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MOTIVATIONAL FACTORS BEHIND THE ADOPTION OF BIBLICAL PLACE NAMES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE WORLD*

SUMMARY

This paper examines the potential motivational factors behind the adoption of place names of biblical origin in distinct parts of the world. In Europe, the use of biblical place names for newly established settlements began in the Middle Ages, in accordance with the prevailing intellectual orientation of the era. The biblical place name may have been transferred to a European settlement metaphorically, based on the actual or perceived similarity of the environment or population; metonymically, by adopting the title of the local church referring to a biblical place; or symbolically, because of the remoteness of the place. In medieval Hungary, however, relevant settlement names were mostly derived from personal names developed from biblical place names, and typically identified the early owners of the settlements. In contrast, many recent Hungarian minor names of biblical toponymic references are either metaphorical or ironic in nature. The transfer of biblical place names to North America during the Age of Exploration, Colonisation and Immigration was often a symbolic act. Initially, these names were used by settlers to reflect their Christian values and commitment, or to comment on the circumstances of the founding of their settlements. Later, as pioneers migrated westwards to establish new settlements, they occasionally commemorated their hometowns or European birthplaces that bore biblical place names by repeating their names in the Wild West. Place names of biblical origin have often been transferred, sometimes in clusters, to various other settlements around the world as a result of missionary zeal or commendation. The adoption and use of place names from the Bible has contributed to the transmission and preservation of Christian religious heritage through the connotative expressiveness of toponyms.

Keywords: place names, Bible, name transference, toponymic motivation, cultural sustainability

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1. THE EVOCATIVE POWER OF PROPER NAMES FROM THE BIBLE

The personal and place names that appear in the Bible often convey a wealth of meaning when used in everyday communication. In many cases we use these names metaphorically. For example, the term *Methuselah* denotes a very old person (or thing); the description of settlements as *Sodom and Gomorrah* is used to compare the places to the twin cities of sin. In addition, proper names of biblical origin are occasionally reclassified as common nouns in languages. Examples of English common nouns derived from biblical proper names include *lazar* ‘diseased beggar’ (from *Lazarus*); *jezebel* ‘immoral, disreputable woman’ (from *Jezebel*); *babel* ‘confusion’ (from *Babel*); *bethel* ‘sacred place’ (from *Bethel*) (cf. Ashley, 1980, pp. 89–91). Hungarian terms of a similar type are *galád* ‘mean’, ‘dishonest’ (from *Goliath*); *kaján* ‘sardonic’, ‘jealous’ (from *Cain*); *éden* ‘paradise’ (from ecclesiastical Latin *Eden*); etc. (cf. Zaicz, 2006, pp. 241, 365, 165). In Polish, the appellativisation of biblical names has resulted in words such as *cham* ‘boor, cad’, ‘plebeian’ (from *Ham*, son of Noah); *herod baba* ‘virago’, ‘big, boorish woman’ (lit. ‘Herod female’); *gehenna* ‘long suffering’ (from *Gehenna*) (cf. Wojciechowski, 2004, pp. 66, 68, 67).

In some cases, the biblical name is given a suffix and/or a compound element to form a commonly known expression. Some of these expressions are found in different languages with the same meaning in fairly similar forms. For instance, the English term *jeremiad*, the Hungarian *jeremiád*, and the Polish *jeremiada* all mean ‘a lamentation; a loud and doleful complaint’ (from *Jeremiah*); similarly, the English term *Judas kiss*, the Hungarian *júdáscsók*, and the Polish *pocałunek Judasza* all translate to ‘a betrayal disguised as a friendly gesture’ (from *Judas* [Iscaiot]); and the English term *Solomonic judgement*, the Hungarian *salamoni döntés*, and the Polish *Salomonowy wyrok* all mean ‘a wise, sensible decision’ (from *Solomon*, King of Israel). Sometimes the same concept is expressed by different biblical names (occasionally from the same biblical story) in different languages. For example, the notion of ‘a sudden, radical change in one’s attitudes and beliefs’, ‘a turning point in one’s life, where one exercises remorse and repentance’ is referred to as *the road to Damascus* in English, *pójść do Damaszku* in Polish (liter. ‘go to Damascus’) and *pálfordulás* (‘Paul’s reversal’) in Hungarian (cf. Ashley, 1980, pp. 92, 91; Zaicz, 2006, pp. 359, 609; Wojciechowski, 2004, pp. 68, 71, 73, 72).

Speakers are able to utilise and comprehend these expressions due to their awareness of the pertinent biblical narratives, which have constituted part of our cultural knowledge for centuries. That is to say, speakers draw upon their encyclopaedic knowledge to construct and interpret the meaning of these expressions

(cf. Langacker, 2008, pp. 27–54). The creation and full comprehension of these phrases is made possible by the speakers' ability to link their associations of the biblical characters and locations with the concept they wish to express or understand.

Speakers' associations evoked by certain biblical locations render the names of these places suitable for the designation of newly established settlements in various parts of the world. The following sections will examine instances of metaphorical and metonymic transference, indirect adoption, ironic, symbolic, commemorative, missionary and commendatory use of more or less well-known biblical place names in different corners of the globe. The analysis will focus on Europe and North America, where Christianity has a long and rich tradition, and other regions will be explored to a lesser extent. As a case study, toponyms of biblical origin in the Hungarian language will be discussed in particular detail.

The relevant toponyms are drawn from a database that currently comprises 916 biblical place names. These have been collected by the present author from various (mostly Hungarian) gazetteers, dictionaries, and literary sources (e.g., Gy, Cs, L, Hnt 1873, Hnt 1898, Hnt 1913, FNESz), as well as online resources (e.g., MDH, Wikipedia, Google Maps). Most of the toponyms in the database are English place names (79,7%), with fewer Hungarian (12,0%), and smaller numbers of Irish, Welsh, German, Dutch, Italian, Polish, Czech, Russian, Ukrainian, and Slovenian place names (8,3%). The database mainly contains examples of settlement names, derived from various types of biblical place names (e.g., names of towns, mountains, rivers), associated with different branches of Christianity, including Judaism. The toponyms have been categorised in the database according to denotational, chronological, geographical, motivational, and syntactic aspects.

This paper is concerned exclusively with motivational factors; consequently, a qualitative methodology is employed to investigate the influence of biblical place names on the set of toponyms in the modern world. Naturally, the examples presented are selective; each motivational category is illustrated by a few characteristic and well-documented place names, preferably from early periods and different countries (or states).

2. PLACE NAMES OF BIBLICAL ORIGIN IN EUROPE

2.1. Introductory remarks

The appearance and spread of biblical place names in Europe from the 11th century onwards can be attributed to the intensification of the study of the Holy Scriptures on the Continent during the Middle Ages (Balassa, 1991, p. 46). The transfer of these names was motivated by four key factors: the resemblance of the local landscape to that of the biblical locale (metaphorical transference) (2.2);

the similarity of the ethnicity of the inhabitants (metaphorical transference) (2.3); the title of the local church or chapel derived from a biblical place name (metonymic transference) (2.4); and the remoteness of the place (symbolic use) (2.5). The motivation behind the adoption of a biblical toponym is, at times, vague or uncertain (2.6). In medieval Hungary, however, biblical place names were usually adopted indirectly as settlement names. Most of these names were derived from Hungarian personal names, which in turn were derived from biblical place names. Such toponyms were typically used to identify prominent owners of the settlements (2.7). Hungarian minor names of biblical origin, on the other hand, were mostly direct adoptions, usually of a metaphorical or ironic nature (2.8) (cf. Bölcskei, 2017, pp. 108–119).

In subchapters 2.1 to 2.5, the various place names of biblical origin in Europe are presented according to the types of their motivations. In subchapters 2.6 and 2.7, the variants of characteristic Hungarian settlement and minor names of biblical origin are first grouped according to their common toponymic stem, and then their possible motivations are explained.

2.2. The resemblance of the local landscape to that of the biblical locale

One of the most well-known and earliest examples of such name transference is that of the name of the Bohemian town of *Tábor*, Czech Republic. The fortified town was founded in 1420 as the headquarters of the radical Hussite faction (cf. the Taborites). The settlement was built on a hilltop at a crossroads, a location that afforded excellent surveillance capabilities. Its strategic importance was comparable to that of the biblical (*Mount*) *Tabor* in Galilee. The name of the town led to the use of some other biblical place names in the settlement. The *Jordán Reservoir*, an artificial lake constructed in 1492 to provide drinking water for the inhabitants, was named after the *Jordan River* in Palestine. From the reservoir, a stream called *Jordánský potok* ('Jordan Brook') flows through a waterfall known as *Jordánský vodopád* ('Jordan Waterfall'). The reservoir and its surroundings are now mainly used as a recreational area. A little further north, a smaller pond called *Malý Jordán* ('Little Jordan') was created in the 1950s on the site of a former quarry near the village of Náchod ("Tábor," 2024; "Jordán Reservoir," 2024).¹

In central Poland, the settlement of Góra by the River Vistula was renamed *Nowa Jerozolima* ('New Jerusalem') in 1670 by Stefan Wierzbowski, Bishop of Poznań. After the Swedish invasion, he decided to rebuild the destroyed town as

¹ Full references to Wikipedia entries are not included in the text; the reader is invited to consult the Sources section for more accurate information.

a Christian religious centre. As the landscape reminded him of the Holy Land, he used medieval maps of Jerusalem to design the new town. The settlement, renamed once again after its passion route, has been known as *Góra Kalwaria* ('Calvary Hill') since the 18th century ("Góra Kalwaria," 2024). The small settlement of *Jericho* in Cumbria, England, lies near the Overby sand quarry. Its name appears in official documents from the mid-19th century ("Jericho, Cumbria," 2024).

2.3. The similarity of the ethnicity of the inhabitants

Jerusalem has long been a particularly popular place name to borrow from the Bible for the designation of settlements with a Jewish population. There is a small settlement called *Jerusalem* in Lincolnshire, England that was first mentioned in a 15th-century document. The name may have some connection with the large Jewish community in the nearby town of Lincoln during the 12th and 13th centuries, and it undoubtedly reflects the medieval popularity of pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the Middle East (Green, 2009; "Jerusalem, Lincolnshire," 2024). One of Warsaw's main thoroughfares, *Aleje Jerozolimskie* ('Jerusalem Avenue'), takes its name from a short-lived 18th-century Jewish settlement nearby called *Nowa Jerozolima* ('New Jerusalem'), as the road which led there ("Jerusalem Avenue, Warsaw," 2024). In Ukraine, the central district of the town of Vinnytsia, which had a sizeable Jewish population in the early 20th century, is still known as *Єрусалимка* (*Yerusalimka* or *Ierusalimka*). Its synagogue was built at the beginning of the last century ("Yerusalimka," 2024).

2.4. The title of the local church or chapel derived from a biblical place name

In Wales, the original name of the Carmarthenshire village *Dyffryn Ceidrich*, which translates as 'valley of Ceidrich', was changed in the 19th century to *Bethlehem*, after the name of the village's chapel. It seems probable that the renaming was influenced by the Welsh Methodist movement. The village is currently renowned for its Christmas Fair (Owen–Morgan, 2007, p. 29; "Bethlehem, Carmarthenshire," 2024). *Carmel* in Flintshire, Wales, is thought to have taken its name from one of its former chapels, known as Carmel Calvinistic Methodist Chapel ("Carmel, Flintshire," 2024); and *Carmel* in Gwynedd, Wales, is known to have borrowed the name of its Nonconformist chapel (Mills, 2011, p. 98). In Wales, many settlement names of biblical origin were derived from chapel names, particularly during the religious revivals of the 18th and 19th centuries. Further examples include 1851: *Bethania* (after its Calvinistic Methodist chapel), 1838: *Bethel* (after its Congregational chapel), and 1820: *Bethesda* (after

its Nonconformist chapel) in Caernarfonshire (Owen–Morgan, 2007, pp. 28–29; Mills, 2011, p. 55).

2.5. The remoteness of the place

A well-known suburb of Oxford, England, is known as *Jericho*. In the past, this area provided accommodation outside the city walls for travellers who reached the town after its gates had been closed. It is possible that the name itself came to be used in the sense of ‘a remote place’. The area is currently home to a synagogue and a Jewish cultural centre (“Jericho, Oxford,” 2024). In addition, the name *Иерусалим* (*Ierusalim*) is also used to designate a small, secluded settlement in the Kostroma Oblast of Russia, situated in the vicinity of the tiny village of *Paï* (*Rai*), whose name means ‘Paradise’ (nyest.hu, 2012).

2.6. Miscellaneous, vague motivation

In some cases, the motivation behind the adoption of the biblical place name cannot be determined with certainty from the available sources. In general, Lewis identifies a number of possible vague reasons, including “reverence, gratitude, respect, remembrance, hope, and even fear” (2023, p. 192). Furthermore, Smith highlights the significance of the iconic use of names as signs, asserting that “the phonology of [...] names [...] evokes emotive values with referents in meaningful ways [...], the iconic associations evoked by names [...] should be seen as an important aspect of meaning and interpretation” (2017, pp. 112–113). All of these associations may have played an important role in motivating the adoption of biblical place names in the past, and have continued to do so in more recent times.

In the 15th century, for example, the Teutonic Knights — whose order was founded around 1190 in Acre, Kingdom of Jerusalem — established a settlement on the Pregolya River, which they called *Jerusalem*. This settlement merged with the city of Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) in 1928 (“Jerusalem [Königsberg],” 2024). There are small villages named *Jeruzalem* in eastern Slovenia and northern Poland, and *Jerusalem* in the Czech Republic, adjacent to Příbram (“Jeruzalem, Ljutomer,” 2024; Reeves & Otterstrom, 2017, p. 90). A district of Bury, near Manchester, is believed to have been named *Jericho* in 1778, following a sermon delivered by John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist movement, who stopped there to preach in the open air during his travels around the British Isles (“Jericho, Bury,” 2024).

The village of *Bethlehem* in the province of Groningen in the Netherlands was founded on the site of a 13th-century Benedictine nunnery (“Bethlehem,

Groningen,” 2024). In Switzerland, a district of Bern, notorious for its high-rise blocks built in the 1960s–70s, is also known as *Bethlehem* (“Bümpliz-Oberbottigen,” 2024). In Belgium, the town of *Nazareth* is located in the province of East Flanders (“Nazareth, Belgium,” 2024). The name *Jordaan* is used for a suburb of Amsterdam. Some sources suggest that the earlier colloquial name for the Prinsengracht Canal was *Jordaan*, which is the Dutch name for the *River Jordan*. This name may have been transferred to the neighbouring area (“Jordaan,” 2024).²

2.7. Hungarian settlement names of biblical origin

In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, however, the appearance of *Betlehem* and *Jordán* as settlement names was the result of an indirect process. Following the adoption of Christianity, Hungarians participated in pilgrimages to the Holy Land and became familiar with the places mentioned in the Bible. Consequently, Hungarians began to use biblical place names as personal names. This practice may also have been influenced by the contemporary use of Western European personal names of the same type (for example, for the name *Jordan* among European personal names, see Uckelman–Uckelman, “Jordan,” 2023). The names *Betlehem* and *Jordán* (and their variants) were particularly popular as Hungarian personal names in documents from the 12th century onwards. For example: 1151: *Bethleem*, 1229/1550: *Betlem*, 1247/1311/1370: *Bethlen*, 1273/1298: *Bethlehem*, 1302: *Bethlem*, 1339: *Bethlen* (ÁSz, p. 121; Slíz, 2011, p. 60); 1138/1329: *Iardan*, 1211: *Jordan*, 1215/1550: *Jordano*, 1248: *Jordani*, 1256: *Iardanus*, 1264: *Jordanus*, 1319: *Jordano*, 1342: *Jordani*, 1357: *Jardan* (ÁSz, p. 424; Slíz, 2011, p. 236, 2017, p. 139).

The use of the unmodified personal name *Betlehem* as a settlement name in the Hungarian language was based on the early ownership of the habitation by an individual who bore this name. For example, 1235: *Bethleem* (Belső-Szolnok, today: Beclean; FNESz 1, p. 209, entry *Bethlen*);³ 1235: *Betleem* (Fogarás, today: Beclean; Balassa, 1991, p. 47); 1311: villa *Bethleem* (Szepes, today: Betlanovce; Balassa, 1991, p. 47); 1338: *Bethleem* (Zemplén, today: Betlenovce; Cs 1, p. 343, entry *Betlen*); 1873: *Betlehem* (Somogy; Hnt 1873, p. 112); 1913: *Betlehem* (Bars;

² An alternative hypothesis posits that the name of the Amsterdam district is derived from the French word *jardin*, meaning ‘garden’. This is supported by the fact that most of the streets and canals in the area are named after flowers and trees (“Jordaan,” 2024). The first part of the name of *Jordanhill*, an upmarket area of Glasgow, Scotland, may be related to the surname *Jardine* (“Jordanhill,” 2024); or alternatively to the religious zeal of its 16th or 17th-century landowner (Ross, 2001, p. 45).

³ In parentheses, the contemporary name of the county in which the settlement was located is provided. Where relevant, the current official name of the settlement is also included.

Hnt 1913, p. 413); 1913: *Betlehem* (Nyitra; Hnt 1913, p. 413). *Betlen*, a haplological variation of the personal name *Betlehem*, could also be used as a settlement name (see above), especially with the additional suffix *-d* and the initial sound change from *B* to *P*. For example, 1250: *Pethlend* (Győr; Gy 2, p. 618); 1275: *Petlend* (Bihar; Gy 1, p. 654); 1320/1334/1409: *Pethlend* (Fejér; Gy 2, p. 437); 1327: *Pethlend* (Bereg; Gy 1, p. 547); 1345: *Pethlend* (Szatmár; Cs 1, p. 483); 1345: *Pethlend* > 1424: *Bethlend* > 1439: *Pethlen* (Torda; Cs 5, pp. 726–727, entry *Petlend*); 1257[1259]/1390/1466: *Petlend* (Kraszna; Gy 3, p. 518). The process of word-medial assimilation may also have influenced the form of the settlement name, e.g., 1438: *Pethlend* > 1461: *Pettend* (Küküllő; Cs 5, pp. 889–890, entry *Pet[t]end*, [*Petlend*]).⁴

In the past, the personal name *Betlehem* (and its variants) was also used as a component of compound settlement names. For example, 1339: *Bethlenfalva* (Szepes, today: Betlanovce; FNESz 1, p. 209, entry *Bethlenfalva*); 1395: *Bethlemfalua* (Udvarhely, today: Beclean; FNESz 2, p. 541, entry *Székelybethlenfalva*); 1892: *Betlenháza* (Krassó-Szörény, today: Bethausen; Balassa, 1991, p. 47). Other examples from a 1913 gazetteer (Hnt 1913, p. 413) include *Betlehemmajor* (Nyitra, Trencsén); *Betlehempusztá* (Komárom, Torontál, Somogy, Fejér, Győr); *Betlehemtanya* (Szabolcs); *Betlenkert* (Bihar); *Bethlenmajor* (Alsó-Fehér); *Betlempusztá* (Zemplén); *Bethlentanya* (Kolozs, Torda-Aranyos, Szolnok-Doboka, Temes); *Bethlentelep* (Bihar).⁵

Similarly to *Betlehem*, the personal name *Jordan* (and its variants), derived from the name of the river in Palestine, appeared as an independent settlement name in the Hungarian language, for example, 1317: *Jardan* (Nyitra, today: Ardanovce; Gy 4, p. 400). It is also documented in compound forms, for example, 1319/1320: *Jordanfolua* (Beszterce, today: Ardan; FNESz 1, pp. 113–114, entry *Árdány*); 1412: *Jardanháza* (Borsod; FNESz 1, p. 651, entry *Járdánháza*), 1808: *Jordanföldre*⁶ ~ *Draskócz* (Turóc, today: Dražkovce; L 1, p. 279). Occasionally,

⁴ Another explanation is that the relatively common Hungarian toponym *Petlen(d)* (and its variants) has its roots in a Turkic clan name (probably derived from the personal name *Beglän* ~ **Peklen*), followed by an additional diminutive suffix *-d* (Kiss, 1990, pp. 164–169). Loránd Benkő considers the place names *Petlen* or *Petlend* (and the variant *Peklend*) — which appeared early in the Hungarian language, in a geographically scattered pattern, and originally referred to agricultural land — to be forms of unknown origin, mostly ending in the toponymic suffix *-d*. Benkő emphasises that the forms *Betlend* and *Beklend* show the analogous influence of the common place name *Betlen*, derived from *Betlehem*, and as such are etymologically unrelated to the name *Petlen(d)*. Similarly, the place names *Pet(t)end* and *Petény* are also independent of *Petlen(d)* in their origins (Benkő, 2003).

⁵ The second constituents in the settlement names are habitative generics, such as *-falva* ('the village of'), *-háza* ('the cottage of'), *-major* ('estate'), *-pusztá* ('desolate place'), *-tanya* ('farmstead'), *-kert* ('garden'), and *-telep* ('ranch').

⁶ The example includes the generic *-földre* ('the land of').

the initial *J*- sound was omitted from the settlement name over time, as evidenced by the following examples, e.g., 1317: *Jardan* > 1900: *Árdánfalva* (Nyitra, until 1899: *Ardanócz*, today: Ardanovce; Gy 4, p. 400), 1319/1320: *Jordanfolua* > 1453: *Ardan* (Beszterce, today: Ardan; FNESz 1, pp. 113–114, entry *Árdány*), 1378/1562: *Arданhaza* (Bereg, today: Ardanovo; FNESz 1, p. 113, entry *Árdánháza*).

Gazetteers from the late 19th and early 20th centuries list several places named *Jeruzsálem*, including 1898: *Jeruzsálem* (Szolnok-Doboka; Hnt 1898, p. 297); 1898: *Jeruzalem* (Varasd; Hnt 1898, p. 881); 1913: *Jeruzsálem* (Nyitra; Hnt 1913, p. 703). In Northern Hungary, a settlement called *Jerikó* is mentioned in the gazetteers. This settlement name was later supplemented by a habitative generic: 1898: *Jerichó* (Hnt 1898, p. 297) > 1913: *Jerikómajor* (Trencsén, later Nyitra; Hnt 1913, p. 703).

2.8. Hungarian microtoponyms of biblical origin

The biblical place name *Jeruzsálem* also appears as a Hungarian microtoponym (or as a part of it), mainly as an outcome of playful naming practices. In a document from 1864–1865, a district of the town of Gyöngyös (Heves) was called *Jeruzsálem város* ('Jerusalem town'). Frigyes Pesty, the compiler of the document, relied on the comments of local informants regarding the motivation for the name: "the area used to be a cemetery [...], gravestones and crosses were found during the later land division, which led to the playful naming of the new settlement" (cited in Pelle, 1988, p. 135). The name has survived in the present-day street name *Jeruzsálem utca* ('Jerusalem Street') in Gyöngyös.

In the 19th century, the name *Jerikó* was applied to two different sandy hills in Debrecen (cf. 1842: *Jerikó sovány hegyei* 'the barren hills of Jerikó'). Today the street name *Jerikó utca* ('Jericho Street') preserves the memory of one of these hills. The name *Jerikó* ~ *Jérikó* has also been used to designate several places in Transylvania, including an outcrop of Cichegy in the town of Dés (today: Dej): 1898: *Jerikó* ~ 1930: *Jérikó*, its part was called 1937: *Tímár jérikója*, the first element of which can be traced back to a family name. In the 18th century, a small place called *Jerikó* was part of the settlement of Kide (today: Chidea) in the valley of the Borsa Brook (Szabó T. & Gergely, 1945, p. 96). The same name was also long used for a wooded hilltop and its adjoining slope in the village of Désakna (today: Ocna Dejului) (Szabó T., 1988, p. 143). Additionally, another *Jerikó*, a plot of land, was situated in Szeged at the end of the 20th century (Szabó T., 1988, p. 143).

In the 19th century, the biblical place name *Babilon* was used to designate a part of the village of Bánfalva in Békés County. The area was "called *Babilon* ... because it was inhabited by people of different languages and religions" (Pesty's

collection of place names from 1864–1865, cited in Balassa, 1991, p. 48). Bálint Csúry attests the occurrence of the biblical place name *Kánaán* in the vernacular of the village of Egri in Szatmár County in 1940, when the name was recorded in a compound, dialectal form as *Kánahá föüggye* ('Land of Canaan'), referring to a piece of fertile land (Csúry, 1940, p. 245).

In addition, Attila T. Szabó presents several other historical microtoponyms of biblical origin from various sources. For example, 1801: *Sionteteje* ('Zion's top', Kisborosnyó, today: Boroşneu Mic; Háromszék), *Zsodoma (Sodoma)*, *Babilon* (without specifying the date and place) (Szabó T., 1934, pp. 170, 171). In the village of Zengővárkony in Baranya County, a pit forest was named *Siongödre* ('Zion's pit') in 1865; prior to this, in 1785, it was known as *Disznó Gődör* ('pig's pit'). The exact motivation behind this microtoponym remains unclear; nevertheless, the biblical name, in a slightly modified form, persisted well into the 20th century: 1982: *Sion-gödör* ('Zion pit') (Pesti, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 577, entry 77. *Sion-gödör*). *Kána* ('Cana'), the name of a recently excavated lost medieval village (its area is now part of Budapest) may also have a biblical connection ("Kána," 2025).⁷

A search of the database of the "Magyar Digitális Helynévtár" ([Digital Register of Hungarian Place Names], MDH, <http://mdh.unideb.hu>) reveals several references to small places with biblical toponyms in the Transdanubian counties of Baranya, Somogy and Tolna.⁸ In many cases, respondents to the place-name survey conducted in the 1970s and 1980s provided explanations for the choice of these names. A review of their answers shows that the semantic fields most frequently represented by minor toponyms including *Betlehem* (or one of its variants) are 'an area with poorly constructed, thatched barns or buildings' and 'a place where poor people or shepherds used to live'. This may be attributed to the fact that the term *betlehem*, as a common noun derived from the biblical place name, has become the Hungarian word for a small replica of a church-like thatched stable, which served as an integral prop in the Christmas nativity play. This play, which originated as a religious ritual, evolved over time into a secular folk custom in Hungary (Balassa, 1991, p. 50).

The explanations provided by the interviewees also show that the biblical place name *Gecsemáné-kert* ('Garden of Gethsemane') was often used in the sense of 'a fenced area' and, paradoxically, 'a barren land that is difficult to cultivate'.

⁷ With regard to the latter example, other sources suggest a different pronunciation and interpretation (Gy 4, p. 571, entry *Kán[y]a*).

⁸ The prevalence of Transdanubian data in the MDH cannot necessarily be attributed to a specific spatial distribution of the name type, but is rather a consequence of the current scope of the database under construction. At this stage, the MDH relies heavily on data from printed volumes containing Transdanubian microtoponyms collected in the second half of the 20th century.

The name *Sínai-hegy* ('Mount Sinai') was typically employed to indicate either 'a steep hill' or 'a vineyard'. The toponym *Babilon* was understood to identify 'an area inhabited by people of diverse linguistic and religious backgrounds'. *Kánaán* was taken to mean 'a piece of fertile land', *Jeruzsálem* was associated with '(tomb) crosses', and *Jerikó* was considered an appropriate name for 'a sandy area'. However, the reason for the use of some other biblical place names as Hungarian microtoponyms (e.g., *Sion*, *Szodoma*) remains elusive in the source documents.

It can be observed that the minor toponyms of biblical origin that were used in the Hungarian language during the 19th and 20th centuries were formed primarily through metaphorical processes. These names are examples of toponymic metaphors (i.e., metaphors based on place names) and can identify specific and often complex characteristics of a place that cannot be adequately conveyed by a metaphor derived from a common noun or via other naming processes. The few cases of paradoxical or ironic use of biblical place names can be regarded as counter-metaphors, as the indicated small places exhibit some features that are the opposite of the striking characteristics of the places described in the Bible.

3. PLACE NAMES OF BIBLICAL ORIGIN IN NORTH AMERICA AND IN SOME OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD

3.1. Introductory remarks

During the Age of Exploration, Colonisation and Immigration, the transfer of names through metaphorical or metonymic processes, based on landscape resemblance (3.2) or church titles (3.3), played an important role in the appearance and spread of biblical place names in North America. Nevertheless, the transfer of place names of biblical origin was often a symbolic act. The use of biblical place names by early settlers frequently served as an indicator of their religious affiliation and devotion to the Christian faith (3.4). In many instances, the biblical toponym provides insights into the circumstances surrounding the settlement's foundation (3.5). Subsequently, when pioneers established new settlements, they sometimes commemorated their hometowns with biblical place names by repeating their names in the western region. Alternatively, though less frequently, they adopted biblical place names from their European birthplaces (3.6). In some cases, chance events led to the bestowal of a toponym derived from the Bible (3.7). Sometimes biblical place names were transferred in clusters (3.8), although the motivation for their use is not always clear (3.9). The transfer of place names of biblical origin to various other countries around the world was often the result of missionary zeal or commendation (3.10).

3.2. Landscape resemblance

The town of *Tabor* (Iowa) was established in 1852 by Congregationalists with the intention of establishing there a Christian college. The name was inspired by the town's elevated position ("Tabor, Iowa," 2023). Today's ghost town of *Jericho* (Utah) is situated in a sandy environment ("Jericho, Utah," 2023).

3.3. The title of the local church or religious institution

The settlement of *Mount Sinai* (Indiana) was named after the title of its former Methodist church, built in the mid-19th century ("Mount Sinai, Indiana," 2023). Similarly, *Antioch* (Florida) got its name from one of the earliest churches in the area, the Antioch Church of Christ ("Antioch, Florida," 2023). *Antioch* (Indiana) was named after a private college, Antioch College, which was founded there in 1850 ("Antioch, Jay County, Indiana," 2023). It is noteworthy that there are a number of townships in the United States known as *Bethlehem Township*. The one in Missouri was named after the title of its church ("Bethlehem Township, Henry County, Missouri," 2023).

3.4. Devotion to the Christian faith

One of the earliest biblical place names in North America is associated with William Penn (1644–1718), the founder of Pennsylvania Colony. Penn, a Quaker by religious affiliation, bestowed the name *Philadelphia* (Greek for 'brotherly love') upon the central settlement of the territory granted to him in the New World by King Charles II of England in 1681, with the intention of settling his debts. The name *Philadelphia* was derived from the name of an ancient Lydian city mentioned in the Letter to the Church at Philadelphia in the Book of Revelation. Penn selected this name to indicate his desire to pursue a peaceful mission in North America (FNESz 2, p. 345; Matthews, 1972, pp. 188–190).⁹

In North America, biblical place names have often been used to emphasise the Christian allegiance of the inhabitants. The hamlet of *Jericho* in New York State was founded in the second half of the 17th century by Quaker immigrants fleeing religious persecution in England, who renamed the area from *Lusum* to *Jericho* ("Jericho, New York," 2023). The city of *Antioch* (California) was named after the biblical town in 1851 at the initiative of the local pastor ("Antioch, California," 2023). *Nazareth* (Texas) was named in 1902 by its founder, Joseph Reisdorff,

⁹ The ancient city was named after its founder, Attalus II Philadelphus, i.e., "Attalus the brother-loving." Attalus was the king of Pergamon from 159 to 138 BC (FNESz 2, p. 345).

a Catholic priest (“Nazareth, Texas,” 2023). In Canada, the town of Lincoln, near Lake Ontario, is made up of several communities. One such community is *Jordan* (Ontario), which was named by its Mennonite inhabitants at the end of the 18th century when it was founded (“Jordan, Ontario,” 2023).

3.5. The circumstances of the establishment of the settlement

The first settlement named *Bethlehem* was founded in Pennsylvania during the Christmas season of 1741 by David Nitschmann and Nicolaus von Zinzendorf to provide a home for the Moravian missionaries they led (“Bethlehem, Pennsylvania,” 2023). The settlement of *Lloyd’s Hills* (New Hampshire) was renamed *Bethlehem* on Christmas Day in 1799, when it was incorporated (“Bethlehem, New Hampshire,” 2023).

3.6. Commemorative, repetitive use

The commemorative name transfer was based on an equivalent name that had previously been used in the eastern part of North America or in Europe. The hamlet of *Bethlehem* (Indiana) was named in 1812 after the Pennsylvanian birthplace of its founder, Colonel John Armstrong (“Bethlehem, Indiana,” 2023). The settlement of *Antioch* in Nebraska, which has since become a ghost town, was named after the village of *Antioch* in Ohio (“Antioch, Nebraska,” 2023). The first settlers of *Tabor* in Minnesota and South Dakota were of Czech descent, who carried the name from their homeland to the New World (“Tabor Township, Polk County, Minnesota,” 2023; “Tabor, South Dakota,” 2023).

In addition to the city of *Philadelphia* in Pennsylvania, the United States has unincorporated communities bearing the name *Philadelphia* in the midwestern states of Illinois and Indiana. These communities were named after the city in Pennsylvania (“Philadelphia,” 2023; “Philadelphia, Illinois,” 2023; “Philadelphia, Indiana,” 2023).¹⁰ As Brunn and Wheeler (1966) observed, religious town names in general are “partly associated with some of the early migration routes and centres of early permanent settlement” (p. 201), particularly in the Midwest.

¹⁰ The name of the city of *Philadelphia* was later transferred from North America to the European continent, although the reverse process was more typical. The German settlement of *Philadelphia*, which was incorporated into the municipality of Storkow in 2003, was named after the city in Pennsylvania in 1772 by Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740–1786) (“Storkow, Brandenburg,” 2023). The English village of *Philadelphia* was named by a local coal mine owner during the American War of Independence, to commemorate the initial success of attempts to bring the North American city under British rule (“Philadelphia, Tyne and Wear,” 2023).

3.7. Incident names

In some cases, the biblical name of a settlement is merely coincidental. In 1840, the fairly common name of the settlement of *Old Man's* (New York) was changed to *Mount Vernon*, following the establishment of the local post office. The name was changed again in 1842, when it was discovered that another town in the state had the same name. On this occasion, postmaster Charles Phillips is said to have randomly chosen the name *Mount Sinai* from the Bible. The town is now a suburb of New York City (“Mount Sinai, New York,” 2024).

3.8. Clusters of biblical place names

Nazareth is a borough in Pennsylvania, and the surrounding townships include *Lower* and *Upper Nazareth Townships*. In the Lehigh Valley area of Pennsylvania, where the latter township is located, there are several other place names of biblical origin, including *Bethlehem*, *Emmaus*, *Egypt* (for municipalities), and *Jordan Creek* (for a stream) (“Nazareth, Pennsylvania,” 2024; “Lower Nazareth Township, Pennsylvania,” 2024; “Upper Nazareth Township, Pennsylvania,” 2024). A comparable pattern can be observed in the US Virgin Islands. On the island of Saint Croix, for example, there is a settlement known as *Upper Bethlehem*, as well as another called *Jerusalem and Figtree Hill*. On the eastern tip of Saint Thomas Island, a settlement called *Nazareth* can be found (“Upper Bethlehem, U.S. Virgin Islands,” 2024; “Jerusalem and Figtree Hill, U.S. Virgin Islands,” 2024; “Nazareth, U.S. Virgin Islands,” 2024).

3.9. Unknown motivation

The precise motivation for some biblical place names in North America remains unclear or unknown in the sources consulted. In the northeastern region of the United States, several settlements have been given the name *Jerusalem* for reasons that are not well understood, including places in Maryland, New York, Ohio and Rhode Island (“Jerusalem [disambiguation],” 2024). In addition, a settlement in Mississippi and another in Tennessee have unexpectedly been named *Philadelphia* (“Philadelphia, Mississippi,” 2024; “Philadelphia, Tennessee,” 2024). The motivation behind the choice of the name *Tabor* for settlements in Illinois and Vermont also remains obscure in online sources (“Tabor, Illinois,” 2024; “Mount Tabor, Vermont,” 2024). In Canada, for some reason, the name *Jericho* is used for a community in the municipality of Lambton Shores, Ontario, on the southern tip of Lake Huron (“Lambton Shores,” 2024); and there is also an unincorporated

community called *Jericho* in Brighton Parish, New Brunswick (“Carleton County, New Brunswick,” 2024).¹¹

3.10. Missionary and commendatory use in various other countries around the world

In some parts of the world, the appearance and spread of biblical place names has been a relatively recent phenomenon, often linked to missionary activities. In Australia, for example, the place name *Jericho*, which occurs in the states of Queensland, Tasmania and South Australia, dates back to the 19th century (“Jericho, Queensland,” 2024; “Jericho, Tasmania,” 2024; “Jericho, South Australia,” 2024). *Carmel*, a suburb of Perth, received its name in 1915 (“Carmel, Western Australia,” 2024).

The New Zealand settlement of *Jerusalem* (originally *Patiarero*, now *Hiruhārāma* in Māori) was named by Richard Taylor, a missionary priest, who worked in the Whanganui Region in the mid-19th century (“Jerusalem, New Zealand,” 2024). A formerly independent settlement called *Bethlehem* has been incorporated into the town of Tauranga in the northern part of the North Island (“Bethlehem, New Zealand,” 2024). Two small rivers in the South Island are known the *Jordan River* (“Jordan River [New Zealand],” 2024). The settlement of *Nagaba* (Guimaras) in the Philippines was renamed *Jordan* in 1902 in honour of its patron saint, John the Baptist, who, according to the Bible, baptised the first Christians in the River Jordan (“Jordan, Guimaras,” 2024).

The settlement of *Philadelphia*, near Cape Town in the Republic of South Africa, grew out of a parish of the Dutch Reformed Church, established in 1863 (“Philadelphia, South Africa,” 2024). The town of *Nazareth* in southern India was founded by British missionaries and has remained predominantly Christian ever since (“Nazareth, Tamil Nadu,” 2024). There are several other towns named *Nazareth* in various countries around the world, including Peru, Ethiopia (the town is now called *Adama*), Lesotho, and Pentecost Island in the Melanesian state of Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides) (“Nazareth, Peru,” 2024; “Adama,” 2024; “Nazareth, Lesotho,” 2024; “Nazareth [disambiguation],” 2024). Benramdane (2011) argues that “place names of biblical origin remain embedded in the

¹¹ However, the name *Jericho Beach* in Vancouver may have been a reinterpretation of a toponym that included the nickname of Jeremiah Rogers, an early owner of a lumber camp in the area in the 19th century (cf. *Jerry’s Cove* or *Jerry & Co.*) (“Jericho Beach,” 2024). Similarly, the first element of the name *Jordan River* in British Columbia has its origin in a personal name. The settlement was named by Spanish explorers, one of whom was the priest Alejandro Jordan, as they mapped the region in the late 18th century (“Jordan River, British Columbia,” 2024).

landscape of Western Algeria,” where Muslims, Christians and Jews coexist, and for whom religious place names echo “mythical references to a prophetic space-time common to the three religions” (pp. 35, 43).

In other cases, the names of biblical locations have been adopted to praise and advertise a particular characteristic of the indicated place or to express gratitude. For example, the Australian Gold Rush began in the mid-19th century after gold was discovered at *Ophir* (New South Wales). The Bible mentions *Ophir* as the name of a prosperous port from which King Solomon imported gold every three years (“Ophir, New South Wales,” 2024; HarperCollins Publishers eds., “Ophir,” 2016). Similarly, the New Zealand town of *Ophir*, formerly known as *Blacks*, was renamed during the Gold Rush (“Ophir, New Zealand,” 2024). The names *Jericho* and *Bethlehem* can also be found in South Africa, the latter in a wheat-growing area (cf. Hebrew *Bēt-lehem* ‘house of bread’) (“Jericho, South Africa,” 2024; “Bethlehem, South Africa,” 2024). After Kenya’s independence, the district of *Jericho* was established as a suburb of Nairobi with Israeli support to provide housing for African workers. It is close to a district known as *Jerusalem* (“Jericho, Nairobi,” 2024).

4. CONCLUSION

This paper has presented an analysis of the motivational background of biblical place names occurring in different parts of the world in distinct languages. It was found that a number of well-known biblical place names are used as both macro- and microtoponyms and serve as elements of toponymic systems in a variety of languages. Examples include *Bethlehem*, *Jerusalem*, *Jericho*, *Jordan*, *Nazareth*, *Mount Sinai*, and *Tabor*. Other biblical place names are primarily elements of the set of English place names in the United States. These include *Antioch*, *Egypt*, *Emmaus*, *Philadelphia* (also *Bethabara*, *Bethpage*, *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Galatia*, *Israel*, *Lebanon*, *Moab*, *Patmos*, *Rehoboth*, *Tyre*, etc.).

In Europe, settlement names of biblical origin first appeared in the Middle Ages, in line with the intellectual trends of the time. These names were established through a process of transference. The name of a biblical place may have been transferred metaphorically due to real or perceived similarities in topography or population. Alternatively, biblical place names may have been transferred metonymically by adopting the title of the local church or chapel that referred to a biblical place. The use of biblical place names was sometimes symbolic, conveying the idea of ‘remoteness’. In the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, however, biblical place names were mostly adopted indirectly as settlement names through personal names derived from biblical toponyms. These settlement names developed mainly from the names of the prominent early owners of the settlements. In

contrast, the recent minor names of biblical origin in the Hungarian language are direct adoptions, used in a metaphorical or ironic sense.

The transfer of biblical place names to other continents was catalysed by Protestant movements and the naming practices of religious communities arriving in the New World. In North America, toponyms of biblical origin were often used symbolically by settlers to reflect their Christian values and future beliefs. Alternatively, the choice of name was justified by the conditions under which the settlement was established. Subsequently, the westward movement of the pioneers resulted in the repetition of biblical place names from eastern regions in the west, particularly when they chose to commemorate their hometowns with place names of biblical origin. On occasion, settlers adopted the biblical place names of their European birthplaces. In some cases, the use of a biblical toponym is a mere coincidence. Biblical place names were adopted, sometimes in clusters, in other parts of the world, even in the 19th and 20th centuries, mostly as a result of missionary activities or commendatory use.

In the past, the adoption of place names from the Bible was an effective means of transmitting epochal cultural knowledge. In the present era, the continued use of these names serves to maintain the Christian aspect of culture through the connotative power of toponyms. The deployment of biblical place names in the pursuit of cultural sustainability facilitates the transmission of cultural values to future generations, guarantees the long-term accessibility of cultural resources, and encourages the development of more inclusive, tolerant, and resilient communities (cf. the interpretation of “cultural sustainability” as presented by Soini & Birkeland, 2014, p. 216 and Järvelä, 2023, p. 2).

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