

# THE ROMAN NEAR EAST

31 BC - AD 337

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FERGUS MILLAR



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*For Susanna*

## PREFACE

The subject of this book can be defined in three different ways: geographically, chronologically and linguistically. In geographical terms I mean by 'the Roman Near East' all those areas which lie between the Taurus Mountains and Egypt, and which were, or came to be, under Roman rule. The region concerned overlaps the territories of eight modern states: Turkey, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. To the west it is of course bounded by the Mediterranean, and to the north, somewhat less clearly, by Mount Amanus and the foothills of the Taurus. To the east and south the eventual limits of Roman military occupation did not correspond with any very definite geographical boundaries. The middle Euphrates, which for long served as a symbolic boundary between the empires of Rome and of Parthia, ceased to do so in the course of the second century. With that great change, to which I will come back many times, the Roman Empire in the east expanded decisively beyond the Mediterranean seaboard, with consequences of immense significance. By the end of the third century Roman control extended to, and in some not very clear sense beyond, the upper-middle Tigris. In the south-west of the area, similarly, the Roman military presence has left traces in part but not all of the Hedjaz, the barren mountain-range running along the eastern side of the Red Sea. What seems to be the furthestmost Roman outpost here is Medain Saleh, a little over 300 km north of Medina.

The area concerned thus represents a large section of the Fertile Crescent; its definition as fertile reflects the fact that all of it shades off into what is often called desert, but is in fact at almost all points not desert but a flat, largely dry and often very stony steppe, in places coloured dark-grey or black from the presence of volcanic rock. To emphasise the fact that the zone along whose margins a great line of Roman roads and forts, from the Red Sea to

the Tigris, eventually stretched was not a 'desert' of sand-dunes, I have consistently used the word 'steppe'. How we should understand the mutual relations of the Roman government, the settled population and the peoples of the steppe—*skēnitai* ('tent-dwellers'), *nomades*, *Arabes*, or *Saraceni*—is precisely one of the major problems which the book attempts to confront.

In chronological terms, as its sub-title indicates, the book starts from the moment of the battle of Actium and ends with the death of Constantine. It might reasonably have begun a little further back, with the arrival of Pompey's forces in Syria in the mid-60s BC. But the complex narrative of events in the late Republic would have either taken up too much space or failed to reveal much about the Near East itself, or most probably both. But some evidence, above all from Strabo's *Geography*, which relates to that period has been used.

Similarly, it could have been reasonable to end with the treaty of 298 or 299 which gave Rome firm control of the upper-middle Tigris; or, even more reasonably, to take as the terminal point the moment when, after the death of Julian in 363, Jovian was forced to cede Nisibis and the eastern part of the Mesopotamian shelf to the Persians. As it is, the book deliberately stops just when two related but separate major developments in religious history began; first, the formal recognition of the Christian Church by Constantine, and the construction of churches as visible, public features of the urban landscape; and second, something of perhaps equal significance in the evolution of Christianity: the ascetic movement, which so far as the Roman Near East is concerned began simultaneously in the south-western corner of the region, around Gaza, and in its north-eastern corner, around Nisibis, both in the early years of the fourth century.

Long ago, I imagined that I might write a social history of the Near East which would cover the whole period from Alexander to Mahomet. But the Hellenistic period has its own problems, which I tried to explore in a chapter in A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, *Hellenism in the East* (1987). As for the period of precisely three centuries from the death of Constantine to the first Islamic conquests, that must represent a major challenge for someone else. For a book on these centuries would have to embrace the great conflicts with Sasanid Persia which broke out again in the sixth century, and of course provided the context of the Islamic invasions of the seventh; late paganism and the definitive Christianisation of the region; the great Christological controversies and the flowering of Syriac Christian literature; the beginnings of Armenian Christian literature; pagan and Christian Antioch as a major political and cultural centre; Judaism—including the compilation of the 'Jerusalem' Talmud, contacts with Babylonia, and influence in the Hedjaz in the time of Mahomet; the Samaritans as an important community, capable of major re-

volts; and the significant role played by newly Christianised Arab peoples in the unsettled steppe zone between Rome and Persia.

It is thus very easy to see why no such overall history of the late-Roman and early-Byzantine Near East has ever been attempted; why one now does require to be written; and why it was beyond my powers at any rate to embrace these centuries along with the earlier period of nearly four centuries.

Even so, it was impossible to deny myself all hindsight, or all use of the vivid testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus, Theodoret and Sozomenus for the social history of the Near East, or of the *Notitia Dignitatum* for the structure of the 'desert frontier' as it had evolved by the end of the fourth century. Nonetheless there were very good historical and technical reasons for treating the period from the mid-first century BC to the mid-fourth century AD as a distinctive phase. First, from the point of view of Roman Imperial history, the step-by-step advance of Roman direct control demonstrates that, in the Near East at least, the idea that Roman imperialism and expansionism died out after the early Empire is simply false. More important, however, is the fact that these centuries saw the main flowering of the 'epigraphic habit' as expressed in the Near East. It should be stressed here that inscriptions represent the fundamental material on which the book is based. I have of course used all the literary evidence that I could find, among which the works of Josephus play an important role. I have also tried to make sense, for myself and the reader, of the complex geography of the region, with its very distinctive sub-regions. Thus, while the long first part is designed to give a conception of evolution over time, it is also intended as an introduction to the geography of the region. The various different sub-regions and local areas are then treated in the core of the book, the even longer second part. To make each section intelligible by itself, there has been some deliberate repetition at particular points.

In all this I have of course also used archaeological and iconographic evidence, though what follows is in no way an adequate study of the physical evidence. The book is primarily based on inscriptions, for two linked reasons: political structures, and language. First, my approach is essentially about politics and 'ethnicity'; about what political formations, including the Empire itself, were present in the region, and how people identified themselves and whatever wider political community they conceived of themselves as belonging to. The book is thus concerned with 'imagined communities' in the sense used by Benedict Anderson. For that, inscriptions are all-important. The Christian epigraphy of the late Empire, in Greek, more rarely in Syriac and (very occasionally) in Arabic, reflects a different outlook and a much-changed

world. It is in the first few centuries, as is well known, that the 'epigraphic habit' does most to reveal political and communal structures.

It is this which then brings me to the third way in which the 'Roman Near East' can be defined: by language. The 'Near East' is, on this definition, that area of the Roman Empire where Greek (rather than Latin) co-existed with a family of Semitic languages. There is no simple way of listing these without being misleading. Nabataean, Palmyrene and Syriac are to be seen as dialects of Aramaic, written in the same alphabet, but with slightly different scripts. But that leaves us without a parallel term for the Aramaic used by Jews (and probably gentiles) in Judaea, or later 'Syria Palaestina', or that used by gentiles in the broad zone between the Jordan and the steppe, and north of the Nabataean kingdom. Greek observers tended to speak of all these languages or dialects, without distinction, as 'the language of the *Suroi*', and to refer to people using it (or them) as speaking *Suristi*.

Then there was Phoenician, written in the same alphabet of twenty-two letters, and only very slightly attested, on coin-legends and a couple of inscriptions, in our period; and Hebrew, normally written in the square Aramaic script, but for which the ancient 'Palaeo-Hebrew' script could be re-deployed for nationalistic reasons. Then, out in the steppe, but also attested at places in the settled zone, for instance at Dura and in Palmyrene territory, there are many thousands of graffiti written in 'Safaitic'—a mere nickname borrowed from the volcanic steppe called the Safa east of the Jebel Hauran. Finally, there is Arabic itself, attested on only two documents from our period—but that it is so attested is still a fact of the greatest importance.

One of the prime purposes of the book is to use the surviving inscriptions to draw a geographical and chronological map of the places and times where and when these various languages or dialects are attested, and to give some initial impression (it cannot be more) of how they were used and how they related to Greek. Latin too plays a significant part, above all (obviously) in military contexts and in the 'colonial' zone of Berytus and the Bekaa Valley. The reader will also find many instances of how the Greek actually used in this region, always the predominant language, was shot through with Latin words and proper names on the one hand, and with Semitic words and proper names on the other.

However limited their content, inscriptions have the overwhelming advantage for the historian of being tied to place and time: that is, of being found (generally speaking) where they were set up, and of being either explicitly dated or (at worst) broadly datable. A geography of language—or at least of *public* language—is thus attainable. But in the Near East the evidence of inscriptions is also, now, being ever more fully supplemented by documents on perishable materials, that is, papyrus or parchment: the priceless collection from Dura-Europos; the documents in Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek from the



Judaeen Desert, largely but not wholly relating to the Bar Kochba war; the 'archive of Babatha', of which the Greek items, sadly without their Nabataean and Aramaic counterparts, were admirably published in 1989 by Naph-tali Lewis; and the remarkable Greek and Syriac archive of the third century from the middle Euphrates, still in the course of (very rapid) publication by Javier Teixidor, Denis Feissel and Jean Gascou.

How to represent this profusion and interplay of languages (in which a Syriac, Nabataean or Palmyrene text may contain a transliteration of a Greek transliteration of a Latin word) in an English text is an insoluble problem, in which true consistency simply cannot be achieved. This problem is paralleled by the equally insoluble problem that there is no agreed transliteration of modern Arabic place-names. As for the latter, so far as possible I have used the simplified forms which the reader will find on modern English maps of the Near East, sometimes giving variants where this seems necessary. But this hardly solves the problem, since there is no modern English map which gives more than a tiny proportion of village names. The text of the book tries above all to make sense of where places are in functional relation to each other.

The maps provided in the book follow approximately the sequence of regions discussed in Part II. They try to set at least a selection of the places named into an intelligible geographical context. It should be stressed that there are no cross-references to the maps in the main body of the text. The first map covers the whole area and indicates the sub-regions to which the following maps relate. No attempt has been made to list all the sites which can be identified or to give a consistent picture of what place-names were officially in use at any one moment; for one of the themes of the book is precisely how malleable these names were. The aim is to provide an intelligible guide to location. The maps, especially map II, are based on the excellent one in D. L. Kennedy and D. Riley, *Rome's Desert Frontier from the Air* (Batsford, 1990), p. 25. Map IX, which for obvious reasons of geography has to be on a smaller scale than the others, is based on the map in G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (1983), facing p. 1. I am very grateful to Mrs. A. Wilkins of the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford, for drawing the maps included here.

As regards the use of Greek in the book, some rather short quotations in the Greek alphabet are given when necessary in the notes. Otherwise everything is transliterated, in particular with the intention of reproducing as accurately as possible the precise form of local rustic Greek, whether formally 'correct' or not; and, more important, of showing the exact spelling of place-names

(often inconsistent in the original) and of Semitic or Latin terms or proper names in Greek transliteration. The long vowels *omega* and *eta* have been indicated as 'ē' and 'ō'. Outside quotations, I have largely used Latin forms, for instance 'Antiochia' (or 'Antioch') and 'Aurelius'; but in quotations from Greek, 'Antiocheia' and 'Aurēlios'. The inevitable inconsistency is emphasised by leaving such terms in whatever form they appear when I have used published translations. It will do no harm if this too serves to remind the reader that 'representing' the ancient world in an English text involves choices at every level.

As regards ancient Semitic scripts, I have adopted the device of using the same standard transliteration into capitals for all the Semitic languages involved. This may sometimes look odd, as with extracts from literary texts in Syriac, or even more so with rabbinic texts in Hebrew. But it has the practical merit of avoiding the presentation of material printed right-to-left within an English text; and it has the much more important function of instantly distinguishing transliterations from Semitic texts from those from texts in Greek; of exhibiting the widespread adoption of Greek (and some Latin) loan-words into these languages; and of revealing how close, as languages, they are to each other.

I should make explicit what will be instantly obvious to many readers, that I am not a Semitist by training. As is clear throughout, the book represents an expedition by a Classical ancient historian into Near Eastern territory. Whether this makes it a more or a less reprehensible example of 'Orientalism' in Edward Said's sense is not for me to say. On the other hand the deployment of Semitic languages here is not based on pure ignorance. I have a reasonable reading knowledge of Biblical Hebrew, and hence a basic grasp of the grammar of the languages concerned, other than Arabic. I need the assistance of modern works in approaching these various texts. But in the case of whatever is quoted, I would claim to have understood not merely what it means but why it means it.

If the book serves, by its manifest imperfections, to goad some Semitists into acquiring a wider historical training, or some Graeco-Roman historians into gaining a wider linguistic base, so much the better.

My concern with the Near East as it was in the Classical period goes back some quarter of a century, and should have been given expression in book form long since. But the stimulus to bring it to whatever fruition I could was provided by the very welcome invitation to deliver the Carl Newell Jackson lectures at Harvard University, which I gave in the spring of 1987. The hospitality of Albert Henrichs and his colleagues in the Department of Greek and Latin has left the happiest of memories of the week which my wife and I spent

in Cambridge. With no disrespect to colleagues of my own generation, one particular privilege of the occasion was the presence of persons then in retirement: from Harvard itself Sterling Dow, John Finley and Mason Hammond; and from outside it Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold.

As will be obvious, even a Cambridge audience could not have supported the ordeal of hearing the whole text as it now is, or anything like it. It has taken another five years to deal with the subject in a way which I hope is not too inadequate; and in the course of that time the length of the text has increased far beyond what the benevolent editors of Harvard University Press would have wanted. I can only plead that I think the subject is important, and that even now the choice of ancient evidence and modern works to be referred to is at all points ruthlessly selective.

That selection itself could have been carried out, at least by myself, only with the unique resources of the Ashmolean Library and its Near Eastern wing, the Griffith Institute; of the Oriental Institute just next door; and of the Bodleian Library, in particular the Oriental Reading Room. It is above all when one attempts a topic which crosses some established boundaries that one realises just how remarkable this combination of resources is. But my 'base' has been, as always, the Ashmolean Library, and everything is owed to the help of Brian McGregor and his staff. It was thus there that during a sabbatical year in 1990-91 this book was at last written.

After prompt and helpful critiques from two readers appointed by Harvard University Press, a final revision was carried out in June 1992. Even those unacquainted with my handwriting will appreciate that preparation of the text was an extremely demanding task. So I am very grateful to Priscilla Lange for the efficiency and good humour with which it was done.

It will be clear that such a book, even with its many imperfections, would have been a great deal worse but for the guidance of friends and colleagues. My greatest single academic debt is to Sebastian Brock, who not only translated for me some recondite Syriac material when no printed help was to hand, but answered a long series of questions, some of them on points so elementary that he must have felt amazed that anyone could both be puzzled by them and have the temerity to write on these subjects at all. Not content with that, he kindly read the whole of Chapter 12, on the Euphrates and Mesopotamia, and saved me from many further errors. Martin Goodman also added to his many burdens as the newly appointed Reader in Jewish Studies at Oxford University by reading the whole text, with immense benefit to its clarity and accuracy. Of his predecessor, Geza Vermes, I need only state the obvious, that this book is in many ways the inheritor of our two decades of joint work on the new edition of Schürer's *History of the Jewish People*;

and from him too I learned an immense amount both during the writing of this book and long before.

This is not the place for a review of the names of the great figures, from Ernest Renan onwards, who have worked on the history of the Near East in the Classical period. But it would be improper, at the moment of the disappearance of the Soviet Union, not to mention Michael Rostovtzeff; apart from his years of work on Dura-Europos, his paper 'La Syrie romaine' in *Revue historique* (1935) remains the most brilliant brief portrait of the area. Then there is Henri Seyrig, whom I was fortunate to meet in Princeton in 1968, and whose work sums up the profound French involvement in the exploration of ancient Syria in the twentieth century. This involvement is reflected also in two major recent works, of which the earlier receives very inadequate reflection in what follows, and the later none at all: J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (eds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II* (1989); and M. Sartre, *L'Orient romain: Provinces et sociétés provinciales en Méditerranée orientale d'Auguste aux Sévères (31 J.-C.-235 après J.-C.)* (1991), an invaluable work which covers Achaëa, Macedonia, Asia Minor and Egypt, as well as the Syrian region (but not as such Mesopotamia).

Of contemporaries, I would particularly like to thank Peter Fraser; if in reality I have always seen Rome and its Empire from a Rostovtzeffian perspective, in other words from the Greek East, it is due to his influence when I was at All Souls in 1958-1964. As for others on whose generous help I have depended, I would like to name Jean-Charles and Jeanine Balty, Glen Bowersock, Hannah Cotton, Hazel Dodge, Han Drijvers, Denis Feissel, Michal Gawlikowski, David Graf, Chris Howgego, Ben Isaac, David Kennedy, Nikos Kokkinos, Sam Lieu, Michael MacDonald, David Potter, Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, Maurice Sartre and Javier Teixidor.

Hazel Dodge and David Kennedy also provided valuable practical guidance before a visit to Jordan and Syria in 1986. During that visit I had very generous assistance from the Syrian Archaeological Service, and in particular from Dr. Adnan Bounni. It is not fortuitous that the book begins by implicitly recalling the many hours which I spent examining the marvellous collections in the National Museum in Damascus, not least the reconstruction there of the synagogue at Dura-Europos. During that trip I also spent a wonderful day on a taxi-journey from Homs to the remote site of Baetocaece (which proved extremely difficult to find), and then over the Jebel Ansariyeh to the Orontes Valley and Apamea, where the welcome from the Baltys and their team remains an indelible memory.

In 1989 I also had the greatest good fortune in being able to make a car-journey with Chris Lightfoot of the British Institute in Ankara, from Ankara

through the Taurus to Cilicia, the Amanus, Antioch, Urfa, Nisibis, Amida (Diyarbakir), Commagene with Samosata and Nemrud Dag, and back via Malatya (Melitene). If in the course of it I gained a deeper understanding of why Caracalla had needed to step aside on the journey from Urfa to visit the temple of the Moon-Goddess at Carrhae/Harran, it was still an absolutely essential and invaluable experience, which would never have been possible without such expert guidance. I am very grateful to the British Academy and the Craven Committee for grants to assist this journey.

As one who has visited Israel many times (including in 1969 an adventurous trip with Zvi Yavetz up to the snowbound peak of Mount Hermon) and who has also looked out from ancient Gadara over the Sea of Galilee, the Plain of Jezreel and Mount Tabor, as well as down the Bekaa Valley from Tell Nebi Mend (Laodicea ad Libanum, just on the Syrian side of the Syrian-Lebanese border), it is impossible not to hope that these years will bring peace, and an opening of borders, to all of the haunting landscapes of the Near East. By down-playing, as it explicitly does, the significance, and even the reality, of any coherent 'Arab' identity in the period in question, this book might seem to take one side in the profound religious and communal tensions of the modern world. It does not. Religious affiliations, mythical origins and ethnic identities are human constructs, and we simply falsify history by fathering on peoples in the past identities which they did not construct, or had not yet constructed, for themselves. If anything, this book will serve to suggest how new, how profound and original and how totally unexpected in its effects the message of the Prophet was to be; but also, in its appeal to the Old Testament, to the inheritance of Abraham, Hagar and Ishmael, how much Islam was to owe to the Judaeo-Christian tradition:

Say you: 'We believe in God, and in that which has been sent down on us and sent down on Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac and Jacob, and the Tribes, and that which was given to Moses and Jesus and the Prophets, of their Lord; we make no division between any of them, and to Him we surrender'.  
(*Koran*, *Sura II*, trans. A. J. Arberry)

At the point where this book stops, Islam still lay three centuries in the future. But all three versions of the Religion of the Book were formed in or on the borders of the Roman and late-Roman Near East.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AAAS	<i>Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes</i> (1966–)
AAES	<i>Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria 1899–1900</i> . I, <i>Topography and Itinerary</i> (1914), by R. Garrett; II, <i>Architecture and Other Arts</i> (1903), by H. C. Butler; III, <i>Greek and Latin Inscriptions</i> (1908), by W. K. Prentice; IV, <i>Semitic Inscriptions</i> (1904), by E. Littman
AAS	<i>Annales archéologiques de Syrie</i> (1951–1965)
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
AE	<i>Année épigraphique</i>
AHS	J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (eds.), <i>Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II, La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement d'Islam</i> (1989)
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>Anal. Boll.</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana: Bruxelles, Société des Bollandistes</i>
<i>Anat. Stud.</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>Anc. Hist. Bull.</i>	<i>The Ancient History Bulletin</i>
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i>
<i>Ant. Class.</i>	<i>L'antiquité classique</i>
<i>Arch. Anz.</i>	<i>Archäologische Anzeiger</i>
<i>Arch. f. Or.</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>

Avi-Yonah, <i>Gazetteer</i>	M. Avi-Yonah, <i>Gazetteer of Roman Palestine</i> ( <i>Qedem</i> 5, 1976)
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
Baldus, <i>Uranius Antoninus</i>	H. R. Baldus, <i>Uranius Antoninus: Münzprägung und Geschichte</i> (1971)
Barnes, <i>New Empire</i>	T. D. Barnes, <i>The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine</i> (1982)
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BE	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , published in <i>Revue des études grecques</i>
BES	<i>Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique</i> , published in <i>Syria</i>
Beth She'arim II	M. Schwabe and B. Lifshitz, <i>Beth She'arim II: The Greek Inscriptions</i> (1974)
Beyer, AT	K. Beyer, <i>Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer</i> (1986)
BGU	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i>
Bidez-Cumont	J. Bidez and F. Cumont, <i>Les mages hellénisés: Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe, d'après la tradition grecque</i> (1938)
Birley, <i>Septimius Severus</i>	A. R. Birley, <i>The African Emperor: Septimius Severus</i> (1988)
BMB	<i>Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth</i>
BMC Arabia	G. F. Hill, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia in the British Museum</i> (1922)
BMC Mesopotamia	G. F. Hill, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia in the British Museum</i> (1922)
BMC Palestine	G. F. Hill, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine in the British Museum</i> (1914)
BMC Phoenicia	G. F. Hill, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia in the British Museum</i> (1910)
BMC Roman Empire	H. Mattingly, et al., <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> (1910-)
BMC Syria	W. Wroth, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria in the British Museum</i> (1899)

<i>Bonn. Jahrb.</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande</i>
Bowersock, <i>Roman Arabia</i>	G. W. Bowersock, <i>Roman Arabia</i> (1983)
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
Cantineau, <i>Inv.</i>	J. Cantineau et al., <i>Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre</i> (1930-)
Cantineau, <i>Le Nabatéen II</i>	J. Cantineau, <i>Le Nabatéen II</i> (1932)
Cantineau, <i>RES</i>	J. Cantineau, <i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique I-VII</i>
Cavenaille, <i>CPL</i>	R. Cavenaille, <i>Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum</i> (1958)
CCID	M. Hørig and E. Schwertheim, <i>Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni</i> (1987)
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
CPh	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions</i>
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i>
<i>Dam. Mitt.</i>	<i>Damaszener Mitteilungen</i>
Dentzer, <i>Hauran</i>	J.-M. Dentzer (ed.), <i>Hauran: Recherches archéologiques sur la Syrie du sud à l'époque hellénistique et romaine I.1-2</i> (1985-1986)
Devijver, <i>PME</i>	H. Devijver, <i>Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum I-IV</i> (1976-1987)
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>
<i>Dial. di Arch.</i>	<i>Dialoghi di Archeologia</i>
DJD	D. Barthélemy et al., <i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i> (1956-)
<i>Doc. Masada</i>	H. M. Cotton and J. Geiger, <i>Masada II, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports: The Latin and Greek Documents</i> (1989)
Donner and Röllig, <i>KAI</i>	H. Donner and W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften I-II</i> (1962)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
Drijvers, <i>Inscriptions</i>	H. J. W. Drijvers, <i>Old-Syriac (Edesseean) Inscriptions</i> (1972)



Dunand, <i>Musée de Soueida</i>	M. Dunand, <i>Le musée de Soueida</i> (1934)
Dunant, <i>Baalshamin III</i>	C. Dunant, <i>Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre III, Les inscriptions</i> (1971)
<i>Dura Report</i>	P. V. C. Baur and M. I. Rostovtzeff (eds.), <i>The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Preliminary Report I-IX.2</i> (1929-1946)
EAEHL	<i>Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land I-IV</i> (1975-1978)
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