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Aramaic to Greek Transliterations
in the Western Middle Aramaic

by Andrew Messmer

Aramaic to Greek Transliterations in Western Middle Aramaic¹

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Introduction

For those scholars and laymen interested in the Aramaic language around the time of Jesus, there are several interesting questions to pursue, some of which are: How was Aramaic pronounced during the time of Jesus? What tools do we have to clarify ambiguities in the Aramaic language? What was the state of Aramaic–Greek bilingualism in Judea and its surrounding environs? There are various tools that researchers use to answer these questions,² and one of them is studying transliterations from Aramaic into Greek from the corpus of texts known as Western Middle Aramaic (hereafter WMA). Generally speaking, this division of the Aramaic language spans the time period of 200 BC–AD 200 and covers the geographical region of Judea and its surrounding environs.³ This article tabulates the instances

1. This article is a reworking of part of my doctoral dissertation; “Maranatha (1 Corinthians 16:22): Linguistic, Historical, and Literary-Contextual Issues” (PhD thesis, Evangelical Theological Faculty, 2017), 58–81, 264–293. The Appendix (264–93) contains some additional information not included here, but this article has the advantage of correcting some minor mistakes, as well as presenting the transliteration data in a more user-friendly format.

2. For examples from an Aramaic perspective, see Jonathan Watt, “Of Gutturals and Galileans: The Two Slurs of Matthew 26:73,” in Stanley Porter (ed.), *Diglossia and Other Topics in New Testament Linguistics*, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 193; (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 107–20; David Taylor, “Bilingualism and Diglossia in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia,” in J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 298–331. For examples from a Hebrew perspective, see Alexander Sperber, “Hebrew based upon Greek and Latin transliterations,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 12–13 (1937–1938): 103–274. Sperber’s work covers roughly the same time period as the one under consideration here, and still has value for today, not only for its quality, but also for the wide range of topics it covers.

3. WMA comprises the following dialects and texts: Nabatean, Qumran, Murabba’at, inscriptions on Palestinian ossuaries and tombstones, Aramaic words from the NT, and some texts from early Palestinian rabbinic literature (see Joseph Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* [Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979], 57–84, especially 61–62). A still-helpful collection of WMA texts with accompanying English translation may be found in Joseph Fitzmyer, *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts (Second Century B. C.—Second Century A. D.)* (Rome:

of WMA transliterations into Greek across four corpora in order to determine the frequency and trends regarding which Greek characters were used to transliterate Aramaic ones during this period.

Some studies have been done on transliterations from Hebrew into Greek,⁴ and others have focused on transliterations from Aramaic into Greek for isolated WMA corpora (for example, the New Testament),⁵ but there has been no systematic study of transliterations from WMA into Greek.⁶ This article attempts to address this *lacuna* in current Aramaic studies, and thus contribute to answering questions such as the ones posed above.

The words and phrases which have been evaluated are those which belong to the following four WMA corpora, which comprise the substantial majority of texts from which transliterations from WMA into Greek are found:⁷ the Septuagint, the New Testament, archaeological inscriptions from Jerusalem, and the Greek papyri from the Bar Kokhba period discovered in the cave of letters. The data are presented in the form of tables in order to allow the reader to see clearly the individual transliterations. The tables follow the Aramaic alphabet and are arranged as follows: the first column contains the Aramaic alphabet, the second column contains the various Greek transliterations for each Aramaic letter, the third column presents the reference within its respective corpus as well as the Aramaic and Greek words under question, and the fourth column presents the numerical total of each transliterational phenomenon. Each table is preceded by introductory remarks regarding methodology and important issues to note, and a final table at the end presents the summative data from the four individual corpora. The paper ends with a summary of WMA transliteration into Greek.

Biblical Institute Press, 1978).

4. For example, Sperber, "Hebrew based upon Greek and Latin Transliterations," 103–274; Alexey (Eliyahu) Yuditsky, "Transcription into Greek and Latin Script: Pre-Masoretic Period," in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, vol. 3, P–Z, 803–822.

5. For example, Hans Peter Rügner, "Aramäisch II," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), 3:602–610; Bernard-Marie, *La langue de Jésus: l'araméen dans le Nouveau Testament* (3rd ed.; Paris: Téqui, 2002), 29–44.

6. The general lack of study regarding Aramaic to Greek transliteration was noticed by Jean-Baptiste Yon in 2007; see "De l'araméen en grec," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 60 (2007): 381–429, here 381.

7. Exceptions would be isolated words found, for example, in the Qumran scrolls such as *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 2:224: Σ]ωφηρα (but reconstruction is involved here), isolated words found in Philo's and Josephus's works, and the Bryennios canon list, the original language of which is disputed—for Aramaic, cf. Jean-Paul Audet, "A Hebrew-Aramaic List of Books of the Old Testament in Greek Transcription," *Journal of Theological Studies* 1, no. 2 (1950): 135–54; for Hebrew, see. David Goodblatt, "Audet's 'Hebrew-Aramaic' List of the Books of the OT Revisited," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 101, no. 1 (1982): 75–84. To be more specific, the Aramaic portions of Genesis, Ezra, Jeremiah, and Daniel are not WMA, but they were transliterated into Greek during the WMA time period.

2.1. The Septuagint

As for the Septuagint, only the Aramaic portions are evaluated: Genesis 31.47; Jeremiah 10.11; Daniel 2.4-7.28; Ezra 4.8-6.18; 7.12-26. Three methodological decisions have been made which affect the interpretation and presentation of the data in the corresponding charts below. First, when the same Aramaic word or expression has been transliterated into the same Greek word or expression multiple times, the individual phonemic transliterations are counted together as one transliteration instance instead of multiple transliteration instances. For example, the Aramaic proper name ܘܫܗܘܫ appears four times in the Aramaic portions of the Old Testament (Ezra 4.8, 9, 17, 23), and it is always transliterated into Greek as Σαμσαι. Thus, in the charts below the Aramaic ܢ has been counted as being transliterated into the Greek μ as equalling one transliteration instance instead of four. The justification for this decision arises from the fact that once a word has been transliterated within a corpus, it normally retains the same transliterated spelling throughout said corpus.⁸ This decision also allows each transliteration to be represented equally in the numerical totals of the data. For example, the proper name ܢܒܘܚܕܢܥܘܪ//Ναβουχοδονοσορ occurs twenty-seven times in Adolf Rahlfs's edition of the Septuagint. Counting the ܢ-χ transliteration as twenty-seven individual transliteration instances would affect the numerical totals of the data, potentially leading some to conclude that ܢ was "usually" or "normally" transliterated into χ. However, counting each example as one transliteration instance no matter its number of occurrences within a corpus helps to avoid this misinterpretation. On the other hand, Greek transliterations which reflect two distinct spellings of the same Aramaic word (ex., σαμβύκης) have been counted as two transliteration instances in the data below.

Second, for the book of Daniel the Greek Theodotian recension has been evaluated as a distinct corpus. Although the Theodotian recension never disagrees with the Septuagint text in its transliterations, it does demonstrate at specific instances independent transliteration decisions (ex., 1q: Dan. 4.13, 17, 23), and thus even when Theodotian agrees with the Septuagint, it is not merely a passive copying of the Septuagint, but rather an active confirmation of it. Therefore, if the same Aramaic word is transliterated into the same Greek word in both Rahlfs's Septuagint and the Theodotian recension, they are counted as two transliteration instances. This has been marked in the tables below as "LXX/Th." The biblical citations can refer either to Rahlfs's Septuagint, Theodotian recension, or the LXX versification as opposed to the Masoretic one. This decision was made in order to keep the tables as "clutter-free" as possible, although admittedly the interested reader may have to do a bit more work to chase down the reference. The sign "2x" means that the same Aramaic-Greek

8. This is not always the case, especially in, for example, the Greek papyri from the Bar Kokhba period, but there are multiple scribes within this corpus with each transliterating words idiosyncratically (see below for discussion). Generally speaking, however, authors remain constant with their transliterations within a corpus.

transliteration occurs twice in the same word, and thus has been counted twice. The sign “etc” means that the same transliteration occurs in other places, with only the first appearance being listed.

Third, there are several words which, while appearing in the Aramaic sections cited above, are nevertheless uncertain as to their origin. For example, the proper name אֱלִיָּא appears numerous times in both Hebrew and Aramaic portions of the Old Testament, and it is always transliterated as Δανιηλ. It is uncertain whether the Aramaic-Greek has been carried over from its Hebrew-Greek transliteration, or whether the Aramaic-Greek transliteration is an independent transliteration that happens to agree exactly the Hebrew-Greek one. Therefore, it seems best to divide the evidence from the Septuagint into two charts, one which tabulates certain Aramaic-Greek transliterations and one which tabulates uncertain Aramaic-Greek transliterations. These results also have been kept separate in the final table below.

Finally, two pervasive difficulties present themselves, not only in the Septuagint but also in other corpora contained in this study. First, at times it is difficult to know if a Greek ending is a legitimate part of the transliteration, or rather a case ending that has been added so that it “makes sense” in Greek. On the whole, I have favored the Greek case ending option, and thus those final Greek letters which suggest themselves as case endings have not been included in the transliteration data.⁹ Second, it is extremely difficult to determine the correct transliteration of certain Aramaic letters such as the gutturals (*aleph, he, het, ’ayin*) and some vowels (*waw, yod*). The difficulty lies in knowing which of the Aramaic letters correspond to which of the Greek ones, especially when there are several of these difficult Aramaic letters in a row. I admit that there may be other legitimate ways to interpret the evidence than has been done so here, and I invite readers to be discerning and to think independently about this issue.¹⁰

9. The major examples are words that end in the following: *alpha, alpha-sigma, eta-sigma, omicron-iota, omicron-nu, omicron-sigma, omicron-epsilon, and sigma*.

10. This article reflects the second time I have wrestled with the issue of how to interpret the transliteration evidence. In my dissertation, I took a “minimalist” approach in which I was more likely to see certain vowels as accompanying consonants, and thus the corresponding Greek transliterations did not factor into the data; here I take a “maximalist” approach in which I have attempted to include as many Greek letters into the transliteration data as possible. This has had the effect of broadening the Greek transliteration possibilities of their underlying Aramaic letters (such as the Aramaic *yod*).

Table 1: *Septuagint Transliterations: Certain*

Aramaic	Greek	References and Transliterations	Total		
א	α	Ezra 6.15: Αδαρ — אָדאַר Dan 2.14 etc (LXX/Th): Αριωχ — אַריוֹךְ Ezra 4.9: Αρχυαῖοι — אַרְכְּוּי Dan 4.10: Ασενναφαρ — אַסְנַפַּר Ezra 4.9: Αφαρσαθαχαῖοι — אַפְרִסְתַּחְיָא Ezra 5.6 etc: Αφαρσαχαῖοι — אַפְרִסְחְיָא Ezra 4.9: Αφαρσαῖοι — אַפְרִסְיָא Dan 3.1 (Th): Δεῖρα — דִּירָא	9		
	η	Dan 5.0 LXX etc (LXX/Th): μανη — מָנָא	2		
ב	β	Dan 2.49 etc (LXX/Th): Αβδεναγω — אַבְדַּנְגֹו Ezra 4.8 etc: βααλαμ — בַּעַל-טַעַם Ezra 7.22: βᾶδων — בַּתִּין Ezra 5.3 etc: Σαθαρβουζανα — שַׁתַּר בּוּזְנִי Dan 3.5 (LXX/Th): σαμβύκης-1 — סַבְכָא Dan 3.7 etc (Th): σαμβύκης-2 — שַׁבְכָא	8		
		γ	Dan 2.49 etc (LXX/Th): Αβδεναγω — אַבְדַּנְגֹו	2	
		δ	Dan 2.49 etc (LXX/Th): Αβδεναγω — אַבְדַּנְגֹו Ezra 6.15: Αδαρ — אָדאַר Dan 3.1 (Th): Δεῖρα — דִּירָא Ezra 4.9: Διναῖοι — דִּינְיָא	5	
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			ω	Dan 2.49 etc (LXX/Th): Αβδεναγω — אַבְדַּנְגֹו Dan 2.14 etc (LXX/Th): Αριωχ — אַריוֹךְ	4
ει	Dan 3.1 (Th): Δεῖρα — דִּירָא	1			
υ	Ezra 4.9: Αρχυαῖοι — אַרְכְּוּי	1			
ου	Ezra 4.8 etc: Ραουμ — רְחוּם Ezra 5.3 etc: Σαθαρβουζανα — שַׁתַּר בּוּזְנִי Ezra 4.9: Σουσαναχαῖοι — שׁוּשַׁנְחְיָא	3			
ζ	Ezra 5.3 etc: Σαθαρβουζανα — שַׁתַּר בּוּזְנִי	1			

ה	α	Ezra 4.8 etc: Ραουμ — רְהוּם	1
ט	τ	Ezra 4.8 etc: βααλταμ — בְּעֵל־טַעַם Ezra 4.9: Ταρφαλλαῖοι — אֲרֵפְרָט	2
י	ι	Dan 2.14 etc (LXX/Th): Αριωχ — אֲרִיִּיחַ Dan 4.13 etc (Th): ιρ — עִיר	3
	α	Ezra 5.3 etc: Σαθαρβουζανα ¹¹ — שְׁתַּר בּוֹזַנִי	1
	αι	Ezra 4.9: Αρχυαῖοι — אֲרָחַי Ezra 4.9: Αφαρσαθαχῆοι — אֲפַרְסָרְפָּא Ezra 5.6, etc: Αφαρσαχῆοι — אֲפַרְסָרְפָּא Ezra 4.9: Αφαρσαῖοι — אֲפַרְסָרְפָּא Ezra 4.9 (2x): Διναῖοι — דִּינַי Ezra 4.9: Ηλαμαῖοι — אֲמֵלַמְלַח Ezra 5.3 etc: Θανθαναι — תַּתְנִי Ezra 4.8 etc: Σαμσαι — שְׁמַשׁ Ezra 4.9: Σουσαναχῆοι — שׁוּשַׁן Ezra 4.9: Ταρφαλλαῖοι — אֲרֵפְרָט	11
כ	χ	Dan 2.14 etc (LXX/Th): Αριωχ — אֲרִיִּיחַ Ezra 4.9: Αρχυαῖοι — אֲרָחַי Ezra 4.9: Αφαρσαθαχῆοι — אֲפַרְסָרְפָּא Ezra 5.6 etc: Αφαρσαχῆοι — אֲפַרְסָרְפָּא Ezra 4.9: Σουσαναχῆοι — שׁוּשַׁן	6
	κ	Dan 3.5 (LXX/Th): σαμβύκης-1 — סַבְכָּי Dan 3.7 etc (Th): σαμβύκης-2 — סַבְכָּי	3
ל	λ	Ezra 4.8 etc: βααλταμ — בְּעֵל־טַעַם Ezra 4.9: Ηλαμαῖοι — אֲמֵלַמְלַח Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): θεκελ — תְּקֵל	4
	λλ	Ezra 4.9: Ταρφαλλαῖοι — אֲרֵפְרָט	1

11. Ezra 5.3 and so on: it should be noted that according to the Masoretic Text (MT), the final vowel is a *pathak yod*, which could help account for this “anomaly.”

מ	μ	Ezra 4.8 etc: βααλταμ — בַּעֲל־טַעַם Ezra 4.9: Ηλαμαῖοι — אֶלְמַיָּע Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): μανη — מַנְיָא Ezra 4.8 etc: Ραουμ — רְחוּם Ezra 4.8 etc: Σαμσαι — שְׁמַשִּׁי	6
נ	v	Dan 2.49 etc (LXX/Th): Αβδεναγω — עֲבַד נְגוּ Ezra 4.9: Διναῖοι — דִּינַיָּע Ezra 5.3 etc: Θανθαναί — תַּחְנַיָּע Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): μανη — מַנְיָא Ezra 5.3 etc: Σαθαρβουζανα — שְׁתַּר בּוּזְנַיָּע Ezra 4.9: Σουσαναχαῖοι — שׁוּשַׁן־חַיָּע	8
	vv	Ezra 4.10: Ασενναφαρ — אֶסְנַפָּר	1
ס	σ	Ezra 4.10: Ασενναφαρ — אֶסְנַפָּר Ezra 4.9: Αφαρσαθαχαῖοι — אֶפְרַסְתַּחַיָּע Ezra 5.6 etc: Αφαρσαχαῖοι — אֶפְרַסְחַיָּע Ezra 4.9: Αφαρσαῖοι — אֶפְרַסַּיָּע Dan 3.5 (LXX/Th): σαμβύκης-1 — סַבְקַס Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): φαρες — פָּרַס	8
	α	Dan 2.49 etc (LXX/Th): Αβδεναγω — עֲבַד נְגוּ Ezra 4.8 etc: βααλταμ — בַּעֲל־טַעַם	3
	αα	Ezra 4.8 etc: βααλταμ — בַּעֲל־טַעַם	1
	η	Ezra 4.9: Ηλαμαῖοι — אֶלְמַיָּע	1
	untransl.	Dan 4.13 etc (Th): ιρ — עִיר	1
פ	φ	Ezra 4.10: Ασενναφαρ — אֶסְנַפָּר Ezra 4.9: Αφαρσαθαχαῖοι — אֶפְרַסְתַּחַיָּע Ezra 5.6 etc: Αφαρσαχαῖοι — אֶפְרַסְחַיָּע Ezra 4.9: Αφαρσαῖοι — אֶפְרַסַּיָּע Ezra 4.9: Ταρφαλλαῖοι — תַּרְפַּלַּיָּע Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): φαρες — פָּרַס	7
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ק	κ	Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): θεκελ — תְּקֵל	2
ר	ρ	Ezra 6.15: Ἀδαρ — אָדָר Dan 2.14 etc (LXX/Th): Ἀριωχ — אַרְיוֹךְ Ezra 4.9: Ἀρχυαῖοι — אַרְכָּי Ezra 4.10: Ἀσενναφאר — אֲסֶנְנַפָּר Ezra 4.9: Ἀφαρσαθαχαῖοι — אַפְרָסְתְּחָיָא Ezra 5.6 etc: Ἀφαρσαχαῖοι — אַפְרָסְתְּחָיָא Ezra 4.9: Ἀφαρσαῖοι — אַפְרָסָי Dan 3.1 (Th): Δεῖρα — דִּירָא Dan 4.13 etc (Th) ἰρ — יֵר Ezra 4.8 etc: Ραουμ — רְחוּם Ezra 5.3 etc: Σαθαρβουζανα — שְׂתֵר בּוֹזְנִי Ezra 4.9: Ταρφαλλαῖοι — טַרְפְּלָיָא Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): φαρες — פָּרַס	15
ש	σ	Ezra 5.3 etc: Σαθαρβουζανα — שְׂתֵר בּוֹזְנִי Ezra 4.8 etc (2x): Σαμσαι — שְׁמַשִּׁי Ezra 4.9 (2x): Σουσαναχαῖοι — שׁוּשַׁנְיָא Dan 3.7 etc (Th): σαμβύκης-2 — שְׁבָכָא	6
ת	θ	Ezra 4.9: Ἀφαρσαθαχαῖοι — אַפְרָסְתְּחָיָא Ezra 5.3 etc (2x): Θανθαναι — תְּתַנִּי Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): θεκελ — תְּקֵל Ezra 5.3 etc: Σαθαρβουζανα — שְׂתֵר בּוֹזְנִי	6
	δ	Ezra 7.22 βᾶδων — בְּתִין	1
Added letters	μ	Dan 3.5: σαμβύκης-1 — סְבָכָא Dan 3.7 etc (Th) σαμβύκης-2 — שְׁבָכָא	2
	ν	Ezra 5.3 etc: Θανθαναι — תְּתַנִּי	1

Table 2: *Septuagint Transliterations: Uncertain*

Aramaic	Greek	References and Transliterations	Total		
ס	α	Ezra 4.8 etc (2x): Αρθασασθα — ארתששתא ¹² Ezra 7.12 etc: Εσδρα — סרש Dan 3.12 (LXX/Th): Ιουδαῖοι — יואדא? Ezra 5.2: Σαλαθηλ — סלשיל	6		
	η	Dan 2.13 etc (LXX/Th): Δανηλ — דנאל Ezra 5.1: Ισραηλ — סרש? Dan 2.17: (LXX/Th): Μισαηλ — סישמ Ezra 5.2: Σαλαθηλ — סלשיל	6		
	untransl.	Ezra 5.1 etc: Αδδω — אדע ¹³ Dan 2.26 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-1 — בלששצר Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-2 — בלששצר ¹⁴	5		
ב	β	Ezra 5.2 (2x): Ζοροβαβελ — זרבל Dan 2.28 etc (LXX/Th): Ναβουχοδονοσορ — נבוכדנצר ¹⁵ Ezra 5.14 etc: Σασαβασαρ — סשבש Dan 2.26 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-1 — בלששצר Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-2 — בלששצר	9		
		λ	γγ	Ezra 5.1 etc: Αγγαιος — אנאי	1

12. This name has three different spellings in the MT: ארתששתא, ארתששתא, and ארתששתא. All have been counted as one spelling, except for ארתששתא which has been counted separately only for *samekh*.

13. Spelled the same way in Hebrew, except for the variant in Zech 1:1: אדע.

14. This name has two different spellings: בלששצר and בלששצר. Only the first has been included in the data.

15. This name has both *plene* and defective spelling. The *plene* spelling is the one that has been included in the data.

7	δ	Dan 2.13 etc (LXX/Th): Δαντηλ — דַּנְיֵאל Dan 3.12 (LXX/Th): Ιουδαῖοι — יְהוּדָאִי Dan 6.14 etc. (LXX/Th): Ἰουδαία — יהוד Dan 3.8 etc (LXX/Th): Ιουδαῖοι — יְהוּדָאִי Ezra 5.2: Ἰωσεδεκ — יוֹצְדָק Dan 5.28 etc (LXX/Th): Μῆδος — מֵדִי Dan 2.28 etc (LXX/Th): Ναβουχοδονοσορ — נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר Dan 2.49 (LXX/Th): Σεδραχ — שַׁרְדִּי	15
	δδ	Ezra 5.1 etc: Ἀδδω — אדוע	1
ה	α	Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Ἀζαρια — אַזְרַרְיָה Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Ἀνανια — אַנַּנְיָה Ezra 5.1: Ζαχαρίας — זְכַרְיָה	5
	η	Ezra 6.18: Μουση — מוֹשֶׁה	1
	untransl.	Dan 3.12 (LXX/Th): Ιουδαῖοι — יְהוּדָאִי Dan 6.14 etc (LXX/Th): Ἰουδαία — יהוד Dan 3.8 etc (LXX/Th): Ιουδαῖοι — יְהוּדָאִי	6
ו	υ	Dan 6.29 etc (LXX/Th): Κυρος — כּוֹרֶשׁ	2
	ω	Ezra 5.1 etc: Ἀδδω — אדוע Ezra 5.2: Ἰωσεδεκ — יוֹצְדָק	2
	ου	Ezra 5.2: Ἰησοῦς — יְשׁוּעַ Dan 3.12 (LXX/Th): Ιουδαῖοι — יְהוּדָאִי Dan 6.14 etc (LXX/Th): Ἰουδαία — יהוד Dan 3.8 etc (LXX/Th): Ιουδαῖοι — יְהוּדָאִי Dan 2.28 etc (LXX/Th): Ναβουχοδονοσορ — נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר Dan 5.2 etc (LXX/Th): Ἰερουσαλημ — יְרוּשָׁלַם	11
ז	ζ	Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Ἀζαρια — אַזְרַרְיָה Ezra 5.1: Ζαχαρίας — זְכַרְיָה Ezra 5.2: Ζοροβαβέλ — זְרֻבָבֶל	4
	σ	Ezra 7.12 etc: Εσδρα — אֶשְׂרָא	1

π	α	Ezra 5.1 etc: Αγγαίος — ַגְּזִי Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Ανανία — ַגְּזִיָּה Ezra 4.8 etc: Αρθασασθα — ַסְּתָשְׁשָׁתְּסָרְסָר	4		
τ	untransl.	Dan 2.26 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-1 — ַרְשָׁשְׂצָרֻסָּר ¹⁶	2		
י	ι	Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Αζαρια — ַרְשָׁרְצִיָּה Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Ανανία — ַגְּזִיָּה Dan 2.13 etc (LXX/Th): Δανιηλ — ַלְיִהֲנָה Ezra 5.1: Ζαχαρίας — ַרְשָׁרְצִיָּה Dan 3.12 (2x; LXX/Th): Ιουδαίοι — ַיְהֻדָּיָה Dan 6.14 etc. (LXX/Th): 'Ιουδαία — ַרְשָׁרְצִיָּה Dan 3.8 etc (LXX/Th): Ιουδαίοι — ַיְהֻדָּיָה Ezra 5.1: Ισραηλ — ַלְיִשְׂרָאֵל Ezra 5.2: Ιωσεδεκ — ַרְשָׁרְצִיָּה Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Μισαηλ — ַלְיִשְׂמֵאֵל Ezra 5.2: Σαλαθηλ — ַלְיִשְׂמֵאֵל Dan 5.2 etc (LXX/Th): Ιερουσαλημ — ַלְיִרְשָׁלַּיִם Dan 2.49 (LXX/Th): Μισαχ — ַלְיִשְׂמֵאֵל	24		
		ιη		Ezra 5.2: 'Ιησοῦς — ַרְשָׁרְצִיָּה	1
		ει		Ezra 4.17: Σαμαρεία — ַרְשָׁרְצִיָּה	1
		αι		Ezra 5.1 etc: Αγγαίος — ַגְּזִי Dan 3.8 etc (LXX/Th): Ιουδαίοι — ַיְהֻדָּיָה	3
				κ	
כ	χ	Ezra 5.1: Ζαχαρίας — ַרְשָׁרְצִיָּה Dan 2.49 (LXX/Th): Μισαχ — ַלְיִשְׂמֵאֵל Dan 2.28 etc (LXX/Th): Ναβουχοδονοσορ — ַרְשָׁרְצִיָּה Dan 2.49 (LXX/Th): Σεδραχ — ַרְשָׁרְצִיָּה	7		

16. One could make the argument that it is the *shin* that is not transliterated but based on the transliteration of Βαλτασαρ-2—ַרְשָׁרְצִיָּה, it suggests that the *shin*, indeed, is transliterated here.

ל	λ	Dan 2.13 etc (LXX/Th): Δανηλ — דַּנְיֵאל Ezra 5.2: Ζοροβαβελ — זְרֹבַבְדֶּן Ezra 5.1: Ισραηλ — יִשְׂרָאֵל Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Μισαηλ — מִישָׁאֵל Ezra 5.2 (2x): Σαλαθιηλ — שַׁלְתִּיאֵל Dan 2.26 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-1 — בְּלִשְׁטַצַּר Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-2 — בְּלִשְׁטַצַּר Dan 5.2 etc (LXX/Th): Ιερουσαλημ — יְרוּשָׁלַיִם	14
מ	μ	Dan 5.28 etc (LXX/Th): Μῆδος — מֵדִי Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Μισαηλ — מִישָׁאֵל Ezra 6.18: Μωσση — מֹשֶׁה Ezra 4.17: Σαμαρεία — שַׁמְרֹן Dan 5.2 etc (LXX/Th): Ιερουσαλημ — יְרוּשָׁלַיִם Dan 2.49 (LXX/Th): Μισαχ — מִישָׁח	10
נ	ν	Dan 2.17 (2x; LXX/Th): Ανανια — אַנְנִיָּה Dan 2.13 etc (LXX/Th): Δανηλ — דַּנְיֵאל Dan 2.28 etc (2x; LXX/Th): Ναβουχοδονοσορ — נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר	10
ס	σ	Ezra 7.12 etc: Αρθασασθα ¹⁷ — אֲרַתְשַׁשְׁתָּא Dan 5.28 (LXX/Th): Πέρσης — פֶּרְסִי	3
ע	α	Ezra 5.1 etc: Αδδω — אֲדוּוּ Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Αζαρια — אֲזַרְיָה	3
	ε	Ezra 7.12 etc: Εσδρα — אֲשֻׁרָא	1
	untransl.	Ezra 5.2: Ἰησοῦς — יְשׁוּעָה	1
פ	π	Dan 5.28: (LXX/Th): Πέρσης — פֶּרְסִי	2
צ	σ	Ezra 5.2: Ιωσεδεκ — יוֹזְבָד Dan 2.28 etc (LXX/Th): Ναβουχοδονοσορ — נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר Ezra 5.14 etc: Σασαβασαρ — שַׁשְׁבַּצַּר Dan 2.26 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-1 — בְּלִשְׁטַצַּר Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-2 — בְּלִשְׁטַצַּר	8

17. This is a variant spelling introduced in chapter 7 (vv. 12, 21).

ק	κ	Ezra 5.2: Ιωσεδεκ — יֹצְדֵק	1
ר	ρ	<p>Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Αζαρια — אֲרִיָּה</p> <p>Ezra 4.8 etc: Αρθασασθα — אֲרַתְתְּהִשְׁתָּא</p> <p>Ezra 7.12 etc: Εσδρα — אֲרָא</p> <p>Ezra 5.1: Ζαχαριας — זְכַרְיָה</p> <p>Ezra 5.2: Ζοροβαβελ — זְרֻבְבָל</p> <p>Ezra 5.1: Ισραηλ — אִשְׂרָאֵל</p> <p>Ezra 7.22: κόρων — כֹּרִין</p> <p>Dan 6.29 etc (LXX/Th): Κύρος — כּוּרְשׁ</p> <p>Dan 2.28 etc (LXX/Th): Ναβουχοδονοσορ — נְבוּכַדְנֶצְצַר</p> <p>Dan 5.28 (LXX/Th): Πέρσης — פָּרְס</p> <p>Ezra 4.17: Σαμαρεία — שְׁמַרְיָן</p> <p>Ezra 5.14 etc: Σασαβασαρ — שְׁשַׁבְצָר</p> <p>Dan 2.26 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-1 — בְּלִטְשַׁאצָּר</p> <p>Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-2 — בְּלִשְׁאצָּר</p> <p>Dan 5.2 etc (LXX/Th): Ιερουσαλημ — יְרוּשָׁלַיִם</p> <p>Dan 2.49 (LXX/Th): Σεδραχ — שְׁדַרְךָ</p>	24

ψ	σ	Ezra 4.8 etc (2x): Αρθασασθα — ארתשןרתש	19
		Ezra 5.2: Ἰησοῦς — ישו׳	
		Ezra 5.1: Ἰσραηλ — ישרא׳ל	
		Dan 6.29 (LXX/Th): Κῦρος — כורשׁ	
		Dan 2.17 (LXX/Th): Μισαηλ — מישא׳ל	
		Ezra 6.18: Μουσιῆ — מושי׳ה	
		Ezra 5.2: Σαλαθιηλ — סלתישא׳ל	
		Ezra 4.17: Σαμαρεία — סמרין׳	
		Ezra 5.14 etc (2x): Σασαβασαρ — שבצר׳	
		Dan 5.2 etc (LXX/Th): Ἱερουσαλημ — ירוש׳לם	
Dan 2.49 (LXX/Th): Μισαχ — מישא׳ח			
Dan 2.49 (LXX/Th): Σεδραχ — שררשׁ			
	τ	Dan 2.26 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-1 — בלשאצר׳	4
		Dan 5.0 etc (LXX/Th): Βαλτασαρ-2 — בלשאצר׳	
η	θ	Ezra 4.8 etc (2x): Αρθασασθα — ארתשןרתש	3
		Ezra 5.2: Σαλαθιηλ — סלתישא׳ל	
Added letters	αι	Dan 6.14 etc. (LXX/Th): Ἰουδαία — יהוד׳א	2
	δ	Ezra 7.12 etc: Εσδρα — ארזר׳	1

2.2. The New Testament

As for the New Testament, we are at a disadvantage since we only have the Greek transliterations and not the underlying Aramaic words themselves. The only recourse we have, therefore, is reconstruction. To assist us in this process, three modern works have been chosen on which the Aramaic reconstructions are based, namely, Hans Peter Rüger’s encyclopedia entry “Aramäisch II: Im Neuen Testament,” Fr. Bernard-Marie’s chapter on Aramaic words in the New Testament in his *La langue de Jésus*, and the Greek-English dictionary *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*.¹⁸ Additionally, due to the fact that WMA showed

18. Rüger, “Aramäisch II,” 3:602–610; Bernard-Marie, *La langue*, 29–44; Fredrick William Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

great freedom in the interchange between final *aleph* and final *he*,¹⁹ in the absence of the actual underlying Aramaic source one must decide how to reconstruct this portion of the word, and for the sake of consistency, and I have opted systematically for final *aleph*.²⁰

Finally, it should be noted that while in other contexts it is completely legitimate to group the New Testament writings together as a single corpus, in this case it is not: since the individual writings were written by multiple authors, this must be taken into account when tabulating the translation instances. Therefore, each individual author has been counted as a separate witness to a transliterated word.²¹ Aramaic words are found in the following books of the New Testament: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, Hebrews, James, Revelation. From these sixteen books, eight separate authors have been identified in secondary literature:²² Matthew (Matt.), Mark (Mark), Luke (Luke, Acts), John-1 (John), Paul (Rom, 1 Cor, 2 Cor, Gal, Col, 1 Thess, 2 Thess, 1 Tim), anonymous author of Hebrews (Hebrews), James (James), and John-2 (Rev).²³

Thus, for example, the word $\alpha\beta\beta\alpha$ appears three times in the New Testament: Mark 14.36; Romans 8.15; Galatians 4.6. Its individual phonemic transliterations have not been counted as three transliteration instances (number of times it appears in the corpus), nor as one transliteration instance (as if the NT had been written by one author), but as two transliteration instances since two authors (Mark and Paul) individually have transliterated this word from Aramaic to Greek. This has been marked below by the sign “2 aut,” “3 aut,” and so forth.

The sign “2x” means that the same Aramaic-Greek transliteration occurs twice in the same word, and thus has been counted twice. The sign “etc” means that the same transliteration occurs in other places, with only the first appearance being listed.

19. For example, cf. *Genesis Apocryphon* 20.9, 27, 34, where final *aleph* and final *he* are used interchangeably for the same word, אנתהא//אנתה.

20. While it may be argued that this decision skews the data against the transliteration data regarding *hes*, it must be noted that this study is looking for patterns of transliteration, and is not as interested in calculating the exact number of times a certain letter is transliterated from Aramaic into Greek. The *he* transliteration instances are well-represented in the data without the evidence from possible final *hes*. Notice, however, that I have included the final *he* variant in the Bar Kokhba letters for the word $\beta\alpha\beta\alpha\theta\alpha$.

21. This differs from how the LXX and Bar Kochba papyri have been handled because it is more certain how to distinguish between the various authors of the NT than it is between the other two sources.

22. For general discussion, see. D. A. Carson and Douglas Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2005).

23. On the debatable examples of grouping 1 Tim with Paul and of separating Rev from the Johannine literature, the data are not significantly affected either way, since only the word $\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\alpha\varsigma$ appears in these texts. If the reader were to disagree with both positions taken by the author, the numerical results would be exactly the same since the addition of another author for 1 Tim would be negated by the removal of another author for Rev. Similarly, if the reader were to disagree with only one position taken by the author, then the numerical results would differ by one.

Table 3: New Testament Transliterations

Aramaic	Greek	References and Transliterations	Total
Ⲁ	α	Mark 14.36 etc (2x; 2 aut): αββα — אבא Matt 27.16 etc (2x): Βαραββᾶς — בר אבא Matt 11.21 etc (4 aut): Βηθσαϊδά — בית צ'ידא Matt 27.33 etc (3 aut): Γολγοθᾶ — גלגלתא Matt 27.46 etc (2 aut): λεμα — למא John 1.42 etc (2 aut): Κηφᾶς — כ'פא Matt 27.6: κορβανᾶς — קרבנא Matt 6.24 etc (2 aut): μαμωνᾶς — ממונא Luke 10.38 etc (2 aut): Μάρθα — מרתא Matt 26.2 etc (6 aut): πάσχα — פסחא Matt 5.22: ῥακά — ריקא Acts 5.1: Σάπιρα — שפ'רא Matt 13.33 etc (2x; 2 aut): σάτα — סאתא Matt 4.10 etc (6 aut): σατανᾶς — סטנא Luke 1.15: σίκερα — שכרא Acts 9.36 etc: Ταβιθά — טב'תא Mark 5.41: ταλιθα κουμ — טל'תא קום 1 Cor 16:22 (2x): μαραναθα — מרנא אתא	45
	ε	Mark 15.34: ελωι — אלהי Mark 15.34: ελωι — אלהי	2
	η	Matt 27.46: ηλι — אלהי Matt 27.46: ηλι — אלהי	2
	χ	Acts 1.19: Ἀκελδαμάχ — אקל דמא ²⁴	1
	untransl.	Matt 10.4 etc (2 aut): Καναναῖος — קנאן John 1.41: Μεσσίας — משיחא 1 Cor 16:22: μαραναθα — מרנא אתא ²⁵	4

24. This is a very unexpected transliteration, yet even the textual variant (Αχελδαμαχ) ends the word with a Greek *chi*.

25. The two side-by-side Aramaic *alephs* were probably transliterated by one Greek *alpha*. For a defense of this transliteration, see my “Maranatha,” 99–112.

ב	β	<p>Matt 27.16 etc: Βαραββᾶς — בר אבא</p> <p>Matt 10.3 etc (3 aut): Βαρθολομαῖος — בר תלמי</p> <p>Acts 13.6: Βαριησοῦς — בר ישוע</p> <p>Matt 16.17: Βαριωνᾶ — בר יונה</p> <p>Acts 4.36 etc (2x): Βαρναβᾶς — בר נבו</p> <p>Mark 10.46: Βαρτιμαῖος — בר טמי</p> <p>Matt 10.25 etc (2x; 3 aut): Βεελζεβούλ — בעל זבול²⁶</p> <p>Matt 11.21 etc (4 aut): Βηθσαῖδᾶ — בית צידא</p> <p>Mark 3.17: βοανηργές — בני רגש</p> <p>Matt 27.46 etc (2 aut): σαβαχθανι — שבקתני</p> <p>Mark 7.11: κορβᾶν — קרבן</p> <p>Matt 27.6: κορβανᾶς — קרבנא</p> <p>Acts 9.36 etc: Ταβιθά — טביתא</p>	25
	ββ	<p>Mark 14.36 etc (2 aut): αββα — אבא</p> <p>Matt 27.16 etc Βαραββᾶς — בר אבא</p> <p>Mark 10.51 (2 aut): ῥαββουνί — רבוני</p> <p>Matt 12.1 etc (5 aut): σάββατον — שבתא</p>	10
ג	γ	<p>Mark 3.17: βοανηργές — בני רגש</p> <p>Matt 27.33 etc (2x; 3 aut): Γολγοθᾶ — גלגלתא</p>	7
ד	δ	<p>Acts 1.19: Ακελδαμάχ — הקל דמא</p> <p>Matt 11.21 etc (4 aut): Βηθσαῖδᾶ — בית צידא</p>	5
ה	α	Matt 16.17: Βαριωνᾶ — בר יונה	1
	ω	<p>Mark 15.34: ελωι — אלהי</p> <p>Mark 15.34: ελωι — אלהי</p>	2
	untransl.	<p>Matt 27.46: ηλι — אלהי</p> <p>Matt 27.46: ηλι — אלהי</p>	2

26. There are Greek as well as potential Aramaic variants to this phase; the Greek variants are: Βεελζεβούβ and Βεεζεβούλ. The most likely Hebrew variant is בַּעַל זְבוּיב (2 Kgs 1:2–3, 6, 16).

ו	ου	Acts 13.6: Βαρησοῦς — בר ישוע Matt 10.25 etc (3 aut): Βεελζεβούλ — בעל זבול Mark 10.51 (2 aut): ῥαββουνί — רבוני Mark 5.41: ταλιθα κουμ — טליתא קום	7
	ω	Matt 16.17: Βαριωνᾶ — בר יונה Matt 6.24 etc (2 aut): μαμωνᾶς — ממונא	3
ז	ζ	Matt 10.25 etc (3 aut): Βεελζεβούλ — בעל זבול	3
ח	α	Acts 1.19: Ἀκελδαμάχ — דמא חקל John 1.41 etc: Μεσσίας — משיחא	2
	χ	Matt 26.2 etc (6 aut): πάσχα — פסחא	6
ט	τ	Mark 10.46: Βαρτιμαῖος — בר טמי Matt 4.10 etc (6 aut): σατανᾶς — סטנא Acts 9.36 etc: Ταβιθά — טביתא Mark 5.41: ταλιθα κουμ — טליתא קום	9

י	α	Matt 5.22: ῥακά — ריקא	1
	ι	Matt 16.17: Βαριωνᾶ — בר יונה Matt 27.46: ἡλι — אלהי Matt 27.46: ἡλι — אלהי Mark 15.34: ελωι — אלהי Mark 15.34: ελωι — אלהי Matt 27.46 (2 aut): σαβαχθανι — שבקתני John 1.41 etc: Μεσσίας — משיחא Mark 10.51 (2 aut): ῥαββουνι — רבוני Acts 5.1: Σάπιρα — שפירא Acts 9.36 etc: Ταβιθά — טביתא Mark 5.41: ταλιθα κουμ — טליתא קום ²⁷	13
	ιη	Acts 13.6: Βαριησοῦς — בר ישוע	1
	αι	Matt 10.3 etc (3 aut): Βαρθολομαῖος — בר תלמי Mark 10.46: Βαρτιμαῖος — בר טמי Matt 11.21 etc (4 aut): Βηθσαῖδά — בית צידא	8
	η	Matt 11.21 etc (4 aut): Βηθσαῖδά — בית צידא Mark 3.17: βοανηργές — בני רגש John 1.42 etc (2 aut): Κηφᾶς — כיפא	7
כ	κ	John 1.42 etc (2 aut): Κηφᾶς — כיפא Luke 1.15: σίκερα — שכרא	3

27. If the second *yod* is accepted as the correct Aramaic ending for the fem. sg. impv., then there would be two transliteration examples here.

ל	λ	<p>Acts 1.19: Ἀκελδαμάχ — הקל דמא</p> <p>Matt 10.3 etc (3 aut): Βαρθολομαῖος — בר תלמי</p> <p>Matt 10.25 etc (2x; 3 aut): Βεελζεβούλ — בעל זבול</p> <p>Matt 27.33 etc (3 aut): Γολγοθᾶ — גלגלתא</p> <p>Matt 27.46: ἦλι — אלהי</p> <p>Matt 27.46: ἦλι — אלהי</p> <p>Mark 15.34: ελωι — אלהי</p> <p>Mark 15.34: ελωι — אלהי</p> <p>Matt 27.46 etc (2 aut): λεμα — למא</p> <p>Mark 5.41: ταλιθα κουμ — טליתא קום</p>	20
	untransl.	<p>Matt 27.33 etc (3 aut): Γολγοθᾶ — גלגלתא</p>	3
מ	μ	<p>Acts 1.19: Ἀκελδαμάχ — הקל דמא</p> <p>Matt 10.3 etc (3 aut): Βαρθολομαῖος — בר תלמי</p> <p>Mark 10.46: Βαρτιμαῖος — בר טמי</p> <p>Matt 27.46 etc (2 aut): λεμα — למא</p> <p>Matt 6.24 etc (2x; 2 aut): μαμωνᾶς — ממונא</p> <p>Luke 10.38 etc (2 aut): Μάρθα — מרתא</p> <p>John 1.41 etc: Μεσσίας — משיחא</p> <p>Mark 5.41: ταλιθα κουμ — טליתא קום</p> <p>1 Cor 16:22: μαρاناθα — מרנא אתא</p>	16
נ	ν	<p>Matt 16.17: Βαριωνᾶ — בר יונה</p> <p>Acts 4:36 etc: Βαρναβᾶς — בר נבו</p> <p>Mark 3.17: βοανηργές — בני רגש</p> <p>Matt 27.46 etc (2 aut): σαβαχθανι — שבקתני</p> <p>Matt 10.4 etc (2x; 2 aut): Καναναῖος — קנאן</p> <p>Mark 7.11: κορβᾶν — קרבן</p> <p>Matt 27.6: κορβανᾶς — קרבנא</p> <p>Matt 6.24 etc (2 aut): μαμωνᾶς — ממונא</p> <p>Mark 10.51 (2 aut): ῥαββουνί — רבוני</p> <p>Matt 4.10 etc (6 aut): σατανᾶς — סטנא</p> <p>1 Cor 16:22: μαρاناθα — מרנא אתא</p>	22

ס	σ	Matt 26.2 etc (6 aut): πάσχα — פסחא Matt 4.10 etc (6 aut): σατανᾶς — סטנא Matt 13.33 etc (2 aut): σάτα — סאתא	14
ע	εε	Matt 10.25 etc (3 aut): Βεελζεβούλ — זבול בעל	3
	untransl.	Acts 13.6: Βαρισοῦς — בר ישוע	1
פ	π	Matt 26.2 etc (6 aut): πάσχα — פסחא	6
	φ	John 1.42 etc (2 aut): Κηφᾶς — כיפא	2
	πφ	Acts 5.1: Σάπιρα — שפירא	1
צ	σ	Matt 11.21 etc (4 aut): Βηθσαιῶδα — בית צידא	4
ק	κ	Acts 1.19: Ἀκελδαμάχ — חקל דמא ²⁸ Matt 10.4 etc (2 aut): Καναναῖος — קנאן Mark 7.11: κορβᾶν — קרבן Matt 27.6: κορβανᾶς — קרבנא Matt 5.22: ῥακά — ריקא Mark 5.41: ταλιθα κουμ — טליתא קום	7
	χ	Matt 27.46 etc (2 aut): σαβαχθανι — שבקתני	2
ר	ρ	Matt 27.16 etc: Βαραββᾶς — בר אבא Matt 10.3 etc (3 aut): Βαρθολομαῖος — בר תלמי Acts 13.6: Βαρισοῦς — בר ישוע Matt 16.17: Βαριωνᾶ — בר יונה Acts 4.36 etc: Βαρναβᾶς — בר נבו Mark 10.46: Βαρτιμαῖος — בר טמי Mark 3.17: βοανηργές — בני רגש Mark 7.11: κορβᾶν — קרבן Matt 27.6: κορβανᾶς — קרבנא Luke 10.38 etc (2 aut): Μάρθα — מרתא Mark 10.51 (2 aut): ῥαββουνί — רבוני Matt 5.22: ῥακά — ריקא Acts 5.1: Σάπιρα — שפירא Luke 1.15: σίκερα — שכרא 1 Cor 16:22: μαρναναθα — מרנא אתא	19

28. It should be noted that there are variants in this section, namely, *Ακελδαμαχ* and *ραχα*, which would change from *ki* to *chi*. These variants, however, have not been included in the data.

ש	σ	Acts 13.6: Βαρησοῦς — בר ישוע Mark 3.17: βοανηργές — בני רגש Matt 27.46 etc (2 aut): σαβαχθάνι — שבקתני Matt 12.1 etc (5 aut): σάββατον — שבתא Acts 5.1: Σάπιρα — שפירא Luke 1.15: σίκερα — שכרא	11
	σσ	John 1.41 etc: Μεσσίας — משיחא	1
ת	θ	Matt 10.3 etc (3 aut): Βαρθολομαῖος — בר תלמי Matt 11.21 etc (4 aut): Βηθσαϊδά — בית צידא Matt 27.33 etc (3 aut): Γολγοθᾶ — גלגלתא Matt 27.46 etc (2 aut): σαβαχθάνι — שבקתני Luke 10.38 etc (2 aut): Μάρθα — מרתא Matt 13.33 etc (2 aut): σάτα — סאתא Acts 9.36 etc: Ταβιθά — טביתא Mark 5.41: ταλιθα κουμ — טליתא קום 1 Cor 16:22: μαρاناθα — מרנא אתא	19
	τ	Matt 12.1 etc (5 aut): σάββατον — שבתא	5
Added letters	--	--	--

2.3. Archaeological Inscriptions from Jerusalem

As for the archaeological inscriptions from Jerusalem, all data have come from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae. Volume 1: Jerusalem. Part 1: 1-704*.²⁹ The primary difficulty in assessing the data from this corpus comes from the fact that in many places a word could be either Hebrew or Aramaic.³⁰ This is true especially of the ossuaries, where frequently only the individual's name has been written without further clues which could help identify its original language. Thus as was done with the Septuagint above, two tables are presented below, one representing those words

29. Hannah Cotton et al., eds., *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*, vol. 1, *Jerusalem: Part 1, 1-704* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010).

30. Although speaking of the Talmudic time period, one is reminded of M. H. Goshen-Gottstein's complaint, "I can only say from bitter experience as a lexicographer that it is often impossible to decide whether a certain word is intended to be Hebrew or Aramaic." Goshen-Gottstein, "The Language of Targum Onqelos and the Model of Literary Diglossia in Aramaic," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37, no. 2 (1978): 169-79, here 175n28.

Andrew Messmer: *Aramaic to Greek Transliterations in Western Middle Aramaic* thought to be Aramaic with reasonable certainty, and another representing those considered uncertain as to their original language.³¹

Table 4: *Archaeological Inscriptions from Jerusalem Transliterations: Certain*

Aramaic	Greek	References and Transliterations	Total
א	ε	348: Ελεαζαρου — אלעזר 348: Ελιεζρος — אליעזר 349: Ελισαβη — אלישבע	3
ב	β	349: Ελισαβη — אלישבע	1
ג	--	--	--
ד	--	--	--
ה	untransl.	318: Ιοσ[ηφ] — יהוספ ³² 493: Ιωναθης — יהותן 500: Ιωναθης — יהונתן 366: Ιωσηπος — יהוסף	4
ו	ο	318: Ιοσ[ηφ] — יהוספ	1
	ω	493: Ιωναθης — יהותן 500: Ιωναθης — יהונתן 366: Ιωσηπος — יהוסף	3
ז	ζ	348: Ελεαζαρου — אלעזר 348: Ελιεζρος — אליעזר	2
ח	α	411: Aviv — חנין	1
ט	--	--	--
י	ι	411: Aviv — חנין 348: Ελιεζρος — אליעזר 349: Ελισαβη — אלישבע 318: Ιοσ[ηφ] — יהוספ 493: Ιωναθης — יהותן 500: Ιωναθης — יהונתן 366: Ιωσηπος — יהוסף	7
	ια	356: Μαριαμη — מרים	1

31. Even with this caveat, however, it must be admitted that complete certainty as to someone's name is impossible. For example, even names found in clearly Aramaic texts may be Hebrew names given to an Aramaic-speaking person. It seems more likely that in such cases the name would be pronounced according to Aramaic pronunciation as opposed to Hebrew (that is, if such a difference were to be perceptible).

32. The Greek *eta-phi* ending has not been preserved in the original inscription and has been emended to the transliteration; they have not been included in the data.

כ	--	--	--
ל	λ	348: Ελεαζαρου — אלעזר 348: Ελιεζρος — אליעזר 349: Ελισαβη — אלישבע	3
מ	μ	356 (2x): Μαριαμη — מרים	2
נ	ν	411 (2x): Ανιν — הנין 493: Ιωναθης — יהותן ³³ 500: Ιωναθης — יהונתן	4
	untransl.	493: Ιωναθης — יהותן 500: Ιωναθης — יהונתן	2
ס	σ	318: Ιοσ[ηφ] — יהוספ 366: Ιωσηπος — יהוסף	2
ע	εα	348: Ελεαζαρου — אלעזר	1
	ε	348: Ελιεζρος — אליעזר	1
	η	349: Ελισαβη — אלישבע	1
פ	π	366: Ιωσηπος — יהוסף	1
צ	--	--	--
ק	--	--	--
ר	ρ	348: Ελεαζαρου — אלעזר 348: Ελιεζρος — אליעזר 356: Μαριαμη — מרים	3
ש	σ	349: Ελισαβη — אלישבע	1
ת	θ	493: Ιωναθης — יהותן 500: Ιωναθης — יהונתן	2
		356: Μαριαμη — מרים	
Added letters	η	356: Μαριαμη — מרים	1

33. There is no underlying Aramaic *nun*, but its presence here is almost certainly assured by its presence elsewhere in *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* (see no. 500) and its otherwise inexplicable absence. In other words, the absent Aramaic *nun* appears to be a scribal error.

Table 5: *Archaeological Inscriptions from Jerusalem Transliterations: Uncertain*

Aramaic	Greek	References and Transliterations	Total
א	α	266: Εζρας — עזרא 74 etc: Μαρθα — מרתא 110: Σαουλος — שאול 398: Σαφειρα — שפירא	4
	η	267: Ιωανηου — יוחנא	1
ב	β	330: Σαβατις — שבתי	1
ג	--	--	--
ד	--	--	--
ה	α	295: Ιεσουα — ישועה 21 etc: Μαρια — מריה	2
	εσ	354: Λευεις — לוי	1
ו	ω	267: Ιωανηου — יוחנא 307 etc: Σαλωμη — שלומ ³⁴ 279: Σελαμασιων — שלמציין	3
	ου	295: Ιεσουα — ישועה 110: Σαουλος — שאול	2
	ζ	266: Εζρας — עזרא 199: Ζαχαριου — זכריה ³⁵	2
ח	α	267: Ιωανηου — יוחנא	1
	η	318: Μανηημ — מנחם ³⁶	1
ט	--	--	--

34. The Aramaic inscription ends with a medial *mem*, which has been preserved here.

35. The Aramaic final *he* has not been included in the data because its original corresponding Greek transliteration is unknown (the *omicron-epsilon* is the case ending).

36. The Aramaic *het* could have been transliterated by the Greek *alpha*, *eta*, or both. However, it seems most likely that the *alpha* represents the accompanying vocalic sound to the Aramaic *nun*. The same Aramaic and Greek transliteration occurs below in the Bar Kokhba documents, where the same decision has been made regarding its transliteration values.

י	ι	199: Ζαχαριου — זכריה 295: Ιεσουα — ישועה 267: Ιωανηου — יוחנא 21 etc: Μαρια — מריה 133 etc: Μαριαμη — מרים ³⁷ 330: Σαβατις — שבתית 279: Σελαμασιων — שלמציון 500: Σελασιων — שלמצין	8
	ει	354: Λευεις — לוי 398: Σαφειρα — שפירא	
כ	χ	199: Ζαχαριου — זכריה	1
ל	λ	354: Λευεις — לוי 307 etc: Σαλωμη — שלומ 110: Σαουλος — שאול 279: Σελαμασιων — שלמציון 500: Σελασιων — שלמצין	5
מ	μ	318 (2x): Μαναημ — מנחם 74 etc: Μαρθα — מרתא 21 etc: Μαρια — מריה 133 etc (2x): Μαριαμη — מרים 307 etc: Σαλωμη — שלומ 279: Σελαμασιων — שלמציון	8
	untransl.	500: Σελασιων — שלמצין	
נ	ν	267: Ιωανηου — יוחנא 318: Μαναημ — מנחם 279: Σελαμασιων — שלמציון 500: Σελασιων — שלמצין	4
ס	--	--	--
ע	ε	266: Εζρας — עזרא	1
	untransl.	295: Ιεσουα — ישועה ³⁸	1
פ	φ	398: Σαφειρα — שפירא	1

37. The Aramaic inscription begins with a final *mem*, which has been preserved here.

38. The final *he* seems more likely to have been transliterated than the *'ayin*.

צ	σ	279: Σελαμασιων — שלמציון 500: Σελασιων — שלמצין	2
ק	--	--	--
ר	ρ	266: Εζρας — עזרא 199: Ζαχαριου — זכריה 74 etc: Μαρθα — מרתא 21 etc: Μαρια — מריה 133 etc: Μαριαμη — מרים 398: Σαφειρα — שפירא	6
ש	σ	295: Ιησουα — ישועה 330: Σαβατις — שבתית 307 etc: Σαλωμη — שלומ 110: Σαουλος — שאול 398: Σαφειρα — שפירא 279: Σελαμασιων — שלמציון 500: Σελασιων — שלמצין	7
ת	θ	74 etc: Μαρθα — מרתא	1
	σ	330: Σαβατις — שבתית	1
	τ	330: Σαβατις — שבתית	1
Added letters	η	133 etc (2x): Μαριαμη — מרים	1

2.4. Greek documents from the Bar Kokhba period from the cave of letters

As for the Greek documents from the Bar Kokhba period found in the cave of letters, all data have come from Naphtali Lewis's work, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri*.³⁹ From this edition of the documents, four considerations have been taken into account. First, there are some names which were written interchangeably with either final *aleph* or final *he*. As with the New Testament above, I have chosen systematically to include the final *aleph* form. Second, due to the difficulties involved in the reconstruction of Aramaic words from Greek transliterations, as well as the fact that there is no known modern work which attempts to do so, only words which contain both the Greek and its corresponding

39. Naphtali Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989).

Aramaic equivalent have been included.⁴⁰ Third, both Greek and Aramaic spelling in this corpus is inconsistent, at times even within the same document.⁴¹ This makes it difficult to determine which Greek word is transliterating which Aramaic word. Some of these variants have been noted in the footnotes, but the reader is directed to Naphtali Lewis’s work for further information.⁴² Fourth, whereas with other sources it has been possible to identify different authors and therefore adjust the numerical totals accordingly, there is no known comprehensive discussion of the various authors of these letters,⁴³ and therefore the corpus has been treated as a single unit.

Table 6: Bar Kokhba Transliterations

Aramaic	Greek	References and Transliterations	Total
Ⲛ	α	16.18 etc: Αλγιοταμμα — ע ל ג י מ א	7
		13.2 etc: βαβαθα — אבבא ⁴⁴	
		20.4 etc: Βησας — אבס	
		15.33 etc: Εγλας — אגלע	
	ε	13.21 etc: Ελλουθα — אלתא	1
		22.29: Μαχουθας — אכות ⁴⁵	
	η	18.5 etc: Σωμαλα — אשלמ	1
	untransl.	17.3 etc: Ελεαζαρου — אעזר	1
		14.36 etc: Ιωανης — אונא	1
		13.21 etc: Ελλουθα — אלתא ⁴⁶	1

40. That is, either present in the documents themselves or provided in a reconstructed form by Lewis. For example, while the Aramaic behind the word Αλγιοταμμα (letter 16.18, 22) does not appear in the documents themselves, Lewis provides א מ א ע ל ג י מ א on p. 136n1 as a reconstruction. This form has been included in the data. Thus only some of the words from section “VI. Geographical Names” in Lewis’s index have been included in the data.

41. For example, in letter 18, two Aramaic spellings (Ⲛⲓⲙⲗⲙⲟⲩ, Ⲛⲓⲙⲗⲙⲟⲩ) and two Greek transliterations (Σελαμψιωνη, Σελαμψιους) are found. It is impossible to know with certainty which Greek word is transliterating which Aramaic variant. For this reason, this specific example has not been included in the data.

42. Another resource would be the Appendix in my dissertation: “Maranatha,” 286–93.

43. Lewis notes that letters 20–27, 34 are written by Germanos son of Judah (88), and letters 13–15, 17–18 were written by the same scribe (51, 54). But this is far from a comprehensive discussion of all the letters and authors from this corpus.

44. There are both Greek and Aramaic variants of this word. The Greek variant has not been included in the data, but the Aramaic variant, which includes a final *he* as opposed to a final *aleph*, has been included in the appropriate place.

45. There are Greek variants of this name: Μαχουθα and Μακουθα.

46. This could also be seen as an untransliterated *god*, but the characteristic weakness of the *aleph* leads me to believe that it does not contribute much to producing the *epsilon* sound at the beginning of the word.

ב	β	15.4 etc (2x): Αβδοοβδα — עבדעבדת 13.2 etc (2x): βαβαθα — בבתא 27.5 etc (2x): Βαβελις — בבלי 20.4 etc: Βησας — בסא 17.5 etc: Ιακωβος — יעקוב 18.11 etc: Κιμβερ — קמבר 20.6 etc: Κινβερ — קמבר	10
ג	γ	16.18 etc: Αλγιφιαμμα — על גיף ימא 16.25 (2x): Βαγαλγαλα — גלגל ⁴⁷ 21.9 etc: γανναθ — גנת 15.33 etc: Εγλας — עגלא	5
ד	δ	15.4 etc (2x): Αβδοοβδα — עבדעבדת 15.32 etc: Ιουδας — יהודה 16.15 etc: Ιουδανης — יודן	4
ה	α	14.39 etc: Ανανιας — חנניה 13.2 etc: βαβαθα — בבתה ⁴⁸ 15.32 etc: Ιουδας — יהודה	3
	untransl.	15.32 etc: Ιουδας — יהודה 14.39 etc: Ιωσηπος — יוהסף	2

47. The Greek *beta-alpha* beginning appears to reflect an Aramaic prefix and has not been included in the data.

48. The final *he* is a variant spelling found only at 15.37 (2x).

ι	ου	13.21 etc: Ελλουθα — אילותא 5ai.16 etc: Ιησους — ישוע ⁴⁹ 15.32 etc: Ιουδας — יהודה 16.15 etc: Ιουδανης — יודן 22.29: Μαχουθας — מכותא 14.37 etc: Σαμμουος — שמוע 11.2 etc: Χθουσιων — כתושיון	7
	ω	17.5 etc: Ιακωβος — יעקוב 14.36 etc: Ιωανης — יוחנא 14.39 etc: Ιωσηπος — יהספ 21.6 etc: Σιμων — שמעון 11.2 etc: Χθουσιων — כתושיון	5
ι	ζ	17.3 etc: Ελεαζαρου — אלעזר	1
π	α	14.39 etc: Ανανιας — חנניה 14.36 etc: Ιωανης — יוחנא	2
	η	14.5 etc: Μαναημος — מנחם	1
υ	--	--	--

49. There are variants—real and potential—of this name: Ιησους, Ιησουτος, Ιασσουτος, and Ησους. They have not been included in the data, except for Ησους which has been included only as *yod-eta* transliteration.

י	ι	16.18 etc: Αλγιφιαμμα — על גיף ימא 14.39 etc: Ανανιας — חנניה 27.5 etc: Βαβελις — בבלי 17.5 etc: Ιακωβος — יעקוב 15.32 etc: Ιουδας — יהודה 16.15 etc: Ιουδανης — יודן 14.36 etc: Ιωανης — יוחנא 14.39 etc: Ιωσηπος — יוהספ 11.2 etc: Χθουσιων — כתושיון	9
	ια	16.18 etc: Αλγιφιαμμα — על גיף ימא 20.41 etc: ιαθμεις — יתמא ⁵⁰	2
	ιη	5ai.16 etc: Ιησους — ישוע	1
	η	15.33: Ησους — ישוע	1
	ε	13.21 etc: Ελλουθα — אילותא	1
כ	κ	16.17 etc: κορος — כר	1
	χ	11.2 etc: Χθουσιων — כתושיון	1
	χχ	22.29: Μαχχουθας — מכותא ⁵¹	1
ל	λ	16.18 etc: Αλγιφιαμμα — על גיף ימא 27.5 etc: Βαβελις — בבלי 16.25 (2x): Βαγαλαγαλα — גלגל 15.33 etc: Εγλας — עגלא 17.3 etc: Ελεαζαρου — אלעזר 18.5 etc: Σωμαλα — שמלא	7
	λλ	13.21 etc: Ελλουθα — אילותא	1

50. The Greek *epsilon-iota-sigma* ending is debatable with relationship to the Aramaic *aleph* ending. Neither the Greek nor Aramaic endings have been included in the data.

51. The second *chi* may be a scribal error (see. Lewis, *Documents*, 101).

מ	μ	20.41 etc: ιαθμεις — יתמא 18.11 etc: Κιμβερ — קמבר 14.5 etc (2x): Μαναημος — מנחם 16.29 etc: Μανθανθου — מנתנתא 22.29: Μαχουθας — מכוחא 21.6 etc: Σιμων — שמעון 18.5 etc: Σωμαλα — שמלא	8
	μμ	16.18 etc: Αλγιφιαμμα — על גיף ימא 14.37 etc: Σαμμουος — שמוע	2
	ν	20.6 etc: Κινβερ — קמבר	1
נ	ν	14.39, etc (2x): Ανανιας — חנניה 16.15 etc: Ιουδανης — יודן 14.36 etc: Ιωανης — יוחנא 14.5 etc: Μαναημος — מנחם 16.29 etc (2x): Μανθανθου — מנתנתא 21.6 etc: Σιμων — שמעון 11.2 etc: Χθουσιων — כתושיון	9
	νν	21.9 etc: γανναθ — גנת	1
ס	σ	20.4 etc: Βησας — בסא 14.39 etc: Ιωσηπος — יוהסף	2
ע	α	15.4 etc: Αβδοοβδα — עבדעבדת 16.18 etc: Αλγιφιαμμα — על גיף ימא 17.5 etc: Ιακωβος — יעקוב	3
	ε	15.33 etc: Εγλας — עגלא	1
	εα	17.3 etc: Ελεζαρου — אלעזר	1
	ο	14.37 etc: Σαμμουος — שמוע	1
	οο	15.4 etc: Αβδοοβδα — עבדעבדת ⁵²	1
	untransl.	5ai.16 etc: Ιησους — ישוע 21.6 etc: Σιμων — שמעון	2
פ	π	14.39 etc: Ιωσηπος — יוהסף	1
	φ	16.18 etc: Αλγιφιαμμα — על גיף ימא	1
צ	--	--	--

52. The variant spelling in 15.33 of Αβδοοβδα yields a translated value *alpha-omicron* for the 'ayin.

ק	κ	17.5 etc: Ιακωβος — יעקוב 18.11 etc: Κιμβερ — קמבר 20.6 etc: Κινβερ — קמבר	3
ר	ρ	17.3 etc: Ελεαζαρου — אלעזר 18.11 etc: Κιμβερ — קמבר 20.6 etc: Κινβερ — קמבר 16.17 etc: κορος — כר	4
ש	σ	5ai.16 etc: Ιησους — ישוע 14.37 etc: Σαμμουος — שמוע 21.6 etc: Σιμων — שמעון 18.5 etc: Σωμαλα — שמלא 11.2 etc: Χθουσιων — כתושיון	5
ת	θ	13.2 etc: Βαβαθα — בבתא 21.9 etc: γανναθ — גנת 13.21 etc: Ελλουθα — אילותא 20.41 etc: ιαθμεις — יתמא 16.29 etc (2x): Μανθανθου — מנתנתא 22.29: Μαχουθας — מכותא 11.2 etc: Χθουσιων — כתושיון	8
	untransl.	15.4 etc: Αβδοοβδα — עבדעבדת ⁵³	1
Added letters	--	--	--

2.5. Totals from the four corpora

When combining the totals from the four corpora presented above, the transliteration totals from WMA into Greek is as follows.

Table 7: *Master Transliteration Chart*

53. This may have been left untransliterated because it was the last letter of the name and was dropped in order to convert the Semitic name into a “Greek” form that ends in *alpha*.

2.5. Totals from the four corpora

When combining the totals from the four corpora presented above, the transliteration totals from WMA into Greek is as follows.

Table 7: Master Transliteration Chart

Aramaic	Greek	LXX cert.	LXX uncert.	NT	Jerusa- lem cert.	Jeru- salem uncert.	Bar Kokhba	Total ⁵⁴
Ⲁ	α	9	6	45	--	4	7	71/61
	ε	--	--	2	3	--	1	6
	η	2	6	2	--	1	1	12/5
	χ	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
	untransl.	--	5	4	--	--	1	10/5
Ⲃ	β	8	9	25	1	1	10	54/44
	ββ	--	--	10	--	--	--	10
Ⲅ	γ	2	--	7	--	--	5	14
	γγ	--	1	--	--	--	--	1/0
Ⲇ	δ	5	15	5	--	--	4	29/14
	δδ	--	1	--	--	--	--	1/0
Ⲉ	α	--	5	1	--	2	3	11/4
	η	--	1	--	--	--	--	1/0
	ω	--	--	2	--	--	--	2
	untransl.	--	6	2	4	--	2	14/8
Ⲋ	ει	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
	ευ	--	--	--	--	1	--	1/0
	ο	--	--	--	1	--	--	1
	ου	3	11	7	--	2	7	30/17
	υ	1	2	--	--	--	--	3/1
	ω	4	2	3	3	3	5	20/15
Ⲍ	ζ	1	4	3	2	2	1	13/7
	σ	--	1	--	--	--	--	1/0
Ⲏ	α	1	4	2	1	1	2	11/6
	η	--	--	--	--	1	1	2/1
	χ	--	--	6	--	--	--	6
Ⲑ	τ	2	--	9	--	--	--	11
	untransl.	--	2	--	--	--	--	2/0

54. The first figure includes the totals from the two “uncertain” charts, while the second figure (if there is one) excludes them.

ܐ	α	1	--	1	--	--	--	2
	αι	11	3	8	--	--	--	22/19
	ε	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
	ει	--	1	--	--	2	--	3/0
	η	--	--	7	--	--	1	8
	ι	3	24	13	7	8	9	64/32
	ια	--	--	--	1	--	2	3
	ιη	--	1	1	--	--	1	3/2
ܓ	κ	3	3	3	--	--	1	10/7
	χ	6	7	--	--	1	1	15/7
	χχ	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
ܕ	λ	4	14	20	3	5	7	53/34
	λλ	1	--	--	--	--	1	2
	untransl.	--	--	3	--	--	--	3
ܡ	μ	6	10	16	2	8	8	50/32
	μμ	--	--	--	--	--	2	2
	ν	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
	untransl.	--	--	--	--	1	--	1/0
ܢ	ν	8	10	22	4	4	9	57/43
	νν	1	--	--	--	--	1	2
	untransl.	--	--	--	2	--	--	2
ܣ	σ	8	3	14	2	--	2	29/26
ܥ	α	3	3	--	--	--	3	9/6
	αα	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
	ε	--	1	--	1	1	1	4/2
	εα	--	--	--	1	--	1	2
	εε	--	--	3	--	--	--	3
	η	1	--	--	1	--	--	2
	ο	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
	οο	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
untransl.	1	1	1	--	1	2	6/4	
ܦ	π	--	2	6	1	--	1	10/8
	πφ	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
	φ	7	--	2	--	1	1	11/10
ܨ	σ	--	8	4	--	2	--	14/4
ܩ	κ	2	1	7	--	--	3	13/12
	χ	--	--	2	--	--	--	2
ܪ	ρ	15	24	19	3	6	4	71/41
ܫ	σ	6	19	11	1	7	5	49/23
	σσ	--	--	1	--	--	--	1
	τ	--	4	--	--	--	--	4/0

n	δ	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
	θ	6	3	19	2	1	8	39/35
	σ	--	--	--	--	1	--	1/0
	τ	--	--	5	--	1	--	6/5
	untransl.	--	--	--	--	--	1	1
Added letters	αι	--	2	--	--	--	--	2/0
	δ	--	1	--	--	--	--	1/0
	η	--	--	--	1	1	--	2/1
	μ	2	--	--	--	--	--	2
	ν	1	--	--	--	--	--	1

3. Summary and Example Application

With the survey of Aramaic to Greek transliterations completed, we can now evaluate the transliteration patterns. For many Aramaic letters, especially for those which are neither gutturals nor frequently identified with vowels, there is a one-to-one correspondence with Greek ones. Thus, except for a very few isolated instances: ܐ = β, ܟ = γ, ܕ = δ, ܙ = ζ, ܛ = τ, ܠ = λ, ܡ = μ, ܨ = ν, ܫ = σ, ܥ = σ, ܩ = κ, ܦ = ρ, ܨ = σ.⁵⁵ There is another set of Aramaic letters that has not one, but two, consistent transliteration possibilities into Greek: ܟ = κ or χ, ܦ = π or φ, ܛ = τ or θ.⁵⁶ Finally, the Aramaic gutturals and consonants frequently identified with vowels display the widest variety of Greek transliterations: ܟ is typically associated with *a-* or *e-* class Greek vowels, and it is often left untransliterated; ܛ is most often associated with *a-* class vowels, but even more often is left untransliterated altogether; ܨ is often associated with *o-* class vowels, but has a total of six transliteration possibilities; ܦ is typically associated with *a-* class vowels, but also is associated with *e-* class vowels and even gutturals; ܩ is associated with *a-* and *e-* class vowels, as well as with diphthongs; and ܨ shows the greatest variety of transliterational possibilities, being associated with *a-*, *e-*, and *o-* class vowels, diphthongs, and is left untransliterated at times.

Allow me to close with an example of how the transliterational data studied in this essay can be applied to other fields of study.⁵⁷ Currently, the majority interpretation of the expression *μαρναθα* (*maranatha*; cf. 1 Cor 16:22) is that the underlying Aramaic verb ܐܬܗܐ (*atha*; to come) is an imperative, thereby yielding the translation “Our Lord, come!” However, it is well-known that III-*aleph/he* verbs, to which *atha*

55. One notices immediately from this list that the Greeks had difficulty in transliterating the Aramaic sibilants, and systematically utilized the *sigma* for all three.

56. These three Aramaic letters correspond to three of the *begadkephat* letters of the Hebrew/Aramaic alphabet and presumably reflect the differences between the hard and soft pronunciations. For some observations from a Hebrew perspective regarding the pronunciation of *begadkephat* letters (and others), see Sperber, “Hebrew,” 127–132.

57. The following is a summary of my article entitled “*Maranatha* (1 Corinthians 16:22): Reconstruction and Translation Based on Western Middle Aramaic,” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 139, no. 2 (2020): 361-383.

Andrew Messmer: *Aramaic to Greek Transliterations in Western Middle Aramaic*

belongs, end in a final *yod* in the 2 ms imperative form, thus yielding the form אָתִי (*athile*; come!). The transliterational data helps us see that the final Greek *alpha* in μαραναθα is a very unlikely (although not impossible) transliterational equivalent for the Aramaic *yod*. Rather, Greek *alphas* are much more likely to have transliterated Aramaic gutturals, especially *alephs* and *hes*. Therefore, a much more likely scenario is that the verb *atha* is not in the imperative, but rather in the 3 ms perfect form, which ends in a final *aleph/he*. This supports interpreting *maranatha*, not as a prayer (impv.), but rather as a declaration (perf.), meaning “Our Lord has come.”

