that Moses proposed to lead the Israelites to settle "in Phoenicia and Coele Syria, and Palestine," he is careful to add, with regard to the last, that it was then called the land of the Canaanites. To be sure, Philo (*De Abrahamo* 26.133) uses the term *Palestinian Syria*, but this is in connection with the land of the Sodomites, which he notes is a part of the land of Canaan. This, we may suggest, would not constitute an exception to Philo's usage of *Judaea* for the region, inasmuch as Jews were not yet living there, and the inhabitants were Philistines. Likewise, when he speaks (*De Virtutibus* 40.221) about Tamar as a woman from "Palestinian Syria," he does so because she came from the idolatrous people of that region. The one passage that is difficult to explain is the one (*Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit* 12.75) in which he declares that Palestinian Syria has not failed to produce high moral excellence. He also states that a considerable part of the Jews live there, and cites as an example the Essenes. Perhaps the explanation is that Philo is trying to indicate that the Jews inhabited an area that transcended Judaea proper and that he sought a term that would include this larger area.

Josephus also (*Antiquities* 1.136) refers to *Palestine*, but this, too, is in connection with the land of the Philistines, the immediate context being his statement that Phylistinus is the only one of the sons of Mersaues (i.e., Mizraim) whose country has preserved the name of its founder, that is, *Palaistine*. Similarly, he uses the name *Palestine* when he mentions that Uses (i.e., Uz) founded Trachonitis and Damascus, "situated between Palestine and Coele Syria," the latter being some unclearly defined area east of the River Jordan. Manifestly, at that time there were

(26) Literally, "Jewish boundaries." Part of the word "Jewish" is missing in the text, but the restoration is all but certain.

no Jews living there. Likewise, when Josephus (*Antiquities* 1.207) states that Abraham migrated to Gerara in Palestine, he uses the term *Palestine* because, as we can see from the Pentateuch (Genesis 26:1 and 26:15 ff.), it was to Abimelech, the king of the Philistines in Gerar, to whom he went. Furthermore, when Josephus (*Antiquities* 2.323) states that Moses did not lead the Israelites by a direct route to Palestine, he means that Moses did not lead them to the land of the Philistines (the shortest distance between Egypt and the land being along the coast inhabited by the Philistines), since, of course, at that time the land was not inhabited by Jews. Likewise, when Josephus (*War* 5.384), in urging the Jews to surrender to the Romans, states that Palestine and the statue of the god Dagon rued the rape of the ark (1 Samuel 5–6), he is referring to the land of the Philistines. Moreover, when Josephus (*Antiquities* 8.260) mentions that Shishak, the king of Egypt, reduced Palestinian Syria to slavery, he is quoting Herodotus (2.102 ff.) (who, as we have seen, is not precise in such matters), as he does when he says, shortly thereafter (Herodotus 2.104, cited in *Antiquities* 8.262, likewise cited in *Against Apion* 1.169), that the Syrians in Palestine admit that they learned the practice of circumcision from the Egyptians. Furthermore, when he says (*Antiquities* 13.180) that Simon the Hasmonean went through all Judaea and Palestine, the latter term presumably refers to the area of Philistia along the coast, as is clear from the fact that Josephus states that he went as far as the port of Ascalon. The one passage in Josephus which seems to present a problem is the one at the very end of the *Antiquities* (20.259), where he says that his work contains a record of the events “that befell us Jews in Egypt, in Syria, and in Palestine.”<sup>27</sup> It is conceivable that the explanation for this exception is that Josephus, in his loyalty to the Romans, is so opposed to an independent Jewish state that he prefers a geographical term, *Palestine*, to a political term.

The Mishnah (*Shebi'it* 9.2), though it was compiled after the Romans had officially changed the name of the region from Judaea to Palestine, nonetheless, in referring to three distinct countries in respect of the laws of removal of sabbatical produce, enumerates these as Judah, Transjordan, and Galilee. Rabbi Akiva (*Yevamot* 16.7), in a conversation with the Babylonian Rabbi Nehemiah in the early part of the second century, testifies that the Jews in the Diaspora referred to the land as

(27) In his seminal article, Gustav Hölscher, “Josephus,” August Pauly and Georg Wissowa (eds.), *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 9 (1916) 1934–2000, states that the use of the term *Palestine* here represents the official language of the period after 70, but, as we have noted, in inscriptions and coins the name *Palestine* does not appear until after the Bar Kochba rebellion.

Eretz Israel. Particularly in connection with the laws of tithing (see, for example, *Demai* 6.1) or the laws of forbidden fruits (see, for example, *Orlah* 3.9), where the law is applicable in the Land of Israel but not in the Diaspora, we find that the rabbis refer to the land as Eretz Israel and never as Palestine.<sup>28</sup> It is only centuries later, in perhaps the fifth century, that we find the term *Palestine* in a rabbinic work, namely, where the Midrash (*Genesis Rabbah* 90.6), commenting on the word “land” in Genesis 40:54 (“There was a famine in all the land”), presumably, as Krauss<sup>29</sup> mentions, reflecting official nomenclature, explains that the reference is to three lands in the region — Phoenicia, Arabia, and Palestine. Precisely the same three names are found in the fourth-century Jerome (*Epistles* 33.4), who is here apparently basing himself on the third-century Origen. Another Midrashic passage (*Lamentations Rabbah* 1.5), dating perhaps from the fifth century, speaks, anachronistically, of the leaders of Arabia, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Alexandria, as being with Vespasian.

It is significant that even vicious anti-Jewish writers in antiquity generally do not use the term *Palestine*. Thus Apion (*ap. Josephus, Against Apion* 2.33), in the first half of the first century, remarks that the Jews of Alexandria came from Syria when he clearly is referring to the land later known as Judaea. Similarly, his contemporary, the anti-Jewish writer, Chaeremon (*ap. Against Apion* 1.292), commenting on the Exodus from Egypt, says that the Pharaoh Rameses drove the Jews, to the number of about 200,000, into Syria. Likewise, Seneca the Younger, who derides the Jews (*ap. Augustine, De Civitate Dei* 6.11) for their superstition in observing the Sabbath and thus losing one seventh of their life in idleness, significantly does not use the term *Palestine* when he describes the location of the Dead Sea, but rather locates it in Syria (*Naturales Quaestiones* 3.25.5).

A problem arises in the case of Tibullus, the Roman elegiac poet who lived toward the end of the first century B.C.E. and who speaks (1.7.18) of a Palestinian Syrian; but the reference is clearly to a Gentile Palestinian along the Philistine coast, as we can see from the reference to the sacred dove revered by this Palestinian at Ascalon. A more serious contradiction seems to arise from the fact that the early first-century Roman poet Ovid speaks (*Ars Amatoria* 1.416) of “the seventh-day feast

(28) See Abraham Arazy, *Appellations of the Jews (Ioudaios, Hebraios, Israel) in the Literature from Alexander to Justinian* (PhD. diss., New York University, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 147–148.

(29) Samuel Krauss, “Les divisions administratives de la Palestine à l’époque romaine,” *Revue des Etudes Juives* 46 (1903) 221.

that the Syrian of Palestine (*Palaestino . . . Syro*) observes." It is clear from the mention of the Sabbath that the reference is to Jews.<sup>30</sup> At first glance this would seem to violate our contention that the term *Palestine* is not used with reference to Judaea before the middle of the second century, but the simplest explanation of this divergence is that Ovid is influenced by metrical considerations. A similar explanation may be offered for the usage of "Palestinian" by the poet Statius (*Silvae* 5.1.213) in connection with the essences used as funeral gifts, as well as in connection with the "cohorts of Palestine" (*Silvae* 3.2.105). In any case, we must stress that "Palestinian" as a *noun* does not occur in all of antiquity.<sup>31</sup> In the phrase in Ovid (*Ars Amatoria* 1.416), "Palestinian" is an adjective and "Syrian" is a noun;<sup>32</sup> similarly, in Statius (*Silvae* 2.1.161), we hear of *liquores Palaestini*, where clearly "Palestinian" is an adjective. Likewise, it is an adjective in the phrase *Palaestinae aquae*, referring to the Euphrates River (Ovid, *Fasti* 2.464).

A more serious problem arises in the reference by Dio Chrysostom (ca. 40–112 C.E.) to the Dead Sea (*ap.* Synesius, *Vita Dionis* [von Arnim, 2, p. 317]) as being in the interior (μεσογεία) of Palestine, in the very vicinity of "Sodoma." There is no doubt that the Dead Sea is in Judaea, as we see, for example, in the discussion of Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* 5.73). The explanation would seem to be either that Dio is a rhetorician who is not careful about official terminology or, more likely, that what we have is not Dio's words but rather a paraphrase, and in any case not the direct quotation, by the early fifth-century Synesius, whose language would seem to indicate this, since he says: "Moreover, he [i.e. Dio] praises the Essenes, a very blessed city situated near the Dead Water in the interior of Palestine, in the very vicinity of Sodoma."

## 2. THE CHANGE OF THE NAME OF JUDAEA TO PALESTINE

Before the Bar Kochba rebellion in 132–135 C.E., the name of the province was Judaea, as we can see from coins of Hadrian. Madden<sup>33</sup> cites and illustrates two coins which he dates in the years 136–138, that is, after the Bar Kochba rebellion, and which have on the reverse the

(30) Ovid also employs the term "Palestinian" on three other occasions — *Metamorphoses* 4.46 and 5.145, and *Fasti* 2.464 — but in none of these is there a reference to Jews; and in any case Ovid may well have employed the term *Palaestinus* for metrical reasons.

(31) See P.G.W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 1283, s.v. *Palaestinus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982). The standard Greek dictionary by Liddell and Scott does not list proper names, but there can be no doubt that the Greek and Latin usages agree.

(32) On "Syros" as a noun see *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1897.

(33) See Madden, 212–214.

legend *adventui Aug(usti) Iudaeae*, that is, commemorating, as we have noted, the arrival of the Emperor Hadrian in Judaea. However, the fact that the obverse of the coin specifically refers to the third consulship of Hadrian, which commenced in 119, and ascribes to him the title *pater patriae*, which was given to him in 126 (according to Jerome), or in 128 (according to Eusebius), is hardly evidence for Madden's conclusion that these coins were struck between 136 and 138 (the year of Hadrian's death).<sup>34</sup> Within a few years, however, after the suppression of the Bar Kochba rebellion, perhaps **because of the bitterness that the Romans felt due to the great losses that they had suffered during that upheaval, the name of Judaea was officially changed to Palestine, the aim being to obliterate the Jewish character of the Holy Land, and the implication being that the province was not really the land of the Jews but was basically Syrian and Hellenistic.** By a familiar procedure, as noted by Abel,<sup>35</sup> the name of the nearest and most accessible tribe (the classic example is the application of the name of Germans to all the Germans because of the Germanic tribe with which the Franks were in contact) was applied to the entire area. It was this name of *Palestine* that the Crusaders used during the Middle Ages and that has been revived in modern times.

One can see the change of name most readily in the inscriptions of C. Julius Severus, who was consul in the year 127.<sup>36</sup> In a military diploma (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.2830 = Hermann Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, vol. 1 1056 [Berlin: Weidmann, 1892]) apparently dating from just after the Bar Kochba rebellion, the consul is referred to as *legatus pro praetore* for the province of Judaea and is commended for his successful achievements in Judaea (*ob res in [Ju]dea prospere gest[is]*). The same Julius Severus, however, is referred to in another inscription (*L'Année Epigraphique* [1904] 9 [= *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* 3.4029]), as legate of Palestinian Syria (*Palaestinae Syriae*) in late 134 or early 135, and as *antistrategos* (legate) of Palestinian Syria

(34) Madden, 214, sees on the reverse of one of these coins a representation of the *aratum templum*, i.e., the temple ploughed under; but an examination of the coin shows Hadrian standing before a female (Judaea) who holds a plate and a box, with a burning altar between them, and a child (on either side of the female) holding a palm, and behind the altar a bull. This would seem to indicate that the Temple was still standing, or, more likely, would refer to Hadrian's initial permission to rebuild the Temple and to reinstitute the sacrifices. See Leo Miltenberg, *The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War*, 97–99 (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1984), who convincingly concludes that the *Adventus* coins date from between 130 and 132.

(35) Félix-Marie Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, vol. 1, 313–314 (Paris: Gabalda, 1933).

(36) See *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* 2 (1897) 214, no. 374.



(*Syrias Palaistines*), dating apparently from shortly after his consulate in the year 155.<sup>37</sup> Thereafter, in official references, whether in coins or in inscriptions or papyri, the province is normally cited as Palestinian Syria.<sup>38</sup>

This shift in name is also reflected in pagan literature after the time of Hadrian. Thus, Appian, who wrote under Antoninus Pius (138–161), declares (*Syriacus Liber* 50.251–252), obviously reflecting current terminology, that the Romans under Pompey came into possession of “Palestine and all the other countries bearing the Syrian name from the Euphrates to Egypt and the sea.”<sup>39</sup> His younger contemporary, Galen (19.16, ed. Kühn), notes that a certain Flavius Boethus was appointed legate of Palestine during his first visit to Rome in 162–166.<sup>40</sup>

(37) See Samuel Krauss, “Les gouverneurs romains en Palestine de 135 à 640,” *Revue des Etudes Juives* 80 (1925) 121. See Mildenberg (above, n. 34), 98, n. 272.

(38) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 16.87 (= 3.2328.70) (P. Calpurnius Atilianus, 139 C.E.), found near Lake Tiberias; see Krauss (above, n. 37) 121, and Donald Atkinson, “A New Roman Governor of Provincia Britannia,” *Classical Review* 42 (1928) 11–14; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.2, 6054 (P. Sempronius Aelius Lycinus, who lived during the reign of Antoninus and Geta in 138–161, or perhaps during the reign of Severus and Antoninus; T. Aelius Restitutus, governor probably during the period of Marcus Aurelius, 161–180, cited by Krauss, 119); George F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, 10 (coin of Tiberias of 188/189) (London: Longmans, 1914); *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 13.1807 (C. Furius Sabinius Aquila Timesitheus, probably 232 C.E.); *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 9.1205 (291 C.E., citing a nameless municipal magistrate; cf. Krauss, 127); *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum* 370 (= Harry J. Leon, *The Jews of Ancient Rome*, p. 319 [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1960]): epitaph of Makedonis, “the Hebrew of Caesarea of Palestine”, without a date but after the time of Aquila in the second century whom it quotes).

(39) Cf. Appian, *Bella Civilia* 5.7.31, who speaks of “Coele-Syria, Palestine, Iturea, and the other peoples of the Syrians.”

(40) See *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* 2, s.v. Flavius, 229; cited by Smallwood, *The Jews* (above, n. 15), 552. Galen also refers to Syrian Palestine in his *De Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis ac Facultatibus* 4.20 and 9.2.5, and in his *De Antidotis* 1.2; he refers simply to Palestine in his *De Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis ac Facultatibus* 9.1.2, and in his *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum Libros Commentarius* 1.1. There are similar references to Syrian Palestine or to Palestine (which replaced “Syrian Palestine” in the fourth century; cf. Noth [above, n. 21], 132 ff.) in the following: Aelius Aristeides (117 or 129–181 C.E.), *Oration* 46, *De Quattuorviris* 309; Lucian (ca. 120–180), *Philopseudeis* 16; Celsus (178–180), *ap. Origen*, *Contra Celsum* 4.36; Dio Cassius (ca. 160–230 C.E.), 37.15.2, 38.38.4, 39.56.6, 41.18.1, 48.26.2, 48.41.4, 49.32.5, 55.27.6, 60.8.2, 66.9.2a, and 68.32.5; Menander of Laodicea (third century), Περὶ ἐπιδημιῶν (*ap. Stern* [above, n. 8], 2.414; Aelius Spartianus (293–305), *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Pescennius Niger* 7.9, *Hadrianus*; 5.2, *Septimius Severus* 17.1; Flavius Vopiscus (before 316), *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Aurelianus* 33.4, *Quadrigae Tyrannorum* 9.2; Ammianus Marcellinus (fourth century), 14.8.11, 22.5.5; Libanius (fourth century), *Orations* 20.30; Festus (fourth century), *Breviarium* 14; Julian the Apostate (331–363), *Contra Galilaeos* 106D; Anonymous (fourth century), *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* (fourth century) 31; Anonymous (fourth century), *Descriptio Orbis Terrae* 23; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 7.14, 7.15.

And yet, even after the name of the province was changed to Palestine, some inscriptions and literature continue to use the old name *Judaea* or to mention that the province was formerly called *Judaea*. Thus, we find, in an inscription discovered in Epfach in Raetia (in modern Austria), a certain Claudius Paternus Clementianus (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 3.5776 [= Dessau 1369]), who is termed procurator of *Judaea*. Inasmuch as he held the position of procurator of Noricum (in modern Austria) and Raetia (west of Noricum), which became senatorial provinces in 166, it seems unlikely, despite Schürer,<sup>41</sup> that he was procurator in *Judaea* so many years earlier, namely, prior to 135.<sup>42</sup> There can be no doubt, however, in the case of C. (or Sextus) Erucius Clarus, who, in an inscription from Ephesus,<sup>43</sup> is referred to as governor of *Judaea* (*Prosopographia Imperii Romani* 2.67)<sup>44</sup> some time after 170, when he was consul. Furthermore, a fragmentary inscription (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* 8, Supplement, Part I, 15270) speaks of someone (the name is missing) who is in charge of the cavalry of the province of *Judaea*; the fact that the inscription mentions a *magister epistularum*, a term not found before the third century, indicates that the inscription cannot date from before that time.

Likewise, the name *Judaea* persists in literary sources even after the time of Hadrian. Thus Galen (*De Simplicium Medicamentorum Temperamentis et Facultatibus* 9.2.5), who lived from 129 to 199, speaks of a stone produced in Syria Palaestina which is called "the *Judaeian*" after the land in which it is produced. His contemporary Celsus (*ap.* Origen, *Contra Celsum* 7.3), who wrote between 178 and 180, mentions predictions, whether actually spoken or not, made by the people of *Judaea*, "as even now is customary with those who live roundabout Phoenicia and Palestine." Likewise, Dio Cassius (69.11.1), though writing in the third century, states that Hadrian passed through *Judaea* into Egypt. In the fourth century, Festus (*Breviarium* 16) speaks of Pompey's conquest of *Judaea*; and Eutropius (*Breviarium ab Urbe Condita* 7.19.3) says that in Vespasian's reign *Judaea* was added to the Roman Empire. Even as late as the year 400 approximately, Martianus Capella (*De Nuptiis Philologiae*

(41) Schürer (above, n. 21), 1.519.

(42) Krauss (above, n. 37), 119, notes that a certain Bassus, who is termed procurator of the province of *Judaea* (Dessau, 9506), was certainly not invested with this charge before the time of Hadrian.

(43) Published by Philippe Le Bas and William H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (Paris: Didot, 1847-73) 2.3 (*Explications* 5-7), *Fastes des provinces Asiatiques* 734, no. 151.

(44) See Krauss (above, n. 37), 122, who finds it astonishing because *Judaea* is mentioned without Syria; and Smallwood, *The Jews* (above, n. 15), 552.

*et Mercurii* 6.678–679) comments that Syria is known by many names, “for it is called Palestina where it is adjacent to Arabia, and Judaea, and Phoenicia.” Clearly, these are not alternate names, since Phoenicia is certainly distinct from Judaea. He specifically adds that “beyond Idumaea and Samaria stretches the wide expanse of Judaea,” and notes that the part of Judaea adjoining Syria is called Galilee and that it is separated from other parts of Judaea by the Jordan River; hence, we can see that, at least according to Martianus Capella, the old name of Judaea had not been forgotten and that it included territory on both sides of the Jordan. Again, at the beginning of the fifth century, the anonymous author of *Epitome de Caesaribus* (4.7) speaks of the appointment of Felix by the Emperor Claudius to the command of the legions of Judaea.

Furthermore, Origen in the third century (*Homily on Numbers* 7.5) speaks of the Hebrews as expelling the Canaanites from the territory of Judaea. Likewise, the Church Father Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.2.5), though writing in the fourth century, speaks of Lucius Quietus as governor of Judaea, and mentions Rufus (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.6) as governor of Judaea at the time of the Bar Kochba rebellion. Indeed, Eusebius is well aware of the change of name of the province, since, in discussing the origin of the alphabet, he says (*Praeparatio Evangelica* 10.5.474a) that the Syrians who devised the alphabet were actually “Hebrews who inhabited the country adjacent to Phoenicia, which was itself called Phoenicia in ancient times but afterwards Judaea, and in our time, Palestine.” Likewise, Jerome (*Commentary on Ezekiel* 27.17 [Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 25.256]) speaks of “Judaea, which is now called Palestine.” Jerome is, indeed, well aware that the term *Palestine* refers to the land of the Philistines, since he states (*Commentary on Amos* 1.8, *Commentary on Isaiah* 2.7)<sup>45</sup> that where the Greek text of the Septuagint has ἀλλόφυλοι it is necessary to understand the Philistines, “who are now called Palestinianians.” Likewise, in the fifth century, Theodoret (*Commentary on Psalms* 59.82; *Patrologia Graeca* 80.1321, 1533) remarks that the Philistines are those of his time who are called Palestinianians. Here, however, we must note that even Jerome admits that the term *Palestinianians* is not found in the Septuagint, since he declares (*Commentary on Isaiah* 2.7) that the Septuagint *always* translates the noun “Philistines” not by “Palestinianians,” “a common noun for a proper noun” (*nomen commune pro proprio*), as he puts it, since, apparently, there are no such people, but by *alienigenae*, that is, his Latin equivalent for ἀλλόφυλοι ‘strangers, foreigners.’ He is, moreover, apologetic about the use of the word “Pal-

(45) Cf. Abel (above, n. 35) 267, 313–314.

estinians" as a noun, and we may conjecture that he invented this usage based upon the noun "Palestine," since he speaks (*ibid.*) of *gens Palaestinorum, quasi Philistinorum* ("the tribe of the Palestinians, as it were, the Philistines") in the realization that the term *Palaestini* is his own equivalent for the ancient and long defunct Philistines.

### 3. HADRIAN'S DECREES

While it is true that there is no evidence as to precisely who changed the name of Judaea to Palestine and precisely when this was done, circumstantial evidence would seem to point to Hadrian himself, since he is, it would seem, responsible for a number of decrees that sought to crush the national and religious spirit of the Jews, whether these decrees were responsible for the uprising or were the result of it.<sup>46</sup> In the first place, he refounded Jerusalem as a Graeco-Roman city under the name of *Aelia Capitolina*. He also erected on the site of the Temple another temple to Zeus, which, according to the third-century pagan historian Dio Cassius (69.12.1–2), whose comments, to be sure, have come down to us through the eleventh-century monk, Xiphilinus,<sup>47</sup> resulted in the Bar Kochba rebellion in 132, since, as Dio puts it, "the Jews regarded it as an abomination for foreigners to settle in their city and for alien sanctuaries to be built in it." This, presumably, was part of Hadrian's policy to bring unity to the Empire through hellenizing it.<sup>48</sup> Even if Hadrian's motive may have been aesthetic in that he had a special penchant for constructing magnificent buildings and founding cities, he surely, as an able administrator, was aware of how deeply Jews felt about Jerusalem, as indicated by the great rebellion of 66–74, and must have realized that this act would have provoked the Jews.

In the second place, according to the third-century Spartianus in the *Historia Augusta (Life of Hadrian 14.2)*, if we may give any credence to this work,<sup>49</sup> the rebellion was caused by Hadrian's ban on circumci-

(46) Pausanias, writing in the second century, not long after the Bar Kochba rebellion, goes out of his way to stress that Hadrian never voluntarily entered upon a war, except for the suppression of "the Hebrews beyond Syria, who had rebelled" — an obvious allusion to the Bar Kochba rebellion. The implication, though Pausanias may well be biased, is that the rebellion was unprovoked.

(47) According to the admittedly late (eleventh century) *Bereshit Rabbati* of Moses ha-Darshan, it was Tinneius (Turnus) Rufus, the Roman governor of Judaea, who was responsible for plowing up the Temple (see *Ta'anit* 29a).

(48) So Gregorovius, Strathmann, and Alon, cited by Hugo Mantel, "The Causes of the Bar Kokba Revolt," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 58 (1967–68) 227.

(49) Ronald Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford: University Press, 1967), argues at length that the *Historia Augusta* is a historical romance by a fraudulent author, though he admits (p. 177) that a wealth of reliable details can be disengaged from it.

sion,<sup>50</sup> though some have suggested that the ban on circumcision was a means adopted by Hadrian after the revolt in order to exterminate the Jews.<sup>51</sup> There can be little doubt that it was Hadrian who was responsible for the decree banning circumcision, since we hear (*Digest* 48.8.11.1) that his successor, Antoninus Pius, permitted an exception in the case of the Jews to the ban on circumcision.

In the third place, according to the Midrash *Genesis Rabbah* (64.8), dating, to be sure, from perhaps the fifth century, Hadrian originally directed that the Temple be rebuilt,<sup>52</sup> but then withdrew permission when the Samaritans objected, whereupon the Emperor decreed that the building should not be erected on the site of the old Temple — a decision which, in effect, was the equivalent of prohibiting its erection. Though the renowned Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah attempted to assuage the anger of the Jews, he was unsuccessful, and the result was the rebellion. According to several Christian writers — the fourth-century John Chrysostom (*Oratio contra Judaeos* 5.10), the twelfth-century Georgius Cedrenus (ed. Bekker, 1, p. 437), and the fourteenth-century Nicephorus Callistus (*Ecclesiastica Historia* 3.24, *Patrologia Graeca* 145) — the sequence of events was that the Jews revolved and attempted to rebuild the Temple, but that Hadrian stopped them. The seventh-century Christian *Chronicon Paschale* (ed. Dindorf, 1, p. 474) states that Hadrian destroyed a Temple that had actually been rebuilt. The second-century Christian *Letter of Barnabas* (16.4), if the textual reading is correct, seems to allude to a rebuilding of the Temple, presumably by

(50) Schalit, in an oral communication quoted by Mantel (above, n. 48) 235, suggests that the prohibition of circumcision did not violate Hadrian's general policy of toleration since it was, in his eyes, merely a folkway and not associated with rites in the synagogue; but, as Saul Lieberman ("The Martyrs of Caesarea," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et l'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 [1939–44] 422, n. 91) notes, the Romans employed experts in Jewish lore, such as the apostate Elisha ben Avuyah, in their persecution of the Jews and hence that there was deliberate malice in the prohibition. Mantel, 293–294, however, concludes that the decree against circumcision was issued in the form of martial law and that the penalty was not equal in every region. The edict was not, to be sure, specifically directed against Jews, as we can see from the fact that Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, retained the prohibition of circumcision of non-Jews even while he made an exception in the case of Jews. Nonetheless, Hadrian must have realized that it was the Jews who were affected in the largest numbers by his edict.

(51) See Max Wilcox (reviser), "From the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Downfall of Bar Kokhba," in Schürer (above, n. 21), 1.537.

(52) Mantel (above, n. 48), 274, rightly stresses the likelihood of the historicity of this account by noting that the Jews would hardly have invented a story ascribing good will to Hadrian, after whose name the epithets "the wicked" or "may his bones be pulverized" are often found (e.g., *Genesis Rabbah* 10.3, 28.3, 78.1; *Leviticus Rabbah* 18.1, 25.5; *Deuteronomy Rabbah* 3.13, *Ruth Rabbah* 3.2, *Ecclesiastes Rabbah* 2.8, 9.4, 12.5, *Lamentations Rabbah* 3.58, *Midrash on Psalms* 12.1).

Hadrian, for pagan purposes.<sup>53</sup> The fact that both Jewish and Christian sources connect the revolt with the rebuilding of the Temple would seem to carry considerable weight, but Wilcox<sup>54</sup> dismisses these accounts on the ground that though Hadrian did promote the Graeco-Roman cults with enthusiasm he despised alien religions. Recently, Mantel,<sup>55</sup> basing himself on Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.6.1–4), has argued that the revolt was not the result of Hadrian's decrees but rather was motivated by the same desire for freedom that marked the first revolt against the Romans, and in particular by the recognition of Bar Kochba as the Messiah, and that Hadrian's decrees were the result of the war.<sup>56</sup> Surely, we may comment, the fact that it took three and a half years for the revolt to be suppressed and that it took a considerable portion of the entire Roman army<sup>57</sup> and the very best generals<sup>58</sup> who had to be called in to overcome it must have left a deep impression upon Hadrian.

Fourthly, the fourth-century Christian historian, Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History* 4.6.3), citing the now-lost account of the second-century Ariston of Pella, declares that after the suppression of the revolt, Hadrian "commanded that by a legal decree (νόμου δόγματι) and ordinances (διατάξεσιν) the whole nation should be absolutely prevented from entering from thenceforth even the district round Jerusalem, so that not even from a distance could it see its ancestral home." Hadrian is specifically mentioned in Midrashic literature (*Lamentations Rabbah* 3.58 [p. 70a Buber]) as having decreed that whoever did not greet him would be killed, and then as having proceeded to order the execution both of one who did not greet him and of one who did. Hadrian is likewise mentioned by name (*Lamentations Rabbah* [p. 78a Buber]) as having issued a decree (the Midrash actually uses a Greek word, *keleusis* 'order') ordering the execution of anyone wearing a beard,<sup>59</sup> and then as having proceeded to kill also those who had shorn their beards.

(53) See L.W. Barnard, "The Date of the Epistle of Barnabas: The Document of Egyptian Christianity," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 44 (1958) 101–107.

(54) Wilcox in Schürer (above, n. 21), 535–536.

(55) Mantel (above, n. 48), 224–242, 274–296; 59 (1968–69) 341–342.

(56) On the causes of the revolt, see Smallwood, *The Jews* (above, n. 15), 428–438, who concludes that the reasons given by Dio and by the *Historia Augusta* are neither contradictory nor mutually exclusive.

(57) At least six legions or portions of the thirty legions in the Roman army of this time, to judge from the inscriptions cited by Wilcox in Schürer (above, n. 21), 547–548, participated in the war.

(58) See Wilcox in Schürer (above, n. 21), 547–549.

(59) Ironically, Hadrian himself is depicted as bearded, for example, in a bust now in the British Museum.

Other decrees, though, admittedly, not specifically ascribed to Hadrian, most probably were issued by Hadrian, as Alon<sup>60</sup> argues, and included closing of Jewish courts (*Sanhedrin* 14a), closing<sup>60</sup> of synagogues and prohibition of assemblies for the study of Torah (*Berakhot* 61b, *Avodah Zarah* 17b, Tosefta *Baba Mezia* 2.17, B. *Baba Mezia* 28b, J. *Baba Mezia* 2.8c), and a ban on various religious practices (though not all of them were promulgated simultaneously),<sup>61</sup> notably: the Sabbath; the eating of unleavened bread on Passover; the taking of the *lulav* on Sukkot; the sitting in a Sukkah on Sukkot; the lighting of candles on Hanukkah; the reading of the scroll of Esther on Purim; the donning of Tefillin; the wearing of fringes on the corners of garments; the affixing of a *mezuzah* on doorposts; the observance of the law of tithes; the observance of traditional mourning customs; the writing of divorce documents; the celebration of marriages on Wednesdays; the reading of the *Shema*; the study of the Torah (which was connected with the prohibition of public assemblies); the issuance of a *prosbul* to permit, *de facto*, that loans might be collected after the occurrence of the sabbatical year; the ordination of rabbis (which was connected with judicial autonomy, as were the prohibitions of issuing bills of divorce and *prosbul* and holding marriages on Wednesdays);<sup>62</sup> and immersion in a ritual pool after menstruation (*Mekhilta d'Rabbi Ishmael Bahodesh* 6 [Lauterbach, 2, p. 247]).<sup>63</sup> All of these prohibitions, as may be inferred from Justin Martyr,<sup>64</sup> were apparently restricted to the Jews of Judaea and did not apply to the Jews of the Diaspora and hence were politically motivated.<sup>65</sup> While it is true that the name of Hadrian specifically is not always mentioned in connection with these decrees, the fact that his name is mentioned in some of the versions is an indication that it is Hadrian who issued them.<sup>66</sup> Whether these provoked the rebellion or were the result

(60) Gedaliah Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640 C.E.)* [ed. and trans. by Gershon Levi], vol. 2, 632–637 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984).

(61) See Lieberman (above, n. 50), 424–427.

(62) See Mantel (above, n. 48), 295 for sources and discussion.

(63) For the sources and discussion, see Lieberman (above, n. 50), 424, and Alon (above, n. 60), 634–637, who argue convincingly that these traditions reflect historical reality. Lieberman, 430, admits that there is no record in rabbinic literature of a decree by Hadrian forcing the Jews to worship idols; but, as he indicates, there can be little doubt that Roman officials attempted to compel Jews to do homage to the pagan gods or, at the very least, to offer divine honors to the Emperor.

(64) Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* 16.2–3, 19.2–6, 23.3–4, 92.2–5, mentions circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath and the holidays as being practiced in Ephesus, in Asia Minor, where the dialogue took place, without hindrance.

(65) So Alon (above, n. 60), 636.

(66) E.g., the Caesar in the story of the seven sons of Miriam who are brought before the Roman Emperor and are condemned and put to death (*Midrash Ekhah Rabbati* on

of it, in either case it is Hadrian who sought to exterminate the Jewish people. This persecution is all the more remarkable inasmuch as Judaism had long enjoyed a special legal status in the Roman Empire.

#### 4. SUMMARY

The name *Palestine*, as we can see from the Bible, is correctly used only when applied to the land of the ancient Philistines along the coast of the Mediterranean. The official name of the area, whether in Jewish or non-Jewish sources, including official data, such as inscriptions and coins, is *Judaea*. Were it not for Hadrian's deliberate attempt to eliminate all trace of Jewish sovereignty, the name would have remained *Judaea*, as, indeed, it did, despite the official change, in many literary and even official documents.<sup>67</sup>

---

Lamentations 1.16) is clearly identified as Hadrian in the version of the story in *Tanna debei Eliyahu Rabbah* 30; and the name of Hadrian appears in the context of the version in *Gittin* 57b.

(67) I should like to express my gratitude to Professors Nathan Lander and Abraham Wasserstein for their most helpful comments on this essay.