The Name "Symeon Peter"

Enormous scholarly energy has been devoted to the names of the Apostle Peter: the origin and meaning of the nickname Πέτρος/Κηφᾶς, the peculiar forms of his patronymic; and even why he came to be known chiefly as "Peter" rather than as Simon. These are unquestionably complicated problems, and have warranted the scholarly attention they have received. Compared with these problems, the form of Peter's name in 2 Peter 1:1 has received far less attention.

2 Peter opens with an otherwise unattested version of the Apostle's name: Συμεὼν Πέτρος. The combination of what is typically labelled the "Semitic" or "archaic" spelling of Peter's given name in conjunction with the Greek version of his nickname (Πέτρος rather than Κηφᾶς), is unattested apart from this passage. In fact, there is only one other instance of Peter being called Συμεὼν: in the speech of James at the "Jerusalem Council" in Acts 15:14, and it is far from clear that the Συμεὼν named there was actually meant to be Simon Peter.

1. The literature is enormous. Caragounis, *Peter and the Rock*, includes a lengthy survey of research.

2. Βαριωνᾶ (Matt 16:17); ὁ ὅιοος Ἰωάννου (John 1:42; 21:15-17 [3x]). Are these alternative spellings of the patronym, or is Βαριωνᾶ a nickname? See the thorough review of the evidence in Bockmuehl, *The Remembered Peter*, 141-48.


4. More than one scholar has noted that not all the questions regarding Peter's names have been resolved. See Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Kephâ and Peter's Name in the New Testament," 112, 120; BDAG, s.v. Πέτρος.

5. Although the external support for Συμεὼν (8 A K L P 049) and Σίμων (p72 B Ψ 81 614 ith, vg syr pal sah boh) is roughly evenly divided, the majority of commentators have preferred the reading Συμεὼν. Because Σίμων is almost always the Greek form of Peter's given name, it is far more likely that scribes changed Συμεὼν to Σίμων than that they substituted a form of the name that was used for Peter at most one other time (i.e. Acts 15:14).

So Spitta, Zahn, Bigg, Mayor, Bauckham, Paulsen, 104; Vögtle, 132.


Westcott and Hort preferred Σίμων (printing Συμεὼν in the margin).

Perhaps a solution that has not been adequately considered is a variant spelling, such as Σύμων, the spelling apparently read by some versions of the *Vetus Latina* (Symon). This is an epigraphically attested spelling of "Simon," and it is not difficult to imagine that Σύμων would have been changed by scribes to either of the more common versions, Σίμων and Συμεὼν.

6. TLG reveals only two citations with this form: Athanasius, *Synopsis scripturae sacrae* [PG 28.292] and the lemma in Cramer's *Catena*. Most patristic citations preserve the majority reading, Σίμων Πέτρος. Titles (in Greek or Latin) of 2 Peter use only Πέτρος or Petrōs, not including any form of "Simon."
Scholarly attempts to explain the use of Συμεών in 2 Pet 1:1 and in Acts 15:14 have generally worked from the assumption that Συμεών was simply a more Semitic or archaic spelling for Σίμων. Hence, in the case of 2 Pet 1:1, Συμεών has been seen interpreted either as the Hebraizing and archaising affect of a pseudepigrapher, or, less often, as the "personal touch" of Peter himself, using "his old Jewish birth-name in its original form." Similarly in the case of Acts 15:14, many scholars have interpreted the use of Συμεών as Luke's effort to give the passage a "Semitic air," appropriate to the direct speech of James the Just in Jerusalem.

But a survey of the uses of the names Συμεών and Σίμων belies the claim that Συμεών was felt to be more linguistically Semitic, more traditional, more "Jewish," or more at home in Palestine. In fact, the extensive non-literary evidence reveals with near uniformity that Σίμων was the way Jews in Palestine (as elsewhere) represented the name שלמה when using the Greek script. Thus it is not surprising that even those authors who took pains to distinguish the spelling of names according to the language and locale of the characters uttering them depict Aramaic-speaking Jews in Palestine using Σίμων.

Furthermore, attention to the usage of Συμεών and Σίμων makes it clear that these were seldom used of the same individuals. That is, although Συμεών and Σίμων were both recognized as representations of שלמה, actual individuals were consistently called either Συμεών or Σίμων. These observations make the use of Συμεών in 2 Pet 1:1 and Acts 15:14 that much more difficult to interpret. But as we shall see, there are a handful of instances where an author deviates from his standard spelling of a Σίμων, and these may suggest some plausible interpretations of the peculiar New Testament usage.

The author of 2 Peter did not use the peculiar combination Συμεών Πέτρος for want of options. As Epiphanius's list of the Apostles notes, Peter "was also known as Simon, Cephas, and Symeon" and also by some standard combinations of these names. In the New Testament and other early Christian texts, we find Peter referred to by the following names and nicknames:

1. Κηφᾶς: a Greek transcription of his Aramaic nickname.

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7. So Thiede, Simon Peter, 181, who regards it as a mark of authenticity. For a fuller array of interpretations of 2 Pet 1:1, see below, XXX.

8. So Barrett, Acts 2.723. For fuller analysis of Acts 15:14, see below, XXX.


10. For analysis of the New Testament instances of the most prominent of these names, see Elliott, "Κηφᾶς: Σίμων Πέτρος: ὁ Πέτρος."

11. It is just possible that כיפא was itself a proper name. See Fitzmyer, "Aramaic Kephāʾ," and Caragounis, Peter and the Rock. (The expected transcription of כיפא would have been כיפא; כיפא would typically transcribe כַּיפַּא.) כיפא was Paul's preferred name (8 times, all in 1 Corinthians and Galatians). John 1:42 offers a translation of כיפא and does not use the name again. Later Christian texts in Greek or Latin seldom use כיפא/Cephas except when quoting one of its uses from the NT.

1 Clem. 47.3 (Paul "wrote to you in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos," πρὸ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλῶ) and Gregory of Nyssa, Epist. 3.10.7 are each written with 1 Cor 1:12 (ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παῦλου, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ, ἐγὼ δὲ Κηφᾶ) in view. Origen, Cels.
2. Πέτρος: a Greek translation of his Aramaic nickname.¹²

3. Σίμων: an actual Greek name that was very popular among Jews (= שמעון or שמעון).¹³

3a. Σίμων Βαριωνᾶ/son of John: Given name and patronymic (or nickname).¹⁴

4. Σωμεὼν: one traditional transcription of שמעון (possibly used of Peter in Acts 15:14).

5. Σίμων Πέτρος: the Greek name and Greek translation of the nickname.¹⁵

6. Σωμεὼν/Σίμων Κηφᾶς, שמעון כיפא, or שמעון סימון: given name and Semitic nickname.¹⁶

In general, later Christians called Peter simply "Peter" except when quoting biblical passages.

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According to Origen (In Matth. 15:14, cited from Klijn, Patristic, 129-30), in the Gospel according to the Hebrews Jesus addressed the saying about the camel passing through the eye of the needle (Mark 10:25//Luke 18:25) to "his disciple Simon" (Simoni discipulo suo), and addressed him with his patronym: "Simon, son of Jonah" (Simon, fili Ioniae). On the spelling of the patronym in this passage, see Dodd, Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel, 307.

The double name Σίμων Πέτρος occurs in Luke 5:8; Matt 16:16; and 17 times in John; Gospel of Peter 14:60; Gospel of Thomas 13, 114.

I have not found any instance of Σωμεὼν Κηφᾶς or Σίμων Κηφᾶς. But the double name שמעון סימון (Hebrew/Aramaic) and שמעון כיפא (Syriac) is not uncommon in Semitic texts. See further on this below.
that call him something else or drawing attention to his change of names.  

Of the options available to the author of 2 Peter, choosing to include Peter's given name, "Simon," is not nearly so remarkable. Especially since Peter was referred to as Σίμων Πέτρος often in the Gospel of John, and at least once in the Gospel of Peter. But it is remarkable that 2 Peter uses this spelling of the personal name in conjunction with Πέτρος. Although commentators routinely note the anomaly, it has not been been the topic of investigation, and the comments reveal some imprecision about how.

To make sense of the use of Συμεών in 2 Pet 1:1 and in Acts 15:14, we must look more closely at how Συμεών and Σίμων were actually used in the literary, papyrological, and epigraphical records.

II. Συμεών. Although New Testament scholars have called Συμεών the Hebrew, Aramaic, Semitic, or archaic version of the name, it would be better to describe it as the standard LXX transliteration of Jacob's son שִׁמְעוֹן (Gen 29:33, henceforth "the Patriarch"). As we will see, Συμεών was not the only--or even the most obvious--way to transliterate שִׁמְעוֹן. But the fact that the Patriarch and his eponymous tribe are rendered Συμεών over 50 times in the LXX virtually standardized this way of spelling the name of this particular person or tribe. 4 Maccabees uses Συμεών for the Patriarch (4 Macc 2:19), but Σίμων for the opponent of Onias (4 Macc 4:1, 4-5), making clear that Συμεών was not simply the author's default way of rendering שִׁמְעוֹן.

The LXX spelling seems to have set the standard for Jewish works composed in Greek, for the Patriarch's name is rendered Συμεών in a wide array of Hellenistic writings, including Alexander Polyhistor, Theodotus, the Lives of Prophets, Joseph and Asenath, Philo, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and 4 Maccabees. The same pattern holds for early Christian literature.

17. Basil of Caesarea casually mentions three of Peter's names when making a broader point about polyphony: ὃταν Σίμωνα καὶ Πέτρον καὶ Κηφᾶν τὸν αὐτὸν λέγωμεν (Adversus Eunomium [PG 29.528]). Otherwise, Basil, like others, tends simply to call him "Peter."

18. Nor is there anything odd about the frequent use of a nickname (or patronymic). Roth's claim that "... Simeon (Simon) was a name the use of which was commonly or even methodically modified or eliminated, for some reason or the other, among the Jews at the beginning of the Christian era" was adequately refuted by Fitzmyer (). In any event, given the frequent use of Σίμων Πέτρος in John, it is not so surprising for 2 Peter to have used both names.

19. Ilan sees little significance in the various Greek spellings of the name Simon. It is unclear to me why she lists Peter's name as Σύμων (Names, 219, no. 35). That this is not simply a typo is suggested by her comment on the spelling (Names, 228n90): "The NT is treading a middle ground here between LXX (Συμεών) and Josephus (Σίμων)." The NT uses either Σίμων (scores of times) or Συμεών (once or twice) for Peter, and does not use Σύμων. (Σύμων might have been a variant at 2 Pet 1:1, if this spelling is presupposed by some Vetus Latina readings, Symon.)

20. Most of these occur in the Pentateuch, but the name also appears in Joshua, Judges, and 1-2 Chronicles, as well as in Zech 12:13; Ezek 48:24, 25, 33; Judith 6:15; 9:2; 4 Macc 2:19. I leave aside 1 Maccabees 2:1, 65, since these instances of Συμεών refer to figures other than the Patriarch.

21. Rev 7:7 is the only NT instance of Patriarch or tribe, and uses Συμεών.
The consistency with which these works spell the Patriarch's name Συμεών is all the more striking when it is observed that there were other ways of transcribing the name שמעון. In particular, one might have expected the hêqê in שמעון to be rendered with an epsilon as Σεμεων (cf. Gen 22:23: רַבְקָה = Ῥεβέκκα). This is, in fact, how Josephus renders the Patriarch's name ("hellenizing" it by giving it a third-declension ending). Although manuscripts of Josephus vary in the spelling of the name, Niese printed Σεμεων, and Schlatter agreed that "Σεμεων hat gute Bezeugung"; he ascribed the variants (Συμεους) to the influence of the LXX.

Σεμεων is also the transcription used in 2 Esdras 10:31 for שמעון. (This is an interesting coincidence since Josephus did not use 2 Esdras when composing the Antiquities.) In the Ezra 10:31, one of the returnees who had married a foreign wife is named שמעון. This happens to be the only שמעון other than the Patriarch in the entire Hebrew Bible, and his name is rendered in two different ways in parallel passages of 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras, neither of which is Συμεων.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ezra 10:31 MT</th>
<th>Ezra 10:31 LXX (2 Esdras)</th>
<th>1 Esdras 9:32</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

22. See Krašovec, Transformation of Biblical Proper Names, 105. It is instructive to see the way similar names were transcribed by Josephus, the LXX, or Aquila: Σεμεων = Σεμεων (LXX), Σαμους, Σουμους; καιους = Σομεα (LXX), Σαιμα, Σαιμας; νωχος = Σεννααρ (Aquila, LXX, Josephus).

23. Σεμεων, Σεμεωνος, [Σεμεωνι], Σεμεωνα. Josephus explains his "hellenizing" of the Hebrew names at the beginning of the Antiquities (Ant. 1.129), focussing on the absence of case endings in Hebrew: "With a view to euphony and my readers' pleasure these names have been Hellenized. The form in which they here appear is not that used in our country, where their structure and termination remain always the same; thus נוχוς in Hebrew is נוֹח, and the name retains this form in all the cases" (τὰ γὰρ ὄνοματα διὰ τὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἡλλήνισται πρὸς ἡδονήν τῶν ἐνεπεξεργασμένων οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριος ἦμιν ὁ τοιοῦτος αὐτῶν τύπος ἀλλ' ἐν τῶν αὐτῶν σχῆμα καὶ τελευτή μία Νώχος τῷ τοιῷ καλεῖται καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τύπον ἐπί παντὸς τηρεῖ σχήματος, Antiquities 1.129). As Steiner ("On the Dating of Hebrew Sound Changes," 240-41) observes, there are actually two changes here: the addition of a case ending and of the letter χ. Schlatter (Namen, 6-7) argued that the text of Josephus has been corrupted by scribes familiar with the LXX spelling Νοχ, and hence what Josephus originally wrote is that he would use נוֹח in place of נוֹח. On ways of hellenizing Semitic names, see Mussies, "Jewish Personal Names," 250-5.

24.

25. Schlatter, Die hebräischen Namen bei Josephus, 110. The manuscript variation for Josephus is confusing.

26. The Lucianic and some Latin witnesses of both 2 Esdras 10:31and 1 Esdras 9:32 attest Σομεων.
2 Esdras (i.e. LXX Ezra-Nehemiah) regularly transliterates names, whereas 1 Esdras gives, when possible, Greek equivalents. The choice of Σιων in 1 Esdras is not at all surprising; as we will see shortly, using Σιων for שׁimson was the norm. More interesting is the fact that 2 Esdras 10:31 did not use the LXX version of the Patriarch's name. Steiner argues for a date at the middle or end of the second century C.E. for the translation of 2 Esdras, and he notes that Josephus used 1 Esdras but not 2 Esdras when composing Antiquities. Hence Josephus and 2 Esdras appear to have arrived independently at a transliteration of Σιων for the name שׁimson.

But practices of transcription were certainly fluid as the pronunciation may have been. The consistency with which Greek literary sources give the patriarch's name as Σιων attests a convention--and presumably the influence of the LXX--more than a living pattern of sound.

Apart from that convention, when people were left to their own devices, they transcribed שׁimson, as is the case with other Semitic names, in various ways.

Other Greek transliterations of the name שׁimson include:
Σιων (BS II, no. 46=CL II 1059).27

27. See discussion by Cohen, 1976:114n79. She calls 1 Esdr. "who had literary aspirations, and was in the habit of hellenizing the proper names as much as possible." see also Cohen, "Names of the Translators," 44-45.


29. In this context, we should note that in 1 Chron 4:20, the name שׁimson is rendered Σεμων. In 1 Chron 4:19, the LXX plus has Σεμων, apparently also for שׁimson. The Hebrew of 1 Chron 4:19 may have dropped out due to homoioteleuton (so BHS; HALOT, s.v. שׁimson), or the LXX might have a double rendering (although in this case the slight difference in the spelling of the same name is odd). In any event, the textual problems in 1 Chron 4:17-20 are "severe." See Klein, 1 Chronicles, 126-41.

30. See discussion and references to the literature in Krašovec, Transformation, 95n12, and Ilan, Names, 16-32.

31. Jože Krašovec, Transformation of Biblical Proper Names, 87: "...the unified forms of proper names reflect a unified common pronunciation and an orthographic tradition in a living tradition which helped to maintain phonetic stability in spite of the difficulty of reading phonetically the Hebrew consonantal text at a time when Hebrew was no longer a spoken language."

32. Σεμων ὁ Γαβαροῦς. Given the frequency with which ι and ε are confused, this is tantamount to an instance of Σεμων (so Schwabe and Lifshitz, BS II pg. 29). But there is one instance of Σεμων in the LXX (1 Chron 4:20) for the peculiar שׁimson. See HALOT s.v. שׁimson.
Ψιμίων (CIJ II 923 funerary inscription from Joppa)
Σομίων (CIJ II 1228 Ossuary from Palmyra, pre-70)33; Other possible variations could be adduced.34

III. Σίμων most popular Jewish name. Although it was a Greek name, it was far more popular among Jews than among non-Jews in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period.35

Perfectly ...

1. "Jewish/traditional" (Simon the Just [known as שמעון in rabbinic texts], Simon the Hasmonean [known as שמעון], Simon ben Gamaliel, Simon son of Judas the Galilean [Ant. 20.102]; Simon bar Giora [War 2.521], Simon bar Kochba [known as שמעון in correspondence, coins, and rabbinic texts], etc.)

2. Palestinian (Gospels, Acts, Josephus, epigraphic & papyrological data)
Σίμων: inscriptions Lydda, Kidron, Dominus Flevit, French Hill, Mt. Scopus, etc. (cf. सोमन)
Σίμων: papyri: Σίμων Χωσιβᾶ = קוסבא בר שמעון; Wadi Murabaat; Babatha archive

3. Linguistically Semitic (1 Macc 2:2; names of Hasmoneans)

What Was Peter Named?

Peter's given name was apparently שמעון. This was the most common Jewish male name in the late second temple period.36

Jews (like other non-Greek peoples) transcribed their Semitic names.

In addition to transcribing their Hebrew names, Jews also took Greek (or Latin) names. By a happy coincidence, Σίμων was a native Greek name37 that just so happened to sound like

33. Ilan (Names, 231n194) renders this Σομίων and comments that this is an especially unexpected transliteration. The facsimile in Frey clearly reads Σομίων, and it is represented thus in Lapin ("Palm Fronds," 116n15). (The full inscription is Βίνια Μιν Σομίων, which Frey translates "Benjamin, de la famille des Soma," treating the -ων ending as a plural. Yet "Son of Somaon [=Symeon]" seems at least as likely.) It could also be a version of Σόμημος (cf. Schalit, Namen, 114; Schlatter, 111).

34. On the possible equivalence of Σομίων and שמעון, see Cohen, "Jewish Names," 112n74.

35. Lüderitz and Reynolds, CJCZ, pg. 29: In the indices of SEG XI-XX (covering over 2000 pages of inscriptions), there are only 9 instances of the name, two of which date prior to 300 BCE, four of which are clearly Jewish, and three of which are impossible to determine whether they are Jewish or not.

36. G. Hölscher, "Zur jüdischen Namenkunde," Vom Alten Testament: Karl Marti zum siebzigsten Geburtstage gewidmet (Beihef zu der Zeitschrift für die Alte Testamentliche Wissenschaft XLI; Giessen, XXX, 1925), 155: "by far the most popular" in the first two centuries; see the ample documentation in Fitzmyer, "The Name Simon"; Tal Ilan, Lexicon of Jewish Names, 56 (with a table), 218-35 (instances of the name Simon); Cohen, "Jewish Names as Cultural Indicators."

37. Like many names, derived from a physical characteristic (σιμός, "snub-nosed.") Pape-Benseler, Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen, 3d ed., s.v. Σίμων, with instances from
As such, it was often used by Jews named שמעון in Greek-speaking contexts.  
(In fact, at times the Greek name Σίμων was the Jewish given name, and it was itself transcribed back into Hebrew and Aramaic texts as שמעון (rather than using the indigenous Semitic name שמעון), much as other Greek given names might be transcribed.)

It would appear that Σίμων was not the only Greek name chosen because it sounded like the Hebrew name. 
Other instances of choosing names for homophony include:
- Alkimos and Jakim/Eliakim
- Aster and Esther
- Cleopas and Clopas
- Jason/Jesus and Jeshua
- Aristophanes, Xeonophon, etc.

Similarly, "Σίμων is a woman's name, cf. e.g. PCZ 59807, SP 253; L. Robert, Hellenica, iii, 95 n. 4" (CPJ III p. 88).

38. Deissmann, Studies, 317n47: "…the Apostle Symeon (Peter) is usually called Σίμων, not because (as Clavis3, p. 400, still maintains) this word is a transcription of שמעון but because it resembles Συμεών, the actual transcription of the Hebrew name (so, of Peter, Acts 15:14, 2 Pet. 1.1). Σίμων is a good Greek name (Fick–Bechtel, p. 251);…"

39. Thus it seems at least possible that Peter's given name was actually שמעון or Σίμων (his brother had a Greek name, Andrew). The fact that the Syriac versions of the NT almost always useación does not prove his given name was שמעון, for Syriac uses this form for all the characters in the NT named Σίμων except Simon Magus, for whom שמעון is used.

40. E.g., Antigonus of Socho (אנטיגונוס M. Abot 1.3);

41. So Cohen 1976 (who makes much of homophony, thinking it might explain the popularity even of the Semitic given names: those that sounded like Greek names became popular in the Hellenistic period); Mussies, "Jewish Personal Names," 273; Bauckham, Gospel Women, 182-84; BDF § 53.2.

The prevalence of this phenomenon is contested by Ilan, Names, 11, who claims that examples "are few and far between." (Cf. also Horsley, "Names, Double," ABD 4:1015, who calls the practice "not especially common.")

It would be surprising if names were not chosen occasionally for their sound qualities, since there was a broader preference when translating Hebrew to use Greek words that sounded like their Hebrew equivalents; see Emanuel Tov, "Loan-words, Homophony, and Transliterations in the Septuagint," The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint (Brill: Leiden, 1999): 165-82. Several equivalents in the LXX "were chosen mainly or solely because their sound resembled their Hebrew equivalents" (170).

42. Josephus, Ant. 12.385.

43. See Bauckham, Gospel Women, 183n308.

44. See Bauckham, Gospel Women, 208-212.

45. Josephus, Ant. 12.239 states that Jesus son of Onias changed his name to Jason (note Onias's name change, as well) (ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰησοῦς Ἰάσωνα αὐτὸν μετονόμασεν ὁ δὲ Ὀνίας ἐκλήθη Μενέλαος). On this equivalent, see N. G. Cohen, "Names of the Translators," 46-48; Mussies, 237; Bauckham, Gospel Women, 183n310. One chose either Ἰησοῦς or Ἰάσων, though both were Greek versions of "Jeshua" (note that the LXX translators include two instances of each name).
Mnason/Mnaseas and Manasseh
Mousaios and Moses
Silas and Shaul

Latin
Annia and Hannah
Annianus and Hanina/Hananiah
Isodorus and Isa
Monimus and Menahem
Reuben and Rufus
Justus and Joseph

(At other times, translations of names were preferred. So Justus for יזידך; Αἴτητος for ייוחנן; Dositheos or Theodotos, or similar, for Nathanyahu or Yehonathan, or similar.) (Mussies, *Greek Personal Names*, 244-45; *CPJ* 1.28-29; medieval examples in see doubts about the prevalence of this, see Ilan, *Names*, 11)

The especially close fit between Σίμων and שמעון may even have contributed to the popularity of the name among Jews, although clearly the fact that it was the name of a Hasmonean was

46. Acts 21:16; *CPJ* 28.1.17; *CIJ* 508; Mussies, "Jewish Personal Names," 249 [who notes this name could also serve as a translation for Zachariah]; Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions*, 2., no. 544.


48. Note that *LAB* 40.1 gives the name of Jephthah's daughter as Seila, apparently because of her father's rash "question" (i.e. "vow"; see Perrot and Bogaert, *Pseudo-Philon*, SC 230; 2:189). Cf. Williams, "Palestinian," 95: "possibly the Greek form of the Aramaic equivalent of Saul." It has often been argued that 'Paulos' was also chosen for its sound (see the most thorough case in Bauckham, "Paul..." XXX.


52. Acts 1:23; Josephus, *Vita* 5.427 [?].

53. N. G. Cohen, "Jewish Names as Cultural Indicators in Antiquity," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 7 (1976), 112-17 argues that Symeon became popular Jewish name because it resembled the Greek name "Simon." That is, not only did Jews named "Shimon" take "Simon" for convenience, but they were given the name "Shimon" because "Simon" was a popular Greek name. Prior to that, the roughly cognate names that were actually in use among Jews were the Aramaic forms שמעי and שמעיה (cf. also "Names of the Translators," 42-43). With Hellenistic influence and the popularity of Simon, Jews started using שמעון, thereby simultaneously hellenizing and hebraizing the current Aramaic name(s). Cohen makes a similar case that the name "Abram" (spelled thus) became popular because it was "semi-homophonous" with a popular Iranian name ("Jewish Names," 99-112; "Names of the
also a significant factor.\textsuperscript{54}

There were more factors than sound in the choice of Greek or Latin names. (Bauckham [\textit{Gospel Women}, 183n315] cites this to illustrate the significance of assonance, but it seems rather to support Tal Ilan's rejection of the claim that assonance was of central importance.

Note that none of the Hasmonean's Greek names resembles the sound of their Hebrew names. Unless we count Σίµων, but this shows that this particular "equivalence" was anomalous.\textsuperscript{55} (In rabbinic tradition critical of the changes of names, hypothetical replacements for "Shimeon" is not "Simon" but "Julianus", perhaps because "Simon" was not felt to be any change at all)

A tradition found with slight variation in \textit{Leviticus Rabbah} 32.5 and \textit{Song of Songs Rabbah} 4.12.1 (and mentioned briefly at \textit{Exodus Rabbah} 1.28)\textsuperscript{56} sees merit in the Israelites' refusal to change their names in Egypt:

"R. Huna said in the name of Bar Kappara: For four merits the Israelites were delivered from Egypt: because they did not change their names, and because they did not change their language, and because they did not inform against one another, and because there was not one profligate among them. 'They did not change their names': as Reuben and Šîm'on they went down to Egypt, and as Reuben and Šîm'on they went up from it; they did not call Reuben 'Rufus,' nor did they call Šîm'on 'Julianus,' nor did they call Joseph 'Justus,' or Benjamin 'Alexander.'" (\textit{Midrash Rabbah}. Volume 9: \textit{Esther, Song of Songs} [trans. Maruice Simon], London: Soncino, 3d edition, 1983], 218, adjusted, see following note).

In this case, the hypothetical replacement name for שמעון was "Julianus" (or less likely "Luliani" or "Leon"),\textsuperscript{58} it was not שמעון.

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\textsuperscript{54} Tal Ilan, names of the hasmoneans...

\textsuperscript{55} See Ilan, "Greek Names of the Hasmoneans."

\textsuperscript{56} Cited by see Müssies, "Jewish Personal Names," 273; Cohen, 1976:118; Bauckham [\textit{Gospel Women}, 183n315].

\textsuperscript{57} Cf. Acts 1:23: "Joseph ... surnamed Justus."

\textsuperscript{58} So Müssies ("Jewish Personal Names," 273) and J. Neusner (\textit{Song of Songs Rabbah: An Analytical Translation}, vol. 2 [BJS 196; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989] 73) render the names, and Cohen ("Jewish Names," 118) does the same in quoting \textit{Leviticus Rabbah} 32.5, where English translations sometimes represent the replacement name for Judah as "Leon," but where it is more likely "Julian."
Although שמעון was the most popular male name in the Hellenistic and early Roman period, it had not always been popular. In fact, none of the names of the patriarchs were much used as personal names prior to start of the Hellenistic period (Tscherikover, etc.). In the Hebrew Bible, the only person other than the patriarch named שמעון is mentioned in Ezra 10:31 (see below). Indeed, the patriarchs' names were not popular personal names for a long time.\(^\text{59}\)

Origen lumps together two different ways that Jewish texts dealt with Hebrew names: one was to make them decline like Greek proper names, the other was to substitute a current Greek name that sounded like the Hebrew name. He is discussing the names of Zachariah, Elizabeth, and John, and wants to identify "Johannes" with "Joa": *Comm.John* 2.27:

"Since the New Testament also hellenizes other names of the Hebrews and expresses them in the Greek manner, just as instead of 'Jacob' it gives 'Jacobus,' and for 'Symeon' 'Simon.'" (my trans.)

\[\text{ἐπεί καὶ άλλα ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη Ἑβραίων ὀνόματα ἐξελλήνισε, χαρακτηρί αὐτὰ εἴποισα ἐλληνικῷ, διόπερ ἀντί «Ιακώβ» «Τάκωβος», καί ἀντί «Συμεών» «Σίμων».

In fact, שמעון was also frequently declined [שμיאו -ים, -ים: all cases are attested] (though to be fair to Origen, this does not occur in the New Testament, which is his express topic). Furthermore, neither the NT (nor any other Hellenistic Greek text) changes the Patriarch's name from Symeon to Simon. The most variation we find in the spelling of the Patriarch's name is Josephus's alternative transliteration.

Somewhat differently, Theophylact says that "Simon" is a hypocoristic of Symeon (τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τὸ Σίμων ύποκοριστῶς ἢστιν).

It is not surprising for the nickname to be represented in Greek both by transcription (Κηφᾶς ≈ כיפא) and translation (Πέτρος). Cf. Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος (Matt 10:4; Mark 3:18) and Σίμων ὁ Ἰζηλοτής (Acts 1:13; Luke 6:15), a quasi-transcription (note that it has been given a second-declension termination!) and translation of קנאנא.

It is generally assumed that שמעון and סימון were interchangeable, such that a person

\[\text{It appears that ὁ was accidentally attached to the replacement name in some cases, and the pattern of the sentences makes it reasonably clear how this came about, for ὁ is used consistently before the actual name of each patriarch. For instance, "They did not call Reuben 'Rufus,'" is ἐν Ἰωνᾶ ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη Ἑβραίων ὀνόματα ἐξελλήνισε. Ἀποκριθαὶ αὐτὰ ἕδει ἐλληνικῷ, διόπερ ἀντί «Ἰακώβ» «Τάκωβος», καί ἀντί «Συμεών» «Σίμων».

Not too much can be made of the hypothetical replacement for Sim'on, for in the parallel passage in Leviticus Rabba, "Julian" becomes the hypothetical replacement for Judah, and no possible substitute for Symeon is mentioned.

59. See Cohen 1976:112-13. for the sudden popularity of Sim'on at the start of the Hellenistic period after a long period in which it was apparently not popular. 112 n74, with evidence for the Semitic name being used outside Jewish communities, where it occurs in Semitic characters or as סםון.
might use Σίµων in Greek-speaking contexts or regions and Συµεών in more Jewish settings. An Israeli named Yonatan or Rivka might, in the United States, adopt "Jonathan" or "Rebecca," or might go by the transcription of their names, "Yonatan," "Rivka." But if they would use one or the other. We recognize that "Raquel" is a version of the biblical name רחל, but no one would casually make a reference to "the famous actress, Rachel Welsh." As we will show, something close to this state of affairs obtains in the case of the name Συµεών and Σίµων: the vast majority of people were either called Συµεών or Σίµων. Indeed, when we observe a person being named in both Hebrew and Greek, those individuals whose Semitic name was שמעון (not סימון) typically used Σίµων when giving their name in Greek (just as a יונתן might always call himself "Jonathan" in English).

More often than such transliterations of the Semitic name, one finds the Greek name Σιµών:

Σιµών: CIJ II 1173 (Ossuary from Lydda)

Σιµών: CIIP 372=CIJ II 1355: ossuaries found in the same burial chamber in Jerusalem include several instances of שמעון (CIJ 1350-54) and also of Σιµών. The Συµεών of CIJ II 1351 and the Σίµωνος Κάλλωνος in CIJ II 1355 (child not named) would seem to be the same person.

Σιµών: CIIP 199, ossuary from Dominus Flevit (Bagatti, Dominus Flevit pg. 97-98 no. 37: four Jewish names in Greek letters, one in Semitic letters (שניאייח, either a name "Sheniyit," or possibly "second.")

Σιµών: CIIP 324=CJO 99:60=ossuary from Kidron; names appear in both Hebrew and Greek script; possibly the same as Simon of Cyrene (Mark 15:21) since he is "father of Alexander" who is called, according to one reading of the final word, "the Cyrenian" [αλεξανδρου]. See publication notes at Ilan, Names, 222 no. 116, and 231n234 and comments of Milik (Dominus Flevit, 81) and CIIP 1.pg. 346); Lüderitz, no. 35, pp. 55-56, and p. 41-42 (list of known Jews with the designation Κυρηναῖος).

CIIP 331=CJO 99 (ossuary from Kidron61

Σίµων, Ossuary Ben Zvi Road (Valley of the Cross, Jerusalem) (CIIP 391=CJO, no. 332; Ilan pg. 222 no. ). The first letter appears like a Latin S, and it is possible that the inscription is Latin script. Σίµων with omicron is found in later inscriptions in Rome (Noy, JIWE II 52, 310) and a fourth-century papyrus from Egypt (CPJ III 500).

Σιµων, Ossuaries from Jericho (Hachlili, "Goliath," pg. 34, 49: ossuaries 13, 14; inscription nos. 5b, 6a, 6b=CJO nos. 794, 795.

Σιµών: Ossuary, French Hill, CJO, no. 560.62 =CIIP 452 (cf. Ilan, Names, pg. 222 no. 125).

60. "Sara, (daughter) of Simon, of Ptolemais."

61. "Sara, (daughter) of Simon, of Ptolemais."

62. This is noteworthy for being a bilingual inscription, as well as for its "rather loose grasp of Greek spelling and grammar" (CIIP 1.pg. 468). Top of the ossuary has Aramaic כיבר הר
The Greek name was also represented in Hebrew letters:

67. "Σίμων father of Melitios, from Ḥavarah; Callias, Seleucos the father are buried here."
More difficult to classify is Σύµων, which is found at Jaffa, Caesarea, and Beth Shean. (Williams, "Palestinian," 93, calls this the usual form of the name): BS II, no. 220: Σύµων68 (in the ; CIJ II, nos. 905, 935, 955*, 956 (Jaffa), CIIP 1555=CIJ II no. 890 (Caesarea). [Latin Symon appears as a variant at 2 Pet 1:1, and in some mss. of Tacitus]

What we see is that in Palestinian inscriptions from before 70, Σιµων (or minor mis-spellings thereof) is used when the Greek alphabet is used and several times when Semitic alphabet is used.69 There is very little comparable evidence for Συµεων. Συµεων would not appear to be the obvious choice if one wanted to lend "local color" or linguistic verisimilitude.

Papyri yield the same result. Remains from Wadi Murabaat have several instances of the name Σιµων in contexts that indicate it is a Jew.70 Always spelled Σιµων, and this despite variations in the spellings of other Semitic names in these documents.

In the Greek papyri gathered in Naphtali Lewis, The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri (1989), there are several instances of Σιµων, including Babatha's father (whose name in Semitic documents is שמעון). Although there are two partially preserved instances of Σουµαίος, there are no instances of Συµεων.

Also from Palestine, and most famously, is the case of Šım'on bar Kosiba,71 whose name appears both in Hebrew/Aramaic documents as כוסבא בן/בר שמעון,72 but is given in Greek as Σίµων Χωσίβα (P.Yadin 59).73 The fact that Greek chancellery put Shimon bar Kosiba's name as Σίµων would seem to confirm that this was not felt to be un-Jewish; or better, shows that there was nothing obvious or necessary about choosing Συµεων to show patriotism, zeal for

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68. "(Tomb) of Isas, son of Zera, son of Simon." Εισα, Ζηρα, Συµωνος.

69. The picture does not change much if one considers a wider chronological or geographical sphere, although the preponderance of Σιµων is perhaps less surprising in Jewish inscriptions in Athens or Rome.

70. See DJD 2 § 91 col. I line 7 (pg. 221); II line 7; § 92 col. II line 3 (Σιµων) (pp. 222-23), etc.

71.

72. In Hebrew and Aramaic documents the patronym actually appears with six different (but essentially homophonous) spellings. See Cotton, "P.Yadin 59," 365. For the later puns (בר כוזיבא andבר כוכבא), see Benoit, DJD II, 126. See also Radday 1990, 59-60, 65-66; Collins, Use of Sobriquets, 21


ancestral traditions, or the like\(^\text{74}\)--even among those who might have felt Hebrew to be the preferred medium of communication.

Some conclusions: Simon was a popular name. \textit{CPJ} I, 29-30 (discussion); \textit{CPJ} III, 191-92; Lüderitz, 226; \textit{CIJ} II, no. 785 (Corycus); \textit{CIJ} I2, nos. 165b, 176, 403 (Rome); 715c (Athens). When Jews "hellenized" their names, they sometimes picked existing homophonous Greek names (Jason); they also transliterated (Jesus). But these were not subsequently felt to be identical names.

One chose either Ἰησοῦς or Ἰάσων, even though both were Greek versions of ישוע (Jason also found its way into Semitic script). Note that \textit{Arist.} 47-50 includes among the LXX translators two instances of Ἰησοῦς and two of Ἰάσων. And Josephus states that "Jesus" son of Onias changed his name to "Jason" (ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰησοῦς Ἰάσονα αὐτὸν μετονόμασεν ὁ δὲ Ὄνιας ἐκλήθη Μενέλαος (\textit{Ant.} 12.239)).

So although both Ἰησοῦς or Ἰάσων were Greek versions of ישוע, single individuals were called by one or the other name unless they "changed" their name.

The same seems generally to be true for Σιμών and Συμέων. People were called by one or the other name. They did not switch between one (in Palestine, say), and the other. When they wanted to transliterate שמעון it did not typically come out Συμέων; that was the standard spelling of the name of the Patriarch.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{74} Lifshitz ("Papyrus grecs du desert de Juda," 243-44, 249) argued that the Σουμάιος in P.Yadin 52 also refers to Bar Kochba, transcribing an abbreviated version of שמעון, perhaps a hypocoristic שמע. For criticism of identifying Σουμάιος with Bar Kochba, see Lapin, "Palm Fronds and Citrons," 115-16 (with further literature), and Mussies, "Jewish Personal Names," 249-50. Nonetheless, Σουμάιος is quite possibly a transcription of the name שמע.}
Patterns of Naming Peter in Early Christian Texts

Paul

Mark:
The double name Σίων Πέτρος never occurs in Mark. Peter is called Σίων (1:16, 29, 30, 36) until his new name is introduced in 3:16: ἐπέθηκεν δόμον τῷ Σίωνι Πέτρον. Thereafter he is always identified as Πέτρος except for one instance of direct speech in Mark 14:37: καὶ λέγει τῷ Πέτρῳ· Σίων, καθεύδεις. Often it is thought that here Peter appears not to live up to his new name (Yarbro Collins, Mark, 680).

Luke:
The double name Σίων Πέτρος is found only a single time in Luke (Luke 5:8). It occurs in narrative (not direct speech) in the story of the miraculous catch of fish (hence with links to the tale of John 21:1-11, where Peter is called "Simon Peter"; note Gospel of Peter XIV.60 Σίων Πέτρος takes his nets and goes to the sea).

In Luke, Peter first appears as Σίων in 4:38 (Mark 1:29; Matt 8:14 has Πέτρος); he is called Σίων in 5:3, 4, 5, 10; hence the use of Σίων Πέτρος in Luke 5:8 is abrupt and unexpected (unsurprisingly, some mss. and versions omit Πέτρος here). In Luke, the explanation of Peter's name appears in 6:14 (Σίωνα ὁν καὶ ὄνομασεν Πέτρον), prior to which he is called Σίων (save for 5:8). After Luke 6:14, Peter is usually called Πέτρος. Peter is again called Σίων in Luke 22:31 (direct speech from Jesus) and Luke 24:34 (direct speech of people in Jerusalem). The tradition in Luke 24:34 is strikingly similar to 1 Cor 15:5:

Luke 24:34: ὅτι ἠγέρθη ὁ κύριος καὶ ὤφθη Σίων
1 Cor 15:5: ὅτι ὤφθη Κηφᾷ.

In Acts he is always called simply Πέτρος with the exception of two episodes. In the story of Peter's interaction with Cornelius, Peter is four times designated "Simon who is called Peter" (Acts 10:5, 18, 32; 11:13). The angel instructs (direct speech) Cornelius to summon "Simon who is called Peter" (Σίωνα τινα ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος, Acts 10:5), and Cornelius's men

75. This should be kept in mind when assessing the degree to which 2 Peter deliberately links itself to Mark as "Peter's" gospel.

76. Fitzmyer (Luke, 1.564) attributes 5:4-8, 22:31-32, and 24:34 to "L." If correct, "L" may have preferred the name Σίων. Note that Luke 22:31-34 forms a single scene in Luke (adding Mark 14:26-30/Matt 26:33-34), and opens with Jesus addressing Peter "Σίων Σίων" and concludes with the only instance in the gospels of Jesus addressing Peter as "Πέτρε" (in Matthew and Mark Jesus does not use Peter's name).

77. Jeremias, New Testament Theology, 306n3: "Luke 24:34 can be seen to be of greater antiquity because the proper name Σίων characterizes the earliest stratum of the Peter tradition."

Opposite opinion recorded by others.

Lake ("Simon," 95-96) noted that in the reading of Bezae (and implied by Origen), the men returning from Emmaus inform the Eleven (λέγοντες) that the Lord appeared to Σίων, meaning that this must Σίων was someone other than Peter.
then do so in those words (10:18); Cornelius then recounts the vision in those words (11:32); and finally Peter describes what the angel told Cornelius with those words (11:13: Σίμων τὸν ἐπικαλοῦμενον Πέτρον). This all feels somewhat labored and unnatural. In this same episode, a heavenly voice addresses Peter as Πέτρε (10:13: ἀναστάζ, Πέτρε, θῦσον καὶ φάγε), and Peter reports the heavenly speech in Jerusalem in precisely these terms (Acts 11:7: Πέτρε). [Perhaps sensing the oddity of this, the Didascalia has the heavenly voice use Βαριῶνᾶ, Πέτρε].

Finally, Acts 15:14 has Σωμέων without any patronymic or surname. This is such a striking departure from Luke's consistent spelling (Σίμων), from his use overwhelming preference for Πέτρος (used over 50 times thus far in Acts, and in this very scene as recently as Acts 15:7) that it is possible that Luke or his source was not referring to Peter at all. See further comment below.

Matthew

The double name Σίμων Πέτρος is found only a single time in Matthew (Matt 16:16). It occurs in narrative (not direct speech). "Simon Peter said, 'You are the Christ.'" The double name is useful in this context, as it explains why Jesus will address him as "Simon" and then make a play on the name "Peter." Twice Matthew has "Simon called Peter" (when Peter is first introduced in Matt 4:18, and in the list of disciples in Matt 10:2). He is called Σίμων twice, both times in direct speech: at 16:17 ("Blessed are you, Σίμων Βαριωνᾶ") and at 17:25 (where it contrasts with the narrative: "The collectors of the temple tax came to Peter....And when he came home, Jesus spoke of it first, asking, 'What do you think, Simon?'").

John

The double name Σίμων Πέτρος is found seventeen times in John.

John 21:15-17 presents a striking contrast between the evangelist's use of Σίμων Πέτρος (21:15), direct address of Jesus three times as Σίμων Ἰωάννου (21:15-17), and then again the evangelist, stating that ὁ Πέτρος was grieved (21:17). Cf. John 1:42: Σίμων ὁ νιὸς Ἰωάννου.


78. At first glance it would appear useful for clarity, since "Simon Peter" was staying at the house of Simon the Tanner. But why didn't the angel just tell Cornelius to "go summon a man named Peter who is staying with Simon"? Pervo (Acts, 269) suggests it is the impropriety of using a nickname: "Send for Rocky."
Debates about the origin of Peter's nickname need not be definitively resolved here: it is sufficiently clear that on any dating, 2 Pet 1:1 was composed when one of Jesus' disciples was sometimes known as "Simon Peter."

The question is why 2 Peter has this form of Peter's Eigenname, and why this form in conjunction with the Greek form of his nickname.

When Peter's given name and his nickname are written together, they always appear as Σίμων Πέτρος (Luke 5:8; Matt 16:16; 17x in John), that is, with the Greek equivalent of his Jewish name, and the Greek version of his nickname.

The nickname "Peter" (Πέτρος) was understood to be a Greek translation of the Aramaic כיפא, Syriac כיפא, the nickname bequeathed to Simon (Matt 16:18; John 1:42). 79

On the prevalence of Jewish nicknames for sake of disambiguation, see Hachlili, Jewish Funerary Customs, 232; Ilan, Names, 46-47; Noth, Personennamen, 1928, 36-41). Because "Simon" was so common a name, it was not always possible to disambiguate even with a patronymic. When the Babylonian Talmud imagines two people with the same name living in the same city, it gives "Joseph son of Simon" (b.Git 24b; see Ilan, Names, 46).

The meaning of the transcribed nicknames is often problematic (Mark 3:17: "to whom he gave the name Boanerges, that is, Sons of Thunder"; cf. Acts 4:36: Barnabas (which means "son of encouragement"). For instance, all six sons of Mattathias had nicknames which are given in transcribed form in 1 Maccabees and Josephus, and in not a single case is it clear what the nickname meant (see Hachlili, Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period, 206-207; Goldstein, 1 Maccabees, 231)! Cf. the reference to James the Just as "Oblias" (Eusebius, HE 2.23.7, with recent survey of options in Pratscher, "Herrenbruder Jakobus bei Hegesipp," 156-57).

6. "Symeon Cephas" (שְׂמֵעָם כְּפָא): a combination of his Semitic name and nickname.80

80. To my knowledge, no instance of both Greek transcriptions (Συμέων Κηφᾶς) survives. But the double name שְׂמֵעָם כְּפָא, or כְּפָא שְׂמֵעָם, i.e. both the Semitic Eigenname and nickname together, is found in remains of the Diatessaron (e.g. "Simon Cephas" often replaces simple "Peter" [e.g. Luke 8:45 "Peter" becomes "Simon Peter"]; "Peter, James, and John" becomes "Simon Cephas, James, and John" (the three taken to witness the raising of the dead girl; the three taken to the Mount of Transfiguration; etc.); elsewhere, simple "Simon," rather than "Simon Peter," replaces "Peter"), as well as in Syriac documents, such as the Doctrine of Addai, the Syriac Teaching of the Apostles, or the Preaching of Simon [sic] Cephas in the City of Rome (all in Cureton, Ancient Syriac Documents, or ANF 8). The Syriac "Departure of My Lady Mary from This World," has a bewildering variety: "Simon Cephas," "Simon Peter," "Simon," and "Peter."

(Syriac biblical texts use כְּפָא for both Σίμων and Συμέων when referring to Peter—and for most "Simons," regardless of how they were spelled in Greek. An interesting exception is Simon Magus (spelled all four times Σίμων in Acts 8), whose name is transliterated כפא, whereas "Simon the tanner" (always Σίμων: 9:43; 10:6, 17, 32) and Simon Peter (Συμέων) are given as כפא (see Burkitt, Syriac Forms, 6).

As Ehrman notes, many thought Cephas must be someone other than Peter. But Cephas also just
What we really want to know is whether there were special connotations of the form Symeon. Since the vast majority of Jewish texts in Greek take advantage of the Greek name "Simon," it is deviation from this norm that stands out as interesting and possibly meaningful or significant.

Sirach

The name of the high priest Simon the Just is given as Σίµων in Sir 50:1 as well as in 3 Macc 2:1 (where the phrase is textually uncertain), as well as by Josephus (Ant. 12.43).

Two noteworthy exceptions in 1 Maccabees (followed by Josephus in Antiquities)

Σωμεών for the ancestor of Mattathias:

1 Maccabees uses Σίµων for throughout for Simon the Hasmonean.

In 1 Macc 2:1-3, in quick succession Mattathias's grandfather is called Σωμεών81 and Mattathias's son, Simon the Hasmonean, is called Σίµων (2:3).82 Simon the Hasmonean's name is spelled Σίµων throughout, with one interesting exception. In 1 Macc 2:65, as Mattathias blesses his sons, he uses Σωμεών: “Here is your brother Symeon who, I know, is wise in counsel; always listen to him; he shall be your father.”83

Since this is the only time 1 Maccabees spells the name of Simon the Hasmonean Σωμεών, this is especially striking. Why the deviation from what was apparently the translator's standard practice? Goldstein's84 clever suggestion is that it is because Mattathias here instructs his children to "listen" to Simon (αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε; cf. Deut 18:15), and the translator wished better to preserve the original allusion to the meaning of the name (In Gen 29:33, Leah bears a second son and says, "Because the Lord has heard [שָׁמַע] that I am hated, he has given me this son also; and she named him Symeon [שָׁמַע]."

[To my knowledge, nobody has suggested that facilitating or preserving a similar play on

sounded rustic (Chrysostom, HomAct).

81. Contra Ilan, Names, 218 and 227n16, where she states that 1 Maccabees is unlike Josephus in using Σίµων for Mattathias's grandfather (she cites 1 Macc 2:3, where Mattathias's son is named, rather than 2:1, where the grandfather is named).

82. Despite variants for the spellings of many of the names here--starting with Ματταθίας and Ματθίας--there are no variants for Σωμεών or Σίµων.

83. καὶ ἰδοὺ Σωμεών ὁ ἀδέλφος ὑμῶν, οἶδα ὅτι ἄνηρ βουλῆς ἔστιν, αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, αὐτὸς ἔσται ὑμῶν πατήρ. There is minor manuscript support for Σιµων here (one Greek and one Latin manuscript), attesting the expectation that Simon the Hasmonean would be designated in a consistent manner.

84. Goldstein, 1 Maccabees, 242.
words might have motivated the unexpected use of Συμεών in Acts 15:14, but note the sequence of words in Acts 15:13-14: "My brothers, listen to me. Symeon has related." The Greek obscures what would have been nice alliteration in Aramaic (I cite here the Peshitta): ἀκούσατε μου. Συμεών = Acts 15:13-14: "My brothers, listen to me. Symeon has related.

Perhaps it is not accidental that this exceptional use of Συμεών in 1 Maccabees occurs in direct speech, and more importantly, in Mattathias's "farewell discourse" (1 Macc 2:49-65; see Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, 7-8). This context—when one considers the consistent use of Συμεών in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, could be especially noteworthy for 2 Peter, with its emphasis on the apostle offering his final advice (2 Pet 1:12-15).

Since Josephus uses 1 Maccabees for composing *Antiquities*, it is not surprising to find him replicate the spelling Συμεών where he has found it in 1 Macc 2:1. His direct dependence on 1 Maccabees here is all the clearer since this spelling Συμεών is especially uncommon in Josephus—that is, this is not even how he spells the name of the patriarch (see below).

[Aquila? Symmachus?]

**Letter of Aristeas**

When listing representatives from the twelve tribes (*Arist. 47-50*), Σιμών is used three times (as often as any other name except "Joseph"). Many old names are used. There is no effort at consistent spelling: this marks about the time Cohen (1976, 110-13) expects the name to rise in popularity. Despite the preponderance of patriarchal names (and irregular spellings for many of them), Σιμών is spelled the same way all three times (*Arist. 47-50*).

**Fragments of Hellenistic Jewish Authors**

Theodotus' description of the events of Genesis 34 features the patriarchs Simeon and Levi. Both in Polyhistor's summary (e.g. Frag. 6, the opening of Frag. 8) and in direct quotations of Theodotus (e.g. Frag. 8) the name is spelled Συμεών or declined as Συμεῶνα (the name only occurs in the nominative and accusative cases). Given Theodotus' lack of dependence on the LXX (see Holladay 2.72, though several names do agree with LXX forms), this is an especially interesting spelling, since other transcriptions were possible. It helps that the name could scan in Homeric hexameters!

85. Gen 23:8: "Hear me" (שְּמָעוּנִי). Normally in Hebrew it is אֵלַי שִׁמְעוּ (e.g. Isa 46:3).

Is this a translation error? The consonants of the Aramaic שְׁמָעוּנִי are same as the gentilic of Symeon. Συμεων (Num 25:14; Nu 25:14 26:14 Jos 21:4 1C 27:16)

86. Analysis of Josephus' use of 1 Maccabees has a long bibliography. See the list in Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 44n77, and Cohen's own survey (pp. 44-47).

On Josephus's preservation of the names in 1 Maccabees, see Ilan, *Names*, 40-41, and in general, G. Hölscher, *Quellen des Josephus für die Zeit vom Exil bis zum jüdischen Krieg* (Leipzig1904), 4-10*.

87. Often quoted is ALBRIGHT, William F., *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, Baltimore, 1946, pp. 268, 336), that the list contains authentic names of the third century.
Theodotus, Frag. 6 (Eusebius, *PE* 9.22.8-9a; Holladay 2.121): "While Hamor was encouraging his subjects to be circumcised, one of the sons of Jacob named Symeon [ἕνα τῶν Ἰακώβ υἱῶν τὸ ὄνομα Συμεώνα] decided to kill both Hamor and Shechem.... Thus Symeon [ὁ Συμεών] says..." (trans. Holladay, adjusted).

Frag. 8 (Holladay 2.124-25)
"Thus Levi and Symeon [Συμεώνα] came into the city fully armed.... With respect to their slaying of them he says: 'So then Symeon lunged for Hamor himself And struck his head, seized his throat with his left hand.'"

Joseph and Aseneth: always Συμεών, always the patriarch

*Lives of the Prophets: always Συμεών, always "tribe of."*\(^{88}\) (In the context of irregular spellings, Συμεών is consistent.

**Josephus**

Josephus knows of 29 persons named Simon,\(^{89}\) which he writes almost always as Σίμων. The first person named is Simon the Just, son and successor of Onias (*Ant*. 12.43: ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ Σίμων γίγνεται διάδοχος ὁ καὶ δίκαιος ἐπικληθεὶς διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεόν εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ὀμοφύλους εὔνουν). (Including the name of his own great-grandfather [*Vita* 3].) It includes prominent figures such as Simon bar Giora (ὁ τοῦ Γιώρα Σίμων: *War* 2.521), which also appears as a name on an ossuary from Dominus Flevit (אברהם; see Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs*, 227).

Josephus, alone of ancient witnesses, spells the name of the patriarch Σεμεών (8 times in *Antiquities* 1-2) *Ant*. 1.304 (where he gives the etymology); 1,339; *Ant*. 2.110-26; a proper name which he declines it as though it were a Greek name: Σεμεόνος, Σεμεώνα.)

Josephus has idiosyncratic spellings of other names, diverging from the LXX and often from almost all other Hellenistic Jewish and Christian texts; see Cohen 1976: 102-103. On problems in Josephus's spelling of names, see also N. G. Cohen 1976 121n108 "hopelessly corrupt state of the onomastic tradition in Josephus' *Wars*)" and Shaye Cohen, who demurs from placing too much weight on orthography in names when determining sources.

The only reasonably clear exception of Josephus calling the patriarch Σεμεών occurs in *Ant*. 2.121, which has the standard orthography (Σιμέων), but where the text is uncertain. [The

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Lives 12:1: Ἀμβακοῦμ ἐκ φυλῆς ἦν Συμεῶν ἀγροῦ Βῃθζουχάρ.

Lives 13:1: Σοφονίας ἐκ φυλῆς ἦν Συμεῶν ἀγροῦ Σαβαραθά*

89. (Milik, cited by Fitzmyer, "Name Simon," 3).
manuscripts themselves vary as to the orthography of the patriarch's name. In brief, M and R have Σεμεων (though neither is absolutely consistent); others usually have Συμεων, although they occasionally attest Σεμεων.

Only at Ant. 2.121 does Niese use Συμεων, but in this case the phrase that contains the name is textually suspect: R, O, and E omit the phrase, and M (Marcianus 381), which also usually has Σεμεων, has here Συμεων.

At Ant. 1.341 (Niese, Opera, 1.79) it appears that M and R read Σεμεων. OSPE have Συμεων. L again has Συμεωνις[]!

Ant. 2.110 OSPLE have συμεόνα; M and R read σεμεόνα.

The basic pattern regarding the first vowel obtains even for the unusual σεμεωνις, i.e. "Symeonite [tribe]" in Ant. 5.82, where M and R have σεμεωνις but MSPL have συμεωνις.

4.141 5.120: σεμεωνιδα; here even M has συμεωνιδα and only R has σεμεωνιδα
5.128: σεμεωνις reads S, which nowhere else has the short vowel that I've seen; it's treating this like the nominal form (alongside ιουδα)

Leaving aside this textually problematic instance, the name spelled Συμεων is used only twice in the whole of Josephus's corpus: first for the grandfather of Mattathias (Ant. 12.265) [clearly following 1 Maccabees, his source]. Second for Simeon ben Gamaliel I.

: Mattathias of Modin is described as son of "John, son of Symeon, son of Asamoneus (Ματταθίας νιύς Ίωάννου τοῦ Συμεόνος τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου ἱερεὺς ἐξ ἔφημερίδος Ἰώαβος ἱεροσολυμίτης). Note that the genitive of the transcribed name is actually declined (gen: τοῦ Συμεόνος; acc.: τὸν Συμεόνα) as though Συμεών were a Greek name.

[more text]

Σίμων is used for the patriarch of Josephus's family (Vita 3), various high priests, people spanning a long time.

2. In naming יוחנן בן גמאליאל, Josephus uses both Συμεων (once, in the War) and Σίμων (in two passages from the Vita). Because this is exceptional--this is the only contemporary he calls Συμεων--it is necessary to ask whether there is any discernible explanation.

In War Josephus uses Σίμων over 100 times for various figures, some of whom surely bore the Hebrew name שמעון, for instance Simon the Hasmonean (War 1.49-61). But at War 4.159 he names "Symeon son of Gamaliel" (ὁ Γαμαλιήλου Συμεών) as one of the leaders who expressed outrage at the Zealots' conduct in the Temple (most proximately, their choice of a country bumpkin as high priest). The response to this travesty was led by men of "outstanding reputation," including Gorion son of Joseph, "Symeon son of Gamaliel" (ὁ Γαμαλιήλου Συμεών), and the most eminent high priests, Jesus son of Gamalas, and Ananus.
son of Ananus. (There is no parallel to this episode in *Antiquities.*)

Yet in *Vita* 189-98, 309, Josephus refers to the same Simeon ben Gamaliel with his customary preference for Σίµων. The episode described in *Vita* 189-98 has a parallel in *War* 2.626-31, but there Simeon ben Gamaliel is not mentioned at all. (The whole business about the effort to remove Josephus from Galilee is described far more briefly in the *War*. See Mason, *Judean War* 2 (BJP vol. 1b), 410n3717.)

For our purposes the question is: can we discern any rhyme or reason to the change in spelling Simeon ben Gamaliel's name between the *War* and the *Life*? The question is made the more difficult because Josephus's description Simeon ben Gamaliel in the *Vita* is baffling. Simeon is directly opposed to Josephus: he is a friend of Josephus's enemy, John of Gischala; he first tries to persuade Ananus and the assembly to remove Josephus, insinuating that Josephus might invade Jerusalem; and when the high priest remains unpersuaded, Simeon has him bribed, which has the desired result of getting an embassy sent to remove Josephus.

Hence we would expect Josephus to paint Simeon "in the blackest colors" (Cohen, *Josephus*, 145). But incongruously, Josephus gives him an encomium! He says that ben Gamaliel is a Jerusalemite Pharisee of outstanding lineage, "a man highly gifted with intelligence and judgment" who could "by sheer genius retrieve an unfortunate situation in affaris of state" (*Vita* 191 [Thackeray]). As if it were a minor detail, Josephus adds, "at the time, [he] was at variance with me"!

This has received diverse interpretations. Shaye Cohen (1979:144-45) argues that between the writing of the *War* and the *Vita*, Simeon's "stock rose spectaculary, as did the fortunes of the Pharisees"; hence in the *Vita* Josephus tries to please Yavnean rabbis with a pro-Pharasaic depiction (in the brief mention of "Symeon" in the *War*, Josephus did not identify him as a Pharisee). In the *Vita*, Josephus had to account for an unpleasant episode from the past where he and other Pharisees had a disagreement. He puts it in the best light he can.

Mason (*Life of Josephus*, 98n853) argues that Josephus actually gives Simeon a more favorable portrait in the *War* than in the *Life*, by naming him only in his laudatory role of resisting the Zealots (*War* 4.159), and by omitting Simeon's involvement in the delegation sent to remove Josephus (*War* 2.626). Indeed, for Josephus to describe Simeon as "old and intimate friend" of John of Gischala (*Vita* 192) is no favor (Mason, *Life of Josephus*, 99n855).

As for the unexpected flattering comments about Simeon in *Vita* 191-92, Mason suggests that they are typical of Josephus's effort to "offer rounded and balanced assessments" (*Life of Josephus*, 98n853). Whether the portrait was meant to be positive in *War* (so Mason), or is more positive in the *Life* (so Cohen), the use of Σωμεών in *War* 4.159 is still highly anomalous and not easily explained. Should we detect reliance on a source? The other names mentioned are not

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90. For bibliography and the question of Simeon's depiction as a Pharisee (implied though not explicit in *War* 4; explicit in *Life* 191), see Mason, *Life of Josephus*, 98-99.
91. E.g. *Vita* 190：τόν τοῦ Γαµαληλου Σιµωνα. Simeon ben Gamaliel is named once more in *Vita* 309, when Josephus's delegates return from Jerusalem with the news that there was popular indignation there at Ananus's and "Simon son of Gamaliel's" efforts to have Josephus removed.
92. Schlatter (*Die hebräischen Namen*, 111) said: "Das vereinzelte Σωμεών in b 4, 159 ist verdächtig." (It is not clear to me whether Schlatter meant textually "suspicious" or simply
atypical. E.g. Jesus son of Gamalas is named the same way in *War* 4.160 as in *Life* 193, 204: Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Γαμάλα (possibly the same as Jesus son of Gamaliel of *Ant*. 20.213 (so Schlatter, Namen, 37-38; Mason, *Life*, 99n859). So with Ananus son of Ananus. The names of the four men sent to remove Josephus from Galilee differ in the *War* and the *Life*, so they are not easy to compare, although *War* 2.628 names one Ioesdrus (Ἰώεσδρος) and *Life* 196-98 Ioazar Ἰώζαρος (the text has Γόζαρος) (also said to be a Pharisee and priest).

The passage that extols Simeon ben Gamaliel's status as a Jerusalemite Pharisee of outstanding lineage uses Σιμων.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>War</th>
<th>Life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.626-31: Plot to remove Josephus from role in Galilee (Symeon/Simon not named among plotters)</td>
<td>189-98: <strong>Simon</strong> son of Gamaliel orchestrates plot to remove Josephus from role in Galilee. Simon also described as wise Pharisee of good lineage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.159: <strong>Symeon</strong> son of Gamaliel bravely denounces the rebels' travesties in Jerusalem</td>
<td>No Parallel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. once for the patriarch: in *Ant*. 2.121 the text is uncertain: τοῦ δὲ μηδ’ ὁ τι λέγουσιν εἰδέναι φήσαντος ἀνείθησαν τοῦ δέους [λύσας τε τὸν Σιμωνὸν ἐτημέλει συνεσόμενον τοῖς ἀδέλφοις] ἐλθόντος καὶ Ἰωσήπου ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ βασιλέως τά τε δώρα παρῆγον αὐτῷ καὶ πυθομένου περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγον ὅτι καταλάβοιεν αὐτὸν ἔρρωμένον .

It is impossible to find any rhyme or reason at the level of meaning or association with the various spellings. For instance, when even "Simon surnamed 'the Just' for his piety toward God and kindliness to his compatriots" (e.g. *Ant*. 12.43) is simply "Simon" (Σίμων) (as in Josephus, *Ant*. 12.43, Sir 50:1, and 3 Macc 2:1) not "Symeon," it is difficult to see the latter as a spelling associated with nationalism or patriotism or traditional mores.

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"puzzling" and "curious," but both could be said)
In those days Mattathias son of John son of Symeon, a priest of the family of Joarib, moved from Jerusalem and settled in Modein.

Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Symeon, the son of Asamoneus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem.

2:2 He had five sons, John surnamed Gaddi, Simon called Thassi ...

Antiq. 12.266: He had five sons; John surnamed Gaddis, and Simon surnamed Thatis, and Judas, who was called Maccabeus and Eleazar, who was called Auran, and Jonathan, who was called Apphus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ἔν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἑκείναις ἀνέστη Ματταθιας υἱὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Συµεών, ἱερεὺς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰωαριβ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολυμίτης καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν Μωδεῖν.</td>
<td>Now at this time there was one whose name was Mattathias, who dwelt at Modin, the son of John, the son of Symeon, the son of Asamoneus, a priest of the order of Joarib, and a citizen of Jerusalem.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>καὶ αὐτῷ υἱοὶ πέντε, Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Γαδδί, 2:3 Σιµών ὁ καλούμενος Θασσί, 2:4 Ἰουνάς ὁ καλούμενος Μακκαβαῖος, 2:5 Ἐλεάζαρ ὁ καλούμενος Αὐαρᾶν Ἰωνάθης ὁ καλούμενος Αφροῦς.</td>
<td>And he had five sons: John, surnamed Gaddi; Simon, surnamed Thassi; Judas, surnamed Maccabeus; Eleazar, surnamed Auran; and Jonathan, surnamed Apphus.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pseudo-Philo, LAB 8.6: Simeon (LAB does not recount the story of Genesis 34).

3 Macc 2:1 introduces the intercession of the High Priest Simon as Σιµών.

2 Maccabees (not dependent on 1 Maccabees) uses only Σιµών--for Simons bad (the hellenizing brother of Menelaus and Lysimachus (2 Macc 3-4 [first named in 3:4]), and good (Judas Maccabeus appoints his brothers Σιµών καὶ Ἰωσήφον καὶ Ἰωνάθην as military commanders (2 Macc 8:22; note 8:23 adds that he appointed "Eleazar" who gave the watchword, "Help of God"); Simon the Hasmonean only reappears in 2 Macc 10:19-20, and not in the best light.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs use only the form Συµέων; Test. Sim. 2.1-2 mentions the etymology and exploits it in a

93. Josephus treats Asmonaeus as the name of one of the ancestors of the "Hasmoneans." (Cf. Vita 2.) It is possible that a Hebrew name (חסמיון) was corrupted to Ἰσμαὼν. But Ḥasmônai might be a Hebrew nickname of unknown meaning, just like the nicknames of Mattathias's sons. See discussion and literature in Mason, Life of Josephus, 6n15.
testamentary setting, "Listen to Symeon."

**Philo:** uses only Συμέων, and does so exclusively for the patriarch (11 times). Philo does not apologize for Symeon and Levi's escapades with the Shechemites. To the contrary, he praises their act as a metaphorical circumcision (Migr. 224) and treats Symeon as a "hearer," one of Jacob's top-six children! Philo consistently notes that his name means "hearing" (άκοή or εἰσακοή).

**Leg. 1.81**
Ebr. 94 "his name means 'hearing," [άκοή γάρ οὗτος ἐρμηνεύεται]);
Migr. 224: Symeon and Levi "hearers and acquaintances of understanding" (οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκουσταί καὶ γνώριμοι, Συμεὼν τε καὶ Λευί) who circumcise the "irrational nature" which is Ἡμορ (allegorical reading of Gen 34)

**Fug. 73:** Moses assigned the better six sons for blessing: he has assigned the better six, who are the best for the task of blessing, namely: Symeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin. (!)

**Mut 97 (bis):** linking names of Symeon and Reuben (Gen 48:5)
**Mut. 99:** "Symeon" means listening [εἰσακοὴ], part of learning and instruction
**Mut 101:** linking names of Symeon and Reuben (Gen 48:5) (learning and natural endowment)
**Mut 200:** linked closely with Levi (Deut 33:6): ready to deal with profane nonsense
**Somn 2.33:** εἰσακοὴ γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται

In the NT, at least eleven figures other than Peter were named "Simon." Eight of these are identified with the spelling Σιμέων:
1. Simon the Cananean/Zealot (Mark 3:18; Matt 10:4; Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13),
2. Simon the brother of Jesus (Mark 6:3; Matt 13:55),

Epiphanius, alone to my knowledge, uses Συμέων for Jesus' (step-)brother. (In Epiphanius' view, Jesus' siblings were children of Joseph from his former marriage.) This occurs three times, despite other minor variations in the order of the names and presence or absence of the names of Jesus' "sisters"). This cannot simply be put down to his "Semiticizing" the names, for he uses "Joses" each time (as Mark 6:3) rather than "Joseph" (as Matt 13:55).

1. James, Joses, Judah, Symeon Ἰακώβῳ φησί καὶ Ἰωσῆ καὶ Ἰούδᾳ καὶ Συμεώνι ((Pan. [Holl 1.319]).
2. James, Joses, Symeon, Judah, Mary, Salome Τίκτει μὲν τὸν τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἑγγὸς που περὶ ἤτη γεγονός τεσσαράκοντα, πλεῖον ἐλάσσω, μετ’ αὐτὸν δὲ γίνεται παῖς Ἰωσῆ καλούμενος, εἶτα μετ’ αὐτὸν Συμεὼν, ἕπειτα Ἰούδας, καὶ δύο θυγατέρες, ἢ Μαρία καὶ ἢ Σαλώμη καλούμενη, καὶ τέθνηκεν αὐτὸς ἢ γυνή [Pan Holl 3.458] Τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐγγόνησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἵνα τῆς ἐκτοίριν τόνιν ποῖος τυγχάνει καὶ ἐκ ποίας μητρὸς ἕτος Ἰάκωβος, νοήσωςι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τίς ἔστι μεῖζων. [Pan Holl 3.460]
4. Simon Iscariot, the father of Judas Iscariot (John 6:71; 12:4 [v.l.]; 13:2, 26),
5. Simon the leper (Mark 14:3; Matt 26:6),
6. Simon the Pharisee (Luke 7:40-44),
7. Simon the tanner in Joppa (Acts 9:43; 10:6, 17, 32);
8. Simon Magus (Acts 8:9, 13, 18, 24 [Peshitta always: نَضْحِجِي]).

(Note that the majority of these are Jewish and indeed Palestinian.

In the NT, aside from 2 Peter 1:1, only Luke employs the spelling Συμεών for contemporary figures. Luke uses this four times, of:

1. Symeon who welcomes the infant Jesus in the temple (Luke 2:25-35);
2. An ancestor of Jesus mentioned in the genealogy (τοῦ Συμεών τοῦ Ἰούδα τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, Luke 3:30); [Seven generations after David's son Nathan, and hence apparently anachronistic, since by all indications the patriarchs' names were not being used at this time; see Jeremias, Jerusalem, 296]
3. "Symeon surnamed Niger" (Συμεών ὁ καλοκαύμων Νίγερ) in Antioch (Acts 13:1);
4. Symeon mentioned by James in the Jerusalem Council (Acts 15:14), who is usually thought to be Simon Peter (but cf. Acts 15:7: "Peter"), but who has on rare occasions been identified with Symeon Niger or with the Symeon of Luke 2, owing to the spelling.

For it was plain that, in comparison with the [years of] the Lord 's incarnation, James was the elder. (6) The scripture calls them brothers to confound [our opponents], and names James, Joses, Simeon, Judah, Salome and Mary, so that they will learn whose son James is and by which mother, and understand who is the elder." (Williams Pan. 7.9.6 [vol. 3? pg. 607])

Since discussions of Jesus' "brothers" often occur in connection with discussions of the episcopal succession Jerusalem, in which Jesus' cousin Symeon succeeded his (step–) brother James, possibly Epiphanius has accidentally used Symeon's name for Jesus' brother here.

95. In the three other instances in John, it is the father who is called "Iscariot." Here the text varies; sometimes he is called "Judas Iscariot," "Judas Iscariot, son of Simon," "Judas son of Simon Iscariot" (as elsehwere in John).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scripture</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>Vulgate</th>
<th>Peshitta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Luke 2:25 (Nunc dimitis)</td>
<td>Συμεών</td>
<td>Symeon</td>
<td>Σωμέων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 3:30 (ancestor)</td>
<td>Συμεών</td>
<td>Symeon</td>
<td>Σωμέων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 13:1 (Niger)</td>
<td>Συμεών</td>
<td>Symeon</td>
<td>Σωμέων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke 15:14 (Peter?)</td>
<td>Συμεών</td>
<td>Simeon (v.l. Simon)</td>
<td>Σωμέων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rev 7:7 (tribe)</td>
<td>Συμεών</td>
<td>Symeon</td>
<td>Σωμέων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Pet 1:1</td>
<td>Συμεών</td>
<td>Simeon (v.l. Simon; Vetus Latina has Simon and Symon)</td>
<td>Σωμέων</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genesis 29:33</td>
<td>Συμεών</td>
<td>Symeon (Vetus Latina Simeon)</td>
<td>Σωμέων</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two places in the NT that might name Peter Συμεών (linking him with the Patriarch), the Vulgate has a spelling that would seem to distinguish him from the Patriarch! Jerome clearly knew contemporaries named Symeon—or at least that's how he spells the name of a certain rabbi (Letter 121.10.19–20: Barachiba et Symeon et Helles, magistri nostri, tradiderunt nobis... "they are accustomed to reply saying, 'Barachiba and Symeon and Helles, our teachers, have passed on to us ". Cf. also the quotation of "the letter of a certain Symeon" (item de epistula cuiusdam Symeonis, in qua ait..." (Lagarde, 1.160).

Hegesippus for "Symeon son of Clophas" (ὁ προειρημένος Συμεών υἱὸς Κλωπᾶ): Eusebius, HE 3.11 (see commentary on sources, etc.) Eusebius goes on to describe him as Σιμων.

Eusebius makes a half dozen mentions of "Symeon son of Clophas," cousin of Jesus and successor to James the Just as bishop of Jerusalem. In the course of his account, Josephus both alludes to and occasionally quotes Hegesippus's Memoirs.

It would appear that Hegesippus used the form Σιμων (HE 3.32.3, 6) and that Eusebius, when composing freely, preferred Συμεών (HE 3.11.1; 3.22.1; 3.32.1, 4; 3.35.1) and this may have been the form of the name in the bishop list Eusebius gives (HE 4.5.3). The one exception would be HE 4.22.4, which Eusebius presents as a quotation but which uses Συμεών.

Epiphanius calls him Συμεών (recall that Epiphanius calls Jesus' step-brother Συμεών, against Matthew and Mark).

[Pan. [Holl 3.44]]: Συμεών, ό υἱὸς τοῦ πατραδέλφου αὐτοῦ, υἱὸς τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ιωσήφ. "And all the saints who shared James' throne are gone, and Symeon, the son of James' uncle, with them--Symeon, the son of Cleopas the brother of Joseph" (trans. Williams [5.19.8 vol. 2 pg. 239]

Pan Holl 3.465 (of James's martyrdom): ὁς καὶ Συμεὼν πόρρω ἐστῶς, ὁ τοῦτον ἀνεψιός, υἱὸς

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96. In the Latin tradition: Pseudo-Philo, LAB 8.6: Simeon. Tertullian (e.g. Adv. Jud. ).
δὲ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ἔλεγε «παύσασθε, τί λιθάζετε τὸν δίκαιον; καὶ ἵδοι, εὐχεταί υπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα». καὶ οὕτως γέγονε τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦ μαρτύριον [williams 7.14 = vol 3.611-12]

(Bauckham, Relatives, 83; Gospel Women, 211; cf. Lawlor, XXX, ).

*Chronicon Paschale* [ed. Dindorf pg. 471-72]: Σίµων son of Kleopas. (bishop of jerusalem, martyr at 120). But *Chronicon Paschale* pg. 460 calls him Συµεών ὁ καὶ Σίµων, using the same phrase as appears in John Malalas,97 and Syncellus (pg. 409 ed Mosshammer).

Acts of Philip 107: Σίµων. (Σίµωνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ ἐπίσκοπον ὅντα ἱεροσολύμων (second bishop after James, killed under Trajan).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Σίµων</th>
<th>Συµεών</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hegesippus (<em>apud</em> Eusebius, <em>Hist. Eccl.</em> 3.32.3, 6) (HE 4.22.4?)</td>
<td>Eusebius <em>Hist. Eccl.</em> 3.11.1; 3.22.1; 3.32.1, 4; 3.35.1; 4.5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Chronicon Paschale</em> [ed. Dindorf pg. 471-72]</td>
<td>Epiphanius</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A fragment attributed to Irenaeus98 or to Hippolytus99 observes "types" of Christ in the patriarchs. When looking for a link in the new dispensation for Βενιαμίν, it appeals to Paul as a Benjaminite. And having noted that Benjamin corresponds to Paul, it notes that Συµεών corresponds to ... Symeon of the Nunc Dimittis! That this fragment should have chosen him shows the tendency to distinguish Συµεών from Σίµων (and reminds us of how little impact 2 Pet 1:1 made).

97. John Malalas (*Chron.* 10.42) proposed that James's successor went by both names: καὶ παρέλαβε τὸ σχῆµα τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἱεροσολύμων Συµεών ὁ καὶ Σίµων καὶ ἐγένετο πατριάρχης.

98. W.W. Harvey, *Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis libri quinque adversus haereses*, vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1857, Frag. 17. ANF 1 has the note: "found in three mss. in the Imperial Collection at Paris, on the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth."

By these Christ was typified, and acknowledged, and brought into the world: for He was prefigured in Joseph: then from Levi and Judah He was descended according to the flesh, as King and Priest; and He was acknowledged by Simeon in the temple: through Zebulon He was believed in among the Gentiles, as says the prophet, “the land of Zabulon;” and through Benjamin [that is, Paul] He was glorified, by being preached throughout all the world. (ANF 1)

Ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς προετυπώθη, καὶ ἐπεγνώσθη, καὶ ἐγεννήθη· ἐν γὰρ τῷ Ἰοσὴφ προετυπώθη· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευὶ καὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς, ἐγεννήθη· διὰ δὲ τοῦ Συμεὼν ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐπεγνώσθη· διὰ τοῦ Ζαβουλῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπιστεύθη, (ὡς φησιν ὁ προφήτης· γῆ Ζαβουλῶν;) διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βενιαμίν, (τοῦ Παύλου), εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον κηρυχθεὶς ἐδοξάσθη.

[note he doesn't call Paul 'Saul' even here, when highlighting his Jewish--Benjaminite--heritage!]

ANF:

The evidence cited above is sufficient to dismiss efforts to claim this form of the name in support of the authenticity or Palestinian provenance of 2 Peter (so van Houwelingen, "Authenticity of 2 Peter" (who badly misunderstands the difference between names and Greek spellings of names when he claims Bar Kokhba was named Συμεών [he means that Bar Kokhba used his given name, Simon, not that he spelled it Συμεὼν]); similar arguments by Schreiner, 1, 2 Peter, Jude, 283; Thiede, Simon Peter, 181: using "his old Jewish birth-name in its original form" was a "personal touch" and indicates the letter's authenticity.).

(Neither should this form of the name be such a clear indication of pseudepigraphy. Barnett, II Peter, 167-68; Kelly 296; Fornberg, Early Church [unde?*])

Interpreters of 2 Pet 1:1 have proposed a variety of explanations for this use of the name:

1. To emphasize **Jewishness** (Spicq 186: "L'orthographe archaïque et araméenne de Syméon … est suspecte."); Spicq 207: emphasizes Jewishness).

   [cf. the Acts of Pilate* "Rabbi Simeon" = Symeon of the Nune dimmitis ]

   "the Semitic-sounding form 'Symeon Peter'" (as part of pseudonymity): Dibelius, *Fresh Approach*, 207)

   "Hebrew form," possible "archaism" Bigg.

2. Connect with **patriarchs**.

   Bockmuehl, "Simon Peter's Names," 137: "perhaps as a deliberate allusion to the patriarch in the testamentary genre."
3. Or archaizing generally (Spicq 186; Grundmann 55: he uses the "ancient" name Symeon and thereby gives his letter, from its first word, a celebratory ring" (feierlichen Klang). Hengel calls it the "archaizing form" (Saint Peter, 22n68).

Note, this is not truly an archaic form. Parents continued to name children Symeon.

But it is interesting to consider it as a deliberate archaizing, perhaps to make a link with a traditional pronunciation of the patriarch's name. Josephus seems to have preserved archaic pronunciations for some names, possibly showing a difference between how names were spoken and how they were read. (Think of someone over-doing a Hebrew guteral today, to show that they know Hebrew.) See Steiner, "On the Dating of Hebrew Sound Changes," 240-43. In fact, Josephus may even hyper-archaize, giving false pronunciations based on false etymologies or spellings. [Cf. Cohen, "Names of the Translators," 36-37 who notes a similar phenomenon in the spelling (once) of Isaac ]

3. There is a connection (owing to use of a source or otherwise) with the Acts 15:14, the only other place in the New Testament where this form was used for Peter. Peter addressed this way by James at the Jerusalem Council.

[The use of "Symeon" in Acts 15:14 is every bit as intriguing as the use of "Symeon Peter" in 2 Pet 1:1, for Peter has been identified simply as "Peter" as recently as 15:7. … Indeed, nowhere in Luke-Acts is Peter ever called "Symeon," (when he is called "Simon" in Luke, it is always with the Greek spelling; furthermore, the distribution of "Simon" in Luke suggests dependence on a source; Jeremias, Sprache, 130-31).

Luke uses Συμεών four times:
1. Symeon in the temple (Luke 2:);
2. in Jesus' genealogy (3:30: τοῦ Συμεών τοῦ Ἰούδα τοῦ Ἰωσήφ);
3. and of "Symeon surnamed Niger" (Acts 13:1)100
4. in Acts 15:14, spoken by James.

a. it is noteworthy that it is James who addresses Peter in Acts 15; that the conference takes place in Jerusalem; that the proceedings take up the question of Gentiles; and that Peter is the one whose "Jewishness" may appear in the eyes of some slightly less satisfactory.

Hence it has been argued that Luke puts the more "archaic" or "Semitic" form in the mouth of James because:

a. Luke was using a source, and the source referred to Peter by this name;101 [further Riesner, "James's Speech"].

100. It is interesting that this Symeon has a Latin surname, which was transcribed rather than translated (Συμεών ὁ καλούμενος Νίγερ rather than ὁ καλούμενος Μέλας), as seems to have been practice for this name (Josephus also names a Νίγερ, as does CPJ II no 162).

This is not *prima facie* implausible, but there is some irony in the fact that Paul's momentary use of "Peter" in Gal 2:7-8 (before reverting to his preferred "Cephas" in Gal 2:9) is normally explained by claiming that Paul was "citing" the wording of an official document from the Jerusalem Conference, and hence that Jerusalem used the name "Peter" (so Cullmann, *Peter*, 18; see other advocates of this view in Ehrman, "Cephas and Peter," 468n20).


b. Luke aimed at a bit of *local color* with the Semitic form of the name. Bengel 449: "Jacobus, Hebraeorum apostolus, Hebraico nomine Petrum appellat." (cited approvingly by Barrett, *Acts*, 2.723, who says the name "was probably intended to give the passage a Semitic air, regarded as suitable for James."

[Note that in Acts 9:4; 22:7; 26:14, Saul is spelled Σαούλ when spoken by Christ, and in Acts 9:17; 22:13, when spoken by Ananias of Damascus. The only other instance of this spelling is Acts 13:21, as Paul uses the standard LXX rendering of "Saul, son of Kish" (τὸν Σαοὺλ υἱὸν Κίς) in a synagogue sermon in Pisidian Antioch. In Acts 27:24, an angel calls him Παῦλος, but this is only as Paul recounts it for his Gentile fellow sailors. Otherwise, fifteen times it is Σαῦλος. Thus in direct speech from Jesus or a Semitic-speaking character uses a more literal transliteration of the Hebrew name.

[Haenchen, *Apostelgeschichte*, 430, simply states that Luke wants to show that "James, the brother of the Lord, speaks Aramaic").

Cadbury, *Beginnings of Christianity* 4.175: "The choice of this particular form of Peter's name is probably due to the author's sensitiveness to the appropriateness of words to occasions, especially in the speeches. It was fitting that Peter should be addressed by a Palestinian Jew by his Jewish name and even in its most Jewish spelling."

and "".

[Furthermore, why not have Jesus in the Gospel use this spelling if local color was the goal? In Luke, Jesus calls Peter Σίμων. And a heavenly voice addresses Peter as Πέτρε (10:13: ἀναστάς, Πέτρε, θῦσον καὶ φάγε), and Peter reports the heavenly speech in Jerusalem in precisely these terms (Acts 11:7: "I heard a voice saying to me, ἀναστάτας, Πέτρε, θῦσον καὶ φάγε")). Elsewhere heavenly voices speak with Hebrew accents!

c. Luke wanted to show the *easy familiarity* of Peter and James, and to highlight Peter's *Jewish credentials*.


103. John C. Poirier, ‘The Narrative Role of Semitic Languages in the Book of Acts’, *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 16 (2003), pp. 107-16: it's Hebrew that Jesus speaks to Paul, and Hebrew that Paul speaks to the Jews in Jerusalem when he doesn't wan the Romans to understand him

d. James knocks Peter down a peg by pointedly avoiding his exalted nickname "Peter/Cephas" and using his personal name. (Here the interpreter focuses less on the spelling (any of the reasons might apply--local color, etc.--and attends rather to the choice of Eigennname rather than nickname. (so Pesch, Apostelgeschichte, 79 [cited Riesner, "James's Speech," n5]; H. A. W. Meyer, Apostelgeschichte, KEK 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1870) 332) Note that in the Gospels, after the name "Peter" is first used, there are instances of Jesus calling Peter "Simon" when Peter is weakest (Mark 14:37; Luke 22:31; John 21:15-17; but contrast Matt 17:25). Was Luke's James reminding Peter of this checkered past?

Robson 43-44 also notes that Acts 15:8-9 emphasize the equal standing of Jews and Gentiles based on faith, cf. 2 Pet 1:1 τοις ἴσοτιμοι ἣμιν λαχόσιν πίστιν (if "ours" means "us Jews" and not "us apostles"); and 2 Pet 3:1 mentions a "commandment" of apostles and prophets; the deliberations in Acts 15 issue in a "command"/decree based on apostles and prophets (James cites the prophet, Amos 9:11); men are "sent out" (apostello) with the "command" in the hands of the "prophets" Judas and Silas (Acts 15:27).

Robinson's thesis, that 2 Peter is written by Jude, might fit here: He claims Jude employed the form of the name he and his brother, James, habitually used; as Robinson puts it, "It was in the family"! (Robinson, Redating, 194). (Apparently, nobody told Jesus, who is recorded as calling him Σιμών.

Acts 15:14: ""Men and brothers, listen to me"; Jas 2:5: "listen, my beloved brothers" (Kistemaker, Acts, 550: "listen to me" only these two places in NT)


Indeed, the pattern of usage is so odd that it has been argued that the "Symeon" in Acts 15:14 refers not to Peter but to someone Luke actually calls "Symeon," such as the Symeon of the Nunc Dimittis (Luke 2:25-35) or Symeon Niger of Acts 13:1. The former has much to commend it, and is not incompatible with use of a source. So in Chrysostom's Hom. Acts 33, there is a textual problem, but either reading makes it clear that he takes for granted that Symeon must be someone named Symeon, and hence cannot be Simon Peter.

In the text of the TLG we read: "Some say this is the one mentioned by Luke [i.e. Luke 2:25-35]; others that it is someone else with the same name. But it is not necessary to be precise about whether it is this or that person, but only to receive as necessary what he declared." In other mss. of Chrysostom, there is no uncertainty: Symeon is identified as the


107. Τινὲς τούτον εἶναί φασι τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκᾶ εἰρημένον: ἄλλοι δὲ ἔτερον ὀμόνυμον τούτῳ. Εἴτε δὲ οὕτως, εἴτε ἐκείνος ἐστιν, οὔκ ἄκριβολογεῖσθαι χρῆ, ἄλλα μόνον ὡς ἀναγκαῖα
There is no question that the *Nunc dimittis* would be germane to the discussion in Acts 15: In Luke 2, Symeon promises that Jesus will be "a light for revelation to the Gentiles" (Isa 49:6), and a source of considerable controversy. And who better to recall the words addressed to Jesus' parents than Jesus' brother, James (Riesner 275).  

**BUT IF THIS IS CORRECT**, then there are **NO instances in the New Testament of "Symeon" used for Peter apart from 2 Pet 1:1!** Probably we have to reckon with 2 Peter thinking that the "Symeon" of Acts 15:14 was spoken to Peter; this may be his source for the expression.

It's not entirely clear in Acts that this is meant to be "Simon Peter," Jesus' disciple. Elsewhere in Luke-Acts, as elsewhere generally, when the double name is used it is always Ἱούσας Πέτρος (e.g. Luke 5:8).

The oddity of this spelling of the name is often adduced as a sign of authenticity (Bauckham 167: "no other pseudepigraphical Petrine writer uses Ἱούσας."). It is neither Palestinian, nor Jewish, nor "literal transcription,"

The most striking thing about the self-identification of the author is that he has not chosen a more typical way of naming Peter. If 1 Peter is indeed known to the author (cf. notes on 2 Pet 3:1), why deviate from his name as given there?

The choice of the double name or the spelling Ἱούσας in Greek:

The choice of the double name or the spelling Ἱούσας left little impression on the Latin

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108. On such an interpretation, the importance of James's being family with Jesus would be accentuated. The comments of Peter and Paul merely serve to remind James of something long ago promised of his brother.

109. Guthrie, *Introduction*, 820-21; van Houwelingen, "The Authenticity of 2 Peter"; Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude*, 260; James 1912 pg. 9 thinks this peculiar form of the name counts toward authenticity, but not enough to tip the balance.

110. Abbott 1882:151 suggests that he relied on 1 Peter but intentionally avoided copying it too exactly, so he chose the form of address used in Acts 15:14.
commentary tradition (true of 2 Peter in general). Latin manuscripts vary between Simon [Σίμων], Symon [=Συμεών?], and Simeon (one ms. omits the name altogether). Manuscripts that give a title invariably label it simply Petri, never offering a double name. When quoting 2 Peter, authors wrote "as Petrus says...," not "as Simon Petrus" says. (Thiele, Epistulae Catholicae, 189-90).

One interesting exception to this rule is the comment of Pseudo-Hilary, which proposes that both the praenomen, Simon, and the adjective servus, "slave," are added here (unlike 1 Peter) so that Peter, in his second treatise, might appear humble and obedient. (Servus, in prima non ponitur; in secunda, et servus et Simon imponitur, id est ut oboediens et humilis videatur in secunda conscriptione. (Pseudo-Hilary [McNally 108B:99]).

Perhaps the author of 2 Peter sought to inject a more Semitic sounding name, but in that case, why not "Cephas" (as in other pseudepigraphical literature: Epiphanius, Pan. 25.366; 31.266*)

or, to combine personal name and nickname, "Symeon Cephas"?

Most odd of all is the combination of difference and similarity, for the phrase that concludes the opening sentence is in both cases identical—and rare!111

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<td>Πέτρος ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ …</td>
<td>Συμεών Πέτρος δοῦλος καὶ ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ …</td>
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<td>χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη</td>
<td>χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη πληθυνθείη</td>
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That the latter expressions may be related is granted even by Knopf (1912:260), who is otherwise disinclined to see any resemblance between epistles.

Christian writings of the second and third centuries.
Given the frequency of the double name in the Gospel of John, the rarity of it in later authors (apart from quotations of these NT passages) is noteworthy.

The double name Σίμων Πέτρος is found: Never in Mark; once in Luke (5:8); once in Matthew (16:16); often in John.

§Gospel of Peter 14:60: ἔγω δὲ Σίμων Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφός μου λαβόντες ἤμων τὰ λίνα ἀπῆλθαμεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν
Direct speech, and first person speech!

§Gospel of Thomas 13, 114: Narrative: "Simon Peter said to him..."

111. Bede explains the difference thus: "undoubtedly he wrote that Letter [i.e. 1 Peter] for beginners, this one for the more perfect" (Hurst 124).
Intertextual Purposes:

2 Peter makes deliberate references to other early Christian writings (2 Pet 1:12-15; 1:16-18; 3:1-2; 3:15-16). Might this relatively rare use of the double name call attention to a famous passage where the double name was used?

Asked of the double name, our candidates are:

1. Matt 16 (but Peter avoids this in 2 Pet 1:16-21, preferring the transfiguration; and there is no reference to the change of names or Jesus' promise.)

2. John 21:18-19: promising, since it might lie behind 2 Pet 1:14. In Jesus' direct address to Peter no name is used.

John 21:18-19: "Very truly, I tell you, when you were younger, you used to fasten your own belt and to go wherever you wished. But when you grow old, you will stretch out your hands, and someone else will fasten a belt around you and take you where you do not wish to go.”

John 21:19 (He said this to indicate the kind of death by which he would glorify God.) After this he said to him, “Follow me.”

Immediately after, 21:20 has simply ὁ Πέτρος turned and saw the beloved disciple. Immediately before, Jesus has addressed Peter three times as Σίμων Ἰωάννου. One must go back past these three instances of Σίμων Ἰωάννου to 21:15 to find the nearest use of Σίμων Πέτρος: "When they had finished breakfast, Jesus said to Simon Peter."

If one wanted to allude to this episode, where Jesus foretells the manner of Peter's death, the more effective choice would have been Σίμων Ἰωάννου, both because that is used more proximately in John, and because it is more distinctive than the double name.

Furthermore, there is no indication the prediction of Peter's death was not strongly connected with the double name or the name "Simon" at all. Indeed, in Apoc. Peter 14 (Rainer frag.), with language quite similar to 2 Pet 1:14, Jesus tells Peter that he must die in Rome: ἰδοὺ ἐδήλωσά σοι, Πέτρε, καὶ ἐξεθήνη πάντα....

3. Catching fish? The sole occurrence of the double name in Luke (Luke 5:8), and the sole occurrence in the Gospel of Peter, the double name occurs in the story of the miraculous catch of fish (hence with links to the tale of John 21:1-11, where Peter is called "Simon Peter"; note Gospel of Peter XIV.60 Σίμων Πέτρος takes his nets and goes to the sea). Matt 17:24-27 (Jesus addresses Peter as Σίμων) also involves a miraculous catch of (a) fish. (If only σῖμος (LSJ, s.v. Π. σῖμος "an unknown fish") were a more common word for fish one would suspect something ... fishy.

Intertextual link based on Συμέων.

1. Calling to mind the Patriarch Symeon (Gen 29:33; 34:25-31; 49:5-7)

There is much to commend this, since so many authors use this spelling. (Even Josephus, although he uses a different spelling for the patriarch, attests to the idea that the patriarch's name was rendered differently from other people named Σίμων or Συμέων.)
a. Would this be the patriarch one wanted to model oneself on? Symeon and Levi led the slaughter of the Shechemites (Gen 34:25-31). Although a partisan reader might possibly see this as a justified retaliation, the fact that Jacob refused to bless these two (Gen 49:5-7) because of their violence left its mark in Jewish and Christian appraisals of Symeon. Furthermore, Jacob's remark about these two is almost antithetical to the idea of the testamentary genre: "may I never come into their council!" Symeon is the only one of the twelve tribes not to be mentioned in Moses' blessings in Deuteronomy 33.

4 Macc 2:19: "Why else did Jacob, our most wise father, censure the households of Symeon and Levi for their irrational slaughter of the entire tribe of the Shechemites, saying, 'Cursed be their anger'?

Josephus, Ant. 1.337-41, describes the affair briefly, omitting the detail about the circumcision (he says the Shechemites were indulging in a festival when Symeon and Levi slew them in their sleep). Josephus notes that they did this without Jacob's approval, and that Jacob was "aghast at the enormity of these acts and indignant at his sons" when he learned (Ant. 1.341).

Celsius criticized this episode (Contra Celsum 4.46; the name Συμέων here seems to be supplied by Origen, although Celsius invoked the unseemly incident).

On the name: Roth, followed by Harvey, Testament, argues the name was avoided.

Furthermore, sometimes the patriarch Symeon was held up for special blame in the betrayal of Joseph (Genesis 37). Although the biblical account never singles Symeon out for this, "In a number of Jewish sources Simeon and Levi are mentioned as especially hostile to Joseph: see, e.g., Targ.Ps.Jon. on Gen. 37,19; Fragm.Targ. and marginal note in Targ.Neof. on Gen 49,6" (Hollander, de Jonge, Testaments, 110). The Testament of Symeon makes Symeon's envy of Joseph his characteristic sin.

b. Yet it was possible to see the Patriarch Symeon positively. Philo does, as do

112. Note that the tradition of the twelve disciples as phylarchs (Luke 22:) could have presented a fine occasion for playing up the name Symeon. See Horbury, 12 and phylarchs.

113. Kugel, Bible as it Was, 233-44.

114. Tertullian, Adv. Jud. 10.8 (=ANF 3.346-47): Simeon and Levi were progenitors of the scribes and Pharisees, and their violence prefigured killing Christ! (Tertullian read Gen 49:5 as "perfecerunt iniquitatem ex sua secta," hence the "sect" of the scribes and Pharisees. His Latin reflects the LXX of Gen 49:5: "they completed injustice ἐξ αἱρέσεως αὐτῶν". (NRSV: "weapons of violence are their swords.")

Tertullian's Old Latin: Cum Iacob in Simeonem et Levi porrexit benedictionem, de scribis et pharisaes prophetat; ex illis enim deducitur census illorum. [9] Interpretatur enim spiritualiter sic: 'Simeon et Levi perfecerunt iniquitatem ex sua secta,' qua scilicet Christum sunt persecuti; in concilium eorum ne veniat anima mea et in stationem eorum ne incubuerint viscera mea, quoniam in indignatione sua interfecerunt homines, id est prophetas, et in concupiscencia sua subnervaverunt taurum, id est Christum quem post necem prophetarum interfecerunt et nervos eius suffigendo clavis desaevierunt.
Judith 9.2; Theodotus (see Holladay, 2.66-67), Jubilees 30, and Test. Levi 5-7 (Jubilees and Test. Levi emphasize Levi; Judith and Theodotus emphasize Symeon). However willful the exegesis or perverse the outlook that makes Symeon a hero, it was possible to lionize him. (Besides, the biblical character Lot strikes most of us as far from impressive, yet he was taken by many, including 2 Peter, as "a righteous man.")

2. Calling to mind the Συμέων of Acts 15:14.

3. Play on the etymology of Συμέων (Gen 29:33)

They etymology of the name Symeon was often mentioned. One of the very rare instances of what appears to be deliberate variation from Σίμων to Συμέων for the same person occurs in 1 Macc 2, quite possibly to draw attention to the underlying Semitic and the play on the root שמע.

The etymology of Συμεών was often mentioned by Hellenistic authors. In addition to Philo, Josephus.

a. Philo

b. Testament of Symeon 2.1-2: "Listen, my children, listen to Symeon, your father. ... Leah, my mother, called me Symeon because the Lord had listened to her prayer" (Ἀκούσατε, τέκνα, ἀκούσατε Συμεών τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν. ... Λεία ἡ μήτηρ μου ἐκάλεσέ με Συμεώνα, ὅτι ἠκούσε κύριος τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῆς).

c.

The Symeon of 2 Peter does not ask the readers to "listen" to him. But he does stress that he "heard" the words spoken to Christ (2 Pet 1:18: ἠκούσαμεν; indeed 1:17-18 are more interested in the heavenly voice than the visual aspects of the transfiguration), and the Transfiguration itself concluded "listen to him" (ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ). It might be to draw attention to the sound of the word, to flag that an underlying pun was involved.

In Acts 13:21, "Saul" spelled Σαούλ in an instance where the etymology of the name might have been deliberately invoked: "Then they asked for a king; and God gave them Saoul son of Kish." (The reader of the Peshitta of this verse could not miss the pun: "they asked" (אַלּכָא)

115. For Rabbinic etymologies, see Harduf, Biblical Names, 176.*

116. At Ant. 1.304, Niese (Opera, 1.72) notes that ROSPE have Συμέων, and the Latin has Symeon, but again Niese prefers the more difficult reading, Σεμέων, apparently supported by M (=Marcianus 381) alone. See Mason, Judean Antiquities 1-4, pg. 115n876: "one of the manuscripts (M) of Josephus here reads Σεμέων."

It is interesting that instance in Josephus where Συμέων is better attested than usual occurs where Josephus gives the etymology: "it signifies that God had listened to her" (ἀποσήμαινε δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐπήκοον αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι, Ant. 1.304).

for a king and got ܝܘܠ.\(^\text{118}\)

d. Later texts (Chryostom, Hom. Gen. Ἐκάλεσε γὰρ αὐτὸν Συμεών, ἐπειδὴ ἢκουσε Κύριος. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἐρμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα τῇ Ἑβραϊκῇ διαλέκτῳ, ὅτι ἢκούσθη.

Latin inscriptions:
Noy 1.107 (Latin epitaph 521 CE from Venosa): Symonas
Noy 1.197=CIJ i2 665a (8th-9th century Latin epitaph from Emerita: Simeon filius de rebbi Ia[co]b.)
Noy 2.52=CIJ i 403): 3d-4th century Greek epitaph from Monteverde: Σίµον.
Noy 2.305=CIJ i 163: 3d-4th century Greek scratched on loculus closure: Σείµο [v?] some form of Σίµων or perhaps Simonides.
Noy 2.310=CIJ i 165): 3d-4th century Greek written above and below a loculus: Σίμ[ων] and Σίµον.
Noy 2.381=CIJ i 267: ed-4th century Latin, details unclear: Valerius et Simonis: "Valerius and Simonis for Valeria their dearest daughter."

Hórbury-Noy Egypt has NONE
Lüderitz and Reynolds, CJZC, have 13 separate inscriptions with over 16 different people named Σίµον. Every instance is spelled Σίµον.
CPJ I, eight different individuals named Σίµον mentioned in twelve different papyri, see Vol. 1 pg. 268.
CPJ II, no. 145 (dated 13 BC), 157 (a member of the Jewish embassy to Trajan in Acts of the Alexandrian Martyrs), 161 (72 CE). 167,
CPJ III, nos. 500 (Σίµον), 452a (Σίµων), 464 (Σ[ιμ]ων)

**Distinguishing Simon Peter from Simon Magus.**

Peter's proper name was used more often in Semitic-language traditions. Perhaps it is not accidental that in these languages, it was possible to disambiguate.

Two quotations of the Gospel according to the Hebrews have "Simon" [presumably שמעון] where the NT has "Peter" (or no name at all), both in narrative and in direct quotation. According to Origen, in the Gospel according to the Hebrews Jesus addressed the saying about the camel passing through the eye of the needle to "his disciple Simon" (Simoni discipulo suo): "Simon, son of Jonah" (Simon, fili Ionaee). Similarly Jerome quotes Gospel according to the Hebrews as if its has Matt 18:21//Luke 17:4 with "Simon" instead of the "Peter" (Luke 17:4 has no name): "Simon his disciple [Simon discipulus ejus] said to him, 'Seven times a day'...."

This occurs fairly often in the remains of the Diatessaron, even in places where the Greek does not have the double name at all. "Shimōn Cephas" or "Shimōn" replaces simple "Peter" [e.g. at Luke 8:45, "Peter" becomes "Shimōn Peter"]; "Peter, James, and John" becomes "Shimōn Cephas, James, and John" (the three taken to witness the raising of the dead girl; the three taken to the Mount of Transfiguration; etc.).

Elsewhere, simple "Shimōn," rather than "Shimōn Peter," replaces "Peter."

Ephrem's Commentary on the Diatessaron; as often, modern translations--both the Latin and the English--obscure the choice of names. Ephrem, Commentary on the Diatessaron: the version of Matt 17:24-27 has Jesus come to Shimōn (Leloir, 1963: 126-29);

Matt 16:15-18 (Leloir 1963:112-15): "Shimōn" (not "Simon Peter" as in Matthew) confesses Christ, and Jesus replies "Blessed are you, Shimōn," (not "Simon bar Jonah" as in Matthew).

"You are Cephas [ךפֶּה]."

In the appendix (probably inauthentic: see Leloir 1963: 250-51), we are told that the Gospel of Mark had its origins in Mark writing "what he learned from Shimōn Peter" (Leloir's Latin has Simonem Petrum).

The same is true in other Syriac texts, such as the Doctrine of Addai, the Syriac Teaching of the Apostles, or the Preaching of Simon [sic: Syriac has Shimōn] Cephas in the City of Rome.

(Syriac biblical texts use שמעון for both Σίµων and Συμάχων whether referring to Simon Peter or any other Σίµων or Συμάχων, with the exception of Simon Magus. Though his name is spelled all Σίµων four times in Acts 8, his name is transliterated (Σουμαχων), whereas, for in-

119. (In Matth. 15:14, cited from Klijn, Patristic, 129-30)
120. , Adv. Pelag. 3.2 (PL 23.597B-598A; cited from Klijn, Patristic, 228-29):
121. That the following exposition of this saying refers to a "tower" (migdala) is peculiar, and calls to mind the late Jewish legend in Beit ha-Midrash about "Shimōn Cephas" building a "tower" (migdal) called "Petros"
122. All in Cureton, Ancient Syriac Documents, or ANF 8. The Syriac "Departure of My Lady Mary from This World," has a bewildering variety of names: "Shimōn Cephas," "Shimōn Peter," "Shimōn," and "Peter."
stance, "Simon the tanner" (always Σίµων: Acts 9:43; 10:6, 17, 32) and Simon Peter (always Σίµων) are called مصحي (see Burkitt, Syriac Forms, 6).

Since Simon Magus was so often Peter's opponent in later Petrine legends, this distinction was extremely useful for avoiding confusion. For instance, in the Preaching of Simon [sic] Cephas in the City of Rome.\textsuperscript{123}

Pg. 39: partisans of "Simon [مصحي] the Sorcerer" urge him to perform a sign "and this Simon [مصحي] the Galilaean, who preacheth Christ, shall see." When the narrative proceeds to drop these qualifying "the Sorcerer" and "the Galilaean," and states that "Simon" [مصحي] raised the dead man whom "Simon" [مصحي] could not raise., the difference in spelling is critical to disambiguating the protagonists.\textsuperscript{124}

When one imagines giving that story in Latin, one can see how a desire for clarity might have contributed to the preference for Petrus over Simon in Latin acta. Without any ability to disambiguate between Simon and Simon, it was simpler to use the Apostle's nickname. The option of using "Simeon" (so the Latin of Acts 15:14; 2 Pet 1:1) seems not to have occurred to anyone.

\textsuperscript{123} Translation: Cureton, Ancient Syriac Documents, 35-41. Cureton (pp. 175-76) notes that the text is contained in two manuscripts, one of which replaces "Shimôn Cephas" with "the Apostle Peter"

\textsuperscript{124} I am not sure why Cureton's translation does not preserve is the fact that in the Syriac, the names are consistently distinguished, and مصحي.
Works Cited


Lapin, Hayim "Palm Fronds and Citrons: Notes on Two Letters from Bar Kosiba's Administration" *HUCA* 64 (1993) 111-135

Horsley, G. H. R. "Names, Double" *ABD* 4:1011-1017 : "The not very large body of research into double names in Greco-Roman antiquity has rarely been taken fully into account by those considering instances in the NT."


While many of the changes in the ancient world were due to religious conversion, many were not. Other reasons were: recruits going into the Roman army, adoption into a Roman family, and, in 1 case, a dream. Name changes were made by Egyptians, Jews, and Christians.


Literary etymology in the Bible takes two forms: (1) where the biblical author gives an explicit explanation for a name and (2) where the biblical author implies and explanation. An example of an explicit explanation of Abraham AFather of a Multitude.@ The implied explanations number into the 100s according to Garsiel. He calls them MNDs (midrashic name derivations). They are also considered to be puns. An example of an MND is Jacob=s name. Similar names in other cultures would lead to the derivation AGod will protect [the
person].@ Genesis give a different explanation, that Jacob was born with his hand on Esau=s heel. The name, the MND appears when Esau says: AIs not he rightly named Jacob! For he has supplanted me.A Here the interpretation for the wordplay is on the root3@∀8(Ato rob@).

Among the many MNDs there are some that are linked to sound effects, some without sound effects, and to placenames. Background and history of puns are included


Paronomasia refers to puns. In this case, puns on names. There are 13 from Chronicles. An example is found in 1 Chron. 10:13, ASo Saul died because of his unfaithfulness to Yahweh . . . and also for asking counsel of a necromancer to see [advice].@ (p. 37).


The assumption that a person=s name indicates personality and characteristics is shown in the Talmud. Examination shows that men=s names are treated with an aggressive theme while treatment of women=s names is more refined. Names of both sexes are used with word games and alliteration. Understanding of names contributes to understanding the sense of the Talmud.

Eshel, Esther. (1997). Personal names in the Qumran sect. In Aaron Demsky, Joseph A. Reif, & Joseph Tabory (eds.) TATN1 (pp.39-52). Refs. Hebrew summary pp. 64-65. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press. A preliminary version of this article was abstracted in English and Hebrew in the program of the ICJO1. Analysis of Qumran finds concludes that most of the sect members had common Jewish names of the Second Temple period, names like Shimon, Hananiah, Yohanan, or Ishmael. One rare name, Ruma, was found. Some Qumran people were known by their epithets. One was 2&;&1%∗11((Hananiah Notos), noteworthy in that while the Qumran inhabitants avoided Greek when possible, they did use an epithet derived from Greek meaning Asouth@ or Asouthern.


Frölich states A. . . Qumran texts do not reveal the proper [personal] names of the figures and groups featured in them . . .@ and goes on A . . . the authors often define themselves in a sectarian manner in opposition with another group. . . .@ Examples, the elect of God vs. the Lot of Belial; the House of Perfection vs. the House of Guilt. Other categories are: social (APriest,@ ASpouter of Knowledge@), metaphors (ASons of Light@) and typological-names constructed of biblical namesCAsons of Zadok.


Three types of usage are explained: (1) the etiological type, the origin of the name or nickname of the sage (Ila-Who-Spoiled-His- Mother=s-Manners in BT Baba Batra 9b; (2) using the sage=s name as a function of the general message of the story (Karna in BT Shabat 108b), and (3) where the name is not used directly in the story but its meaning is implied in the story=s structure (Avdan in BT Yevamot 105b).

The Testament of Levi is one of the books in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, a larger work which is in the Pseudepigrapha. These are disputed books from the period of the Second Temple. They are in Greek. After offering various explanations on the derivation of the name Qehath, concludes that it is a notariqon. This means that each letter of the Hebrew spelling ;%8 stands for an idea, 8 = "beginning" or "first one", % = "majesty" or "glory", and the ; for Torah

**Hess, Richard S.** "Issues in the Study of Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible."

Gives a detailed review of the leading research on several aspects of names: etymology and grammar, prosopography, religion, wordplay, and comparative studies. Specific examples are given. Among the scholars referred to (including Hess himself) are: Cross, Kitchen, Layton, Pardee, and Zadok.


Two phenomena occur during the biblical period: name change or the addition of a second gentile name. The change whether self-initiated or brought about by someone else indicates a change in the person=s legal, social, or religious status and identity. Focuses on developments in Exilic times. Examples of change from Hadassah to Esther reflect names given by masters to their slaves and servants; change from Keliah to Kelita reflect the efforts of the namebearer to assimilate into the host society

**B. S. J. Isserlin,** "The Names of the 72 Translators of the LXX (Aristeas, 47-50),"
*JANES 5 (1973): 191-97*

Giet, Stanislas. "L’Assemblée apostolique et le Décret de Jérusalem—Qui était Siméon?"